From Global War to Global Cities:
Planning, Art, and Post-WWII Urban History in New York, Berlin, and Tokyo

by

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Submitted to the Department of Architecture
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Architecture: History and Theory of Architecture

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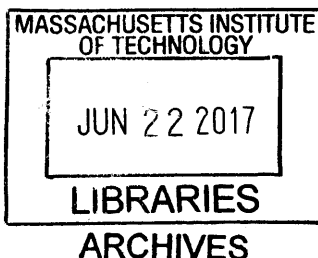
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Abstract

Thinking about cities became increasingly global during and after WWII. 'Global' here refers to how, in the context of the war, the roles and meanings of cities in the world were beginning to be understood differently. This dissertation investigates urban histories since the 1940s in their connection to changing imaginaries of the world that were shaped by the experience of war, and that have received little attention in historical literature. The dominant narratives of postwar urban history are focused on issues such as destruction and reconstruction, and the ideological divides between East and West. Global history is here employed as a non-hegemonic methodology for going beyond these larger narratives, and to demonstrate that in an age of global war, cities were becoming global long before economic discourses on globalization labeled them as such.

New York City, West Berlin, and Tokyo are used as case studies because they are the principal cities of three industrialized nations that were heavily affected by WWII. New York became a center of the US war industry and beacon of the proclaimed Western values of freedom and democracy. However, the hypocrisy of fighting for freedom and democracy abroad, while racial violence and injustice was experienced at home, led to housing and segregation in New York being seen in global context. Discourses on fighting fascism at home and abroad, and artistic representations of the city illuminate these narratives. In Berlin—especially with the founding of the two German states in 1949 and the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961—urban planning and development are most easily understood to be part of East-West ideological divides. Visions for the city of the future that were produced in secluded West Berlin demonstrate, however, that the city was also imagined in ways that transcended its local conflict and positioned it as a democratic tool for a global urban society. Tokyo's destruction during WWII, and its subsequent reconstruction, dominates the city's postwar history, but Japan's experience of war and nuclear bombings led to the creation of urban models that were more global in scope. An analysis of Japanese involvement in world's fairs and of architectural and urban thought in response to the nuclear bombings connects these threads. In different ways, these case studies substantiate the connection between global war and global cities and introduce global history methodology into the analysis of global thinking in urbanism during and after WWII.

Thesis Supervisor: Mark Jarzombek
Title: Professor of the History and Theory of Architecture

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

NOTES TO THE READER

The reason for capitalizing the word "Black" when used to describe people has been articulated best by Martha Biondi:

> "Black" is capitalized because it is used much as "Negro" or "African American" is used. As a proper noun, it reflects the self-naming and self-identification of a people whose national or ethnic origins have been obscured by a history of capture and enslavement. Similarly, "white" is not capitalized because historically it has been deployed as a signifier of social domination and privilege, rather than as an indicator of ethnic or national origin.[1]

'Black' and 'African American' are used interchangeably in this dissertation, while the term 'Negro' was used most commonly during the postwar era and can thus be found in much material that is quoted or referenced here.

The Hepburn Romanization system has been used to transliterate Japanese texts, including titles and names. Macrons are used to indicate long vowels, such as ū and ō, except in the case of place names that are well established in English usage or are found in English-language dictionaries, for example Tokyo or Osaka, as opposed to Tōkyō and Ōsaka. Japanese names are given as is customary in Japan—the family name preceding the given name. Exceptions are made for individuals whose career has primarily unfolded outside of Japan or who are nationals of other countries with Japanese ancestry, for example the Japanese American sculptor Isamu Noguchi. Japanese names that are of bibliographical references in footnotes are listed with the given name first in accordance with the Chicago Manual of Style.

Titles of publications are given in Japanese and in English translation. Every effort was made to identify original titles and translations established in relevant literature wherever applicable. All other translations were created by this author.

For copyright reasons, images in this dissertation have been redacted.

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[1] Martha Biondi, *To Stand and Fight: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Postwar New York City* (Harvard University Press, 2003), no pagination.

FROM GLOBAL WAR TO GLOBAL CITIES:

Planning, Art, and Post-WWII Urban History in New York, Berlin, and Tokyo

Sebastian Schmidt

INTRODUCTION

FROM GLOBAL WAR TO GLOBAL CITIES

In the spring of 1943, two rows of wooden Japanese houses and typical German concrete tenements were built in the Utah desert, separated by 40 feet of dry soil.[2] The structures were representative of working-class dwellings in Tokyo and Berlin, respectively. Standing two stories tall, the Japanese houses were complete replicas, whereas the German buildings consisted only of the top two floors and attic of buildings that typically reached five to seven stories. This small collection of foreign architecture on US territory was known as the "German-Japanese village"—a misnomer given that the 'village' consisted of distinctly urban architecture. It reconstructed fragments of the capitals of the United States' two principal enemy nations in WWII, and articulated their relative architectural difference side by side, down to the detail of using lumber for furnishings that matched the moisture content found in the enemy countries.[3]

Considerable effort was put into creating authentic architectural designs.[4] Emigré architects Erich Mendelsohn and Konrad Wachsmann served as consultants for the German tenement structure, and Antonin Raymond for the Japanese building. The Jewish Mendelsohn was an active architect in Weimar Berlin and fled Germany after Hitler came to power in 1933, eventually arriving in the US and getting involved in architectural circles there. Wachsmann escaped Germany in 1941 and found refuge at Walter Gropius' home in Massachusetts. With Gropius he developed the "Packaged House"—a prefabricated wood-frame structure that could be assembled in a single day. After the war, he became influential with developing a modular

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[2] An Architektur, "Burning Down the House," *Cabinet* 12(2003).

[3] "Dugway Proving Ground, German-Japanese Village, German Village." Historic American Engineering Record, Intermountain Support Office - Denver, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior. HAER no. UT-92-A. https://cdn.loc.gov/master/pnp/habshaer/ut/ut0500/ut0568/data/ut0568data.pdf (Accessed March 24, 2017).

[4] Mike Davis, "Berlin's Skeleton in Utah's Closet," *Grand Street* 69(1999): 94.

tetrahedral space-frame system that he presented at a two-week seminar at the Tokyo Institute of Technology in 1958, attended by the shapers of Japanese architecture in the 1960s. Czech-born Raymond had come to Japan as Frank Lloyd Wright's assistant on the Tokyo Imperial Hotel project (1919-23), and set up his own practice in Tokyo, playing an important role in Japanese interwar architecture, until he left Japan in 1938, not to return until 1947.

The German-Japanese village was located within Dugway Proving Ground, a military testing site for chemical and biological weapons that US President Franklin D. Roosevelt had created after withdrawing land from the state of Utah in February 1942. It was constructed to test US firebombing strategies, and the effort was supported by incendiary bomb producer Standard Oil Development Co., serving as contractor for the project. The buildings were repeatedly set a ablaze, repaired, and bombed again—at least three complete reconstructions occurred between May and September 1943. The effects and relative efficacy of different bombing strategies and environmental factors were carefully recorded and studied. This small cluster of buildings is a distillate of the US war on cities during WWII, the largest share of which consisted of aerial bombing campaigns against urban Germany and Japan.

The German-Japanese village raises questions about war and the global history of urbanism and architecture. It is not cynical to say that WWII brought German and Japanese architecture to Utah and that, as a consequence, a part of the histories of Berlin and Tokyo was written in the Utah desert. The physical damage caused by forces of war in these and other cities is commonly seen as leading to the plight of local populations and therefore historicized as a local phenomenon. This premise is complicated by the fact that the destruction was rehearsed thousands of miles away—complete with architectural replicas. Dugway thus offers a glimpse onto the global thinking and experience that inhered in WWII, and the ways in which it changed the meaning of cities and positioned them in an ever more global world are investigated in this project.

This dissertation is about the fundamental shift in how cities were planned and represented, and how their history can be written following WWII. It argues that the war catalyzed and exposed civilizational fragility and anxiety on an unprecedented global scale, and that a resulting urge to 'think global' manifested itself in thinking about cities. This research exposes the ways in which much traditional postwar urban historiography is reliant on metanarratives such as the transition from destruction to reconstruction, the ideological conflicts

between East and West, global economic expansion, and the prewar legacies of architectural modernism. These histories are not inaccurate, but they obscure the nuanced ways in which WWII as a global and traumatic phenomenon shaped the thinking about urban environments into ambitious visions for shared futures, and into anxieties over the possibility of justice and peace. Both the expanding global consciousness and vulnerability resulting from WWII made cities global long before they became hubs in a world economic system. With this globalization of urban thought came a considerable diversification of the city as a signifier—from being a hub in an international economic landscape, to being an abstract beacon of idealized future worlds to come. In other words, the concept of the city was in motion after WWII. It was in cities that the effects of war had been most disastrous and traumatic, and it was now going to be in cities that a different, less vulnerable world ought to be envisioned and created.

As the principal cities of three industrialized nations, New York, Berlin, and Tokyo were all deeply enmeshed in the war, and this research shows how WWII, particularly through its global scale and traumatic force, offers an important historiographical perspective for understanding these cities' urbanism and architecture. New York became a center of the US war industry and beacon of the proclaimed Western values of freedom and democracy. However, the hypocrisy of fighting for freedom and democracy abroad, while racial violence and injustice was experienced at home, led to housing and segregation in New York being seen in global context. Discourses on fighting fascism at home and abroad, and artistic representations of the city illuminate these narratives. In Berlin—especially with the founding of the two German states in 1949 and the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961—urban planning and development are most easily understood to be part of East-West ideological divides. Visions for the city of the future that were produced in secluded West Berlin demonstrate, however, that the city was also imagined in ways that transcended its local conflict and positioned it as a democratic tool for a global urban society. Tokyo's destruction during WWII, and its subsequent reconstruction, dominates the city's postwar history, but Japan's experience of war and nuclear bombings led to the creation of urban models that were more global in scope. An analysis of Japanese involvement in world's fairs and of architectural and urban thought in response to the nuclear bombings connects these threads.

This project does not offer a comparison of New York, Berlin, and Tokyo, or investigate the connections that existed between these cities, although some of these will surface throughout.

Instead, it gathers evidence of how profoundly WWII has shaped urbanism and urban imaginaries across different contexts—beyond more conventional narratives of destruction and war-driven industrial activities. It will be shown that this not only expands our historical understanding of war in cities and cities at war, but also warrants a re-examination of historiographical approaches to urbanism, given the deep implication of war in thinking about these cities in the 1940s and in the decades following 1945.

This project analyzes three cities in order to avoid falling into binary comparisons, and not more than three cities in order to keep the research project manageable. New York, Berlin, and Tokyo were selected for this study because of the abundance of evidence that is available in these highly populated cities, and because of the pivotal roles they have played in urban and artistic discourses. They also were important centers in the trials and tribulations of nationalism after WWII, as well as internationalism—quite literally in the case of NYC becoming the seat of the United Nations.

WWII profoundly shook the meaning of the city and set it in motion. There is nothing abstract or mysterious about this change to urbanism in the 20th century. It is richly and concretely documented in how planners, architects, artists, government officials, as well as residents debated and represented the city and what it meant to them. Through targeted archival research into planning-related documents, and discussions of art, this dissertation shows how unsettled the present and future of the city were after WWII. No other war had quite so forcefully brought to the fore the tenuousness and fragility of the city as a foundational material form of human civilization.

New York, Berlin, and Tokyo are cities that were becoming global and were subject to global thinking before the 'global city'—a term popularized by the work of Saskia Sassen in the 1990s—became a key concept of an economically focused urban analysis. In addition to telling the stories of how the globalizing and traumatic force of WWII met thinking about the city and about urban issues in New York, Berlin, and Tokyo, this dissertation therefore takes on the challenge of writing urban history as global history. Global history is here mobilized less as a history of connections between geographically disparate places—which may be its most commonplace interpretation—but as a non-hegemonic method that helps challenge the understandings of postwar urban development that have dominated urban history as often teleological transitions from destruction to recovery, or from wartime to peacetime industries.

The histories presented here dive into the anxieties and conflicting ideas about the city that were becoming more visible within the global impact of WWII.[5]

Chapter 1 explores the emergence of global thinking in the era of WWII, and suggests global history as a method for the investigation of different interpretations and representations of the city. Chapter 2 takes this approach to New York City and analyzes housing in the context of WWII being positioned not just as the international fight against fascism, but also as the domestic struggle of African Americans for democracy. Materials from the La Guardia and Lindsay administrations, Robert Moses' efforts in creating public-private partnerships in urban renewal, and the art of Jacob Lawrence serve as primary evidence. Chapter 3 looks at the postwar history of West Berlin with the goal of expanding the dominant narrative of the Cold War conflict. Visions for the city of the future and images of US urbanism are here investigated as expressions of an emerging global perspective on urbanism. The goal of chapter 4 is to go beyond established historiographies of postwar Tokyo that are focused on physical reconstruction and the influence of Western modernism. To that end, legacies of Japan's wartime history, postwar nuclear anxiety, and proposals for an urbanism of the future are traced in world's fairs, urban space, architecture, and art. The conclusion summarized the relationship between global war and global cities, and global history's role in capturing that relationship.

The chapters are arranged chronologically based on the principal period that they investigate. The focus of Chapter 2 is on New York City in the 1940s, while Chapter 3 is centered around the late 1950s and early 1960s in West Berlin. The narrative frame for Chapter 4 is Japan's 1970 world's fair as a moment that brings together visions for an urban future with legacies of contested pasts. Together with this chronological progression, the chapters also constitute analyses of slightly different understandings of 'the global.' Chapter 2 explores how the presentation of a domestic issue changed as the perception of the world as one was expanding. Chapter 3 complicates the notion of 'the global' as defined by intellectual exchanges and the travel of ideas across borders. Chapter 4 investigates the globalist claims of urban models for the future by investigating their connections to contested histories and anxieties of over nuclear warfare.

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[5] For discussions of the changing nature of modernism in the context of WWII and postwar anxieties, see Réjean Legault and Sarah Williams Goldhagen, eds., *Anxious Modernisms : Experimentation in Postwar Architectural Culture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000).

It will become clear that 'the global' is far from being a unifying notion, if unity is understood as similarity. While economic discourses on the global city are focused on comparison and thus require similarity for the establishment of comparable metrics, the global city of global history is one of nuances in the ways of thinking about urbanism in a changing world. The following chapters explore those nuances in order to write a history of the relationship between global war and global cities.

CHAPTER 1

GLOBAL WAR, GLOBAL CTIIES, AND GLOBAL HISTORY

GLOBAL THINKING

In the November 1943 issue of *Fortune* magazine, *The Times-Picayune* and *New Orleans States* newspapers jointly ran an advertisement that expressed their conviction that anticipated trade and cultural exchanges with foreign countries and peoples after the war would shape a new world and restructure spatial configurations into a widely distributed network of cities—and they urged readers to be prepared. (Fig. 1) The advertisement shows the southern half of the globe with an over proportionally large man standing upside down on the South American continent. The title text reads "GLOBAL THINKING. Makes You See Things Differently."[6] This refers to changes in global spatial relations as a result of "the unlimited horizons of air transportation [...]. Where once you thought of New Orleans as the 'Deep South,' you now judge it more correctly as MID-AMERICA." The prediction was that in the future of an internationally connected world, New Orleans would no longer be on the fringes of the US, but would become a major hub in continental and intercontinental trade and exchange.[7] Business-savvy readers were thus urged to advertise in the regional newspapers and "lay foundations for post-war expansion now."[8]

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[6] *Fortune* 28, no. 5 (1943): 44.

[7] The implied friendly relationship with South America at this time needs to be understood in the context of President Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy of non-interventionism in Latin America that had been in place since 1933.

[8] *Fortune* 28, no. 5 (1943): 44.

Fig. 1. Ad posted in the November 1943 issue of *Fortune* magazine by The Times-Picayune and New Orleans States newspapers.

It could be argued that the perspective put forward in the advertisement in *Fortune* is more international than it is global. Sebastian Conrad has described global history as constituting "an assault on many forms of container-based paradigms, chief among them national history."[9] Speaking with Conrad's metaphor, the magazine advertisement primarily adds more containers and connects them, but it does not resist their fundamental form, and it does not resist the notion that they are fundamentally independent. However, while a fully formed critique of 19th-century legacies of nationalism had not arrived, there is a fundamental shift in the perception of countries, regions, and cities during and after WWII that crystallizes here; it is the shift from a

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[9] Sebastian Conrad, *What Is Global History?* (Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2016), 4.

perspective that is inward-out to one that is oriented outward-in.[10] Rather than emphasizing the relative importance that radiates from one place—in this case New Orleans—out into the world, it is the outside perspective of an expanded system of infrastructure, connections, and exchanges that is here described as the constitutive ingredient in the making of New Orleans' relevance. In the image itself, New Orleans is not even shown on the section of the globe that is visible; instead, it is the upward gaze of the man standing on the southern tip of South America that suggests its location and, more importantly, its significance. When anywhere can become a center, the dichotomy between center and periphery itself is weakened, and a city-centric perspective on the world appears much less promising than one that understands cities as parts of a larger system of global thinking.

Global thinking here operates on both an intellectual and a material level. The latter is embodied in what later would be called globalization in the discourse on cities as parts of a world economic system. In the context of this economic focus, however, the intellectual basis of global thinking was lost, if not suppressed. In this early moment of the 1943 advertisement, both are still present. Readers are encouraged to capitalize on predicted changes to the significance of infrastructures based on the widening of economic markets, but the ad also makes clear that even the presumed center of operations, in this case New Orleans, is not necessarily the exclusive center of attention. In other words, while the material message clearly addresses impending changes to how profits could be generated after the war, there is an intellectual message that addresses the conceptual reorganization of the world as one space.

In our current situation, global thinking has become synonymous with economic globalization, which ended up returning to the hierarchies of center and periphery, grouping cities around the globe in different tiers of importance.[11] However, the global city as an intellectual project was an integral part of urban development during and after WWII—one that needs to be understood in order for urban history to adequately represent the trials of urban visions that were trying to come to terms with a changing framework of what roles cities were

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[10] Within art history, Reiko Tomii recently used a similar analytic paradigm for 1960s Japanese art to inform the methodological potential of a world art history. In looking at the "connections" and "resonances" between different locales that question the primacy of centers of artistic production in Japan, and that encourage an approach that is not "center-out" but "periphery-in," Tomii argues for a geo-historical concept of international contemporaneity that can serve "as an expansive tool for decentering the ingrained Eurocentrism and opening up our discipline to examine a multiplicity of contemporary and vanguard practices worldwide." Reiko Tomii, *Radicalism in the Wilderness : International Contemporaneity and 1960s Art in Japan* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2016), 12.

[11] Examples of this are the A.T. Kearney Global Cities Index (GCI) and the Global Cities Outlook (GCO) rankings.

going to play in a postwar world. Further, in an era of nuclear warfare, in which destructive military forces have reached levels that can devastate an entire city in the shortest amount of time, the city as an organizational paradigm for historical processes becomes increasingly less practical. The question then is, how does historiography keep up with this situation? As thinking about cities is increasingly tied into thinking about the world at large, and as the very material survival of cities becomes more dependent on forces outside of themselves, the history of such global urbanism ought to begin by understanding the attitudes, anxieties, and hopes vis-à-vis those forces that were held by those who were most engaged with the past, present, and future of cities. The global city, as it were, has to be freed from the exclusivity of economic analysis, and needs to be historicized as an intellectual concept; and as a concept that was shaped by the globalizing force of WWII.

WWII AS A GLOBALIZING FORCE

The experience of the Second World War made clear that interdependency and civilizational fragility had become completely global phenomena. This changing context was immediately addressed and incorporated in how cities were planned, imagined, and discussed, and not solely based on the fact that so many of them were damaged or destroyed in the war. The fact that New York City was often referred to as the 'capital of the world' or 'world's most powerful city' after 1945—just as it began its steady decline towards near-bankruptcy in the 1970s—was clearly a product of WWII. Samuel Zipp, in positioning urban renewal as the pivot between NYC's ascendency to being a global capitalist center, and its simultaneous descent into an urban crisis, identifies WWII as the key catalyst in this process.

> Advocates of slum clearance and modern housing may have found a measure of common ground, but they could not have knocked down any tenements or built any new projects without World War II. The war brought slum clearance and most housing construction to an abrupt halt, but provided time and inspiration in their place. The war's vast scale, with its mass mobilization of industry and population, required unprecedented planning at all levels of society. The devastation of European cities left cleared ground for rebuilding, inspiring hope that a new urban world could emerge from the charred remains. In the United States, untouched by bombing, hope sprang from expected postwar affluence, modernization, and economic growth, forces that could sweep away old city forms just as effectively—and, it would later be revealed, nearly as ruthlessly—as bombing. City planners, architects, housing experts, and government officials used the war years to lay plans for a broad-based campaign of urban redevelopment. Guided by

visions of modern housing and its urban innovations, they foresaw a widely expanded campaign of urban rebuilding.[12]

Zipp argues that urban renewal as it unfolded in the US was a result of the war and of postwar industrial affluence. On the other side of the same medal, it is clear that postwar affluence as it was manifest especially amongst white, suburban demographics, was directly contributing to urban decline that resulted from the move of industry and the labor force into suburban areas.[13] After the war, when urban renewal was heralded as a solution to problems arising in socially and economically challenging urban areas, and when in the 1960s it became apparent that something was going terribly wrong with urban renewal, its significance

> was not simply in its raw power to transform the city, but in the far greater influence it had over the terms by which cities were understood and in the fact that it called forth a series of public controversies in which New Yorkers and other Americans debated the impacts of modernism, progress, public and private power, and Cold War ideology on culture, politics, and social life.[14]

Zipp positions urban renewal as a model for urban thinking, that is, as an urban epistemology that was shaped very significantly by the kinds of thinking cultivated during the war: global in scale, and perceiving the material landscape of the city as easily changeable. Mixed in with this, especially in the case of New York, was the conviction that the city would have a bright future in a postwar world. Robert A. M. Stern has pointed out that

> From the point of view of industrial activity, New York seemed prepared for the future as no other American city was; its industries did not need to be retooled for peacetime, because they made in wartime what they'd always made, small-scale items easily adaptable to the consumer market.[15]

Later he quotes critic Marya Mannes, to whom,

> the postwar era, recalled fifteen years later, seemed to signal a decline in the city's ability to 'cope with its people, when—through overcrowding, inefficiency, corruption and greed—' it seemed to sacrifice 'those amenities which spell civilized living.'[16]

There is a conflict here between the city as a material entity and as a social entity that is embodied in the ideological poles of postwar urban planning debates in New York, represented most famously in the positions of Commissioner Robert Moses and the writer and activist Jane

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[12] Samuel Zipp, *Manhattan Projects: The Rise and Fall of Urban Renewal in Cold War New York* (Oxford University Press, 2010), 15.

[13] Ibid., 23.

[14] Ibid., 22.

[15] Robert A. M. Stern, Thomas Mellins, and David Fishman, *New York 1960 : Architecture and Urbanism between the Second World War and the Bicentennial* (New York, NY: Monacelli Press, 1995), 14.

[16] Ibid., 15.

Jacobs. However, rather than aligning the postwar history of New York with the dynamics of this well studied conflict, the focus here is on the mutability and variety of models for urban thinking, especially as they were shaped by the global perspective on the world that had been pushed aggressively by WWII. We will see later that a significant part of this perspective was a rhetoric of freedom and equality—mirrored in the aspirations for urban renewal—that stood in stark contrast to the lived realities of many of its residents, especially those of color and those who had only recently arrived in the city. There was a new global urban image for New York that emerged from the forces of war, but it was not an image that, despite its promises, had room for everyone.

HISTORICIZING THE GLOBAL CITY

Studying globalization means studying the effects and phenomena through which it becomes manifest. In the case of studying global cities, this has led to analyses of telecommunications, flight connections, monetary transactions, and other activities that are seen as metrics for the two defining premises of John Friedman's 1986 formulation of a "World City Hypothesis"—an international division of labor, and the integration of urban economies with world economy.[17] Friedman's hypothesis was put forward as a framework for research on cities, and in it, economic variables are decisive for categorizing a city's standing and role in the world. His well-known article followed one on "World City Formation," co-written with Goetz Wolff and published in 1982.[18] Friedman and Wolff argued that urbanizing processes that define life in cities "reflect, to a considerable extent, the mode of their integration into the world economy."[19] Therefore, they suggested a research perspective that looks at cities "from the perspective of a world economic system-in-formation."[20]

The previously discussed *Fortune* magazine advertisement from 1943 posted by *The Times-Picayune* and *New Orleans States* newspapers proposed the same perspective, looking at the city outside-in. However, it did so 39 years before this research on world cities was first

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[17] John Friedmann, "The World City Hypothesis," *Development and Change* 17, no. 1 (1986).
[18] John Friedmann and Goetz Wolff, "World City Formation: An Agenda for Research and Action," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 6, no. 3 (1982).
[19] Ibid., 309.
[20] Ibid.

published. This delay in no way invalidates Friedmann and Wolff's work, but it serves as a reminder that history is too often forgotten amidst the fascination with global cities in the 21st century. Friedman and Wolff set the end of WWII as a starting point of intensified globalization, leading to the emergence of cities as supra-national actors in a global economic system.[21] They were far from ignorant of many of the social consequences of these processes; in fact, Friedman singles out as intellectual precedents two Marxist approaches to studying the city: Manuel Castells' *The Urban Question* (1977, French original 1972) and David Harvey's *Social Justice and the City* (1973). Friedmann praises these scholars' work for interpreting the city as a product of "social forces set in motion by capitalist relations of production. Class conflict became central to the new view of how cities evolved."[22]

There is room in analyses such as Friedmann and Wolff's for the consideration of social consequences like the widening gap between rich and poor, the formation of a privileged transnational white-collar elite, gentrification, or the rising cost of living compounded by highly mobile global corporate labor markets, as well as tensions and socio-economic divides in divisions of labor between domestic or local workers, and economic migrants, often along lines of ethnic and racial differences. However, their investigative framework openly rests on the premise that the economy is the foundational epistemology for understanding intertwined processes of urbanization and globalization, and how these shape human livelihood.

'World cities,' for Friedman and Wolff, mark in space the loci and networks of a post-national world driven by non- or supra-national economic agents that has been developing since the end of the Second World War. The city thus becomes the pivot between a world of abstract signs and systems controlling the exchanges of goods, labor, and monies on one side, and the geographic realities of space within which these systems unfold on the other side. However, there is a quarter-century gap between the end of the war and the appearance of, for example, Castells' and Harvey's research in the early 1970s. Thus, the notion of 'the global city'—most influentially popularized by Saskia Sassen in her 1991 book of the same title—despite being identified as a postwar phenomenon, is routinely investigated from a point in time in which the world economic system that it was premised on was already fully formed.[23] What is missing in this analysis is a historical consideration of other global forces on the city outside of the

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[21] Ibid., 310.

[22] Friedmann, "The World City Hypothesis," 69.

[23] Saskia Sassen, *The Global City : New York, London, Tokyo* (Princeton University Press, 1991).

economic ones. In chapters two, three, and four, it will be shown that the experience of WWII gave rise to a variety of understandings of the city.

The global city needs to be historicized as a post-WWII phenomenon that came out of the experience of the war, and was made manifest in the plans and representations of cities that show how perspectives were shifting from inward-out to outward-in. There is an important difference between the concept of the global city that is investigated here, and the global city that appeared in the research by Friedmann, Wolff, Sassen, and others. The former describes a response to the experience of war that, as we will see, resulted in consequential conflicts between different models for the city in society; the latter describes urbanized settlements that handle and harbor high volumes of economic activity, in many cases experiencing fast corporatization coupled with equally rapid deindustrialization of urban centers. In the global city of postwar urbanism that is investigated here, 'global' is expressive of very fundamental shifts in the imaginary and planning of cities that was becoming increasingly diverse.

Thinking outside of the containers of the nation state and national history as primary narrative frameworks is here considered a non-hegemonic approach to history that is embodied in global history as a methodological proposition. The goal is to draw on the intellectual approach of global history to understand the ways in which planners, architects, and artists in New York, Berlin, and Tokyo during and after WWII negotiated and represented the changing conditions of the city in a changing world.

GLOBAL HISTORY AS NON-HEGEMONIC HISTORY

Global history is a strain of historical scholarship that has been exposing and destabilizing inherited eurocentric epistemologies. It does so in leaning on related approaches such as comparative history, transnational history, world-systems theory, postcolonial studies, and the concept of multiple modernities.[24] Conrad writes that

> the spread of modern European historical scholarship is no longer interpreted as a contribution to the modernization of historical thought, but rather as an imposition of cultural values and a manifestation of imperial hegemony.[25]

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[24] Conrad, *What Is Global History?*, 37-61.
[25] Ibid., 25.

This perspective is one that has been made possible by global history and its related methodological approaches. Inclusive, non-hegemonic historical work offers tools to investigate and tell histories of particular phenomena shaped by global conditions and contexts.[26] The resulting narratives often remain skewed towards European or Western topics and regions. However, this is no longer seen as, or implied to prove superiority of, one place over another within progress-driven imperialist theories of modernization. Instead, it is used to expose the lasting impacts of such imperialism and investigate the reasons and origins of evidentiary imbalances that ore often the consequence of periods of sustained imperialist oppression of the Other.

Some histories are easier to write than others, based on the uneven availability of archives and evidence, but this unevenness in and of itself tells stories that ought to be central to historical narratives. Official archives that belong to the institutions of the nation or governing authority tend to privilege narratives of historical events congruent with the perspectives of those in power.[27] This is where postcolonial studies and scholars of the subaltern studies group since the 1980s have demanded that the hegemony of colonial oppression be taken into consideration, and that the voices of the oppressed be made audible.[28] Not in opposition to these perspectives, but in order to complement them, Ann Stoler developed a method for studying colonial archives top-down, that is *Along the Archival Grain*, which serves as her book's title. Stoler argues that the administrative authority of colonial regimes was founded not only in principles of reason and rationality, but also in the management of sentiments that arose from the 'epistemic anxieties' of aiming to keep colonial projects in efficient operation.

> As such, these archives are not simply accounts of actions or records of what people thought happened. They are records of uncertainty and doubt in how people imagined they could and might make the rubrics of rule correspond to a changing imperial world.[29]

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[26] This is how Conrad describes Christopher Hill's work. Studying the cases of the United States, France, and Japan, Hill investigates how these countries were invested in the internationally shared endeavor of nation-building by way of making the writing of national history an important tool of the state. Christopher Hill, *National History and the World of Nations: Capital, State, and the Rhetoric of History in Japan, France, and the United States* (Duke University Press, 2008).

[27] Ibid., ix-xiii.

[28] Leela Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory : A Critical Introduction* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 42-63.

[29] Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain : Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 4.

By looking at the uncertainties over social categorizations of national or colonial, domestic or foreign, racial or non-racial subjects in the 19th-century Dutch East Indies, Stoler sidesteps the postcolonial focus on the experience and impact of colonial oppression created by the ruling system. Instead, she changes the face of that oppression from an image of a smoothly operating rational machine to a system of knowledge production that was highly uncertain and grappling with anxieties over epistemic categories. In other words, Stoler adds to the perspective of postcolonial critique a type of 'colonial critique' that enables a deeper understanding of the mechanisms and machinations of colonial rule from within the imperfect and anxious exercises of administrative authority. Therefore, while the focus rests on the archives and actions of the oppressor, it is through their analysis that the insidious, and often stunningly arbitrary nature of the social categorization of identities is best understood.

This example demonstrates an epistemological parallel between critiques of archives as places of power and privilege, and the critiques of nation-centered histories that are an important part of global history. Global history, then, can be considered one of the most productive methodological umbrellas for scholarship that aims to decenter non-inclusive and hegemonic histories—from within or without, that is, 'against' or 'along' the grain. To capture this perspective in disciplinary terminology, it is helpful to think of the 'global' in global history as denoting 'diverse' and 'non-hegemonic,' rather than, as it is sometimes misconstrued, 'worldwide' or 'comprehensive.'

> The aim is not to write a total history of the planet. It is often more a matter of writing a history of demarcated (i.e., non-'global') spaces, but with an awareness of global connections and structural conditions.[30]

We can thus distinguish between a geographic and an epistemological interpretation of the global; and as important as the geographic diversity and multi-sited nature of many global history projects is, it is in the epistemology, that is, the method of the global that the field's most significant intellectual contributions can be found. Therefore, it pays to think of the spatial expansions in global history as innovations in methodology. For example, Conrad emphasizes the prevalence of studies that are concerned with issues of mobility and exchange between

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[30] Conrad, *What Is Global History?*, 12.

different locations.[31] The concept of mobility, or motion, ought to be considered not just in spatial terms, but as a metaphor that applies to established concepts and categories of inquiry.

In terms of infrastructure, the most significant consequence of WWII was the enormous increase in aviation capacities. Before the war, there were roughly 25,000 airplanes in the United States. After the war, the number had risen to 300,000. In 1943, about 15,000 American airplanes were airborne in US airspace on any given afternoon—85% of which were in military use.[32] No event had made the world seem quite so small and vulnerable before, and never before had goods and personnel been moved in quite so overwhelming quantities before. Seen from a logistical perspective, WWII was foundational to the rapid expansion of infrastructures that catalyzed the mobility, exchanges, and transactions that are the marked characteristics of postwar globalization. Within these expansions and exchanges, global history responds not only to the physical changes that increasingly connect formerly disparate places, but to the intellectual challenge of thinking differently about a world that is burdened with historical hegemonies by aiming to expose them.

Outside of the teleologies of destruction and reconstruction and the immediate physical consequences of war, the global reach of changing perceptions of cities driven by the role they played during WWII comes to the fore. Similar to the sudden increase in global mobility that characterized wartime and postwar infrastructures, the postwar city as an idea was put in motion, inviting both creative rethinking as well as great uncertainty over what the future would hold. The desire to innovate was indelibly fused with the desire to overcome the trauma of urban and civilizational fragility.

Thinking of the city as a 'moving target' for historical inquiry makes it an intuitive object for global history. WWII destabilized the city in more ways than through physical destruction, forcing rebuilding and reinvention on both conceptual and material levels. The goal of global history is to expose those narratives.

FINDING SUPPRESSED MEMORY

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[31] Ibid., 5.
[32] "Engineering the Airways," *Fortune* 28, no. 5 (1943): 130.

Some such narratives become obscured by official histories. For example, W.G. Sebald described Germany's reconstruction following WWII as "a second liquidation" and suppression of memory, through "the creation of a new, faceless reality, pointing the population exclusively towards the future and enjoining on it silence about the past."[33] This is despite the fact that there are testimonies of that past.

Fig. 2. Friedrich Seidenstücker, *Die schneebedeckte Ruine des Reichstagsgebäudes von Westen* [*The Snow-Covered Ruin of the Reichstag Building Seen From the West*], 1948.

Friedrich Seidenststücker's photograph of the German Reichstag (Fig. 2)—most likely first published in a weekly magazine like most of his work during the early postwar period—

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[33] W. G. Sebald, *On the Natural History of Destruction* (New York: Random House, 2003), 7.

shows the damage that the building sustained as a metonym for the damage suffered by the nation and the city; bullet holes visibly scarring the darkened stone like small fresh wounds. At the same time, the light snow cover gives the building an air of peacefulness, making it appear like a relic from the past that is now resting, and making us wonder whether what it represents is now obsolete. The neo-baroque structure, completed in 1894, was based on designs by the German architect Paul Wallot. Its eclectic mix of architectural styles, drawing on Renaissance, Baroque, and Beaux-Arts precedents, can be read as a metaphor for a nation that could not be held together.

Following WWI, the building saw the gutting of the Weimar Republic's democracy by the Nazis, and the 1933 Reichstag fire that only accelerated Hitler's grip on total power. It then sat abandoned, its democratic promise of *Dem Deutschen Volke* [*To the German People*]—written across the architrave above the main entrance—devoid of meaning. In this 1948 image, what speaks to us is both the trauma of the past and the uncertainty over the future of the building and the city that are indelibly fused with the nation state in a world that had been progressively spiraling out of control since the Imperial parliament held its first session in the Reichstag in 1894.

Fig. 3. Heinz Hajek-Halke, *Untitled*, 1945.

The challenge of taking a non-hegemonic perspective on history when analyzing depictions of destruction that are the direct result of military hegemonies forces a broadening of the interpretation of this visual evidence. In addition to thinking outside of nation state models and eurocentric perspectives on the world and its intellectual history, an opportunity afforded by global history is to think critically about the primacy of time over space in the writing of history. Work by historians Reinhart Koselleck and, more recently, Karl Schlögel, offers important connections in this direction, and will be discussed in more detail below.[34]

A 1945 photograph by Heinz Hajek-Halke helps unpack some of the complexities of time and space in the writing of non-hegemonic history. Eleven war planes are seen flying in formation against an—almost by definition—abstract sky, and they are signals of destruction.

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[34] Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past : On the Semantics of Historical Time*, Studies in Contemporary German Social Thought (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1985).

Karl Schlögel, *Im Raume Lesen Wir Die Zeit [in Space We Read Time]* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2003).

(Fig. 3) However, in addition to carrying assumptions about who is attacking whom, when and where, this view is also situated and frozen within an intangible space, and writes a form of destruction that upends the distinction between time and space. As a premonitional gesture, the flight of war planes is surgical in its specificity, but as a spatially dislocated and airborne form of attack, the mediation of death and destruction through bombs and gunfire is simultaneously most arbitrary.

Fig. 4. Heinz Hajek-Halke, *Untitled*, 1945.

Compared to the image of war planes, Hajek-Halke's image of a Berlin bomb crater (Fig. 4) offers a very specific demonstration of damage, and of the kind of destruction of which war planes in the sky are a premonition. Outside of our knowledge about the bombing of Berlin during WWII, the crater primarily tells us that a bombing happened somewhere in the past.

Fig. 5. Heinz Hajek-Halke, *Bombentrichter* [*Bomb Crater*], 1945. Collection Michael Ruetz, Agentur Focus.

However, the photographer never intended for these pictures to be published separately. Instead, it is in his 1945 photomontage *Bombentrichter* (Fig. 5) that the temporalities and spatialities in these photographs become layered and all the more haunting. In the wound left from a previous attack, we see reflected the announcement of the next attack or—in a truly traumatic turn—of the same attack again. In Freudian terms, it is an image of melancholia, trapped in the unconscious mind that is unable to understand the loss suffered, and instead of processing the experience remains stuck in a state of suffering.[35]

Sebald complained that Germany's reconstruction efforts after the war were 'enjoining on the population silence about the past.' In contrast to this, the photographs by Seidenstücker and, especially, Hajek-Halke are doing the opposite. They record and represent the city not only

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[35] Sigmund Freud, "Mourning and Melancholia," in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud. Volume Xiv: On the History of the Psycho-Analytic Movement, Papers on Metapsychology, and Other Works.*, ed. James Strachey (London: The Hogarth Press, 1957).

has a place of destruction that ought to be repaired, but they also represent it as a site of trauma—trauma that happened in the past and continues to linger in the present. They challenge assumptions about history as a linear progression of time by demonstrating that just because the destruction has stopped, that does not mean that it is a matter of the past.

TIME AND SPACE IN HISTORY

In his book *Im Raume lesen wir die Zeit* (*In Space We Read Time*), the historian Karl Schlögel advocates for a reintegration of time and space in historiography.[36] He argues that the 19th century has driven a wedge between these two dimensions, leading to a long and still ongoing victory march of time and historicism, and to an institutionalized neglect of space.[37] Schlögel does not claim that space is not considered in the study of history, but rather that it is not invoked as an organizing principle or structuring force in the way that time is. He describes this as a modern phenomenon, in line with a cultural emphasis on the book, the chronology, and linearity as leading narratives and epistemological models. The result is that historiographical tools are stuck in the 19th century, and not at all suited to capture the 21st century and its historical perspectives. For Schlögel, this is especially evident in the challenges that the 20th century has brought not just to history, but to human civilization as a whole. He writes that

> we have to test new narratives that allow for the ruptures, catastrophes, cataracts and cataclysms of the 20th century. Historiography of the 20th century has to allow for the clash of epochs, for the hardest imaginable side by side of ages, for the simultaneity of non-simultaneity. It is about ruptures, caesuras, shocks, discontinuities, incisions.[38]

While Schlögel places a great deal of emphasis on the ruptures of the 20th century, it is crucial to note that he is calling for a historiography of integration and inclusion vis-à-vis a catastrophic reality that is severely challenging the very possibility of a distinction between the normal and the abnormal. The twentieth century has sent tremors through any traditional

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[36] Schlögel, *Im Raume Lesen Wir Die Zeit [in Space We Read Time]*.

[37] An important intellectual precedent for thinking about the role of space in history is Koselleck, *Futures Past : On the Semantics of Historical Time*.

[38] Schlögel, *Im Raume Lesen Wir Die Zeit [in Space We Read Time]*, 503-04, my translation. "Wir müssen neue Narrative erproben, die den Brüchen, den Katastrophen, den Katarakten und Kataklysmen des 20. Jahrhunderts Rechnung tragen. Die Geschichtsschreibung zum 20. Jahrhundert muß dem Zusammenstoß der Zeitalter, dem denkbar härtesten Nebeneinander der Zeiten, der Gleichzeitigkeit der Ungleichzeitigkeit Rechnung tragen. Es geht um Abbrüche, Zäsuren, Schocks, Diskontinuitäten, Schnitte."

understanding of history, such that investigating it in etiological fashion would be tantamount to trying to make sense of something inherently senseless. Schlögel argues that our best chance at doing justice to this complex history lies in challenging the continuity of both time and space. He acknowledges that we cannot narrate space in the way we can narrate time, but that 'we can only bring it into view.'[39] Our narrative remains sequential, but what is most important about this sequence is the "simultaneity of appearances in space."[40] The spatial dimension of history thereby gives our narrative the ability to look at the temporal dimension in its actual state of disarray or rupture—where the future can be changed in the flash of a nuclear blast—just like temporal sequence is helpful in tracing distortions of space, such as the violent destruction of cities.

The anecdotal notion that 'the world is getting smaller' as a consequence of globalization, especially due to transportation and communication infrastructures, is an example of a distortion of space whose impact is felt through changes to the physical experience of distance. In other words, space as an experiential quality was changing, defying traditional expectations, thereby throwing it into question as a reliable category. Similarly—and this is one of Schlögel's core contentions—WWII and its atrocities severely upset any conception of the integrity and stability of a given place, demonstrating that it was possible for the world to become engulfed in a devastating conflict.

Another example connected to the war that Schlögel investigates is that of the concept of *Lebensraum* ('living space') as it was appropriated by Nazi ideology, finding that it is much less a geographical than a racial issue.[41] In other words, while invasion and territorial expansion were being justified with the idea that a re-interpreted Aryan race required more space, the Nazi version of *Lebensraum* had much less to do with territory than with the project of engineering a nation of a desired racial and ethnic makeup. Within that ideology, expansion becomes necessary as this racialized concept of space develops and is turned into an imperialist and deadly export product. Here, space as a categorization of ethnic groups is privileged over space as physical territory.

The historicization of westward expansion of territory in the United States may be quoted as another example of space taking on different meanings. Schlögel writes that the history of the

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[39] Ibid., 49.
[40] Ibid., 49, my translation.
[41] Hitler is quoted as saying in 1939 that for him Europe is a racial term, not a geographical one. Ibid., 54.

US "can be represented as the history of American territoriality, or as the production of American space."[42] However, 'American space' is here already a social and intellectual concept, rather than a geographical one; that is, it is the *Americanization* of territory that is at the core of US history. Frederick Jackson Turner famously argued in *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* (1893) that

> the frontier is the line of most rapid and effective Americanization. The wilderness masters the colonist. It finds him a European in dress, industries, tools, modes of travel, and thought. It takes him from the railroad car and puts him in the birch canoe.[43]

> [...] to the frontier the American intellect owes its striking characteristics. That coarseness and strength combined with acuteness and inquisitiveness; that practical, inventive turn of mind, quick to find expedients; that masterful grasp of material things, lacking in the artistic but powerful to effect great ends; that restless, nervous energy; that dominant individualism, working for good and for evil, and withal that buoyancy and exuberance which comes with freedom—these are traits of the frontier, or traits called out elsewhere because of the existence of the frontier.[44]

It is thus through interaction with a physical space—including aggression towards Native populations in the case of the US—that a cultural and national identity is developed. Therefore, our historical analysis ought to be concerned with the roles that space plays in history, and it ought to destabilize conventional narratives and established assumptions about what space is and what it means; for history is the study of space as much as it is the study of time. A global history of cities as an intellectual project then needs to investigate the diversity in the understandings and representations of urban space.

REPRESENTING URBAN SPACE

Architectural projects in cities are in close relationships with urban space, often intervening in it, or reconfiguring it. As will be discussed in chapter 4, the often fantastically ambitious articulations of urban space undertaken by members of the Metabolist architectural

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[42] Ibid., 177, my translation. "die Geschichte der Vereinigten Staaten [läßt] sich auch darstellen als die Geschichte amerikanischer Territorialität oder als die Produktion des amerikanischen Raumes."

[43] Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* (Penguin UK, 2008), 3-4.

[44] Ibid., 37-38.

movement in Japan constituted radical departures from the existing urban order.[45] Carried within these designs are representations of urban space that also allow for different approaches to urban history.

Fig. 6. Isozaki Arata, *Shibuya Project: City in the Air*, 1962. Rendering by Mori Bijutsukan, 2011.

The architect Isozaki Arata was never an official member of the Metabolist group, but until 1963 he worked for Tange Kenzō who played a crucial role in getting the movement started in 1960. While quite a few of the Metabolist urban design proposals sought to expand human settlement to the oceans, Isozaki in 1962 designed a *City in the Air*. (Fig. 6) Mounted on vertical cylindrical shafts, dwelling units are slotted into staggered cantilevers that appear like a variation of honeycombs. Formally, this architecture has cut all ties with the surrounding city, while being located in the middle of it, occupying but small plots at ground level that allow for the central cores to be anchored. The title *City in the Air* indeed suggests that these structures constitute an independent city that is separate from the 'city on the ground.' The project draws attention to a shortage of space on the ground—in Japan in particular—by maximizing living space while minimizing the building footprint. Isozaki here also criticizes height limits for new construction

[45] See also Cherie Wendelken, "Putting Metabolism Back in Place: The Making of a Radically Decontextualized Architecture in Japan," in *Anxious Modernisms : Experimentation in Postwar Architectural Culture*, ed. Réjean Legault and Sarah Williams Goldhagen (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000).

that seem to be at odds with the imperative to house a maximum number of people in a tightly confined urban environment. In fact, even the lowest residential units in his *City in the Air* are located higher than the tallest buildings in the model.

Rather than proposing a feasible urban design, Isozaki's project throws into relief the shortcomings of the existing city and the haphazard and chaotic organization of urban space. In fact, the *City in the Air* seems to suggest that even the most basic understanding of urban space— for instance the notion that it is located on land—ought to be revisited. This opens the possibility of thinking about space not only as a material entity, but as an expression of the function of living. In other words, space as a container for living becomes secondary to space as a concept that is created through the ways in which living can be imagined. The rethinking of urban space and creation of different visions and representations invites a rethinking of an urban historiography that can give expression to these different interpretations.

URBAN HISTORY AND GLOBAL HISTORY

The investigation of competing visions of urban space is far from new. For example, it is at the core of the critique of the modernist top-down view of the city, most lastingly articulated by Jane Jacobs in her 1961 book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. Timothy Gilfoyle argues that it was this early critique of modernism within urban history that made it slow to invoke postmodern or poststructural theory. "Well before Michel Foucault's spatial theory of *heterotopia*, historians and critics of urban planning displayed a distrust of universal or 'totalizing' theories or 'meta-narratives.'"[46] One of the last such meta-narratives in urban history was Lewis Mumford's *The City in History: Its Origins, its Transformations, and its Prospects*, also published in 1961. In it, Mumford's structural understanding of the city becomes very clear.

> We need a new image of order, which shall include the organic and personal, and eventually embrace all the offices and functions of man. Only if we can project that image shall we be able to find a new form for the city.[47]

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[46] Timothy J Gilfoyle, "White Cities, Linguistic Turns, and Disneylands: The New Paradigms in Urban History," *Reviews in American History* 26, no. 1 (1998): 189.

[47] Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects*, 1st ed. (New York: Harcourt, 1961), 4.

Mumford does acknowledge the significance of regional differences between cities, as well as his own limitations in doing research on places he is not familiar with.[48] However, his notion of the city is consistently spelled out in the singular, demonstrating that he was writing about the city as an archetype much more so than a specific place. Even his most particular pieces of evidence are presented for what they tell us about a general essence of the city.[49]

Although urban history has been moving steadily away from this approach since the 1960s, there is some resonance between Mumford's meta-narrative and the methodological premises of the 'new urban history' driven by scholars such as Stephan Thernstrom and Michael B. Katz. Influenced by the work of social historian Merle Curti—especially that in his 1959 book *The Making of an American Community: A Case Study of Democracy in a Frontier County*—the new urban historians relied on census data and quantitative methods to tell the stories of how especially non-elite working-class individuals fared in modern urban society. In Thernstrom's words,

> the ultimate aim of the new urban historian, in my view at least, is to understand how and why the complex of changes suggested by the concept "urbanization" reshaped society. Urban history, in this formulation, lies squarely within the domain of social history, and for the student of modern society it is indeed nearly coterminous with social history.[50]

While Mumford's work aimed at uncovering the essentials of the structure of the city as an outcome of human activity, the new social historians were more interested in analyzing the social consequences of urbanization by moving away from existing urban histories that

> focused upon formal institutions and the articulate elements of the community, to the neglect of underlying social processes and mass behavior.[51]

The resulting studies, such as Thernstrom's 1964 *Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth-Century City*, would look at particular communities and discrete data sets, but with the goal of allowing systematic comparison with other places, in order to gain insight that would go beyond the object of analysis. The book's title speaks to this point with an omission: it leaves out the name of the community in which it examines social mobility—Newburyport, Massachusetts. The implication is that Newburyport was seen as typical, not just for an

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[48] Ibid., xi.

[49] This is not to say that Mumford's philosophy of the city should be seen as aligned with many of the large-scale approaches in modern urban planning, especially those promoting highways and car-friendly cities. See Mark Cioc, "The Culture of Highways," *Environmental History* 10, no. 4 (2005).

[50] Stephan Thernstrom, "Reflections on the New Urban History," *Daedalus* 100, no. 2 (1971): 362.

[51] Ibid., 363.

American city, but for a city of the 19th century. The assumption of uniqueness for a researcher's object of interest is seen as inimical to the work's ability to provide insight. Instead, the individual community is carefully positioned as a lens onto processes that are much bigger and much more ubiquitous than itself. This way, the contention went, urban history could be more than a "'line of disconnected local histories.'"[52] The resulting histories may have been local, but they were seen as anything but disconnected.

The paradigm in urban history that has prevailed since the 1980s is focused on the anthropologically and sociologically inspired analysis of urban cultures, as opposed to Marxist investigations of modernization, or teleological views on technological or industrial progress.[53] Such qualitative analyses of cultural phenomena allow historians to explore what sets communities apart, rather than focusing on where they overlap in a way that can then be called 'typical.'

> Recent urban historiography mirrors the city itself, devoid of continuity, collective agreement, or a single, unifying theme. Like egocentric city residents passing from difference to difference and place to place, urban historians move from subject to subject disconnected and detached (dare I say alienated) from one another.[54]

Gilfoyle contends that this is not necessarily bad, because "cities are always in motion, pluralistic, rarely calm, resistant to efforts to logically comprehend their total meaning."[55]

Keeping with the pluralism of urban cultures, and embracing the independent analysis of cultural phenomena as a valid approach, is not at odds with the notion that some experiences can be shared amongst cities. It does, however, keep at bay approaches that may highlight connections over anything else, in order to give relevance to histories written in an age of globalization. The global history of cities does not have to rely on the connections or exchanges between different cities in different places in order to remain 'global.' Rather, it can be grounded in an understanding of the world as a global space that can be imagined completely differently in different cities, and yet in each city will be assumed to be fundamentally shared, and to be an expression of a global urban condition. Again, this might also mean that constructions or formulations of the global are born out of assumptions of widely or universally shared values rather than materialities of connection and exchange. This dissertation explores the writing of

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[52] Sam Bass Warner, Jr. quoted by Thernstrom. Ibid.
[53] Gilfoyle, "White Cities, Linguistic Turns, and Disneylands: The New Paradigms in Urban History," 176.
[54] Ibid., 192.
[55] Ibid., 192-93.

urban history as the history of the process by which cities during and after WWII became reimagined in the global context of war.

It is important to note that the notion of the global is here not assumed to be a post-WWII phenomenon, and there is now an abundance of scholarship investigating the history of global connections and themes predating the 20th century.[56] In other words, the world is not a newly global environment, but the global as an investigative category for historical scholarship is a much more recent development. Therefore, the understanding of the global as referring to the crossing of borders, to connections and relationships across ideological or spatial distances, cannot be separated from an understanding of the global as a way of thinking that was explored at the beginning of this chapter, and that ought to inform the methodologies of history.

The following chapters thus investigate different interpretations and representations of urban space in New York, Berlin, and Tokyo. They each focus on examples that expose changing conceptions of the city in the global of WWII as a globalizing force. The evidence presented will also support the notion that social issues and conflicts can often be framed and better understood as the result of conflicting, often unarticulated, understandings of the nature and meaning of the city amongst its stakeholders.

For example, in an essay analyzing different discourses about the 1967 uprisings in Newark, New Jersey, Kevin Mumford shows how the different framings of the events have shaped their historical memory. Cast as a crisis, the uprisings were seen "as a problem of black

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[56] For an overview of the introduction of global themes into historical scholarship, see Patrick Manning, *Navigating World History : Historians Create a Global Past*, 1st ed. (New York, N.Y.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

Christopher Bayly has written a history of world civilization since the Enlightenment as one of global connections and relationships, including events in non-Western and non-European regions. See Christopher A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914 : Global Connections and Comparisons*, The Blackwell History of the World (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2004).

For an analysis of the 19th century as characterized by changes and events with global reach that shaped not only geopolitical hierarchies but also fundamental understandings of the world, see Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World : A Global History of the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Patrick Camiller, America in the World (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014).

Another approach to writing a global history of the past is to base it on the existence of power structures with global reach, such as the British empire. For a recent investigation of the empire's global history, see John Darwin, *Unfinished Empire : The Global Expansion of Britain*, First U.S. ed. (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013).

Focusing on the commodity as the center of a global network, Sven Beckert has written a sweeping history of cotton from its first cultivation to becoming the economic foundation of the American economy. Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton : A Global History*, First ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014).

In the context of architecture, Mark Jarzombek and Vikramaditya Prakash have reorganized the canon of architectural history around time slices, rather than geographies or themes such as religion or industrialization. Mark Jarzombek, Vikramaditya Prakash, and Francis D. K. Ching, *A Global History of Architecture*, 2nd ed. (Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley, 2011).

people," and "pathologized and stigmatized," but they also alerted some scholars and officials to the need for better policies.[57] In the context of the Kerner Report[58] written in response to the events of the 'Long Hot Summer of 1967,' the riots were framed as the result of racism—a finding that attracted vehement criticism at the time. The report's conclusion and best-known sentence was that "our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal."[59] It also directly contradicted the notion that the urban crisis of the postwar era was unrelated to white American society, and instead reasoned:

> What white Americans have never fully understood—but what the Negro can never forget—is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it.[60]

The third framing of the uprisings that Mumford investigates is that of rebellion, that is, as political acts that can be historicized in conjunction with the activities of the Black Power movement.[61] There is a way of reading these discourses about the Newark riots as different understandings of urban space; space to be controlled and policed, space to be regulated and developed, and space to be defended and contested, respectively. These different paradigms result in different political stakes, different modes of engagement, and allow for different interactions or conflicts between stakeholders. Chapter 2 establishes a connection between the wartime discourse around global democracy and racial justice in New York City and how its urban space was imagined in the 1960s.

The chapters are arranged in a loosely chronological fashion—not based on the earliest moments that are discussed in them, but based on the moment or period that carries the majority of their respective analytic weight. The bulk of chapter 2 is focused on the war years and immediate postwar period, and on how the rhetoric of war with its pursuit of democracy as a global goal amplified experiences and representations of racial violence and injustice in New

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[57] Kevin Mumford, "Harvesting the Crisis: The Newark Uprising, the Kerner Commission, and Writings on Riots," in *African American Urban History since World War Ii*, ed. Kenneth L. Kusmer and Joe William Trotter (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 205-06.

[58] President Lyndon B. Johnson formed the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders—known as Kerner Commission after its chairman, Illinois Governor Otto Kerner—in July 1967, and charged it with investigating the causes of that years urban riots, and proposing solutions. the resulting 600-page report was published in 1968.

[59] National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, New York Times ed. (New York,: Bantam, 1968), 1.

[60] Ibid., 2.

[61] Mumford, "Harvesting the Crisis: The Newark Uprising, the Kerner Commission, and Writings on Riots," 212-17.

York City. Chapter 3 investigates how the ideological conflict between East and West during the Cold War renders an incomplete picture of the imaginary of West Berlin as a global city against war. Therefore, the majority of the evidence is drawn from a period in the late 1950s and early 1960s, when that conflict was in full force, and when the transition of Berlin from a politically divided city to a spatially divided city was renewing it with new intensity. Chapter 4 investigates postwar urban thought in Tokyo, and Japan more broadly, as shaped by the legacies of the country's emergence as a global power through war and world's fairs, and by the experience of nuclear bombings. As such, it is the chapter spanning the longest time period, ranging from the 1870s to 1970. However, it is narratively organized around Japan's 1970 world's fair, and thus comes last in the sequence of chapters.

How was urban space imagined and experienced in New York, Berlin, and Tokyo, and how did that change with WWII? This dissertation argues that urban space changed dramatically; that it became global as its possible meanings multiplied in the context of war. For some stakeholders this resulted in more opportunities for expression, for others it meant less certainty over where things were going. The stories of residents, planners, and artists demonstrate that cities were impacted by global war in obvious and less obvious ways, multiplying their meanings and multiplying the visions and representations of cities, making them global before the global city as an object of economic analysis was established. The ideological and methodological tenets of global history as a non-hegemonic approach are here used to shed light onto some of these narratives.

CHAPTER 2

VICTORY ABROAD, NOT AT HOME:

HOUSING, RACE, AND DEMOCRACY IN NEW YORK CITY

BROKEN PROMISES

When the New York City-based Foreign Language Information Service—an organization designed to aid the assimilation and integration of immigrants to the United States—changed its name to Common Council for American Unity (CCAU) on November 22, 1939, its mission was expanded to serving all Americans, not only new arrivals. Instead of primarily addressing the needs of individuals entering US society, the goal now was to remedy the fundamental obstacles to unity that existed within that society. In a pamphlet that detailed the Council's mission in light of its re-orientation and name change, a description of its contemporary social moment stands out because almost 80 years after it was written it seems more relevant than ever.

> The plain truth is that for all our ideals all too much intolerance and discrimination run through American life, that they are on the increase and that they are bad for America. The plain truth is that millions of Americans do not feel that they are fully accepted, do not feel really at home, culturally and spiritually. The plain truth is that too many old-stock Americans insist on a unity which finds its basis in the past, not in a common future. Their concept of America has not kept pace with the facts. Their ideal of America is not large enough to take in all of its people. The result is a situation that means handicap and frustration, discomfort and suffering for millions of men and women. It means that they are less effective and happy as individuals, less productive as citizens. It is bad for those who feel themselves superior. And more serious, it injures the nation. Such prejudice and division promotes disunity, decreases our national effectiveness, leashes our creative powers, and postpones the goal of a better and more satisfying life for every citizen. It is not an alien problem. It is not an immigration problem. It is a problem of American citizens and their attitude and relationship to each other. It is a problem of American unity.[62]

The animosities towards immigrants and their children were seen as adding to the much longer history of racial violence and discrimination towards African Americans, and it was

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[62] Common Council for American Unity, "Pamphlet," (New York Municipal Archives: LaGuardia Papers, Reel 197, 1939/1940), 7-8.

argued that the outbreak of WWII was exacerbating these challenges because it reinforced difference and division between people. The authors ask a provocative and important question:

> Can we develop the kind of inter-racial and inter-cultural understanding and collaboration which will mean a greater and more satisfying civilization for our own country, and which the world as a whole so greatly needs?[63]

This question implies that the issue of unity concerns not only the US, but all countries, and that the US—as the nation most shaped by immigration and made up of people from countless backgrounds—also has to serve as an international role model in advancing a united and integrated society.

The notion that WWII had amplified the international dimension of domestic social issues was picked up by other writers in the first half of the 1940s. In the September 26, 1942 issue of *The Chicago Defender*, Langston Hughes asked "Klan or Gestapo? Why take either?" Hughes opens his article with the retelling of a tale set in the Southern United States during slavery. In the story, a slave's grandson removes a ham from the master's pantry under the cover of night, despite being told by his grandmother "wouldn't nobody but the Devil steal a ham." When the stolen meat sails through her window, however, she exclaims "Thank God for this ham—even if the Devil did bring it!"[64]

Hughes likens the democratic gains brought about by the war to the ham in this story. Examples include measures such as President Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802 that banned employment discrimination in the war industry, as well as a mirage of advancement that resulted from relativizing racial violence at home by comparing it with persecution and mass murder under fascism abroad. Such advances may be seen as "a kind of ham that indirectly the Japanese and the Germans have thrown—by forcing democracy to recognize belatedly some of its own failings in regard to the Negro people."[65] Hughes emphasizes that even if narratives and goals of fighting fascism in the world are accelerating the tackling of injustices at home, those fascist forces overseas are foes, not friends, and conditions would only get worse if they were to win the war. He calls on Black writers in the US to reiterate this point, and to repeat the important message that even if gains are made, war and fascism know no race, making such gains more arbitrary than anything else. "Japanese militarism is a reactionary force, like the German, that

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[63] Ibid., 16.
[64] Langston Hughes, "Klan or Gestapo? Why Take Either," *Chicago Defender*, September 26 1942.
[65] Ibid.

respects nobody else's face, white or colored."[66] His appeal leaves no doubt that Hughes saw domestic unity as imbricated with an awareness of global political conditions.

> It is the duty of Negro writers to reveal the international aspects of our problems at home, to show how these problems are merely a part of the great problem of world freedom everywhere, to show how our local fascists are blood brothers of the Japanese fascists—though they speak with a Dixie drawl, to show how on the great battle front of the world we must join hands with the crushed common people of Europe, the Soviet Union, the Chinese, and unite our efforts—else we who are American Negroes will have not only the Klan on our necks in intensified fashion, but the Gestapo, as well. (And the Nazis I am sure, could teach the Klan a few things, for the Germans do not bother with silly crosses and childish nightshirts. Death and the concentration camp are more effective.)[67]

This drive to investigate the domestic situation of Black citizens through a global perspective was inadvertently promoted by the highest levels of US politics that made promises of unity, equality, freedom, and democracy to the world as well as domestic society. Such promises were what Langston Hughes urged readers as well as writers to pursue, instead of resting on the gains afforded by 'the Devil.' Most prominently, it was US President Franklin D. Roosevelt himself who articulated a commitment to global freedoms. In his State of the Union Address from January 6, 1941, known as the Four Freedoms speech, FDR said that "In the future days which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms."[68] He lists freedom of speech and expression, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear. Importantly, for each freedom he stated that it applied "everywhere in the world."[69]

This message was heard loud and clear in the United States, and thus Langston Hughes wrote

> After all, this is a war for freedom. It's [sic] logic must be straight in order for it to be successful. It is not logical to speak of freedom for Poland and forget Georgia.[70]

There is thus introduced a new level of global awareness and domestic accountability in light of promises of freedom 'everywhere in the world.' The result was increased visibility of the

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[66] Ibid.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Reading Copy of Annual Message to Congress (Four Freedoms Speech), January 6, 1941," in *Franklin D. Roosevelt Significant Documents, Box 1, FDR-30* (Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, 1941), 20.

[69] Ibid., 20-21. A recording of this key portion of the speech is available at https://www.archives.gov/exhibits/powers_of_persuasion/audio/pres_roosevelts_address.wav (Accessed March 15, 2017).

[70] Hughes, "Klan or Gestapo? Why Take Either."

many instances in which American citizens, especially Black Americans, were not afforded all of those freedoms at home.

This chapter investigates the urban and architectural histories of housing in New York City as narratives that are not contained within the city's five boroughs, but as narratives that have an important global discursive reach. Drawing on textual records, architecture, and artistic representations of urban space and urban living in New York, two understudied narratives will thus come into view. The first is a challenge to the global positioning of New York City during and after WWII as a beacon of freedom and democracy in the world. The second narrative positions housing in New York City at the time as a profoundly global history. In other words, this chapter localizes freedoms promoted by the US that ought to apply 'everywhere in the world,' and it globalizes a social issue that is commonly historicized in predominantly local or domestic terms.

It will become clear that WWII as a global force was testing the basic tenets of human civilization; it betrayed and made impossible the separation between foreign and domestic issues. There is no doubt that the war shaped New York City in important ways, even though the continental United States were not attacked. The city's civilian defense efforts and, following a somewhat slow start, a massive increase in its military industrial production made the existence of war readily apparent to the urban population. Further, with increasing awards of War Department contracts to New York's plants and factories beginning in the second half of 1942, the city played an important role in the material support of the war effort. The massive Brooklyn Navy Yard became the busiest military production site in the world, producing more battleships during WWII than all such facilities in Japan combined.[71]

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[71] In conjunction with the New York Historical Society's exhibition "WWII & NYC," Kenneth T. Jackson has written about the development of the war industry in New York City. Kenneth T. Jackson, "WWII & NYC : No Shots Were Fired in Earnest, yet New York City - and Columbia - Played a Significant Role in Wwii," *Columbia College Today* Summer(2013).

Fig. 7. Proclamation by New York mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia and Executive Secretary to the Mayor Lester B. Stone, designating June 13, 1942 as the day for the demonstration of "New York at War." New York Municipal Archives, La Guardia Papers, Oversized Posters, Box 4222, #52.

With the threats of bombs and enemy infiltration being real—undercover Nazi units even managed to enter the city armed with explosives and cash in order to plot the bombing of factories—New York was indeed a city at war, and it was fashioned as such in politics,

especially following the US declaration of war on Japan as a reaction to the attack of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941.[72] If there were any doubts about the city's standing, Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia ordered that there be a public demonstration of New York's dedication to the war effort and its important role in motivating the rest of the nation to participate in equal measure. In a proclamation dated May 18, 1942, the mayor designated June 13 as a day for "New York at War" (Fig. 7). An estimated 500,000 participants and many floats processed up Fifth Avenue from Washington Square to 79th Street of Manhattan. The marchers included members of every service as well as civilians involved in the war effort.[73]

The history of race and housing in New York City in the first half of the 1940s needs to be told as part of a history of war. Therefore, the domestic consequences of global thinking reinforced by the war effort are here demonstrated, and the international aspects of problems at home are revealed—echoing Langston Hughes' call to action from 1942. The chapter is not a retelling of the history of civil rights in New York City—a history that has been told elsewhere.[74] Instead, it is a history of WWII as a context and catalyst for a tension in New York between the city's position as the urban center of a global US discourse on freedom and democracy, and the local dimensions of social issues. This tension serves as the historiographical perspective for investigating materials from the La Guardia and Lindsay administrations, Robert Moses' efforts in creating public-private partnerships in urban renewal, and the art of Jacob Lawrence and other paintings of the city; all of these carry with them different representations of the city as a place of war—through defeat, victory, or both.

In the July 8, 1945 issue of *The New York Times*, Sergeant Milton Lehman, writer for the military newspaper *Stars and Stripes*, wrote that "of all the big cities, New York is still the promised land."[75] Lehman primarily wrote about services and entertainment that the city was providing for servicemen returning from war, saying that "the men are coming home in vast numbers and the New York of their dreams is now reality—blazing lights, cold beer, movies in

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[72] For details on one such Nazi infiltration, see ibid.

[73] Ibid.

[74] For example, see

Biondi, *To Stand and Fight: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Postwar New York City*.

Clarence Taylor, ed. *Civil Rights in New York City : From World War Ii to the Giuliani Era*, 1st ed. (New York: Fordham University Press, 2011).

Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Race, Space, and Riots in Chicago, New York, and Los Angeles*, First issued as an Oxford University Press paperback ed. (2007).

[75] Milton Lehman, "Home from the Wars to a Friendly Town," *New York Times*, July 8, 1945, 17.

English, girls who speak American and dress American."[76] All of these, Lehman alleges, were promises that had been sought in Rome, Paris, and Manila, but that were only fulfilled in New York. In a global world of cities, therefore, New York was quite literally the land that was promised. From the local perspective of its minority residents, however, the many freedoms that were promised—be it the desired heteronormative entertainments of a patriarchal military society or the four freedoms that FDR had set as the United States' mission statement in the world—the city harbored more disappointment than fulfillment.

Roosevelt used executive action in 1941 to counteract employment discrimination in the war industry, both to support the war effort and to prevent African American leaders from marching on Washington. At that moment, the global dimension of war, that is, its proclaimed pursuit of democracy and freedom from fascism, became enshrined in the execution of domestic politics. The consideration of US pursuits abroad constituted an important context for the understanding of issues at home. To investigate this dynamic, an example of housing discrimination and the work of painter Jacob Lawrence are here considered in how they go beyond local narratives—through their respective challenges to the war's racist hypocrisy in the US, and to modernism as a tenet of white Western society.

CHALLENGING RACISM, CHALLENGING MODERNISM: FROM HOUSING TO PAINTING

On June 25, 1941, US President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 8802, now famous as the first federal provision to prohibit discrimination based on "race, creed, color, or national origin" in employment and training programs in the US war industry.[77] Labor shortages were

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[76] Ibid.

[77] The full text of the Executive Order reads as follows:

Reaffirming Policy Of Full Participation In The Defense Program By All Persons, Regardless Of Race, Creed, Color, Or National Origin, And Directing Certain Action In Furtherance Of Said Policy

June 25, 1941

WHEREAS it is the policy of the United States to encourage full participation in the national defense program by all citizens of the United States, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin, in the firm belief that the democratic way of life within the Nation can be defended successfully only with the help and support of all groups within its borders; and

WHEREAS there is evidence that available and needed workers have been barred from employment in industries engaged in defense production solely because of considerations of race, creed, color, or national origin, to the detriment of workers' morale and of national unity:

serious at the time despite the fact that non-white, non-Christian, and non-American-born workers were available. The Executive Order responded to these economic needs, and it referenced a principle of national unity, "in the firm belief that the democratic way of life within the Nation can be defended successfully only with the help and support of all groups within its borders." Important for the President, it also led to the postponement of the march on Washington planned by A. Philip Randolph, Walter White, and others.

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the statutes, and as a prerequisite to the successful conduct of our national defense production effort, I do hereby reaffirm the policy of the United States that there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or government because of race, creed, color, or national origin, and I do hereby declare that it is the duty of employers and of labor organizations, in furtherance of said policy and of this order, to provide for the full and equitable participation of all workers in defense industries, without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin;

And it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. All departments and agencies of the Government of the United States concerned with vocational and training programs for defense production shall take special measures appropriate to assure that such programs are administered without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin;

2. All contracting agencies of the Government of the United States shall include in all defense contracts hereafter negotiated by them a provision obligating the contractor not to discriminate against any worker because of race, creed, color, or national origin;

3. There is established in the Office of Production Management a Committee on Fair Employment Practice, which shall consist of a chairman and four other members to be appointed by the President. The Chairman and members of the Committee shall serve as such without compensation but shall be entitled to actual and necessary transportation, subsistence and other expenses incidental to performance of their duties. The Committee shall receive and investigate complaints of discrimination in violation of the provisions of this order and shall take appropriate steps to redress grievances which it finds to be valid. The Committee shall also recommend to the several departments and agencies of the Government of the United States and to the President all measures which may be deemed by it necessary or proper to effectuate the provisions of this order.

Franklin D. Roosevelt
The White House,
June 25, 1941.

Source: http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?doc=72&page=transcript (Accessed March 20, 2017).

Fig. 8. "Executive Order No. 8802 Fair Employment Practice in Defense Industries. June 25, 1941. National Archives and Records Administration, National Archives Identifier 514231. Available online at https://catalog.archives.gov/id/514231 (Accessed March 20, 2017).

One year to the day after the Executive Order came into effect, and twelve days after the "New York at War" parade, Mercedes Owens, a New York City resident, sent a letter to Mayor Fiorello La Guardia. She had recently inquired about an advertised apartment at a rental agency in Hamilton Heights in Manhattan but was told by the agent that "'we don't rent to COLORED people, only WHITE!'"[78] She wrote the Mayor that "today, more than ever, national unity among all peoples of the U.S. is a vital necessity in order to combat most effectively the forces of fascism both here at home and abroad." She continued, "we continually run into racial intolerance, especially where housing is concerned—the very basis of the Nazi ideology." Owens

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[78] Letter from Mercedes Owens to Mayor's Office, City Hall, New York, June 25, 1942. New York City Department of Records, Municipal Archives, LaGuardia Papers, Reel 197.

directly references the principle of unity put forward by Roosevelt and shows that she took it as a promise of equal treatment. Roosevelt's rhetoric conjured up a picture of a social fabric that should only get stronger if equal treatment was to pervade more areas of life. The letter begs an important question: if people of all races, creeds, colors, and national origins can build unity and help secure victory over fascism by working together, how would they not support that goal by living together?

The rental agent is quoted by Owens as saying "'We won't have COLORED people upsetting our houses. You can make any complaints you want, it don't mean a thing.'" Legally speaking, this was correct. Executive Order 8802 only extended to employment and training programs in the war industry, and there was no legislation to counteract discrimination in private housing.[79] If Mercedes Owens did not already know this, she learned it from the response she received from Florence P. Shientag, Mayor La Guardia's 'Law Aide' at the time.[80] After assuring Owens that the Mayor condemned such "un-American attitudes" as were described in the complaint, Shientag wrote that "however, there is no provision of law which prevents the owner of a multiple dwelling from renting apartments to tenants whom he considers desirable."

Racial discrimination in public accommodations, including publicly owned housing, was banned based on one of the few civil rights laws in New York State that existed before WWII, following the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment to the US Constitution in 1868. Like many laws following it, it lacked enforcement in many areas and was not fully utilized until the 1940s.[81] Discrimination in all tax-subsidized housing in New York City, disregarding ownership, was outlawed with the passing of the Brown-Isaacs Law in the City Council in 1951.[82] Finally, in 1957, the passing of the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs Law (officially the Fair Housing Practices Law) made New York the first state to ban discrimination in privately owned multiple dwelling units and developments, with exemptions for individuals renting rooms in their own apartments and

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[79] As a federal provision, EO 8802 preceded State action against employment discrimination based on race, creed, color, or national origin. The first State law to ban such discrimination in private employment was New York's Ives-Quinn Act of 1945. It declared the opportunity for employment without discrimination a civil right. See Terry Lichtash, "Ives-Quinn Act--the Law against Discrimination," *St. John's Law Review* 19, no. 2 (1945).

[80] Letter from Florence P. Shientag to Mrs. William Owens, New York, July 6, 1942. New York City Department of Records, Municipal Archives, LaGuardia Papers, Reel 197.

[81] Biondi, *To Stand and Fight: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Postwar New York City*, 80.

[82] Roberta Gold, *When Tenants Claimed the City : The Struggle for Citizenship in New York City Housing* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 53-55.

religious institutions providing accommodation for members of their own faith.[83] Importantly, this law also addressed the issue of enforcement by empowering the city's Commission on Intergroup Relations to investigate incidents of discrimination upon complaint or on its own initiative. The commission could escalate cases to members of the Fair Housing Practices Panel that was created as part of the law; from there, they could be carried forth to the supreme court.[84]

Therefore, the only type of housing that was legally protected against racial discrimination, no matter how insufficient the enforcement, was public housing. In her letter to Mercedes Owens, Florence Shientag therefore suggests that the complainant contact the New York City Housing Authority (NYCHA, established by La Guardia in 1934) in order to secure a low-rent apartment "which is entirely appropriate to your needs and which may in fact be more suitable than the one which you did not see on Amsterdam Avenue." It is hard to know how to weight Shientag's assumption. Is she assuming that African-American workers in New York would belong to a low-income class, or is she assuming that all members of the working class in wartime New York were interested in paying low rents? What is easier to confirm is that the suggestion that a NYCHA apartment could be "more suitable" than the apartment that 'was never seen' is a glib remark, to say the least.

As a side note, it needs to be mentioned that Florence Perlow Shientag was no stranger to discrimination herself. Excluded from the New York City Bar Association by way of gender discrimination in 1933, Shientag became a founding member of the New York Women's Bar Association (NYWBA) in 1934.[85] When the New York City Bar voted to allow female members in 1937, Shientag was amongst the first 13 female lawyers to join.[86] In 1938, she married State Supreme Court Justice Bernard Shientag, and served as NYWBA president from 1941 until 1942. After leaving the mayor's office, she worked as law clerk for then-Special Prosecutor

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[83] For a general history of the political and civil action and activism that led to passing of civil rights in New York City, including but not limited to housing, see Biondi, *To Stand and Fight: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Postwar New York City*.

[84] On the 1957 Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs law, see "Validity of Municipal Law Barring Discrimination in Private Housing ", *Columbia Law Review* 58, no. 5 (1958). Based on the enforcement issues with other laws in the past, the article concludes that "doubtless, the validity of the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs Law will be challenged. The broad latitude given legislation today, however, combined with a generally favorable attitude toward the promotion of racial integration, strongly indicates that the act will be found constitutional. Since it also seems clear that New York City has the necessary authority to legislate, the validity of this local law will almost undoubtedly be upheld. The problem will be enforcement."

[85] Donna M. Praiss, "Florence Perlow Shientag Obituary," *New York Times*, October 9, 2009.

[86] A biography of Shientag is available on the New York Women's Bar Association's website. http://www.nywba.org/documents/shientag-bio.pdf (Accessed March 21, 2017).

Thomas Dewey who became Governor in 1943, and she served as a judge on the Domestic Relations Court (later incorporated into the family court system). In March 1943, Shientag was appointed Assistant United States Prosecutor for the Southern District of New York, the first female prosecutor in the state, and one of the first in the nation. She left that position in 1952 in order to start a private law practice.[87]

Mercedes Owens and her husband were looking to move from 469 West 143rd Street to 1711 Amsterdam Avenue. The buildings are located only two short blocks away from each other, which serves as proof that the couple were content with staying in this part of Hamilton Heights. Regardless, the move would have likely constituted a significant upgrade in terms of living conditions. The five-story building on 143rd Street had been built in 1899, and was 18 feet wide, and approximately 80 feet deep. Based on an estimated living area of 1,200 square feet per floor, and the common separation of floors into four apartments, Owens and her husband probably lived in an apartment of just under 300 square feet.[88] The building on Amsterdam Avenue— listed as 1707 Amsterdam Avenue and 478 West 145th Street in the city's building record—sits on a lot that is 30 by 100 feet and was constructed in 1926. A Certificate of Occupancy from April 1943 confirms that the second through the fifth floor contained four apartments each, bringing individual units to upward of 600 square feet.[89]

Based on 1940 census data that was compiled in the 1943 *New York City Market Analysis*, published by four New York newspaper companies (News Syndicate Co., Inc., The New York Times Co., Daily Mirror, Inc., and Hearst Consolidated Publications, Inc.), the apartments in question were located in the City College neighborhood of Manhattan. The area had a 63.2% white population (39.4% US-born white and 23.8% foreign-born white), and 36.5% of its residents were Black, with the majority of them living east of Amsterdam Avenue.[90] Most businesses catering to the Black population, or those that were Black-owned, were located along Eighth Avenue, now known as Frederick Douglass Boulevard. In 1940, the area had a median annual family expenditure of $2,702, significantly higher than the $2,158 that families in Harlem

[87] "Aide to U.S. Prosecutor Resigns to Practice Law," *New York Times*, October 1, 1952.

[88] Basic building information based on NYCityMap, the city's geographic information system. http://maps.nyc.gov/doitt/nycitymap/ (Accessed 3/22/2017).

[89] The Certificate of Occupancy, dated April 16, 1943, is available on the NYC Buildings website. http://www1.nyc.gov/site/buildings/index.page (Accessed March 21, 2017).

[90] By comparison, the 2010 census reports demographic data for a near-congruent neighborhood as follows: white nonhispanic 10.9%, Black/African American nonhispanic 32.2%, Asian nonhispanic 2.2%, some other race nonhispanic 0.6%, nonhispanic of two or more races 1.8%, hispanic origin 52.2%. Hispanics were not listed in the 1940s census because migration particularly from Puerto Rico did not peak until the 1950s.

spent per year (in this publication, Harlem was located between 126th and 157th Street, and 8th and Park Avenues), and significantly lower than the $3,595 annual expenditure of families in Morningside Heights around Columbia University, between 98th and 130th, and bounded by Riverside Park and Morningside Drive. The population of Harlem was listed as 98% Black and 2% white, that around Columbia as 2.3% Black and 97% white—almost exactly inverse (0.7% were of a different race).

Mercedes Owens' neighborhood of Hamilton Heights thus fell somewhere in the middle of the demographic extremes that existed in different areas of Manhattan, but it was still captured by the representations of African American experiences and living conditions in New York City at the time, especially given that even within Hamilton Heights there were residential and commercial sections that were predominantly white, and those that were predominantly Black. Pre-eminent amongst artists working on depictions of the Black urban experience in the 1940s was Jacob Lawrence who, after completing his series on the abolitionist John Brown, was granted a renewal of his funding from the Julius Rosenwald Fund in 1942—this time to paint a series about life in Harlem.[91] In these 30 gouache and watercolor paintings, Lawrence makes extremely sophisticated use of shape, texture, and color to animate aspects of life in Harlem as both rich, communal, and socially vibrant, as well as plagued by poverty, discrimination, and squalid housing conditions. *This is Harlem* (1943) and *They Live in Fire Traps* (1943) are two paintings in the series that exemplify these extremes.

[91] Patricia Hills, *Painting Harlem Modern : The Art of Jacob Lawrence* (Berkeley: University of California Press; with the assistance of the Getty Foundation, 2009), 175.

Fig. 9. Jacob Lawrence, *This is Harlem*, 1943. Gouache on paper, 39 x 57.6 cm. Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution.

The first painting in the series, *This is Harlem* (Fig. 9) introduces the Manhattan neighborhood as a collage-like assemblage of colorful and richly textured surfaces that form a vibrant whole of social and healthy neighborhood activity. Cars are playfully out of scale, emphasizing the pedestrian activity on the wide sidewalks in the picture. People walking, a person pushing a stroller, kids playing, and a dog are some of the participants on this social stage. A dance hall, 'beauty-shoppe,' lunch restaurant, bar, and a funeral home, together with a church building clearly identified by stained-glass windows and a cross atop its steeple are represented as the typical businesses and social gathering spots. Large advertisements for cigarettes and alcohol on the brown building in the top right part of the painting indicate the presence of active nightlife. Despite the flattened perspective and simple geometry of the shapes and people the picture appears to be active with movement and energy due to the careful coordination of differences in texture and the juxtaposition of different colors.

By comparison, *They Live in Fire Traps* (Fig. 10), the fourth painting in the series, shows a much darker side of living in Harlem. It depicts two children sitting despondently on top of a bed placed in the middle of a room that is cluttered with individual pieces of furniture—a single wooden chair, table, chests and boxes. While seeming haphazard, the setup of the room is still

tidy—a package and hat rest on the seat of the chair, and a coat is folded over its backrest. The bed is carefully made, but the pillow and bright red blanket show clear signs of wear. It appears as if the room is home to a variety of different uses—sleeping, living, storage, alluding to a scarcity of space in the apartment. Its cluttered nature also emphasizes the notion of crowded dwellings becoming fire traps when disaster strikes. In the background of the painting we see the burnt out ruins of apartment buildings, with thick smoke billowing above. The room that the children are in does not have any walls or windows, and its relationship to the charred ruins is here less spatial and more conceptual. In other words, the view in the distance might in fact be a glimpse into the future of the apartment seen in the foreground and it might be the danger and often fatal consequences of fire that cause the children to sit up alert with their eyes wide open, despite the scene being set at nighttime.

Fig. 10. Jacob Lawrence, *They Live in Fire Traps*, 1943. Gouache on paper, 57.6 x 39 cm. Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts.

The 30 paintings of Harlem were first shown by Edith Halpert at her Downtown Gallery. In 1941, Halpert had exhibited Lawrence's 60-piece series *The Migration of the Negro*, thereby making him the first African American artist to be represented by a New York gallery.[92] In his praise of the painter's 'impartial' depictions of the 'many-sided life' of people in Harlem, critic

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[92] Lawrence's *The Migration of the Negro* depicts the mass movement of African Americans from rural parts of the South to the Northern cities of the United States between WWI and WWII in search of better economic opportunities and freedom from tyranny, as war was creating labor shortages in the North. The entire series was purchased and evenly split between the Museum of Modern Art in New York, taking the even-numbered paintings, and the DC-based Phillips Collection, taking the odd-numbered paintings. See http://lawrencemigration.phillipscollection.org (Accessed March 24, 2017).

Howard Devree picked up the notion of duality that existed between the vitality of the depicted community and its simultaneous poverty and substandard living conditions.

> Jacob Lawrence, who in a previous exhibition at the Downtown Gallery chronicled the migration of Negro workers from the South after the first World War, has even more successfully concentrated his attention on the many-sided life of his people in Harlem. The current group of thirty gouaches presents impartially the life and death, work and play and aspiration, evil housing conditions and snatches of beauty in Harlem, and with their extraordinarily factual titles constitute an amazing social document. Lawrence's color is fittingly vivid for his interpretations. A strong semi-abstract approach aids him in arriving at his basic or archetypal statements. Confronting this work one feels as if vouchsafed an extraordinary elemental experience. Lawrence has grown in his use of rhythm as well as in sheer design and fluency. For a variety of reasons, three stars on the visiting list.[93]

Peter Nesbett and Michelle DuBois also emphasize duality as a theme, and give it central importance in the artist's work, and in the life of the people that he portrayed: "Indeed, living with the sense of duality has been described as the essence of the African American experience."[94] Lawrence's contribution is here seen as going *over the line* of dualities.

> Perhaps what Lawrence and his art exemplify is that seemingly mutually exclusive positions may not be that after all; that it is quite possible to embrace, simultaneously, all of the above dualities [particular/universal, black/white, modern/primitive, and sophisticated/naïve].[95]

As such, Lawrence's work is an important manifestation of the idea that artists of color created a modernism that differed from a canon dominated by white Western contributors, and that, within the United States, Harlem was outside of that mainstream tradition, creating "its own sense and sensibility of modernism, very different from that of the downtown, primarily white, community."[96] This modernism, of course, had been in the making since the 1920s, when the search for a Black aesthetic during the Harlem Renaissance and its image of the 'New Negro' was inspired by African 'ancestral' arts that had first been co-opted as 'primitivism' in Europe.[97] The writer Alain Locke, who had championed this relationship with African art, later came to state that Black artists in the US had barely more access to that ancestry than white modernists in

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[93] Howard Devree, "From a Reviewer's Notebook : Brief Comment on Some Recently Opened Group and One-Man Shows--New Jersey Visitors--Jacob Lawrence's Harlem," *New York Times*, May 16, 1943.

[94] Peter T. Nesbett and Michelle DuBois, "Introduction," in *Over the Line : The Art and Life of Jacob Lawrence*, ed. Peter T. Nesbett and Michelle DuBois (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press in association with Jacob Lawrence Catalogue Raisonné Project, 2000), 13.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Leslie King-Hammond, "Inside-Outside, Uptown-Downtown : Jacob Lawrence and the Aesthetic Ethos of the Harlem Working-Class Community," ibid., 67.

[97] For a discussion of the work of African American artists actively and passively presenting challenges to Western modernism between the 1920s and 1940s, see Lowery Stokes Sims and Studio Museum in Harlem., *Challenge of the Modern : African-American Artists 1925-1945* (New York, NY: Studio Museum in Harlem, 2003).

Europe.[98] In terms of finding a place and an aesthetic for Black artists in 1940s modernism as a white Western movement, the influential historian of African American art James A. Porter noted that the primary goal was to combat stereotypes.[99] Consequently, Porter could be seen as favoring figurative representation, whereas Locke saw inspiration in abstracted forms of African art. Race, race consciousness, and racial bias were important shaping forces in one of the dualisms of Harlem's artistic modernism—that between figuration and abstraction.

Lawrence's *This is Harlem* (Fig. 9) is indeed a good example of the painter bridging seemingly mutually exclusive positions, because here his "early lessons of creating patterns from the geometric and arabesque patterns of his mother's scatter rugs and the block prints he created at the Harlem Art Workshop reached new levels of virtuosity."[100] There is a striking similarity between this integrative force in Lawrence's work in Harlem, and Mercedes Owens' desire to live in an integrated neighborhood in Hamilton Heights, that is, to bridge the 'seemingly mutually exclusive' relationship between black and white, in the face of the threat of fascism in the world. In a bitterly ironic turn, it is the more balanced demographic make-up of Hamilton Heights—63.2% white, 36.5% African American—with its internal system of segregation and wealth disparities, that makes the bridging of racial difference impossible. The majority of Black residents lived in the poorer eastern part, and the majority of white residents was concentrated in the relatively more affluent western parts of the neighborhood in 1940. In virtually all-Black Harlem, the housing stock overall was dilapidated, but an outright denial of access to housing solely based on race was significantly less likely.

Crossing over lines drawn between races and classes, and between representational strategies and painterly subject matters was thus of major concern in wartime New York City. In housing as in painting, these lines became more visible if seen in a global context. It was the identification of modernism as a white and Western phenomenon, the history of oppression, tyranny, and violence that had brought Africans into the US, as well as the debates over how African art was to be absorbed and interpreted in the African diaspora and African American communities that all came together in Harlem and emphasized questions about the cultural and

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[98] Ibid., 20.

[99] Quoted in ibid., 13.

[100] King-Hammond, "Inside-Outside, Uptown-Downtown : Jacob Lawrence and the Aesthetic Ethos of the Harlem Working-Class Community," 79.

From around 1934, Lawrence trained at Charles Alston's Harlem Art Workshop, and learned block printing at the WPA Federal Art Project Workshop in Harlem.

artistic identity of Black artists and their appropriate aesthetic approach. This is why in his 1943 book *New World A-Coming*, Roi Ottley described Harlem as "the nerve center of advancing Black America. It is the fountainhead of mass movements. From it flows the progressive vitality of Negro life. [...] From here, though, the Negro looks upon the world with audacious eyes."[101] Social relationships in this nerve center, and especially interracial relationships, were tenuous in this nerve center, and the global role of the war and US military made them even more so.

When on August 1, 1943, a riot broke out over the rumor that a Black soldier had been killed by a white police officer, the military identity of the presumed victim was key.[102] Walter White, Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), issued a statement in which he was quick to join the official narrative that the unrest was not a race riot and that it had more to do with the mistreatment of Black soldiers than anything else:

> The mistreatment of Negro soldiers, particularly in the South, is a terribly sore point with Negroes. Thus the beginning of the trouble. Had it been a Negro civilian, however prominent, who was shot there would have been no riot.[103]

Mayor La Guardia and Police Commissioner Lewis J. Valentine insisted that the incident was fundamentally different from the one in Detroit that summer, and was not a race riot, leading Valentine to say that "the best evidence that there was no race riot in Harlem is contained in the fact that no white civilian was arrested or injured and that the only injured white persons were policemen assigned to duty in the area."[104] To apply this metric in a neighborhood whose residents were overwhelmingly Black seems woefully inadequate, but the conclusion that the riot had no basis in race was widely accepted nonetheless, with some qualifications. In a August 23 radio broadcast that was part of WABC's series "Unity at Home, Victory Abroad," the Reverend Robert Gannon, president of Fordham University, remarked that

> When Mayor La Guardia insisted that the recent Harlem riots were not race riots, [...] he was right, of course. But it is nevertheless true that the pressure of race prejudice is being felt just now in various parts of our country. And it is not something entirely new, either.[105]

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[101] Roi Ottley, *'New World a-Coming' : Inside Black America*, Life-in-America Prize Books (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1943), 1.

[102] For a historical and political overview of the Harlem riots of 1935 and 1943, see Abu-Lughod, *Race, Space, and Riots in Chicago, New York, and Los Angeles*, 129-57.

[103] Quoted in "Race Bias Denied as Rioting Factor," *New York Times*, August 3, 1943.

[104] Quoted in "Valentine Lays Rioting to Hoodlumism; Hears Rumors That Gangs Came from South," *New York Times*, August 3, 1943.

[105] Quoted in "Gannon Voices Plea for Racial Good Will," *New York Times*, August 24, 1943.

The majority of white New Yorkers that lived or worked in Harlem at the time of the riot were shopkeepers and shop owners, which in and of itself was a point of contention given that it was seen as taking economic control out of the majority population's hands, or even exploiting Black customers by charging inflated prices in Black neighborhoods. In his column in *The Chicago Defender*, Langston Hughes wrote a "Letter to White Shopkeepers" on August 14, explaining that "the damage to your stores is primarily a protest against the whole rotten system of Jim Crow ghettos, Jim Crow cars, and Jim Crow treatment of Negro soldiers."[106] He reminds them that "the community which you serve is 99 per cent colored. That community remembers when you would not, if you could help it, employ a single Negro clerk."[107] Hughes also delivers an important observation that stands in stark contrast to the notion that the riot was not racial.

> Another sore point, and one which makes Negro communities a fertile field for fascist-type of anti-foreign, anti-semitic propaganda, is the fact that many business [sic] in colored communities are owned by foreigners who often have not been in this country many years but, since they are white, they can much more easily buy property, get credit and insurance than can Negro citizens of several generations.[108]

When city officials insisted on the non-racial nature of the riot, they highlighted the fact that it was not a stand-off between street gangs of different races, but Hughes makes clear that even if he did not condone the violence, he could understand how the experience of deeply racial injustice would "[make] many young people in Negro neighborhoods an easy prey to that desperate desire born of frustration—to which you contribute—to hurl a brick through a window."[109] Hughes here also touches on the complicated relationship between race, nationality, and international forces of fascism, alluding to the severe challenge to the willingness of Black citizens—and those serving in the military—to fight in the name of unity abroad when even those people that they ostensibly protect from fascism are presented with better opportunities than they are themselves; that is, when white foreigners escaping a fascist system overseas suddenly become the benefactors of a racist system at home.

In a longer piece on the riots, journalist Turner Catledge put their racial dimension front and center, discouraging an oversimplification of fraught race relations or the reliance on simple explanations for the unrest.

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[106] Langston Hughes, "Here to Yonder : Letter to White Shopkeepers," *Chicago Defender*, August 14, 1943.

[107] Ibid.

[108] Ibid.

[109] Ibid.

Behind all the immediate trouble, so far as the threat of overt action is concerned, is an impatient, irresistible drive of the Negroes on the one hand for a fuller realization of the equality which has long been promised to them, but just as long denied. And on the other hand, a stubborn, deepening, and in some places broadening, resistance of the whites to that very aim.[110]

Within these broken promises of equality, Catledge quotes housing as the primary source of tension, referring to crowding and "communities rung so completely around by landlord covenants that they are held virtual prisoners in these particular areas."[111] The provocation in these conditions was exacerbated by the fact that Black soldiers "are told that they are fighting for an empty world [word?; my comment] so long as 'democracy' is being denied to their folks back home, and being denied even to him under the Army's and Navy's policy of segregation."[112] Catledge later adds that "segregation, the word and all its [sic] stands for, has become anathema to the Negro, so far as he is represented by his more vocal leaders today."[113]

The importance of housing as an area of conflict was no understatement. In the case of Mercedes Owens, it was a political rhetoric of unity and the advancement of some significant anti-discrimination measures such as Executive Order 8802 that amplified the existing inequalities, and in Jacob Lawrence's paintings of Harlem, elements of poverty and disenfranchisement are represented through squalid housing conditions.

War as a global narrative and historiographical perspective shows issues such as housing and paintings of the Black community in New York City—the capital of the world and 'promised land'—in a new light. Therefore, before turning to more examples from the realm of housing, it is important to look more closely at the history of that global narrative, that is, at the narrative that saw a great hypocrisy in Black citizens fighting abroad in the name of freedom and democracy when in their lived experience at home their very status as citizens was deeply challenged.

UNITY ABROAD AND RACISM AT HOME

Still—am I good enough to die for them, is my blood bright enough to be spilled,

Was my constant back-question—are they clear

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[110] Turner Catledge, "Behind Our Menacing Race Problem," *New York Times*, August 8, 1943.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Ibid.

On this? Or do I intrude even now?

Am I clean enough to kill for them, do they wish me to kill

For them or is my place while death licks his lips and strides to them

In the galley still?

(In a southern city a white man said

Indeed, I'd rather be dead.

Indeed, I'd rather be shot in the head

Or ridden to waste on the back of a flood

Than saved by the drop of a black man's blood.)

Naturally, the important thing is, I helped to save them, them and a part of their

democracy,

Even if I had to kick their law into their teeth in order to do that for them.

And I am feeling well and settled in myself because I believe it was a good job,

Despite this possible horror: that they might prefer the

Preservation of their law in all its sick dignity and their knives

To the continuation of their creed

And their lives.

—Gwendolyn Brooks, *Negro Hero (To suggest Dorie Miller)* (excerpt)[114]

This and other poems by Gwendolyn Brooks appeared in 1945 in her first book, *A Street in Bronzeville*, named after the neighborhood on Chicago's South Side where the poet grew up and lived all her life. Langston Hughes called it "a sharp and dramatic book of poems by a zooming new talent on our literary horizon," and very plainly told his readers that "you-all ought to get it and read it."[115] Calling Brooks 'zooming' was more accurate than Hughes could have imagined at the time; a mere five years after the publication of *A Street in Bronzeville* she

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[114] Gwendolyn Brooks, *A Street in Bronzeville* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1945), 31-32.

[115] Langston Hughes, "Here to Yonder : Ballad in Black and White," *The Chicago Defender*, September 1, 1945.

became the first African American recipient of the Pulitzer Prize for Poetry, awarded for her second book, *Annie Allen* (1949).

In *Negro Hero*, Brooks takes on the voice of Dorie Miller (Fig. 11), a Black soldier fighting in WWII, and his voice articulates the harrowing but real question of whether he could ever be a part of the democracy that he fought for.[116] Although of less concern here, it ought to be acknowledged that a female poet writing war poetry and writing it in a male voice was pushing the genre's boundaries and breaking out of gendered confines.[117] The metaphor of the white man refusing to be 'saved by the drop of a black man's blood' was hardly metaphorical, given that the American Red Cross refused to accept blood donations from African Americans in their donor drives. Brooks makes us wonder what many Black citizens and soldiers were wondering—what, in fact, were they fighting for? If achievement could not be expected to be honored, and if, indeed, losing the war was seen as preferable to allowing Black soldiers to stand shoulder-to-shoulder and on equal footing with white soldiers, why bother with being part of any war effort at all; why bother with being part of civil society?

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[116] The poem was also published in *Common Ground* (Summer 1945), the magazine produced by the Common Council for American Unity. There, an editorial note identified Miller: "Dorie Miller, hero of Miss Brooks' poem, is the young mess attendant who won the Navy Cross at Pearl Harbor for his 'distinguished devotion to duty, extraordinary courage and disregard for his own personal safety during the attack.' Miller manned a machine gun on the USS Arizona after members of the gun crew had been put out of action and shot down four Japanese planes, then carried his wounded captain to safety under the whistle of enemy bullets. He has been missing in action in the Southwest Pacific since December of 1943." Gwendolyn Brooks, "Negro Hero (to Suggest Dorie Miller)," *Common Ground* Summer(1945).

[117] See Ann Folwell Stanford, "Dialectics of Desire: War and the Resistive Voice in Gwendolyn Brooks's "Negro Hero" and "Gay Chaps at the Bar"," *African American Review* 26, no. 2 (1992): 197-99.

Fig. 11. *Above and Beyond the Call of Duty*, by David Stone Martin. This poster, printed by the Government Printing Office for the Office of War Information, commemorates the heroism of Dorie Miller who had been awarded the Navy Cross following pressure from the Black press. National Archives and Records Administration Still Picture Branch, NWDNS-208-PMP-68, available at https://www.archives.gov/exhibits/powers_of_persuasion/united_we_win/united_we_win.html (Accessed March 20, 2017). This image: *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience, Second Edition*, edited by Ed. Kwame Anthony Appiah, Henry Louis Gates. Oxford African American Studies Center. Online at http://www.oxfordaasc.com.

In an earlier verse, the fictionalized voice of Dorie Miller says about the newspapers that covered his heroic deed at Pearl Harbor that

(They are not concerned that it was hardly The Enemy my fight was against

But them.)[118]

This put the soldier in a double bind, in which white society embodied both a nation with pronounced democratic goals, however unfulfilled, as well as the institutionalized racism that was allowing African Americans to sacrifice their lives in the war, but was denying them a life as fully accepted and equal members of society. Fighting the war in a military that remained segregated until 1948, then, is here less about fighting fascism overseas, and more about fighting racism at home in order to be seen and treated as human.[119] Scholar Ann Folwell Stanford writes that

> War becomes the trope for the equally injurious institutionalized racism at home. In this poetry, Brooks displaces both the site and meaning of war, and in her hands it becomes a civil struggle, one fought on the terrain of white racism.[120]

What Stanford describes as a displacement of war, effectively was a doubling of war—one fought at home, and one fought abroad.[121] In 1942, the most highly circulated Black weekly newspaper, the *Pittsburgh Courier*, led the way for journalists and writers to negotiate the double bind of fighting both for and against a racially unjust society, "and in honor of the battle against enemies from without and within, they called it 'the Double V Campaign.'"[122]

That campaign had started when on January 31, 1942 the newspaper printed a letter to the editor from James G. Thompson, a Black cafeteria worker at the Cessna Aircraft Corporation in Wichita, Kansas. Thompson raised questions that were provocative at the time, such as "would it

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[118] Brooks, *A Street in Bronzeville*, 30.

[119] On July 26, 1948, President Harry S. Truman integrated the US armed forces by signing Executive Order 9981 *Establishing the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services*. It stated that "there shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed forces without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin." See https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=false&doc=84 (Accessed March 20, 2017).

[120] Stanford, "Dialectics of Desire: War and the Resistive Voice in Gwendolyn Brooks's "Negro Hero" and "Gay Chaps at the Bar"," 197.

[121] Thomas Sugrue has analyzed the ways in which local wartime activism for civil rights was consciously related to global narratives of anti-fascism and democracy, including the important role played by narratives circulated in the Black press. See Thomas Sugrue, "Hillburn, Hattiesburg, and Hitler : Wartime Activists Think Globally and Act Locally," in *Fog of War : The Second World War and the Civil Rights Movement*, ed. Kevin M. Kruse and Stephen Tuck (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

[122] Henry Louis Gates, Jr., "What Was Black America's Double War?," *The Root*(2013), http://www.theroot.com/what-was-black-americas-double-war-1790896568.

Jason Morgan Ward has shown that in Southern states during the war there was a parallel movement of double victory—that of saving 'white democracy,' that is, reconciling the war effort and anti-fascist rhetoric with keeping the status quo of Jim Crow segregation as an expression of racial patriotism. See Jason Morgan Ward, ""A War for States' Rights" : The White Supremacist Vision of Double Victory," in *Fog of War : The Second World War and the Civil Rights Movement*, ed. Kevin M. Kruse and Stephen Tuck (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

be demanding too much to demand full citizenship rights in exchange for the sacrificing of my life?" It is unlikely that he could have expected to start a nationwide campaign when he suggested that for Black Americans there was not one, but two victories to be pursued.

The V for victory sign is being displayed prominently in all so-called democratic countries which are fighting for victory over aggression, slavery and tyranny. If this V sign means that to those now engaged in this great conflict then let we colored Americans adopt the double VV for a double victory. The first V for victory over our enemies from without, the second V for victory over our enemies from within. For surely those who perpetrate these ugly prejudices here are seeking to destroy our democratic form of government just as surely as the Axis forces.[123]

Without any announcement or explanation, the *Courier* published on the front page of the February 7 issue a graphic design that immediately became the logo for the double victory campaign (Fig. 12). The following week, a statement appeared on the front page that explained the use of the slogan and closely echoed the rhetoric of Thompson's letter to the editor.

We, as colored Americans, are determined to protect our country, our form of government and the freedoms which we cherish for ourselves and for the rest of the world, therefore we have adopted the Double "V" war cry—victory over our enemies at home and victory over our enemies on the battlefields abroad. Thus in our fight for freedom we wage a two-pronged attack against our enslavers at home and those abroad who would enslave us. WE HAVE A STAKE IN THIS FIGHT...WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO![124]

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[123] James G. Thompson, "Should I Sacrifice to Live 'Half-American?'," *Pittsburgh Courier*, January 31, 1942. Available at https://www.pcsb.org/cms/lib8/FL01903687/Centricity/Domain/7034/james-thompson-letter.pdf (Accessed March 21, 2017).

[124] "The Courier's Double 'V' for a Double Victory Campaign Gets Country-Wide Support," ibid., February 14,.

Fig. 12. Logo for the Pittsburgh Courier's "Double 'V' for a Double Victory Campaign." *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 7, 1942, 1.

The question of how Black Americans and media outlets should negotiate their duty to country that did not seem to have their best interest at heart was widely discussed in the Black press. In November 1942, John H. Johnson founded the Johnson Publishing Company and produced its first publication—the inaugural issue of *Negro Digest* (later followed by the popular *Jet* and *Ebony* magazines). Inspired by the *Reader's Digest*, Johnson's Chicago-based magazine pulled together articles, often condensed, from Black and white presses across the country that were of interest to African American readers. Each issue included a "Round Table" segment in which opposing positions to an important question were presented. The question addressed in the November 1942 issue was "Should Negroes Demand Equality Now?", which echoed the

sentiment that had been put forward by James G. Thompson in his letter to the *Pittsburgh Courier* and the 'Double Victory Campaign' that followed. John Temple Graves, writing for the *Virginia Quarterly Review*, answered "no," arguing that "in a time of total war Northern agitators of the black man are giving away leases of life to Southern agitators of the white man."[125] In other words, activists and advocates were simply asking too much at the wrong time.

> Their argument has its appeal, true. They say that America must prove the democracy for which it is asking its people to fight abroad by making it complete at home. In the circumstance, however, they might as logically say that because America's house is on fire, America must take the occasion for renovating the kitchen or putting Venetian blinds in the parlor.[126]

He likens "Double V-for Victory" to a domestic war on top of the one abroad, and says that it "is really a Double X, a double-crossing of hopes for the very arena in which domestic crusades are waged."[127] Graves cautions that the majority of Black demands are coming from the North, where the smallest percentage of African Americans lived.

Opposing this view was Louis E. Martin, writing for *Crisis* magazine. He suggested that it was not the Black demand for democracy that constituted an obstacle to winning the war, but the denial and absence of democracy, referring to "southern thought" when he wrote that

> the "cracker" Fascists who are victims of their own racial myths are desperately attempting to cripple, as their fathers before them have crippled, a great part of the human resources of the nation.[128]

This echoes the concerns of poet Gwendolyn Brooks speaking in the voice of Dorie Miller—that fighting in the war would be in vain for Black soldiers if parts of the white population were more likely to abandon the nation and surrender to foreign fascism than to be "saved by the drop of a black man's blood."[129]

The first issue of the *Negro Digest* also included the results of a poll that had been submitted "to a cross-section of the country" on the issue of whether the Black demand for full equality was 'sabotaging the nation's war effort.'[130] Nationwide, only 17% of respondents felt

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[125] John Temple Graves, ""Should Negroes Demand Equality Now?" No..." *Negro Digest* November(1942): 49.
[126] Ibid., 49-50.
[127] Ibid., 51.
[128] Louis E. Martin, ""Negro Equality Now?" Yes..." Ibid.: 53.
[129] Brooks, *A Street in Bronzeville*, 31.
[130] No additional information is given in the magazine as to how exactly the poll was administered, or how respondents were selected and contacted.

that that was the case, 68% said 'no,' and 15% had no opinion on the matter.[131] If separated by race and geography, however, it was found that 82% of southern whites responded 'yes,' compared to only 14% in northern states. Black respondents, unsurprisingly, presented a more unified picture nationwide, with 93-99% of them choosing 'no.' Survey takers were asked one more, very fundamental question—"Do you believe full equality should be granted to the Negro?" For this question, race—not geography—accounted for variation. White respondents answering 'yes' remained in the single digits in northern, western, and southern states, while Black respondents saying 'yes,' again, ranged from 93-99% across the country.

The conclusion drawn from these figures was that while the majority of respondents, Black or white, did not feel that demands for equality were getting in the way of winning the war, white respondents to the poll evidently believed that African Americans were not their equal, and should not be treated as such. This may not have come as a surprise where southern whites were concerned, many of them saying "that the Negro would never get equality because they were inferior to whites."[132] For white northern respondents, however, the result betrayed a prejudice that was not normally articulated as clearly as it was in southern Jim Crow states. The sentiments of Black citizens were described as "along the lines that the war for democracy was a sham until the Negro was granted full rights as an American citizen."[133]

After WWII effectively came to and end with Japan's acceptance of the terms of the Potsdam Declaration on August 15, 1945, the realization set in that despite jubilant celebrations across the nation, the 'Double Victory' that had been so vigorously promoted by the *Pittsburgh Courier* and other outlets had not been achieved. Langston Hughes observed the V-J Day celebrations in Times Square as well as Harlem, and noted that despite military segregation and the American Red Cross' banning of Black blood donors, the uptown neighborhood "had long since accepted the war as its own, too."[134] However, in Harlem's quieter corners, away from the ticker tape and car horns, the author could still hear people's experiences of racial discrimination that continued unabated even now that the war against fascism had been won. In bed that night, Hughes thought to himself that "fascism really hasn't been beaten in the world yet, only defeated

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[131] Wallace Lee, "Negro Digest Poll : Is the Negro Demand for Full Equality Sabotaging the Nation's War Effort?," *Negro Digest* November(1942).

[132] Ibid., 48.

[133] Ibid.

[134] Langston Hughes, "Here to Yonder : V-J Night in Harlem," *The Chicago Defender*, August 25, 1945.

in its boldest military form."[135] He gives a definition of the term that emphasizes its domestic persistence.

> Fascism is Bilbo and Rankin and Eastland who don't want Negroes or Jews or Italian-Americans to have job protection.[136] Fascism is the president of Dartmouth college who doesn't want minorities to have an equal chance at education. Fascism is our Red Cross that follows Hitler's blood policy. Fascism is the force that would keep people ignorant and helpless in the face of economic greed, and that gathers its educational, economic, or military power to support its suppression of the people.[137]

Therefore, in the midst of nationwide victory celebrations, Hughes cautions his readership and draws a stunning conclusion.

> This war will be won only when EVERYBODY can celebrate being alive on a basis of equality with everyone else alive, when there is education and economic security for everyone, and our billions of dollars are spent on life, NOT death, on human well-being, NOT atom bombs.[138]

Only one week after these lines were published, Hughes used his weekly column in *The Chicago Defender* to praise Gwendolyn Brooks' poetry. It is no surprise that the fictionalized voice of messman Dorie Miller spoke to him when it articulated the "possible horror" that white America might rather part with its life than with its racist laws. What Hughes observed in Harlem on Victory Day was that Brooks' character was right—that victory meant more of the same old. Or rather, it was a signal that the real battle for democracy at home was only just getting started.

A key moment in that battle after the end of WWII was when in 1946 and 1947, respectively, the National Negro Congress (NNC) and the NAACP delivered appeals to the United Nations regarding racial discrimination, injustice, and violence in the United States. In 1951, the US Civil Rights Congress delivered a book-length petition titled *We Charge Genocide* that appealed directly to the UN Charter's proclaimed mission of genocide prevention. In his foreword to a new edition of the published version from 1970, William L. Patterson writes that

> developing national liberation struggles expose the hypocrisy of the colonial powers who are members of the UN. It is now obvious that not all those who signed that historic Charter in San Francisco in 1945 were

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[135] Ibid.

[136] Theodore G. Bilbo (1877-1947), John E. Rankin (1882-1960), and James Eastland (1904-1986) were Mississippi politicians, and supporters of white supremacy and segregation.

[137] Hughes, "Here to Yonder : V-J Night in Harlem."

[138] Ibid.

determined to build an international institution geared to peace, freedom and the equality of large and small nations.[139]

Elsewhere, racism is described as a global export commodity, underlying the basic argument that anti-fascist claims and goals of the US government in one place are undermined by social and political realities at home.[140] In this logic is implied the notion that racism, and not democracy, could have been the most lasting achievement, the most binding global 'glue' that came out of WWII. It also serves as a reminder that racism and democracy in the 1940s were not necessarily seen as mutually exclusive concepts, as could be seen in the results of the 1942 *Negro Digest* poll. Those who did not think that Black people should be given full and equal rights certainly did not feel that the democracy they fashioned themselves living in was in any way less complete because not everyone was able to participate in equal measure. It is precisely this denial, however, that allows racism to become a fundamental component of the fabric of political and civil society. From there, the argument went, the racism that the petitioners at the Civil Rights Congress frame as genocide could only lead to more war.

> We cannot forget Hitler's demonstration that genocide at home can become wider massacre abroad, that domestic genocide develops into the larger genocide that is predatory war. The wrongs of which we complain are so much the expression of predatory American reaction and its government that civilization cannot ignore them nor risk their continuance without courting its own destruction. We agree with those members of the General Assembly who declared that genocide is a matter of world concern because its practice imperils world safety.[141]

The main corpus of the book provides details of countless cases of discrimination and violence committed against Black people in the United States, including lynchings and instances of police brutality. It positioned racial violence not only as a domestic issue, but as a threat to all nations that can cross borders easily and lies at the root not just local social issues, but all war. This only added to the case for bringing it to the attention of the United Nations. Domestically speaking, however, *We Charge Genocide* stands as a record of the injustices that were experienced and as evidence that the war for democracy was still raging.

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[139] Civil Rights Congress (U.S.), *We Charge Genocide: The Historic Petition to the United Nations for Relief from a Crime of the United States Government against the Negro People*, New ed. (New York: International Publishers, 1970), ix.

[140] Ibid., xv.

[141] Ibid., 3.

Fig. 13. Jacob Lawrence, *Bus*, 1941. Gouache on paper, 43.2 x 55.9 cm. Collection of George and Joyce Wein, New York.

In the South, this meant combatting an openly institutionalized system of Jim Crow laws that governed public life. Jacob Lawrence's 1941 painting *Bus* (Fig. 13) depicts segregation on public transportation. A group of faceless Black riders is crammed together at the back of the bus while white patrons are spread out comfortably at the front, painted as dignified and orderly. Such were the conditions that millions of African Americans sought to move away from during the Great Migration beginning during WWI. In Lawrence's 1940-41 series *The Migration of the Negro*, he chronicled the journey that the migrants took, primarily to the cities of the Midwest and Northeast. As in the painter's other series, the titles of the paintings, read consecutively, serve as the narrative that is being depicted, thus doubling as statements on the historical moment shown. The title of painting No. 31 reads *After arriving North the Negroes had better housing conditions* (Fig. 14), and it shows the clean and neatly geometric facades of apartment buildings—the colors in the windows varied enough to seem inhabited and friendly, and coordinated enough to not seem untidy.

Fig. 14. Jacob Lawrence, *The Migration of the Negro, No. 31: After arriving North the Negroes had better housing conditions*, 1941. Casein tempera on hardboard, 30.5 x 45.7 cm. The Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C.

Housing conditions were indeed better when the first Southern migratns arrived, but crowding, exacerbated by residential segregation, took its toll. During the 1920s, New York's Black population went from 152,000 to 328,000—then making up 5% of the city.[142] This was the time of the Harlem Renaissance, when Harlem blossomed as the center of African American cultural and artistic production. Living in segregation was a part of this, but it was not seen as unequivocally bad. In their contribution to a series of books on New York City and its social and demographic changes produced in the late 1950s and early 1960s at the Joint Center for Urban Studies—an initiative of Harvard University and MIT—Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan write that

> Segregation helped make Harlem alive. It is hard to envisage, as one walks the streets today, with the buildings forty years older, and the population greatly changed, what Harlem was like in the 1920's. In those days, Negro entertainers and musicians were a rarity on Broadway, and one had to go above 125th Street to find them. Because of the unbroken pattern of segregation, Harlem included everyone in the Negro community—the old tiny "upper class," the new professionals and white-collar workers, the political

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[142] Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot; the Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City*, First paperback ed., Publications of the Joint Center for Urban Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University (Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press, 1963), 319.

leaders just beginning to take over the old political clubs, the artists and entertainers and writers, as well of course as the domestic workers, the laborers, and shady characters.[143]

Glazer and Moynihan quote James Weldon Johnson who in his 1930 book *Black Manhattan* celebrated Harlem as the pinnacle of achievement in the long history of African Americans in New York. He wrote that

"Negro Harlem covers one of the most beautiful and healthful sites in the whole city. It is not a fringe, it is not a slum, nor is it a quarter consisting of dilapidated tenements. It is a section of new-law apartment houses and handsome dwellings, with streets as well paved, as well-lighted, and as well-kept as any in the city."[144]

However, New York's Black population kept increasing rapidly—by 130,000 during the 1930s, and by 290,000 during the 1940s, reaching 748,000 or 9% of the total population in 1950.[145] During the 1930s, Harlem suffered more from the depression than any other part of the city, leading to an increase in poverty and overcrowding—two thirds of the city's entire Black population in 1940 lived in Harlem.[146] Changes to this, in particular the move of African Americans to other neighborhoods and employment in a larger number of industries and professions, gained more momentum with WWII.[147]

Regardless, the positive image of living in Harlem that Johnson had painted in *Black Manhattan* in 1930 no longer applied ten years later, and the trend continued thereafter. Lawrence painted *Slums* (Fig. 15) in 1950, during an almost year-long stay at Hillside Hospital in Queens where he underwent treatment for depression. Art historian Richard J. Powell has argued that this is one of the paintings in Lawrence's oeuvre that most powerfully challenge the opposition of abstraction and figuration that dominated painting and sculpture—especially in New York City—during the 1950s.[148] The foregrounding of insects, not humans, and the use of white skin tones for the rendering of the inhabitants of a poor Black neighborhood go against conventions of social realism, while the great precision in the symbolic 'stacking' of tenements, and in details such as the single red flower that sits in the foreground in uncharacteristically good

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[143] Ibid., 27.

[144] Quoted in ibid., 28.

[145] Ibid., 319.

[146] Ibid., 59.

[147] See ibid., 28-29.

[148] Richard J. Powell, "Harmonizer of Chaos : Jacob Lawrence at Midcentury," in *Over the Line : The Art and Life of Jacob Lawrence*, ed. Peter T. Nesbett and Michelle DuBois (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press in association with Jacob Lawrence Catalogue Raisonné Project, 2000).

health inside an infested apartment, challenge more expressive or process-oriented aspects of abstract painting.

Fig. 15. Jacob Lawrence, *Slums*, 1950. Casein tempera on paper, 63.5 x 54.6 cm. Collection of Elizabeth Marsteller Gordon, San Francisco.

In Powell's words,

In both a contrastive and comparative way, Lawrence magnified the actions of flies, cockroaches, and other vermin, instinctive to vermin, repulsive to humans, while simultaneously minimizing the painting's subject: crowded and substandard urban housing. The ultimate visual effects are an amazing blend of social documentary squalor, an almost surrealistic inversion of realistic scale and proportion and, most important, compositional overtures to diminutive, calligraphic- and grid-informed abstractions.[149]

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[149] Ibid., 150.

From a social perspective, the insects and the cut flower present a maddening contrast. At the same time, it is not clear which of the two is the clearer indication of human habitation. Is a decorated, yet infested home a sign of neglect, or does it symbolize defiance, giving a human touch in inhumane conditions? In either case, the human subject's agency is significantly reduced in the context of abject living conditions. Beyond the window pane are countless more apartments that presumably are in a state no different from the one in the foreground. The tenement buildings appear as if they were pressed together in chaotic density, while their colors and geometric shapes exhibit a distinct rhythm. The architecture of Black neighborhoods had technically not changed since Black southerners found better housing conditions in northern cities (Fig. 14), but it had assumed a different meaning by 1950 that is here captured. In the 1920s and 1930s, housing could be represented in terms of orderly space, and apartments could be neutral containers of hopes and aspirations for a better future. In this rendering from 1950, however, residential architecture was charged with and came to represent the social issues plaguing the city—poverty and overcrowding.

The painting, then, stands as an affirmation and illustration of the assertion that Glazer and Moynihan made in 1963:

> The greatest gap by far between the conditions of life of New York's population in general and the specific part of it that is Negro is to be found in housing. Here is the greatest and most important remaining area of discrimination—important in its extent, its real consequences, and its social and psychological impact.[150]

This condition was not new. In fact, 20th-century New York's watershed moment in the mobilization against housing discrimination got started 20 years before, in 1943—just before the Harlem riot, and when Jacob Lawrence created 30 pictures of Harlem as the place that encapsulated the dualities and social struggles of the African American experience and challenged modernism as an imposed artistic identity. This moment that brings into view the connections between war, democracy, and housing discrimination was the approval of the construction of Stuyvesant Town—the massive residential development on Manhattan's Lower East Side that cleared 18 city blocks in an unprecedented effort of public-private partnership between the city and the MetLife Insurance Company.

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[150] Glazer and Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot; the Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City*, 53.

HOUSING, DEMOCRACY, AND URBAN PLANNING

In a hearing before the New York Board of Estimate on June 3, 1943, City Councilman and former Manhattan Borough President Stanley M. Isaacs read a quote of Frederick H. Ecker, chairman of the board of the Metropolitan Life company. "Negroes and whites do not mix. Perhaps they will in a hundred years but they don't now."[151] Ecker, together with the city's Parks Commissioner Robert Moses, was at the hearing to represent his company's interests in developing Stuyvesant Town as a segregated, tax-subsidized housing development.[152] The project was a watershed moment in the history of housing in New York City because it represented the first large-scale public-private partnership in the slum clearance efforts that Moses had made one of his priorities. Ecker did not flinch when Isaacs confronted him with his own words, but they raised the core issue that was debated in the hearing, and in media coverage of Stuyvesant Town. As far as the applicability of anti-discrimination legislation was concerned, the most important question was whether a tax-subsidized development should be treated as public or private? Councilman Isaacs was one of the leaders on the pro-public side of that debate, but at the time of the hearing in 1943, that battle was not yet to be won.

The deciding vote in the 11-5 decision to approve the project was cast by Deputy Mayor Rufus E. McGahen who commanded the three votes allocated to Mayor La Guardia. It ceded public lands to MetLife, granted it eminent domain in acquiring the remaining plots, and locked taxation at 1943 levels for 25 years, under the guarantee of a corporate profit ceiling of five percent. Some concerned residents were making their displeasure at the decision known to City Hall. A Mrs. S. K. Russell wrote to La Guardia that

> I wish to express my indignation that you voted for a contract embodying large tax concessions and use of public grounds belonging to the people of N Y C, to the Met. Life Ins. Co. for the building of a walled jim-crow exclusive Stuyvesant Town.
> I endorse the resolution of Councilman Stanley Isaacs and demand abrogation of this undemocratic contract which opposes the principles of freedom and racial equality for which our sons, brothers and husbands, black and white are fighting on the battlefields of the world."[153]

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[151] "Stuyvesant Town Approved by Board," *The New York Times*, June 4, 1943.

[152] Martha Biondi has analyzed Moses' involvement in stalling a legislative civil rights movement in the New York court system. Stuyvesant Town played a central role in that history. See Martha Biondi, "Robert Moses, Race, and the Limits of an Activist State," in *Robert Moses and the Modern City : The Transformation of New York*, ed. Hilary Ballon and Kenneth T. Jackson (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2007).

[153] Note from Mrs. S. K. Russell to Mayor La Guardia, 1943. New York City Department of Records, Municipal Archives, LaGuardia Papers, Reel 197.

The notion that Stuyvesant Town would be a 'walled city' was credited to Isaacs, and in the Board of Estimate hearing he petitioned for a school to be built on the grounds at the city's expense, such that the site would be infused with public use.[154] This also was to address the situation that school children living within Stuyvesant Town would otherwise have to pass between garages and roads, when walking along the outside of the complex, creating unsafe conditions.

In another note sent to La Guardia that likewise drew on WWII as the backdrop for the perceived racial injustice enshrined in the project, R. C. Butler wrote that

> You disqualified yourself to speak against Hitler, when you voted for "Stuyvesant Town"[155]

The discourse around housing during the war and in the immediate postwar period was very strongly imbricated with the discourse around war. Further, since there had been some gains in employment equality, particularly on a federal level with FDR's Executive Order—even though it was only affecting the war industry—housing had emerged in New York City as the arena in which the decisive battle against fascism on the home front was to be fought. The possibility of democracy was to be decided in the crucible of housing. The debate over racial injustice in housing was already ongoing when Stuyvesant Town was being planned, but as the largest slum clearance project to have been undertaken at the time, and happening shortly before the Harlem riot of 1943, mixed in with public rhetoric of war pervading all areas of life, the project occupies a position of central importance.

On June 27, a few weeks after the Board of Estimate decision on Stuyvesant Town, Mayor La Guardia used his regular Sunday radio broadcast to urge the city's population to exercise "patience and fortitude," opening with these powerful lines:

> Everything is surely going fine on the battlefronts. Everything is seemingly going bad on the home front. Our armed forces are hammering the enemy. Our home forces are hammering each other. Our armed forces are playing the game. Our civilian authorities are playing politics. The quicker we tighten the lines and start to pull together the better it will be.[156]

He later added that

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[154] "Housing Plan Seen as a 'Walled City'," *The New York Times*, May 20, 1943.

[155] Note from R. C. Butler, 930 St Nicholas Ave, New York, to Mayor La Guardia 1943. New York City Department of Records, Municipal Archives, LaGuardia Papers, Reel 197, emphasis in original.

[156] Text of Mayor F. H. La Guardia's Sunday broadcast to the people of New York from his office at City Hall, June 27, 1943, broadcast over WNYC at 1:00 P.M. New York City Department of Records, Municipal Archives, LaGuardia Papers, Reel 197.

Races that in Europe are at each others [sic] throats for centuries here live in the same apartment house peacefully, quietly. Their children go to school together, they play together, they learn together, then they marry. [...]

We do not pretend that all exploitation has disappeared. We do not pretend that injustices do not any more exist. We do not pretend that equal opportunity extends to all as we would like to see it. But we do say that we are making an effort here in our City as far as we can locally to correct many of the conditions.[157]

La Guardia's broadcast came one week after the outbreak of the Detroit race riot that lasted from June 20 until the early hours of June 22, and sent a shockwave of anxiety through all major cities in the United States. The mayor is careful not to mention the riot by name, but instead warns against the spreading of rumors, against excitement that can turn into fighting, against incitement that he calls "a technique of the Nazis." He asserts that "I fear panic more than I fear enemy bombs."

Fig. 16. "A New Yorker's Pledge," *PM*, June 24, 1943. Here completed by Rosalind Metcalf-Harris. A note to the editors of *PM* is included at the bottom, despite the fact that this was likely mailed to the New York mayor's office as it is now in the mayor's archival papers. The note reads: "To the editors of *P.M.* Dear Sirs, Why not reprint this as an American pledge addressed to the President of the U.S.? The whole country needs it. Sincerely, Rosalind Metcalf-Harris." New York City Department of Records, Municipal Archives, LaGuardia Papers, Reel 197.

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[157] Text of Mayor F. H. La Guardia's Sunday broadcast to the people of New York from his office at City Hall, June 27, 1943, broadcast over WNYC at 1:00 P.M. New York City Department of Records, Municipal Archives, LaGuardia Papers, Reel 197.

La Guardia also acknowledged and applauded a campaign that was run by the liberal-leaning newspaper *PM* in its June 24 issue. Under the title "A New Yorker's Pledge," (Fig. 16) the daily printed a simple pledge against rioting that readers could sign and send to the mayor's office, thereby creating accountability for themselves.

It is understandable that the mayor enjoyed receiving these signed pledges as civil unrest was becoming increasingly likely. On May 23, the City-Wide Citizens' Committee on Harlem had issued a report of findings and recommendations in regards to the economic and social situation in Harlem. The Committee had been created "to stimulate united action on the part of cooperating agencies and individuals to improve conditions for the Negro in New York City."[158] It adopted war rhetoric in its motto of "Freedom and equality for all Americans, regardless of race, creed, or religion is our first line of defense." The Committee was co-chaired by activist and ethicist Algernon D. Black and the Reverend Adam Clayton Powell, Sr., Vice-chairs included Councilman Stanley Isaacs and NAACP leader Walter White. The board of directors included 43 members—15 of whom were female—and it included Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., and A. Philip Randolph.

On the issue of housing in Harlem, the report had nothing good to say. It lamented the poor housing conditions and the unethical behavior of the government and landlords. In a long list of suggested actions, the Committee asked for the strict enforcement of building and construction laws, and for making the grievance process in case of violation easier and more accessible. Further proposed were measures to increase fire safety, drawing on state-wide defense housing plans designed to prepare for possible air raids. Federal rent control legislation was sought, and for Harlem, a non-profit cooperative management corporation was to be established in order to reduce the speculative profit-driven rental market that led to higher rents than in most white neighborhoods without any incentive to improve living conditions, given the high demand for housing resulting from overcrowding. Finally, the report demanded the creation of anti-discrimination legislation for all tax-subsidized private housing—this was the voice of Stanley Isaacs, whose Brown-Isaacs Law would serve this exact purpose when it was passed in the City Council in 1951. The authors leave no doubt that this demand for legislation is a direct response to MetLife's plans of keeping Black residents out of Stuyvesant Town:

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[158] Report by the City-Wide Citizens' Committee on Harlem, May 23, 1943. New York City Department of Records, Municipal Archives, LaGuardia Papers, Reel 198.

This would mean that in such a housing project that is contemplated by the Metropolitan Insurance Company, there shall be no discrimination against Negro families.[159]

The one success that the report mentions is the appointment of one of its directors, Frank Crosswaith, to a vacant seat on the board of the New York City Housing Authority. Crosswaith was the first African American board member of NYCHA, and La Guardia's second choice given that A. Philip Randolph was tied up as organizer of the March on Washington movement and with his political advocacy on the federal level. Indeed, it was at a March on Washington event held in Madison Square Garden on June 16, 1942 that La Guardia announced Crosswaith's appointment via a telegram addressed to Randolph. The message was read to a cheering crowd of around 18,000 Black attendees. Crosswaith took to the stage immediately after, and, using a confounding metaphor, hailed the moment as a 'funeral': "'I am here to bury in the grave of forgetfulness the type of black man that America too long has known.'"[160] The 'new Black person' whose arrival was marked by the gathering in Madison Square Garden, and by Crosswaith's appointment to one of five unpaid board positions, was one[161]

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[159] Report by the City-Wide Citizens' Committee on Harlem, May 23, 1943. New York City Department of Records, Municipal Archives, LaGuardia Papers, Reel 198.

[160] "Mayor Puts Negro on Housing Board," *The New York Times*, June 17, 1942.

[161] A letter and detailed recommendation was sent to La Guardia in January 1942 from the Citizens' Housing Council of New York, urging the major to replace the structure of five unpaid board members heading NYCHA with one full-time paid director. The council argued that in light of massive expansion of NYCHA into a multi-million dollar enterprise, and its vast responsibilities in providing defense housing, a professionalization of its leadership structure was in order. La Guardia never acted on this.

La Guardia's successor, William O'Dwyer, set out to restructure NYCHA in 1947, proposing a reduction to three board members. The Board itself protested the changes, claiming that it would lead to a politicization of the board as mayoral appointees coming and going with changing administrations. An amended proposal passed through the legislature. In June 1947, General Thomas F. Farrell became the first full-time paid chairman of the NYCHA board, the other four seats remaining in place as before. Importantly, Philip J. Cruise, a member of Robert Moses' Parks Department at the time, was appointed as secretary of the authority, strengthening the strong bond that was to form between Moses and NYCHA who together became responsible for a majority of slum clearance and housing projects in New York City between 1945 and 1965.

In 1957, Mayor Robert F. Wagner again picked up the issue of restructuring NYCHA, and charged City Administrator Charles F. Preusse with producing a report on the effectiveness of the authority's operations. The result was damning, calling into question not the good intentions of the leadership board, but its ability to shoulder the significant responsibility of managing the housing for more than 500,000 residents, and an accumulated building expenditure of over $2 billion since 1936. Interestingly, the report gave as one reason for the recommendations the fact that in the professional world of real estate development, a leadership structure like NYCHA's was unthinkable. The corporatization of public housing, the foundation for which had been laid in Moses' groundbreaking collaboration with MetLife on Stuyvesant Town had come a long way in shaping the processes of government. Preusse, like O'Dwyer ten years before, again recommended a reduction of top leadership to three full-time paid board members, including one chair person. A corresponding law was passed, and on May 1, 1958, Wagner appointed William Reid as chairperson, Ira S. Robbins, and Francis V. Madigan to lead NYCHA.

See:

Letter and recommendation by Citizens' Housing Council of New York to Mayor La Guardia, January 29, 1942. New York City Department of Records, Municipal Archives, LaGuardia Papers, Reel 182.

who, loyal to the government and determined to give every effort toward winning the war for the demorcacies [sic], would still be determined and insistent upon gaining the same rights and liberties accorded to other citizens of the country.[162]

The imbrication of domestic inequality and discrimination in housing with a racialized war on fascism that was fought both abroad was therefore fully articulated when one year later, in May 1943, the City-Wide Citizens' Committee on Harlem, including Crosswaith and Isaacs, made a forceful recommendation against segregated development. That means it was also fully articulated when the New York Board of Estimate voted on Stuyvesant Town in early June, and when a few weeks later anxiety over the riot in Detroit took the nation by storm. In fact, we are left to wonder whether the mayor's deciding three votes in favor of Robert Moses and Frederick Ecker's project would have been cast the same way had the unrest in Detroit happened a few weeks sooner than it did.[163]

For Robert Moses, the approval of Stuyvesant Town was a significant success, and one that came relatively quickly, especially given the project's extraordinary scale of 35 brick towers erected in the location that until than had been a densely populated Lower Manhattan neighborhood. In a letter to La Guardia dated July 11, 1942, less than a year before the Board of Estimate vote, Moses wrote that "semi-public housing requires a great deal of local knowledge and must be nursed along. I think we shall get somewhere with the New York Life."[164] Having pursued the goal of attracting private capital to the city's slum clearance efforts, he was celebrating the $55 million investment from MetLife. In the decisive Board hearing, Moses used fatalistic language to convince the voting members that they would make an irreparable mistake if they rejected the project.

"Housing 'Politics' Charged to Mayor," *The New York Times*, March 3, 1947.
"Key Men Selected for City Housing," *The New York Times*, June 11, 1947.
Paul Crowell, "City Study Urges Drastic Changes in Housing Board," ibid., September 23, 1957.
Charles G. Bennett, "Housing Changes Backed by Mayor," ibid., September 24,.
"A New Housing Authority," ibid., May 2, 1958.
[162] "Mayor Puts Negro on Housing Board."
[163] On August 1, the day that the riot in Harlem broke out, *The New York Times* published a piece by Robert Moses summarizing his views on New York City and its future. In terms of racial injustice and housing, he argued for accommodationist slow-moving change rather than the upheaval of demands for immediate full equality, and the execution of pragmatic urban projects rather than comprehensive modernist urban rebuilding, respectively. Robert Moses, "What's the Matter with New York?," *The New York Times Magazine*, August 1, 1943.
[164] Letter from Parks Commissioner Robert Moses to Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia, July 11, 1942. New York City Department of Records, Municipal Archives, LaGuardia Papers, Reel 186.

'If you don't want this contract,' he [Moses] told the board, 'I can assure you that it will be the last opportunity we'll have to attract private capital. It will mark the death knell of slum clearance by private enterprise.'[165]

Instead, a new type of public-private partnership in housing was born, and Moses had gone to great lengths to make it happen. It was with his strong support that in 1941 the Desmond-Mitchell Urban Redevelopment Corporations Bill sailed through the state legislature in Albany, making it possible for the city to use eminent domain for a private development not owned by the city or state that, however, served a 'public purpose.'[166]

Corporations were given other incentives. For the first twenty years, improvements made to the land would be tax-exempt, and tax duties assessed only based on valuations existing at the time of acquisition. In the case of Stuyvesant Town, this meant paying dues on $14 million, as opposed to the $55 million that the project cost.[167] In exchange for this significant incentive that the city gave MetLife, it had to limit corporate profits from the development to five percent for the duration of the exemption.[168] For the company, in turn, developing a large-scale residential property was a way of using otherwise idle funds in a government-backed and therefore relatively secure venture. As the largest insurance company and corporation in the United States in the 1940s, MetLife investing in areas that would improve living conditions and life expectancy also positively impacted its corporate profit; the longer people lived, the longer they could pay premiums on their life insurance policies.[169]

Stuyvesant Town was not only significant in the fight for racial justice in housing as part of the home front battle for democracy waged primarily by Black activists and organizers. It was also an important part in the postwar planning for New York City, and emblematic of Robert Moses' contested position on urban planning more generally.

Beginning in 1942, Mayor La Guardia made post-war planning for New York City one of his highest economic and political priorities. He set out to create a post-war planning committee that was to work with the City Planning Commission, created in 1938, to serve as a subcommittee to the Board of Estimate, reviewing and making recommendations on any building

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[165] "Stuyvesant Town Approved by Board."

[166] Samuel Zipp and Nicholas Dagen Bloom, "Stuyvesant Town," in *Affordable Housing in New York : The People, Places, and Policies That Transformed a City*, ed. Nicholas Dagen Bloom and Matthew Gordon Lasner (Princeton, NJ and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2016), 152.

[167] "East Side 'Suburb, in City' to House 30,000 after War," *The New York Times*, April 19, 1943.

[168] Lee E. Cooper, "Approval of Urban Rebuilding Bill to Spur Investment of Private Funds in Slum Areas," ibid., May 3, 1941.

[169] Zipp and Bloom, "Stuyvesant Town."

plans and proposals before they would be voted on by the Board and before necessary funds were appropriated. In the politics of appointing a committee chair and members, and different understandings of the role and responsibilities of the committee, a fundamental debate about the nature of the city and of planning during the postwar era can be recognized.

La Guardia was considering Guy Greer, the senior economist of the Board of Governors at the Federal Reserve System in Washington, D.C. for the role of chairman. Following a phone conversation between the two regarding matters of postwar planning on July 1, 1942, Greer mailed the mayor copies of speeches he had recently given on the topic.[170] While separating the notion of planning from any possible communist undertones, Greer argued that planning for the postwar was not an impediment to winning the war, but, if anything, a prerequisite for it—lest the nation didn't know what future world it was fighting for. In an address given a week prior at the meeting of the American Institute of Architects (AIA) in Detroit, Greer presented his vision for city planning as involving a rather substantial remaking of urban structure and infrastructure, based on modernist principles. In referring to the works of Ebenezer Howard, Lewis Mumford, Walter Gropius, and Martin Wagner, he was dropping the right names to win over his audience, for grand urban proposals that thought of the city as one large and comprehensively planned object were seen as the way of the future amongst planning cirlces. Greer talked about reducing density in urban cores to reduce congestion, and suggested the construction of small airports around the city for easy commuting.

La Guardia forwarded the documents to Moses, who sat on the City Planning Commission, and his feedback on Greer's urban thinking was damning.

> My own very definite impression is that Greer is a typical urban housing planner. In his speeches he uses the same old lingo and patter which goes with this profession. There isn't a single new, interesting, authoritative or well expressed thought in his writings. In other words, the stuff is tripe, and the man himself has no record of thinking or action to make him valuable to you as the head of the staff of your reconstruction or post-war commission.[171]

Greer's candidacy went no further. La Guardia instead appointed the city Controller McGoldrick as chair, as well as Budget Director Dayton and Chief Engineer Reidel as committee members, in addition to Edwin A. Salmon, chairman of the City Planning Commission. By

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[170] Letter and speeches sent from Guy Greer, Federal Reserve System, to Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia, July 1, 1942. New York City Department of Records, Municipal Archives, LaGuardia Papers, Reel 186.
[171] Letter from Parks Commissioner Robert Moses to Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia, July 11, 1942. New York City Department of Records, Municipal Archives, LaGuardia Papers, Reel 186.

August 20, 1942, the group had requested, and been approved, an acquisition of over $10 million as the city's first contribution to launching their then-outlined $312 million postwar public works program.[172]

Manhattan Borough President Edgar J. Nathan cautioned against what he saw as overly optimistic, and ultimately unpredictable, planning. In a letter to Salmon from July 1942, he argued that the postwar plans were coming too soon—at a moment when no end to the war was in sight—and that actual postwar conditions and material needs were unknowns at the time.[173] Around the same time, Nathan irked Moses with his refusal to accept federal highway funding that Moses desired for his planned but unrealized Mid-Manhattan Expressway that was to connect the Lincoln and Queens-Midtown Tunnels. Nathan resisted the idea that the state would be letting the work contracts for the highway projects, likely because it could provide advantages to the largest contractors, and would miss the mark of a public works project. Moses complained in a letter to La Guardia: "In all my experience in public work, I have never run into anything quite so narrow and asinine."[174]

Moses' view on the city and on planning was somewhere between Greer, who was trying to bring planning into the future quickly, and Nathan, who was trying to put the breaks on planning until he knew more about what the future was going to be. These positions are emblematic of a fundamental debate over the role and nature of city planning in the 1940s. In 1943 and 1944, *Fortune* magazine ran a series of articles on the development of city planning titled and framed as "Battle of the Approach."[175] In the November 1943 issue, planning is described as being torn between "anti-planners" such as Robert Moses, and the classic modern urban planners such as Ebenezer Howard and his turn-of-the-century garden city, Le Corbusier's *Plan Voisin* of 1925, or any other approach that more often than not relied on a complete rebuilding of the city, rather than making small changes in the existing city.

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[172] "$10,331,555 Is Voted for City Planning," *The New York Times*, August 21, 1942.

[173] Letter from Manhattan Borough President Edgar J. Nathan, Jr. to Chairman of the City Planning Commission Edwin A. Salmon, July 15, 1942. New York City Department of Records, Municipal Archives, LaGuardia Papers, Reel 186.

[174] Letter from Commissioner of Parks Robert Moses to Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia, July 7, 1942. New York City Department of Records, Municipal Archives, LaGuardia Papers, Reel 186.

For an analysis of Moses' highway projects and the influx of funds from the 1944 Federal-Aid Highway Act, see Owen E. Gutfreund, "Rebuilding New York in the Auto Age : Robert Moses and His Highways," in *Robert Moses and the Modern City : The Transformation of New York*, ed. Hilary Ballon and Kenneth T. Jackson (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2007).

[175] "City Planning: Battle of the Approach," *Fortune* November(1943).

The article differentiated between smaller tactical projects and developments and an overall strategy for the city as a whole, arguing that tactics only work if they are embedded in a larger strategic plan. Otherwise, the argument went, the ills and evils of the city would merely end up getting shifted around from one place to the next. The authors do not unequivocally embrace all modernist proposals, pointing out that Howard's garden city only works infrastructurally if it is self-contained and does not require commuting between different cities, and that the plans of the City Beautiful movement in the US—such as Daniel Burnham's work for Chicago's 1893 Columbian Exposition or his 1909 master plan for the city—ended up being not realizable on the large scale that they envisioned.

The article spoke very critically of the types of projects Moses was most invested in at the time—slum clearance, public housing, and private (or, more accurately, public-private) developments such as Stuyvesant Town. Regarding the MetLife project, the authors argued that it only increased density in Lower Manhattan, that the Gas House District, in which it was located, had been losing population for a while, and that that was in fact largely due to overcrowding.[176] The City Planning Commission's proposals for postwar planning in New York were considered purely tactical, consisting primarily of the construction of individual public facilities such as schools, or infrastructural expansions for the city's subway system or road network.[177]

Moses did not take kindly to the pro-strategy, anti-tactics position laid out in *Fortune.* In June 1944, he offered a cutting rebuttal. Rather than talking of strategists and tacticians, the Parks Commissioner differentiated between "subsidized lamas in their remote mountain temples and those who must work in the market place."[178] Other derisive terms that Moses employed for those planners heralded in *Fortune,* include starry-eyed dodos, Vestal Virgins, and long-haired professors. Despite, in Moses' view, delivering only the most impractical approaches to city planning, the planners were exercising significant influence on the public sphere, leading him to say that "they make the TNT for those who throw the bombs."[179] Moses took issue in particular with European immigrants such as Walter Gropius, Erich Mendelsohn, or Eliel Saarinen who he saw as disrespecting American traditions and particularities by claiming elitist superiority and

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[176] Ibid., 222.
[177] Ibid., 226.
[178] Robert Moses, "Mr. Moses Dissects the 'Long-Haired Planners'," *The New York Times Magazine,* June 25, 1944, 16.
[179] Ibid.

taking great liberty in proposing fundamental changes in the country that had taken them in.[180]

He accused the "revolutionaries"—another term he uses for planners with big yet useless ideas—

of not understanding the practical, material, and political constraints placed on planning.

> There are too many people who not only lack the ability to work with others toward realizable objectives but who do not like the community and therefore want to tear it up by the roots, toss the pieces in the air and start afresh in the open country. The man who loves his city will recognize its faults and shortcomings, but will never damn it entirely out of hand and dismiss it as a monstrosity.[181]

One month later, in July 1944, Joseph Hudnut, inaugural Dean of the Harvard Graduate

School of Design, issued "A 'long-haired' reply to Moses," also published in *The Times*

Magazine. He began by critiquing Moses' resistance to foreign influences in architecture and

planning, saying that it was out of line with "the tradition and forward march of our country,"

later adding that "our most striking inventions, our most useful techniques, have often had their

beginnings across the seas, and are imported in the luggage of French and German technicians."

In a scathing remark, Hudnut writes about Moses, "The voice is American, but the words are

those of Dr. Goebbels."[182] Hudnut was on the side of the debate that was presented as superior in

the *Fortune* article from the previous November, favoring an approach to planning that

encompassed the entire city, rather than individual parts of it. At the same time, Hudnut clearly

aimed to present a voice of reason capable of reconciling between strategists and tacticians:

> Limited objectives there must be, with administrators driving toward these with all the tactical and political skill shown by Mr. Moses; but why shouldn't such objectives be made consistent with a general plan?[183]

As much as Hudnut was here taking a somewhat conciliatory position, he was also

responding to the reality of planning and postwar planning, in particular, in New York. In April

1944, Joseph McGoldrick, the chair of the postwar planning committee, had written a lengthy

article for *The New York Times*, in which he laid out the principles of where he envisioned urban

development heading after the war. At the core of the conflict between the two principle

approaches to urban planning he saw a fundamental misunderstanding on the part of the

'strategists.' He argued that the postwar plan was never designed to create a completely

overhauled city of the future, but instead was a plain and simple public works program

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[180] Ibid.

[181] Ibid., 39.

[182] Joseph Hudnut, "A 'Long-Haired' Reply to Moses," ibid., July 23,, 16.

[183] Ibid., 36.

anticipating the consequences of a stagnating war industry, returning soldiers, and unemployment. He further accused the strategic planners of being

not only ignorant of, but totally oblivious of, the legal limitations which bar the way to such thoroughgoing planning as they conceive. They are equally loath to come to grips with economic realities of our current scheme of things.[184]

He further diagnosed a type of detachment from reality amongst planners who

wander off into dreams of dispersion of our great metropolitan centers. They picture our people taking to helicopters and literally flying away to make their homes and find their livelihood in the wide open spaces.[185]

The fact that the economist Greer, who had competed with McGoldrick for the committee's chairmanship until Moses put a swift end to his candidacy, was advocating for a future of air commutes, illustrates the enormous ideological rift that existed between these two planners.

Fig. 17. Stuyvesant Town and Peter Cooper Village, 1947. Fairchild Aerial Surveys, Inc. / The New York Times.

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[184] Joseph D. McGoldrick, "Blueprints for a Greater New York," *The New York Times*, April 30, 1944, 35.
[185] Ibid.

Fig. 18. Le Corbusier, *Plan Voisin*, 1925. Fondation Le Corbusier. © FLC-ADAGP

Over time, this division line between 'strategists' and 'tacticians' has become somewhat blurred. From a contemporary perspective, it is not Le Corbusier who would be listed as Moses' principal opponent in his approach to planning, but Jane Jacobs.[186] In her highly influential 1961 book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Jacobs wrote the most damning critique of urban renewal as a destroyer of neighborhoods and their social relationships.[187] In his recent book, Peter L. Laurence investigated the origins and foundations of Jacobs' understanding that have so profoundly impacted how cities are thought about and planned today.[188] A self-educated observer of urban life and its social structures, Jacobs contributed an entirely new way of thinking about urbanism, a lasting consequence of which is that what seemed to be mutually exclusive approaches to planning in the 1940s do not seem that incompatible anymore.

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[186] See Anthony Flint, *Wrestling with Moses: How Jane Jacobs Took on New York's Master Builder and Transformed the American City* (New York: Random House, 2011).

For a broad overview of Jacobs' activities and influence, see Timothy Mennel, Jo Steffens, and Christopher Klemek, *Block by Block : Jane Jacobs and the Future of New York*, 1st ed. (New York: Municipal Art Society of New York, 2007).

[187] Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961).

[188] Peter L. Laurence, *Becoming Jane Jacobs* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

In fact, images of both Stuyvesant Town (Fig. 17) and Le Corbusier's model for *Plan Voisin* (Fig. 18) from 1925 exhibit considerable formal similarity, both consisting of geometrically arranged high-rise buildings set in landscaped greenery, and surrounded by the pre-existing low-rise fabric of the city. The design team around Richmond Shreve, who had designed the Empire State Building and planned Stuyvesant Town for MetLife, created some variations based on the basic morphology of the Corbusian cross-shaped floor plan, letting some towers stand alone and connecting others into larger blocks. Some elements of this aesthetic of towers in the park set on urban superblocks, with brick facades, and basic geometric shapes and patterns became a model for most subsequent housing developments in New York—both public and private.

Between April and August 1945, scores of condemned tenements in the Gas House District were demolished to make room for the country's largest housing development, and an estimated eleven to thirteen thousand people were displaced, at the same time as the fighting of WWII was in its final days. Writing for *The New York Times*, Lee E. Cooper called the process of vacating the site "the greatest and most significant mass movement of families in New York's history."[189] The destruction of not just buildings, but functioning neighborhoods full of life and vitality, despite the overall poor standard of living, left a dramatic mark on the city.[190] (Fig. 19) The radical redevelopment of a densely populated 80-acre site was a traumatic event for the built environment of 20th-century New York.

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[189] Lee E. Cooper, "Uprooted Thousands Starting Trek from Site for Stuyvesant Town," *New York Times*, March 3, 1945.

[190] Zipp, *Manhattan Projects: The Rise and Fall of Urban Renewal in Cold War New York*, 92-94.

Fig. 19. Cleared construction site for Stuyvesant Town and Peter Cooper Village, ca. 1945. PCVST.

Different competing ideas of what the city was and what role it ought to play come here into view. Some activists saw it as the home front of a battle against racist fascism—of a battle for a complete democracy; others saw it as the place where the success or failure of the US economy to revert to peacetime operation would be decided. Both interpretations were fundamentally shaped by the experience of WWII. Stuyvesant Town and the contentious discourse that accompanied it seemed to thwart the ambitions of advocates for racial justice, and elevated the hopes of the city's economic planners. Within the ideologies of planning, the project also came to embody a postwar urban imaginary fashioned not as an idealist and utopian vision for future living, but as the result of hard corporate dollars joining efforts with Robert Moses' strong will to get things built, and to get them built quickly. It was an approach to planning and

construction that would come under heavy attack again in the 1960s, inspired largely by the work of Jane Jacobs.[191] Before looking at that period and the tenure of John Lindsay as mayor of New York, however, it pays to consider the ways in which different views and images resonated with visual artists. Painting in particular provides a compelling insight into how much the idea of the city had been thrown into motion. Katherine Kuh, curator at the Art Institute of Chicago, took notice of the significance of the city as a subject of art, and as something that made art specifically American, when she organized the US contribution for the 1956 Venice Biennale. The simplicity of the exhibition's title—*American Artists Paint the City*—belied the diversity and complexity of the different painterly takes on capturing an inherently volatile object.

PAINTING THE CITY, IMAGINING URBANISM

In his reflections on the 1956 Venice Biennale, critic John Lucas writes that his "liveliest interest was enlisted in comparing the contributions of France and Italy, of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R."[192] However, the first comparison takes up the majority of his article, whereas the latter is reduced to an afterthought at the end. Lucas appears to pursue completely different objectives in these comparisons. Writing about French and Italian painting and sculpture, he is entirely focused on the quality of the artworks selected, and on the quality of the selection as curatorial contribution. In the case of the comparison between the US and Soviet exhibitions, he implied that the exhibitions function as representatives of their nation states, and that their merit thus positions the respective country within the hierarchy of a world political system. Following the comparatively detailed analyses of the European artworks, Lucas, without much explanation, plainly states that "America's painters easily surpassed the rest as a collective contribution."[193] In the only reference to the Soviet exhibit in his article, he tosses it aside by saying that the American superiority was "pleasing in conjunction with the fact that Russia returned to the

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[191] In terms of the practice of urban planning, Robert Goodman delivered radical escalation of Jacobs' community- and neighborhood-focused activism. He proposed that all planning be left in the hands of the respective community; that the role of the central urban planner be abolished altogether. Aspects of this way of thinking about urban planning can be found in many projects in the US today that include and encourage community outreach and involvement. See Robert Goodman, *After the Planners* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971).
[192] John Lucas, "Reflections on the Biennale," *College Art Journal* 16, no. 2 (1957): 156.
[193] Ibid., 157.

Venetian list with the most damning display conceivable, an exhibit that could not fail to have its effect on all sensitive Europeans who saw it."[194]

While Russia, in Lucas' view, was booting itself out of a European cultural sphere, the United States was making a splash with a contribution that not only positioned its artistic production as equal or superior to that of the 'Continent,' but that also did so by presenting a uniquely American subject matter —that of the city.

The exhibition had been curated by Katherine Kuh for the Art Institute of Chicago where she was the first curator of modern painting and sculpture, playing a fundamental role in building that institution's modern collection. In 1936, Kuh had founded Chicago's first commercial gallery of avant-garde art, and had started to work at the Art Institute in 1943 when she was hired by Daniel Catton Rich, with whom she organized the US contribution to the 1956 Venice Biennale—her curatorship had been created only two years before.[195] Kuh left the museum in 1959, one year after Rich's departure, moved to New York, and spent two decades as an art critic for the *Saturday Review* magazine.

In his foreword to Kuh's exhibition catalog for Venice, Italian émigré and eminent art historian Lionello Venturi wrote that the exhibition demonstrated well the fact that "American painting in the last decades has acquired a personal character and a new sense of freedom, which, however, does not exclude possible European influences."[196] In other words, there was something characteristically and recognizably 'American' in these paintings. In closing, Venturi elaborates on what he means by a possible 'exclusion of European influences,' writing that

> American art has truly come of age at a time when knowledge of the world's artistic achievements is all-embracing. To become national, and not nationalistic, even in painting, one must be acquainted with everything; one must have no foregone judgments and wear no blinkers. This holds true for America as well as for other countries, but we must admit that in this field artists of the United States are setting an example.[197]

In a world of global exchanges and influences, a nation's art can barely be self-contained, but it is precisely by way of drawing from and advancing different traditions that it can reach a

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[194] Ibid.

[195] Roberta Smith, "Katherine Kuh, Art Connoisseur and Writer, 89," *The New York Times*, January 12, 1994.

[196] Lionello Venturi, "Foreword," in *American Artists Paint the City*, ed. Katharine Kuh (The Art Institute of Chicago, 1956), 5.

[197] Ibid., 6.

contemporary fame. Tucked into Venturi's view here might also be a desire to assert the continued relevance of European art in the American century.[198]

Katherine Kuh saw the contribution made by American painters in the 20th century as grounded in the experience of urban society, and wrote that

> Before this century, most Americans founded their esthetic code on European standards. They looked for age-old traditions—for serenity, peace, harmony—for shimmering perspectives and tender patina on worn walls. Instead they were met by explosive billboards, unrelenting light and the harsh percussion of modern streets.[199]

New York City, she argued, became a symbol for all of the urban United States, and rather than rejecting the city and its elements in favor of a more traditionally European aesthetic, artists began to explore precisely what they were confronted with—traffic, din, masses of people, and a seemingly endless energy of an urban society in constant motion. Fernand Léger was quoted to emphasize this point: "In America you are confronted with a power in movement, with force in reserve without end. An unbelievable vitality—a perpetual movement."[200] Kuh also held that the development of a more recognizably American art became possible only through the city as an object of attention—because it was in the formal and historical difference of the American cities as compared to those of Europe that cultural difference was most strongly articulated and could be most effectively captured.[201]

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[198] In architecture, a similar notion had been put forward by Henry-Russell Hitchcock in 1952 when, together with Arthur Drexler, organized the MoMA show *Built in USA: Post-war Architecture*. Positioning US-based design and production at the helm of postwar modern architecture, Hitchcock acknowledges that it was a development of Western civilization at large. Museum of Modern Art, Henry-Russell Hitchcock, and Arthur Drexler, *Built in USA: Post-War Architecture* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, distributed by Simon & Schuster, 1952), 10.

[199] Katharine Kuh, *American Artists Paint the City* (The Art Institute of Chicago, 1956), 7.

[200] Ibid., 10.

[201] Ibid., 8.

Fig. 20. Edward Hopper, *Early Sunday Morning*, 1930. Whitney Museum of American Art.

The majority of the works by the 35 artists included in the Biennale show were produced between the mid-1940s and 1955. A few outliers were two water colors by John Marin from 1910 and 1926, Charles Sheeler's *Church Street El* (1920), Georgia O'Keeffe's *New York, Night* from 1929, Edward Hopper's *Early Sunday Morning* (1930, fig. 20), and *Holy Name Mission* (1931) by Reginald Marsh. Kuh explained what set American painters apart from their European counterparts and simultaneously constituted a shared artistic endeavor amongst them:

> While Europeans, more remote from their native beginnings, are apt to be driven back into themselves, Americans are still grappling with a pressing and immediate world. This may explain why so little authentic surrealist painting had developed in the United States, for the unconscious is apt to be neglected in times of external stress. Instead of more classical psychoanalytic content, Freudian overtones are grafted on American realism to form a kind of obsessed romanticism.[202]

This 'obsessed romanticism' described a heightened concentration on the perceptions of the city, its social consequences, and on the emotional responses it elicited.[203] Its common denominator was thus the city as an artistic object, not an alignment or uniformity of aesthetic approach and representational strategy. Obsessed romanticism could be figurative or abstract, and Kuh's selection of paintings speaks to that. Addressing works by Edward Hopper and

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[202] Ibid., 21.
[203] For an analysis of the influence of European romanticism and the sublime on the painters of the New York School that became manifest in the construction of the artist and the studio space as creators of an individual artistic freedom, see Caroline A. Jones, *Machine in the Studio : Constructing the Postwar American Artist* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 1-59.

Reginald Marsh, Kuh wrote that "each tends toward an American kind of realism where specific fact is dramatically recorded but also strangely refracted by romantic overtones." Hopper's well-known *Early Sunday Morning* (Fig. 20) exhibits this mixture of the ordinary and the uncanny, where we are presented with the city as a familiar object in a thoroughly unfamiliar, eerie moment of emptiness.[204] The complete absence of human activity keeps the scene frozen in a state of uncertainty. The quiet painting takes on the role of an interviewer who doesn't ask questions. The onlooker is coerced into asking herself questions about the city, about what it represents, about what it means without the visible human component, and about what we think we know about the city. Ultimately, what we think we knew about the city starts to dwindle in this silent interrogation.

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[204] Mark Strand has described Hopper's works as exhibiting a similar quality—erasing past, present, and narrative, "or any formal structure that would help normalize the uncanny as an unexplainable element in our own lives." Mark Strand, "On Edward Hopper," *The New York Review of Books*(2015), http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2015/06/25/edward-hopper/.

Fig. 21. Lyonel Feininger, *Manhattan, I*, 1940. Museum of Modern Art, New York.

The New York-born Bauhaus instructor Lyonel Feininger was represented in the exhibition with three paintings from the 1940s and early 1950s. *Manhattan, I* (1940, fig. 21) has a similar effect as Hopper's work, but in a more immediately visual way. The city is recognizable but not identifiable; it is in the painting's title that the scene—and with it the viewer—becomes located. The implication here is that identification is not a requirement for representing Manhattan, and that Manhattan is in fact represented in the painterly allusions to the presence of tall buildings whose facades are dominated by windows, forming urban canyons. Color and form are presented as mutable qualities, as no more stable than the object of which they create a semblance on the canvas. The city is shown as an experience of color and form, not through the shape of its architecture.

Despite the fact that New York was the most populous city in the world in the first half of the 20ᵗʰ century—until it was surpassed by Tokyo in the 1960s—the majority of the paintings in Kuh's Biennale show did not show human activity in figurative ways.[205] However, if the subject matter is suggestively or obviously urban, distinctly human elements often inserted themselves into the representations. Two paintings from 1948—Lee Gatch's *Industrial Night* (Fig. 22) and Loren MacIver's *The Window Shade* (Fig. 23)—allude to human presence in different ways. Working with rich texture, dynamic brushstrokes, and a palette of mostly blue, Gatch renders the city and its buildings as triangular shapes in the background. A dramatically curved road originating from the position of the viewer approaches the city—emphasized through its dominating size, the contrast with the moonlit waters below, and the streaks of red and orange hues that could represent the taillights of moving vehicles but, regardless, give the infrastructure a sanguine quality. *Industrial Night* speaks to what keeps the city alive—the activities at night witnessed by the moon alone, and the infrastructures that support them.

Fig. 22. Lee Gatch, *Industrial Night*, 1948. The Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C.

If Gatch's painting offers a perspective on the city that is directed outward-in, MacIver's *The Window Shade* (Fig. 23) does the opposite. It shows the inside view of a window covered

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[205] The Census Bureau lists the 1950 population of the five boroughs of New York City as 7,891,957. For the purposes of international comparison, Tertius Chandler calculated that the greater area of New York had 12,463,000 inhabitants.
https://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0027/tab18.txt (Accessed March 27, 2017). Tertius Chandler, *Four Thousand Years of Urban Growth : An Historical Census* (Lewiston, NY: St. David's University Press, 1987), 569.

almost entirely by a battered shade in dark green and grey hues. The cord that is used to pull down the shade connects to a thick ring whose outline is visible against the blueish dark outside, and a bright dot marks the spot where the cord is attached to the stabilizing bar at the bottom of the shade. The window shade is here positioned as the primary mediator between the urban subject and her outside world. In the city, it is a symbol for privacy and interiority, a barrier that is as impenetrable as it is fragile—the traces of daily use scarring its textile surface. In a city of constant activity, it is the window shade that regulates the schedule and, in a poetic turn, controls time. It thereby endows the individual with a type of agency in becoming able to withdraw and exclude herself that is otherwise denied.

Kuh described MacIver as "a feminine painter," who "chooses images closely related to fantasy, and this despite the fact that her source material is frequently prosaic."[206] We are left to imagine what it is that makes MacIver's work 'feminine,' or whether this was simply to emphasize the painter's gender, given that only three women were included in the exhibition. The other two were Georgia O'Keeffe and the Romanian émigrée Hedda Sterne, the abstract expressionist-by-association who refused labels, and who Anney Bonney called "one of the best of the best kept secrets in the art world."[207]

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[206] Kuh, *American Artists Paint the City*, 44.
[207] Anney Bonney and Hedda Sterne, "Hedda Sterne," *BOMB*, no. 39 (1992): 54.

Fig. 23. Loren MacIver, *The Window Shade*, 1948. The Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C.

The only person of color whose work was shown in the US exhibition in Venice was Jacob Lawrence. Kuh included his 1951 painting *Chess on Broadway* (Fig. 24) as an illustration of the chaotic and often overwhelming vibrancy of New York City. A dizzying array of colors and shapes is employed to render a chess parlor as a metaphor for the encounters and connections between people that the city facilitates—often in arbitrary ways. The chess boards in the foreground formally echo the outside world of Broadway and its many lights—visible beyond the windows in the background. The majority of the all-male clientele is engaged in games of chess, and some watch others play. Three Black men are amongst the crowd; two are engaged in games, and are currently making their moves, with their hands reaching out over the board; a third is seen resting in the upper left corner of the painting. Black and white men are

shown as equals in a public environment that is a space of both leisure and competition—a theme that at this stage of Lawrence's career is still rare.

Fig. 24. Jacob Lawrence, *Chess on Broadway*, 1951. Private collection.

Fig. 25. Jacob Lawrence, *Strike*, 1949. Howard University Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Two years earlier, in 1949, Lawrence painted *Strike* (Fig. 25), which shows a scene from a baseball game as seen from the pitcher's point of view. The hitter has just missed the ball, which is lodged firmly in the catcher's glove. The catcher is Black, and the scene unfolds in view of an evenly racially mixed crowd of spectators in the background. Art historian Richard J. Powell has interpreted the painting in the context of Lawrence committing himself to a psychiatric hospital in Queens shortly after completing it, owing to what he read as the artist's own sense of isolation represented in the catcher.[208] More significant, and less speculative seems the historical context of the breaking of the color line in major league baseball that had occurred when Jackie Robinson signed with the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1946, and started playing in 1947. The painting also comments on the fact that the presence of one Black player on the field could attract large numbers of Black spectators who would neglect teams in the so-called Negro leagues as major league teams were being integrated.

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[208] Powell, "Harmonizer of Chaos : Jacob Lawrence at Midcentury," 147.

It is noteworthy that Katherine Kuh included a painting by Lawrence that showed city life in New York as a racially mixed activity; not because scenes like the one in the chess parlor did not exist in reality, but because they are hardly representative of Lawrence's work until that point in his career. More common were his renderings of segregated living in Harlem, or works that very clearly illustrated the fraught and violent history of race in the United States—such as his series on abolitionists Frederick Douglass (1939), Harriet Tubman (1940), and John Brown (1941), or those on the great migration (1941), and war (1947). Kuh's familiarity with the painter's works comes through in the biographical blurb she wrote for the exhibition catalog.

> Born Atlantic City, 1917. Lives in Brooklyn, New York. A young Negro artist, Lawrence frequently uses his own people as subjects. With strident color and staccato shapes he extracts pathos, suffering and gaiety from life in Harlem and the South.[209]

Lawrence's work was represented appropriately in this description—more so than in the painting of his that was exhibited. It would be speculative to suggest that a larger political or programmatic concern in the selection of one of very few paintings Lawrence had made that explicitly displayed racial harmony, although it is tempting given the exhibition's role of representing US art production overseas during the Cold War. However, what can be stated with more certainty is that *Chess on Broadway* fit very well with the other paintings in the exhibition that explored the city in its experiential qualities across the divide between abstraction and figuration.

An experience in the urban environment that remained unaddressed at the Biennale was that of race, and Lawrence's works on issues of race relations and segregation would have stood out like a sore thumb. More importantly, they would have amplified the absence of a racial society in the other works, indeed raising questions about social cohesion that would have been difficult to answer, especially in an art exhibition in Venice. As things stood, the city was recorded through the works of 35 idiosyncratic, yet otherwise neutral, artists. In other words, there was a great diversity of views that together formed a cohesive whole—giving the exhibition an integrity that was important in putting it above that of the Soviet Union, as critic John Lucas had rejoiced—and making it seem inclusive enough as to seem national, but not nationalistic, as Lionello Venturi had written. Kuh gathered an array of artistic encounters with the American city, and including Lawrence was an important element of that. However, it also

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[209] Kuh, *American Artists Paint the City*, 43.

created a veneer of a unity rooted in diversity into which many of the painter's other works would have put visible cracks.

The dominant role of abstract painting in the exhibition aided in representing the experience of urbanism while obscuring the experiencing subject. Kuh wrote that

> If American artists paint their cities abstractly, they may be recording quite realistically what they see, for the angularity, speed and transparency of their surroundings often appear abstract when viewed out of context. Steel buildings under construction become skeletons to look through as glass windows turn into reflecting mirrors. The form of these cities lends itself naturally to abstract expression.[210]

Fig. 26. Jackson Pollock, *Convergence*, 1952. Albright-Know Art Gallery, Buffalo, NY.

Willem de Kooning, Franz Kline, and Jackson Pollock—all central figures in the Abstract Expressionist movement in New York—were represented in the exhibition, and, according to Kuh, their canvases "are intended less to be looked at than entered into. They envelop one with the same insistence as the city itself."[211] In the curator's view, no one expressed the emotions arising from the city's complexity better than Jackson Pollock (Fig. 26), leading her to argue that "beneath the drip and tangle, the spot and dribble of a painting like *Convergence* one senses the multi-colored rhythm of present-day America."[212] This 'multi-colored rhythm of present-day America' is here to be understood completely literally—it refers to the colorful lights on

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[210] Ibid., 30.
[211] Ibid., 31.
[212] Ibid., 9.

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Broadway visible in the background of Lawrence's chess parlor, not to the racial identity of the men playing chess in the foreground. (Fig. 24)

It was through the city that American art was to find and express its identity and distinguish itself from its European roots. In the Venice Biennale of 1956, it was painting as a representation of the many experiences of the city that served as a source of pride and confidence in a world of international competition and comparison. The exhibition explored the theme of the city in a way that made the conflict between abstraction and figuration seem less fundamental. However, it also flattened the complex relationship that the city had had with the war—that had established it as the frontline in the domestic battle African Americans were fighting against fascism. The nature of race relations in US cities truly set them apart from their European counterparts, especially following the demographic changes since the great migration. The artistic exploration of this theme was not positioned as an American contribution to the arts, but rather as something for which there was no room in an artistic venue that invited international comparison. There were clear limits to how American the American city could be. However, while in the 1950s the absence of some of the complexities of the American city hardly caused a stir, a brief and concluding look at the 1960s shows that barely ten years later this was far from true.

The police killing of James Powell, a 15-year-old African American boy in Harlem, led to a riot in July 1964, and in the summer of 1967 race riots shook cities across the nation, most violently in Newark, New Jersey, and Detroit. In between these two events, a change of power occurred in New York when US congressman John Vliet Lindsay won the mayoral election and took office on January 1, 1966. The representation of urban issues and priorities in Lindsay's campaign and during his tenure as mayor expose the continued political significance of race and housing in New York City—a significance that had its roots in the global rhetoric of democracy and anti-fascism of WWII.

FROM LA GUARDIA TO LINDSAY

Two months after taking office as mayor of New York in January 1966, John Lindsay gave a speech at the annual dinner of the Commerce and Industry Association in honor of foreign

consuls working in New York. Standing in the grand ballroom at the luxurious Plaza Hotel in Midtown, Lindsay began what he had himself called "a fine speech" in a handwritten note to the speechwriter. "New York, it has often been said, is the greatest city in the world."[213] He attested the city a global leadership position in politics, finance, commerce, trade, manufacturing, arts, science, fashion, and other areas, as well as air pollution, water shortage, overcrowded transportation infrastructures, and a population of rude, aggressive, and impolite residents. However, he insisted that New York was indeed the greatest city in the world because "it never goes to sleep," and because "the diversity of life in New York gives it an energy and a vitality that sets it apart from other cities." Lindsay was not only selling his city, but he was also doing his best to make his largely foreign audience feel welcome in it.

He then abstractly referenced the problems that come with that never-ending activity and constitute a permanent threat of crisis. If confronted with such challenges, Lindsay was very clear on how he would confront them. Rather than ignoring problems or taking a passive and remedial approach, Lindsay intended to follow what he described as the course of action taken by Fiorello La Guardia, that is "to plunge into the current that sweeps over the city and to attempt to channel it toward progressive and positive goals." Lindsay here not only compliments La Guardia's leadership style, but also positions himself in his lineage. Three other mayors had been in office since 1945—William O'Dwyer (1946-1950), Vincent R. Impellitteri (1950-1953) and Robert F. Wagner Jr. (1954-1965)—but Lindsay frequently quoted La Guardia, clearly identifying him as a role model. The wartime mayor of New York was popular in people's memory, but he also shared many of the same concerns and priorities that Lindsay had placed at the center of his campaign and that would dominate his tenure.

Lindsay started his term as the US congressman for the 17th district—New York's Upper East Side—in 1959. He was vocal on urban issues, and advocated for the formation of a cabinet-level federal agency that would centrally deal with urban affairs—this became the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) in 1965. During his second year in Congress, he published an article titled "The Cries of Our Cities" in *Progressive Architecture*, and the piece lamented the wide distribution of responsibility and jurisdiction affecting cities across a sea of disconnected agencies in Washington that made effective urban reform impossible. Lindsay was

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[213] "Commerce and Industry Association honoring the Society of Foreign Consuls in New York City," March 9, 1966. John Vliet Lindsay Papers (MS 592). Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library. Box 59, Folder 24.

not for removing state and municipal authorities, but felt that the federal government had to lead the way in reorganizing the bureaucracy pertaining to urban affairs because

> Urban centers are the nerve centers of our national economy; to allow them to deteriorate is to prepare for disaster. The city is the center which brings together labor, finance, and raw materials with which to produce the goods which nurture the national organism and it must be treated as the geographic, social, and political base for national economic planning in all its ramifications; therefore, we must accept the fact that Federal assistance in the solution of urban problems is essential and wise.[214]

This echoed La Guardia's advocacy for New York to receive federal contracts during the war, and federal assistance for public works projects after the war. The profound imbrication of New York City with the nation as a whole was a straightforward affair for both mayors.

In 1960, Lindsay had introduced a bill for the creation of a Department of Urban Affairs to replace the Housing and Home Finance Agency. In 1965, the Housing and Urban Development Act (August 10) and the Department of Housing and Urban Development Act (September 9) were signed into law by Lyndon B. Johnson, and the latter established HUD as a cabinet-level agency. In 1966, Robert C. Weaver became its first Secretary, making him the first African American Cabinet member in the history of the US government. In fact, all speeches that Lindsay gave in Congress between 1960 and 1961 were about housing and urban affairs, and legislation that he introduced pursued the goal of mitigating urban conditions that were particularly palpable in New York, but would envelop all cities cities sooner or later. On February 2, 1961, Lindsay said that "today in the city of New York our most crying need is housing."[215] He advocated for programs to facilitate the creation of middle- and fixed-income housing in order to counteract the rapid departure of middle-income families from US cities—a development whose impact on the tax revenue and socio-economic demographics of cities was profound.

Legislative initiative in this area was a good indication of the political goals Lindsay was pursuing as a mayoral candidate, and when he took over the city's leadership. Lindsay's campaign released various statements on issues including transportation, but particular attention was given to housing. In a housing white paper from October 7, 1965, 20 pages were filled with rhetoric of cutting through red tape, securing federal funding, and focusing the city planning

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[214] "The Cries of Our Cities," *Progressive Architecture*, 1960. John Vliet Lindsay Papers (MS 592). Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library. Box 31, Folder 17.

[215] Speech of Hon. John V. Lindsay of New York in the House of Representatives, February 2, 1961, *Congressional Record.* John Vliet Lindsay Papers (MS 592). Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library. Box 31, Folder 9.

commission's efforts on the provision of housing for low- and middle-income residents. The premise was that the housing emergency that had been declared during La Guardia's term 20 years before had not subsided, and that the work of that mayor needed to be continued. In fact, La Guardia is quoted on the white paper's title page, thereby fashioning his political program as something akin to a 'La Guardia Renaissance.'

'Tear down the old. Build up the new. Down with rotten, antiquated rat holes. Down with hovels. Down with disease. Down with crime. Down with firecraft. Let in the sun. Let in the sky. A new day is dawning. A new life. A new America!'[216]

The assessment that things were not well in New York in 1965 was widely shared. Beginning on January 25, the *New York Herald Tribune* started publishing a series of articles on the results of a six-month investigation of the state of affairs in the city, and the final assessment was damning.[217] With its headline reading "New York, Greatest City in the World—And Everything is Wrong With It," the inaugural article provided summaries of different aspects of the city, including traffic, business, bureaucracy, politics, welfare, commuters, and others, and each short section added more problems to a seemingly insurmountable pile. 20 percent of the city's population were stated to live below the poverty line—woefully unaffected by Lyndon B. Johnson's heavily criticized War on Poverty program from 1964. Access to public housing was insufficient, coming with a 10-year wait period at the current rate of construction. Jane Jacobs was quoted as saying that "the people are being utterly disregarded," and Harlem was described as a ticking time bomb, especially in light of the 1964 riot:

'Time is running out for this city,' says CCNY's Prof. Kenneth Clark. 'The people of Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant are tired of promises and nothing else from City Hall.'[218]

In June of that year, Lindsay spoke at a meeting of the United Council of Harlem Organizations about the aftermath of the previous summer's Harlem riot, and the need of the government and community to come together and discuss "candidly, calmly and constructively."[219] He went on to propose a 10-point plan "to help relieve the summer tensions

[216] "A 'White Paper' and Program for New York's Housing Crisis," October 7, 1965. John Vliet Lindsay Papers (MS 592). Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library. Box 103, Folder 210.

[217] "New York City in Crisis." *New York Herald Tribune*, January 25, 1965. John Vliet Lindsay Papers (MS 592). Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library. Box 38, Folder 62.

[218] "New York City in Crisis." *New York Herald Tribune*, January 25, 1965. John Vliet Lindsay Papers (MS 592). Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library. Box 38, Folder 62.

[219] "Excerpts from Remarks by Congressman John V. Lindsay, Candidate for Mayor, Prepared for Delivery at a Meeting of the United Council of Harlem Organizations, 312 West 125th Street, Manhattan, Saturday Morning

and frustrations in the slums and neighborhoods of our city." These suggestions included appointing a civil rights executive, establishing field offices in slum areas, expanding activities of the Building Department, boosting summer employment, increasing youth workers and summer school programs, upgrading urban recreational spaces, and improving police-community relations. Lindsay considered the cost of such programs as negligible compared to the social and economic damage caused by unrest, let alone riots. In October, less than two weeks before election day on November 2, Lindsay's campaign issued a press release that emphasized the candidate's concern with race relations. It began with the assertion that "race relations may be the most important issue in New York's progress or decay in the next ten years,"[220] and continued to argue that the city had to take serious measures in bolstering the achievements of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act in order to create a fair and equitable environment for everyone.

Lindsay had a lot more to say on issues of race and poverty after he was elected mayor and took office on January 1, 1966. In a speech before urban renewal advocates in Washington, D.C. in September, Lindsay argued that just because Black people were over proportionally affected by poverty, poverty was not a Black problem. It also was not a problem merely of a lack of education. He said that

> The poor need more than an education. They need clean housing they can afford. They need jobs. They need more enlightened welfare policies. They need readily-available medical services. They need a voice in the administration of governmental programs created for them. They need protection from junkies, extortionists, and crooked merchants, and they need to know hope—hope that they can progress in our society as fast and as far as their abilities and ambitions will carry them.
> There is no single solution to the burden placed upon our cities by the poor, the disadvantaged or the deprived. If the answer can be stated in a single word, that word is money, for all of the needs I have enumerated can be met only with vast amounts of government funds.[221]

It is very clear in this passage that for Lindsay poverty was not a cultural issue, but one of economic disadvantage. Michael Harrington had published his groundbreaking book *The Other America* on the state of poverty in 1962, and it was through his involvement with President Johnson's task force on poverty that the notion of a 'culture of poverty' had gained currency.

(About 10 a.m.), June 26, 1965." John V. Lindsay for Mayor Campaign Press Center News Release. John Vliet Lindsay Papers (MS 592). Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library. Box 103, Folder 202.

[220] "Negro's Lot Worse in City After Years of 'Flabby Promises,' Says Lindsay." John V. Lindsay for Mayor Campaign Press Center News Release. John Vliet Lindsay Papers (MS 592). Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library. Box 103, Folder 202.

[221] "New Realities for the American City." Remarks by John V. Lindsay Mayor of the City of New York at the Urban America Conference Washington, D.C., September 12, 1966. John Vliet Lindsay Papers (MS 592). Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library. Box 63, Folder 153.

Ironically, Harrington had not intended the term to mean that poverty belonged to a certain cultural group; in other words, that it was a secondary characteristic of certain types of people.[222] Instead, the implication was that poverty had become a product of the existing social and political system; that poverty was part of the culture of society at large. Poverty, then, was a vicious circle that, as Lindsay asserts, could only be broken with the infusion of funds.

When riots broke out in the summer of 1967 in Detroit, in nearby Newark, and in many other cities across the country, Lindsay cautioned against voices that vilified poor Black urban populations. In a speech at the annual Congress of Cities in Boston on July 31, the mayor asserted that slum dwellers and rioters were not the same people; that poor people living in poor neighborhoods wanted precisely what all other people want:

> They want a better place to live. They want jobs. They want the rats exterminated. They want to [sic] trash cleaned from the streets. They want the dope pushers and junkies arrested. They want more playgrounds for their children.[223]

Lindsay urged his audience to think of the people living in their cities' ghettos as humans, and as individuals—not as one large uneducated and morally decrepit mob. Before militancy, the ghetto was a place of resignation. In his speech Lindsay described an encounter he had with a middle-aged woman sitting on the steps outside her tenement building. Presuming that "she probably was on welfare, and possibly one of her sons already was in jail," he said that

> That woman, typical of many I have seen, wasn't going to start a riot. She had all of that taken out of her. She had given up. She had managed to accept, not without cynicism, the kind of life she lived.
> Although the sidewalk in front of her was littered, she would not sweep it anymore; in the slums that job is reserved to the Sanitation Department. If she had some hope of change, she would not voice it. She would not ask much of anyone, but she would not give much, either. She is the embodiment of hopelessness and despair.[224]

Lindsay saw the responsibility for this hopelessness and despair—which in some individuals could turn into militancy—with society at large, not only with poor people. He also suggested that it was no surprise that rioters turned viciously against the police during the unrests, given that policemen, often in brutal ways, were the only way in which the city

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[222] Foreword by Maurice Isserman in Michael Harrington, *The Other America : Poverty in the United States* (New York: Scribner, 2012), xv-xvi.

[223] "Text of an Address by the Honorable John V. Lindsay Mayor of the City of New York Before the 44th Annual Congress of Cities." Boston, July 31, 1967. John Vliet Lindsay Papers (MS 592). Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library. Box 71, Folder 468.

[224] "Text of an Address by the Honorable John V. Lindsay Mayor of the City of New York Before the 44th Annual Congress of Cities." Boston, July 31, 1967. John Vliet Lindsay Papers (MS 592). Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library. Box 71, Folder 468.

government ever showed any presence in slum areas. Lindsay called for an involvement of the private sector in urban renewal efforts, and for the expansion of national non-profit organizations such as Urban America that could work with the government in making sure that renewal was successful. He referenced a meeting with President Johnson he attended the previous Saturday regarding the unrests that summer. Lindsay had attended in his capacity as the vice chairman of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, better known as the Kerner Commission—named after its chairman, Illinois Governor Otto Kerner. Composed of representatives from politics, union leadership, industry, the police, and the NAACP, as well as advisory panels and a substantial body of professional staff, the Commission was charged with finding out what had happened that summer, why it happened, and what could be done about it. A comprehensive, 600-page report was issued the following year, and became an unexpected bestseller in various editions. Much like Lindsay's speech in Boston in 1967, the ethos of the findings of the Kerner Report was one of collective responsibility of a majority-white society, as was expressed in the summary introduction:

> What white Americans have never fully understood—but what the Negro can never forget—is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it.[225]

However, Lindsay acknowledged that the instinct in society, and amongst authorities, was not to accept that responsibility, but instead punish those that were seen as delinquent. He said that none of his suggestions would have any hope of being realized "if this nation's response to the violence in our cities is one based upon retribution."[226] Instead, he argued that "both compassion and logic urge upon us a rededication to the principle—as yet unfulfilled—that every American is equal under the law; moreover, that every citizen deserves an honest start in his pursuit of happiness." Lindsay noted that international news reports on the riots and their suppression were painting a picture of Americans as a violent people and a deeply racist society—very much at odds with his own goal of keeping New York's reputation as "the greatest city in the world" that he had asserted shortly after taking office.

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[225] National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, 2.

[226] "Text of an Address by the Honorable John V. Lindsay Mayor of the City of New York Before the 44th Annual Congress of Cities." Boston, July 31, 1967. John Vliet Lindsay Papers (MS 592). Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library. Box 71, Folder 468.

For John Lindsay, the city was of pivotal importance for American history and for the future of the United States. The role of cities concerned "nothing less than the most crucial domestic problem of our era—the achievement of full citizenship for American negroes and the preservation of the American city as the nucleus of our civilization."[227] This was far from being an exclusively domestic goal but, if successful, would contribute greatly to

> the universal brotherhood of man.
> For we should not seek merely to purchase peace in our cities from summer to summer; we should commit ourselves to a permanent investment in the attainment of ordinary justice for those to whom even common decency is denied.[228]

Lindsay had called the task of making American cities work for all people the "single greatest challenge faced by western civilization," and New York was the focal point of that global, albeit western, challenge. New York was not only the greatest city in the world because it was alive and vibrant with social and cultural activity, but also because its challenges were the greatest—and they were an indication of what other cities could expect. Lindsay argued that

> if the dragons we keep are larger than yours, it is because our size has not only magnified them, but created them earlier. Everything that is wrong with New York City will, eventually, become a failing of virtually every one of our cities.[229]

The similarity between Lindsay's and La Guardia's priorities while in office—housing, poverty, and dealing with racial strife—as well as the fact that Lindsay frequently invoked the wartime mayor's legacy, point to a certain continuity between New York City in the 1940s and the 1960s. The nature of the local issues and challenges had not changed significantly, and the frame of reference had not, either. In the 1940s, La Guardia declared New York to be a city at war, to the point of organizing a large-scale parade to remind everyone of that fact, and Black residents were looking for the city to be a beacon in the global war against fascism. Globally, New York embodied the democratic spirit of the United States, but non-white minorities did not experience it in that way; and they still did not experience it in that way 20 years later. The

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[227] "Text of an Address by the Honorable John V. Lindsay Mayor of the City of New York Before the 44th Annual Congress of Cities." Boston, July 31, 1967. John Vliet Lindsay Papers (MS 592). Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library. Box 71, Folder 468.

[228] "Text of an Address by the Honorable John V. Lindsay Mayor of the City of New York Before the 44th Annual Congress of Cities." Boston, July 31, 1967. John Vliet Lindsay Papers (MS 592). Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library. Box 71, Folder 468.

[229] "New Realities for the American City." Remarks by John V. Lindsay Mayor of the City of New York at the Urban America Conference Washington, D.C., September 12, 1966. John Vliet Lindsay Papers (MS 592). Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library. Box 63, Folder 153.

African American-led fight for democracy had continued uninterrupted, and it still stood in stark contrast to the global image of New York City as 'the greatest city in the world.'

The war for racial justice had never ended on the home front; and while that struggle predated WWII, it was the world war that provided it with an entirely new vocabulary for asserting itself. WWII truly made New York a global city—as the future and keeper of Western civilization. However, it also provided a global framework for thinking about fascism and racial injustice for which housing became a proxy. Thinking about the history of housing in New York City in the second half of the 20th century is incomplete if it does not include thinking about the history of the city at war, and thinking about the plights and pleasures of African Americans as shown in the work of artists such as Jacob Lawrence.

To say that WWII helped build a vocabulary for the struggle for racial equality is not to say that war was good for the cause of the city's disenfranchised populations. Instead, it primarily served as a reminder of how invisible and disregarded the minorities' struggle for equality had been when it gained an unprecedented degree of visibility. Legislative gains have been made, and the material side of housing conditions in New York City have improved vastly, and yet the statement of the Common Council for American Unity that opened this chapter continues to feel very current:

> The plain truth is that for all our ideals all too much intolerance and discrimination run through American life, that they are on the increase and that they are bad for America. The plain truth is that millions of Americans do not feel that they are fully accepted, do not feel really at home, culturally and spiritually.[230]

The consequence of the temporal transcendence of this statement then illustrates that the same thing—housing, for example—can seem to have changed vastly if seen from one angle, and not at all if seen from another. This raises questions about the causality of social change. Robert Moses wrote in *The New York Times* on August 1, 1943—the day that a riot broke out in Harlem—that he would like to see equality for African-Americans as a slow-moving process rather than a revolution that was overwhelming society. This fits with the perception of Moses as someone who was not concerned with racial injustice, and, as in the case of Stuyvesant Town, was a supporter of racial segregation. However, we can also see in Moses' writing a polemic that seems to say that even if change is accelerated on the surface, the underlying social mindset is a slow-moving process regardless. This challenges us to ask whether the net improvement of

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[230] Common Council for American Unity, "Pamphlet," 7.

building standards such as sanitation is a product of social change, or a product of the passage of time that brought with it technological advances in housing.

The goal here is not to identify causalities of social change, but to show some of the different epistemological and historiographical dimensions of housing in New York City since WWII. What we see, then, is that housing is connected to a much larger imaginary of the city—an imaginary that changes with the history, experience, outlook, vision, and art of those who hold it. For Mercedes Owens, housing was to be an expression of the nation's noblest goals in its pursuit of freedom and democracy in the world. For writers such as Langston Hughes and Turner Catledge, and the voices of the Black press, housing was one of many, but one of the clearest, indicators of the long road to true democracy—even as victory over global fascism was being celebrated. For Robert Moses, housing was not a tool for addressing social discord, but a physical project to be completed—one building at a time. For Jacob Lawrence, housing was an aspect of cultural and social identity—a site of both perseverance to be celebrated, and oppression to be lamented. For many other artists, housing was merely a component of the city, the overall sensory stimulation of which occupied most of their aesthetic concerns. What presents itself is an image much more complex than the general assertion that "WWII brought unanticipated racial consequences to the American city."[231]

When Fiorello La Guardia insisted in 1942 that New York City was at war, this was correct in more ways than was intended. In an unexpected turn, housing was becoming the site of different, often competing, urban imaginaries that may not have affected the eventual victory over Germany, Italy, and Japan, but that continue to shape the issue of racial justice to this day.

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[231] Raymond A. Mohl, "Race and Housing in the Postwar City: An Explosive History," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 94, no. 1, Race and Housing in Post WWII Chicago (2001): 10.

CHAPTER 3

SEEING BEYOND CONFLICT:

THE EMERGENCE OF A GLOBAL URBAN PERSPECTIVE IN POST-WWII WEST BERLIN

NAVIGATING HISTORICAL METANARRATIVES

Fig. 27. Fred Thieler, *Rotierend*, 1959.

Fred Thieler used only four colors for his 1959 painting *Rotierend* (*Rotating*)—red, white, black, and blue. (Fig. 27) The colorful contrasts, especially between the black and the brighter white and red, play an important role in revealing the mechanics of the painting's production. Only the blue has largely sunk into the background, emerging in a few spots as a mere trace of a former participant in this labyrinthian discovery of the canvas. There is complexity at play in the relationship between color and the explorative—that is, *rotating*—means of its distribution. The painter's actions on the canvas seem to work against the distinct presence of color, but they are also rendered all the more visible through the color contrasts that emerge. Color and motion are here fake opposites in that they don't struggle with each other for domination of the canvas, but are instead intertwined in a struggle which, if it continued, has the potential to erase both of them. In other words, the struggle is not so much between color and motion, but it has engulfed them. Conflict, then, is not unfolding within the boundaries of the canvas, but it is produced out of the exact moment at which the activity of painting was ended—resulting in a powerful moment of suspense. Tension is here produced temporally, not physically.

Thieler had studied painting in Munich after WWII, and in the early 1950s became a member of the group ZEN 49 that had made it its goal to educate the public about the merits of non-figurative art. These artists were painting in an abstract style associated with the movement of *Art Informel* that could be traced back to the French art critic Michel Tapié who advocated for non-geometric abstract art. For example, *Informel* was distinct from the precise execution of geometric forms as in the works of the Dutch *De Stijl* movement or the German Bauhaus tradition by artists such as Piet Mondrian and László Moholy-Nagy, respectively. Instead, Thieler and like-minded painters were seeking opportunities for gestural expression of the artist's existential take on reality, and of their experience of the act of painting itself. Needless to say, this work shared some of these tenets with abstract expressionism, and the influence of Jackson Pollock in particular was felt clearly in the early 1960s.[232] Thieler himself positioned painting as both the result of experience, and the production of it, writing about non-figurative art that

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[232] Angela Schneider, "Berlin Nach Dem Krieg [Berlin after the War]," in *Berlin Tokyo, Tokyo Berlin: Die Kunst Zweier Städte*, ed. Angela Schneider, et al. (Ostfildern, Berlin: Hatje Cantz; Nationalgalerie Staatliche Museen, 2006), 208.

to me, being a painter means leading the existence of a contemporary who spends the majority of his life with the attempt to represent in painting—or to gain through painting—the impulses, stimulations and depressions, intuitions and calculating considerations, and reactions based on individual experiences as well as chains of experiences.[233]

Thieler joined the faculty of the Berlin University of the Arts (Universität der Künste, then Hochschule für bildende Künste) in 1959, four years after the architect Karl Otto had assumed stewardship of the institution. Otto was a follower of the Bauhaus maxims of integrating architecture with the arts, arts with crafts, and craft-based design with industrial manufacturing processes. He favored abstract forms of expression and representation, and the appointment of professors such as Thieler, *Informel* painter Hann Trier, and abstract sculptor Bernhard Heiliger during his tenure is a testament to this artistic direction. Otto's directorship of the university thus seemed to be a decisive turning point in Berlin's iteration of a debate that was a widely and internationally shared phenomenon of the postwar era—the debate over whether the future of art was to be found in abstraction or realism.[234] Both the aspirational purity of artistic expression described in Thieler's statement above, as well as the ideological rejection of socialist realism (and the identification of realism with communist leanings in general), helped gain momentum for abstract art in West Germany, and in West Berlin.

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[233] "Maler sein heißt für mich, die Existenz eines Zeitgenossen zu führen, der den Hauptteil seines Daseins in dem Versuch verbringt, die Impulse, Anregungen wie Depressionen, Intuitionen wie berechnenden Überlegungen, Reaktionen aus Einzelerlebnissen wie Erlebnisketten aufzuzeigen - oder im Malvorgang zu gewinnen." Fred Thieler, *Fred Thieler : Monographie Und Werkverzeichnis, Bilder Von 1942-1993 [Fred Thieler : Monograph and Catalogue Raisonné, Paintings from 1942-1993]*, ed. Andrea Firmenich, Jörn Merkert, and Sigrid Melchior (Köln: Wienand, 1995), 70, my translation.

[234] Otto replaced the expressionist painter Karl Hofer as director of the university. Hofer's resignation had come as the final step in a bitter feud with Will Grohmann, art critic and professor of art history at the University of the Arts. Grohmann was a staunch defender of abstract art and supporter of abstract painters such as Ernst Wilhelm Nay (1902-1968), who had himself been one of Hofer's students in Berlin.

Fig. 28. Georg Baselitz, *Pandämonium II*, 1962.

In the early 1960s, a different frustration with abstraction arose amongst younger artists; they were wary of abstraction's capacity to obscure history, and to enable their parents' and teachers' generation to forget about the dark pasts of national socialism and war. Georg Baselitz was studying painting in East Berlin when his views opposing socialism forced him to continue his studies in West Berlin in 1957, and to relocate permanently the following year. With Trier

and Thieler amongst his teachers, Baselitz gained insight into abstract artistic practices and theories, and then resisted them with great specificity. Together with his colleague and fellow exile Eugen Schönebeck, Baselitz exhibited work that caused a great stir, in particular his—appropriately titled—*Pandämonium I* and *II*. The exaggerated presence of phalluses in this and other works led to moral outrage and confiscations—precisely the types of responses Baselitz needed to prove his point. His work speaks to what he saw as the great hypocrisy of a nation that could get over the Holocaust, but could not get over sexually explicit art.[235] Baselitz's work was indebted to the German expressionist traditions and its focus on the human figure, using it as privileged form for the artistic expression of discontent and rage.[236] Disfigured bodies and body parts, sexualized in grotesque ways, appear to emerge from darkness, absurd and haunting at the same time.

The work of Thieler and Baselitz—and that of many other artists active in postwar Berlin—is easily and rather effortlessly assigned to two opposing sides of an ideological conflict. The narrative of abstraction versus figuration is seductive, and it is not inaccurate. However, looking at these two artists, things get more complicated if we shift our focus away from *what is seen* to *what is at stake*, for these are not the same things. For Thieler, his painting is a vehicle of expression and a production of experiences, the success of which can best be measured by looking at the materiality of painting as witness to its production, rather than by looking for a mimetic reference to reality. Baselitz's work is an expression of his deep discontent with the

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[235] Schneider, "Berlin Nach Dem Krieg [Berlin after the War]," 209.

[236] In his seminal 1981 essay "Figures of Authority, Ciphers of Regression," Benjamin H. D. Buchloh formulates a scathing critique of the German neoexpressionists and their rediscovery of allegory—particularly in the work of Baselitz and Anselm Kiefer. Buchloh contends that these works are derivative of a fetishized past, aiming to recreate an auratic quality. "The contrivance of aura is crucial for these works in order that they fulfill their function as the luxury products of a fictitious high culture." (59) Buchloh continues: "The aesthetic attraction of these eclectiv painting practices originates in a nostalgia for that moment in the past when the painting modes to which they refer had historical authenticity. But the specter of derivativeness hovers over every contemporary attempt to resurrect figuration, representation, and traditional modes of production. This is not so much because they actually derive from particular precedents, but because their attempt to reestablish forlorn aesthetic positions immediately situates them in historical secondariness. That is the price of instant acclaim achieved by affirming the status quo under the guise of innovation. The primary function of such cultural re-representations is the confirmation of the hieratics of ideological domination." (60) Based on Buchloh's argument, Baselitz's attempt at using figuration to go against the historical amnesia of the war and war crimes in his contemporary moment is contrived, at the least, if not a conceptual impossibility, based on the work's 'historical secondariness' bringing it in line with the modes of representations of fascism, the legacies of which it wishes to critique. In the context of this study, however, the question of whether the artist's mode of representation succeeded in disentangling itself from ideological domination does not impact the simpler premise that it constitutes a departure from the abstract works of artists such as Thieler. Benjamin H. D. Buchloh, "Figures of Authority, Ciphers of Regression: Notes on the Return of Representation in European Painting," *October* 16, no. Spring (1981).

social status quo, not showing what he would like to see in society, but identifying the obstacles that stand in the way of honestly aligning art with national identity—depicted as a demonic scene of dismemberment that is out of touch with its own past. Both painters are concerned with relative inadequacies of conventions of representation, and are exploring different avenues to address those concerns. This, however, questions the usefulness of slotting their work into conflicting positions on a spectrum from figuration to abstraction.

Similar to the brief analysis of color and the mechanics of painting in Thieler's *Rotierend* above, we may ask where the assumed conflict between figuration and abstraction is actually located. Is it situated *between* these paintings as positions in an argument, or does it engulf them? This is not to say that artists did not have clearly articulated positions vis-à-vis the roles of art— evident especially in their membership in agenda-driven collectives. However, characterizing postwar artistic production in Berlin as the outcome of larger ideological—even geopolitical— conflicts, and organizing it around corresponding trajectories, runs the risk of silencing many voices in what was more than a two-way street between East and West, socialism and capitalism, figuration and abstraction.

A historical metanarrative of ideological conflict in Berlin is not adequate for capturing the ways in which artists challenged representational conventions. This chapter brings together different moments from the planning and imagination of post-WWII West Berlin to question the city's location in presumed ideological conflicts that very easily push its historical narrative into teleologies of destruction and reconstruction, anti-fascism and anti-communism, and the all-encompassing analyses of Cold War geopolitics. The goal is to show the impact of war on the city not as locking it into diametrically opposed developmental trajectories, but as producing a variety of visions and possibilities for the city's future. In 1930, urban planner Werner Hegemann formulated his well-known treatise on *Das steinerne Berlin* (*stony* or *petrified* Berlin), writing that

> [e]very city is the stony, but precise and unmistakable expression of the mental forces, which over the course of centuries, stone upon stone, built up its architecture. A snake that becomes constrained in its skin, sheds it and creates a new and more spacious one. But its new skin looks confusingly similar to the old one. Some larva, however, that almost suffocates in its cocoon like in a self-made coffin, is capable of breaking it and rising to a colorful life in a new shape.[237]

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[237] "Jede Stadt ist der steinerne, aber genaue und untrügliche Ausdruck der geistigen Kräfte, die im Laufe der Jahrhunderte ihren Bau, Stein auf Stein, zusammenfügten. Eine Schlange, der die Haut zu eng wird, wirft sie ab und schafft sich eine neue geräumigere. Aber ihr neues Kleid sieht dem alten zum Verwechseln ähnlich. Manche Larve dagegen, die in ihrem Kokon wie in einem selbstgebauten Sarg fast erstickt, vermag ihn zu zerbrechen und

The condemnation of Berlin's condition as 'stony,' and the resulting deplorable living conditions especially in the city's tenement houses (notoriously termed *Mietskasernen*, or 'rental barracks') was widely shared. However, there was little agreement on how to best remedy the situation, and the gaps between different planning ideologies only widened after WWII. Some tenets of modern city planning, in particular the reduction of building density, the separation of functions through zoning, and the creation of car-friendly cities, are recurring phenomena in many plans, but the radical and brutal swiftness with which the war had turned much of the city into rubble, also became an inspiration for ignoring the existing urban fabric in the ambitious reimaginations.[238]

This chapter looks at plans for Berlin as a city of the future and US-inspired urban models in 1950s West Berlin as evidence for how, in a world recovering from global war, thinking about cities in the world had changed. In many examples, urban thinking became more contingent and open-ended rather than entrenched in patterns of two-sided conflict that have often dominated the ways in which it has been historicized. Rather than embracing familiar paradigms of analysis for the postwar based on the dynamics of war—such as winner and loser, destruction and reconstruction—and follow teleological patterns, the goal here is to focus on the 'global' part of global war.

There is a temptation to see Berlin's postwar as the continuation of war, that is, as 'a carrying out of the same by other means,' to borrow Carl von Clausewitz's famous dictum. This project is an attempt at resisting that temptation of mapping postwar events onto the tropes of war. The implication is not to say that these tropes lack usefulness, or that certain developments in the postwar era are not in fact 'the same by other means' as they were during or before the war. Rather, the goal of this research is to demonstrate that telling the urban history of the postwar from a perspective of war may obscure the ways in which the planning and imagination of cities was embedded in emerging epistemologies of the global. The devastation caused by WWII invited a strand of urban thought unconstrained by existing conditions like the larva in Hegemann's metaphor; urban historiography needs to come to terms with this condition and look

neugestaltet zu farbigem Leben emporzusteigen." Werner Hegemann, *Das Steinerne Berlin : Geschichte Der Grössten Mietskasernenstadt Der Welt [Stony Berlin : History of the Largest City of Rental Barracks in the World] [1930]*, Bauwelt Fundamente (Berlin: Ullstein, 1963), 16, my translation..

[238] Harald Bodenschatz, "Berlin West: Abschied Von Der 'Steinernen Stadt'," in *Neue Städte Aus Ruinen*, ed. Klaus von Beyme, et al. (München: Prestel, 1992), 62.

to the methodologies of global history, to make room for historical narratives that are not exhaustively explained through the power relationships between the nations most heavily involved in WWII.

BERLIN: INTERNATIONAL POLITICS IN A NUTSHELL

In his passionate and detailed 1946 proposal *Berlin in der Zukunft* (*Berlin in the Future*), Wilhelm Havemann wrote that the fate of Berlin would only be reflective of the fate of the German nation, which, in turn, would only be reflective of that of all humanity. In order to ensure survival, an important decision had to be made:

> This humanity has to decide to ban any war as a form of conflict between peoples once and for all, and in the second half of the twentieth century has to bandage and let cicatrize the wounds of the first half of the century.[239]

In addition to advocating for a peaceful human civilization, Havemann implied not only that the war was a scarring reminder of a global civilizational vulnerability, but also that the city is an important expression of both national and international accord and wellbeing. Urban planning thus becomes more than the mere allocation of functions and distribution of resources in the city—it becomes a means to gauge and represent a politically healthy global society. Havemann argued that Berlin ought to be representative of Germany's will to peace in the world, through the creation of institutions and events that demonstrate German cultural traditions. For him, "the arts and the sciences, as truly supranational expressions of human pursuits of advancement, will be of great service."[240]

As abstract as these goals might seem, Havemann's suggestions for reaching them are intended to be distinctly pragmatic. Rather than, for example, focusing on aesthetic questions, urban planning and the inherent pursuit of international accord, ought to be focused on sociological and economic concerns. He criticized Le Corbusier's plan for a city of three million people (*Ville contemporaine*, 1922) as presenting an image of an idea, but no 'complete solution.' Havemann argued that style in urban and architectural planning should no longer play

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[239] Wilhelm Havemann, *Berlin in Der Zukunft : Die Grundlagen Der Städtebaulichen Und Wirtschaftlichen Zukunftsmöglichkeiten Berlins [Berlin in the Future : The Foundations of the Urbanistic and Economic Future Opportunities for Berlin]* (Berlin: Das Neue Berlin Verlagsgesellschaft, 1946), 5, my translation.
[240] Ibid., 56, my translation.

a role and that aesthetics would merely be the necessary consequence of developments that translate social structures into urban forms.

While this approach seems reminiscent of the modernist mantra of 'form follows function,' there is a key difference to how Henry Louis Sullivan understood it when he coined the phrase in his 1896 essay "The Tall Office Building Artistically Considered."[241] While Sullivan drew a parallel with the relationships between form and function in *nature*, that is, plants and animals, Havemann was focused purely on a correct assessment of social and economic processes that ought to be efficiently represented in the material forms structuring a *human* urban existence. As such, architectural form here does not carry within itself any moral expression, but is an expression of other forces. Therefore, earlier modernist proposals' striving towards 'higher' goals, such as an assumed perfection in nature, or the stylistically driven integrity of new towns, is what prevents them from offering a 'complete solution' in the way Havemann envisioned it. The 'completeness' of a good proposal is implied to be a desire to 'not complete' the city as a planned object, but to authentically materialize the relationships that make up the city. In Havemann's words: "In today's urban planning, putting-in-touch and relationship-building are more of a task than monumental highlighting of whatever urban centers."[242]

Havemann saw some of these goals realized in the urban grids of major US cities such as New York that embody his pragmatic, equalizing approach to city form. In fact, US urbanism is quoted multiple times in Havemann's report as a welcome change and source of inspiration for the rebuilding of Berlin, and he warns against an approach that would merely reconstruct what was there before the war:

> What would happen if we simply rebuilt on our existing foundations? We would create the backdrop of a previous Berlin that cannot be revived, we would have a frame without content and would be excluded from any serious domestic and international competitiveness.[243]

There are two overarching and interconnected concerns dominating Havemann's vision for Berlin's postwar future; the city's adaptability to social and economic realities, and its

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[241] Louis Henry Sullivan, "The Tall Office Building Artistically Considered," *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine*, no. March (1896).

[242] Havemann, *Berlin in Der Zukunft : Die Grundlagen Der Städtebaulichen Und Wirtschaftlichen Zukunftsmöglichkeiten Berlins [Berlin in the Future : The Foundations of the Urbanistic and Economic Future Opportunities for Berlin]*, 16, my translation.

[243] Ibid., 34, my translation.

important role in (Germany's) international political relations. In other words, social and economic structures, and international politics *are* urbanism in this 1946 proposal for postwar Berlin because they ought to inform the city's physical shape; other facilities and urban infrastructures are merely the necessary outcomes of the dynamics between these other forces.

In May and October of 1949, West and East Germany, respectively, were legally established, and in 1961 the Berlin Wall was built. At that time, Havemann's vision for what would be an ideal approach to urban planning suddenly turned into a political necessity, and it powerfully shaped the city's trajectory throughout the Cold War. His 1946 report, however, is important evidence that thinking strategically about Berlin as an emblem of peace, unity, and Germany's future in the world was fully underway before the long-term separation of the city could be anticipated. As such, many of the Cold War urban developments in Berlin can be read as escalations of trends evident in the immediate postwar, which blurs the boundaries between the post-war and the Cold War, and emphasizes the impact of the condition of war as the common denominator—be it 'hot' or 'cold'—on urban thinking.

The story of Berlin in the second half of the 20th century therefore should be considered not just as a story of postwar recovery or Cold War conflict, but as a story of how war shapes cities, and how it shapes thinking about them. This highlights the importance of war as a way of thinking, and reduces the importance of destruction as the dominant narrative vehicle of historiography.

Fig. 29. Hans Scharoun and Abteilung Bau- und Wohnungswesen des Berliner Magistrats, *Kollektivplan*, 1946.

An important example of urban planning aiming to connect and unify the city before it was formally separated, was Hans Scharoun's *Kollektivplan* of 1946. It was presented as part of the exhibition "Berlin plant" (Berlin is planning) immediately after Scharoun's appointment to the city building council and his assumption of the directorship of the *Abteilung Bau- und Wohnungswesen* (Building and Housing) in the Magistrat of Greater Berlin.[244] The plan called for the removal of remaining structures, damaged or not, between the river Spree, and the Landwehrkanal running in parallel to its south. This in-between zone was to become the professional and production center of the city, with green spaces and residential quarters to the

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[244] The Magistrat was installed by the Soviet military forces in May 1945 as the government of Greater Berlin. It remained unchanged after the Western Allies were handed their occupation zones in West Berlin in July. The currency reform and unannounced introduction of the Deutsche mark in West Berlin in 1948 ultimately led to the governmental separation of East and West Berlin as well as the Soviet blockade of West Berlin. Ernst Reuter assumed his role of first Oberbürgermeister (mayor or lord mayor) in the Magistrat of West Berlin on December 7, 1948. Reuter had been elected mayor in June 1947, before the Soviet blockade and separation of the city, and was vetoed by Soviet officials. Therefore, the social democrat Louise Schroeder, who started serving as acting mayor in May 1947, ended up staying in that role, making her the first—and thus far only—female mayor of Berlin. The separation of the mayoral office officially happened on November 30, 1948, and thus Reuter took over for West Berlin in early December.

north and south. Thus the east-west orientation of the river was established as the primary infrastructural axis, emphasized by highways running alongside it that would intersect with connecting roads going north and south in a grid-like pattern. The goal was both to rid the city of radial road systems seen as the leading cause of congestion, and to emphasize Berlin's anticipated role of being a connector and interface between Eastern and Western Europe.[245] A loosely US-inspired gridded model of the city was thus employed in envisioning a corridor of exchange that began to get narrower in 1948, and closed completely with the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961.

DIE STADT VON MORGEN / THE CITY OF TOMORROW

In 1957, West Berlin hosted an international building exhibition called Interbau (short for *Internationale Bauausstellung*) that essentially appropriated and rebuilt the Hansaviertel, a centrally located neighborhood of the city nestled between the Tiergarten park and the Spree river. In addition to temporary national pavilion structures in the east of the exhibition area, the core of the exhibition was made up of 48 residential buildings and landscaped spaces designed by 63 planners and architects from 17 countries. Le Corbusier contributed his 17-story *Unité d'Habitation* comprising 530 apartments, but it was not part of the Hansaviertel, and instead constructed in Berlin's Westend area, near the Olympic stadium. The Interbau ran from July 6 to September 29, 1957, at which point temporary structures were dismantled and residential buildings were sold or rented.

Karl Otto, director of the Berlin University of the Arts, was made a member of the Interbau's steering committee (*Leitender Ausschuss*) in 1955, the same year he assumed the university's stewardship. His primary responsibility was to organize an exhibition that would run concurrently with the Interbau. The theme was the trajectory of urban development in the future, and the exhibition was appropriately titled "Die Stadt von morgen" ("The City of Tomorrow"). In a press release from January 9, 1957, Otto explained in considerable detail the content and organization of the project, and introduced the people in charge of developing it. Housed in the so-called *Regenschirm im Tiergarten* (umbrella in the Tiergarten)—a temporary lattice structure

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[245] Havemann, *Berlin in Der Zukunft : Die Grundlagen Der Städtebaulichen Und Wirtschaftlichen Zukunftsmöglichkeiten Berlins [Berlin in the Future : The Foundations of the Urbanistic and Economic Future Opportunities for Berlin]*, 56.

covered with waterproofed fabric—the exhibition was to be a core aspect of the event, and articulated politically ambitious goals. The construction of the surrounding buildings functioned as a showcase of modern living and addressed some concerns about the inadequacy of living standards in urban populations, but Otto's exhibition operated on a different level; it declared any shortcomings of urban planning as the shortcomings of politics, rather than of planners, and it aimed at stirring its audience into demanding political change.

The exhibition consisted of 13 planning examples, four of realized communities in Germany that were seen as an already possible in-between state of the urban 'today' and 'tomorrow,' and nine of communities that were commissioned as part of the exhibition. Out of the latter, 7 were from Germany, one from Austria, and one from Sweden. The commissioned designers were all given the same prompt—to imagine a city unit of approximately 10,000 residents as a part of the city of tomorrow, with all required public facilities and a population density of 150 to 200 people per hectare (circa 2.5 acres). All proposals had to be based on existing cities and factor in the efficient realizability of required changes. In addition to prints and models, the exhibition of each design included a slide projector showing images.[246]

By requiring proposals to be interventions in existing urban areas, the exhibition's goal was to avoid presenting visions for a utopian future and instead fuel the 'formation of will' (*Willensbildung*) to political change within the public.

> We therefore t o d a y have to create a plan for "tomorrow," for the success of which all of us - the citizens of today's democratic society - are responsible as the shaping or failing force.[247]

This 'plan for tomorrow' was to be designed based on the shortcomings of the present and the "threats to human existence in today's city." Otto took care to make clear that he was not looking to create visions for a distant future, but instead to connect 'today' to 'tomorrow.'

> All proposals ought to be realizable in the foreseeable future. However, all compromises as escapes from 'today' will need to be omitted because urban planning for tomorrow ought to be driven by the thought that "desirable images of today" are the "reality of tomorrow."[248]

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[246] See the description in the official Interbau visitors guide pamphlet. Hans Franzke et al., "Wegweiser Und Führer Durch Die Interbau Berlin 1957 [Directory and Guide to the Interbau Berlin 1957]," ed. Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin GmbH (Berlin1957).

[247] "Die Stadt von morgen." Press release, Prof. Dipl.-Ing. Karl Otto, January 1, 1957. Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 009 Nr. 54, my translation.

[248] "Die Stadt von morgen." Press release, Prof. Dipl.-Ing. Karl Otto, January 1, 1957. Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 009 Nr. 54, my translation.

"The City of Tomorrow" was about encouraging the users of urban form to assume agency in shaping their living environment and making sure that it would meet the anticipated challenges caused by changes to working conditions, transportation, and means of communication. The exhibition demonstrated what was wrong with the contemporary city, what changes would be good for it, and how they could be achieved.

A richly illustrated brochure summarized the project's key demands and motivations. It mirrored the five sections into which the exhibition was organized: city and human; city and health; city and nature; city and traffic; and city and land (*Boden*). Each section was made up of numbered aphoristic statements that first detailed the detriment of the current or past conditions in cities, followed by descriptions of ways that would lead out of it. The illustrations, produced by the Berlin-based caricaturist Oswin (Oswald Meichsner, 1921-1985) go back and forth between showing the deplorable state of 'today's' cities and the desirable images of the city of 'tomorrow.' In accordance with the exhibition's goal of not designing far-fetched futures or futuristic total urban environments, the drawings are not displaying precise predictions of what the physical environment of tomorrow's cities would look like, and instead show happy people in generic pleasant homes and workplaces. One possible exception is the wrap-around cover image of the brochure, showing an urban form reminiscent of modern proposals such as Ebenezer Howards *Garden City* or Le Corbusier's *Ville Radieuse*. (Fig. 30)

Fig. 30. *Die Stadt von morgen.* Interbau GmbH, Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin, 1957. Illustration by Oswin.

In the distance, high-rise buildings mark the political and cultural center of the city with all its administrative functions and office-based work. This is surrounded by a greenbelt in which single-family homes are nestled in an attempt to have green spaces that were deemed boons to public health. Elevated highways allow heavy traffic to efficiently move in and out of the city core while minimizing disturbances to surrounding residents. Cattle are grazing in peaceful suburbia, and a black bird is chasing after a bee. In the foreground, a group of people is crossing an elevated structure, possibly a pedestrian bridge or overpass. They represent different groups of society that in the 'city of tomorrow' are expected to live in healthy and symbiotic harmony— children, elderly citizens, and adults of different ages, dressed in professional as well as more

casual clothes. It is possible that to the caricaturist in 1957, this modernist model city was no longer utopian, but simply representative of an urbanist commonsense.

The debate at Interbau around different planning approaches between the extremes of focusing exclusively on either aesthetics and functionalism, or community and relationships was also representative of disagreements at CIAM (*Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne*) in the mid-1950s. CIAM X was held in Dubrovnik in 1956 and is most commonly known as the congress characterized by a disagreement between senior members such as Le Corbusier, Sigfried Giedion and then-president Josep Luís Sert, and the future members of Team 10.[249] In 1955, Jaap Bakema, Aldo van Eyck, Alison and Peter Smithson, and others later to be included in or affiliated with Team 10 issued a "Statement on Habitat," which was an explicit rejection of tenets in Le Corbusier's *Athens Charter* (1943). The authors' contention was that

> 'Urbanism considered and developed in the terms of the Charte d'Athenes tends to produce 'towns' in which vital human associations are inadequately expressed. To comprehend these human associations we must consider every community as a particular *total complex*. In order to make this comprehension possible, we propose to study urbanism as communities of varying degrees of complexity.'[250]

There is a resonance here with the stance Karl Otto took in his exhibition two years later when he advocated for a formation of a strong political will amongst urban communities to shape their environment.

CIAM X in Dubrovnik was the last congress before the Interbau opened in Berlin, and before a special meeting of some CIAM delegates was held in Berlin to discuss the achievements and shortcomings of the building exhibition and, specifically, of the 'city of tomorrow' exhibition. This meeting took place on September 26 and 27, 1957, only two days before the Interbau ended on September 29. 40 attendees from ten nations met under the chairmanship of Hubert Hoffmann, Berlin's delegate to the CIAM, and they included Norwegian architect Arne Korsmo, German landscape architect Hermann Mattern, architect and first-generation Bauhaus instructor Fred Forbát, Japanese architect Tange Kenzō, and many others.

Hoffmann's influence on the conversation was significant, and the topics resonated with the theme of "Habitat" that had been discussed in Dubrovnik, as well as CIAM 9 in Aix-en-

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[249] Eric Mumford has shown that this, while not strictly inaccurate, is at least a simplification of matters, given that seven of the urban grids whose presentations are documented and who are a substantial part of the event's design corpus, were created by Team 10 members. Eric Paul Mumford, *The Ciam Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2000), 249.

[250] Quoted in ibid., 239-40.

Provence.[251] Hoffmann had also been the author of the suggestions of topics and theses (*Thesenvorschläge*) that Berlin submitted to CIAM X, based on the experiences that were gathered during the creation of the Hansaviertel. They revolved around the issues associated with living (*wohnen*); generally speaking, they lament the erosion of family unity, of the home, and of surrounding outdoor spaces for recreation. Hoffmann's demands for contemporary urbanism—the realization of which was the goal in the Hansaviertel project—included the creation of flexible living spaces allowing for spatial structure to be adjusted to the needs of residents, as well as the creation of a "*Raumstadt*" (space-city). This concept refers to a formally varied city that represents the entirety of its social diversity in each of its living units. Hoffmann wrote that

> in apartment size and variability, the smallest living area should always represent the social cross section of the city. This adjustment results in a vivid coexistence of tall and low buildings, one-person and family apartments—a "Raumstadt."[252]

An underlying premise of this model was that any person would be able to make a home for themselves in any part of the city, no matter their socioeconomic position, marital status, or family situation.[253] The living units that were seen as making up the city ought to be sized such that a human consciousness could grasp them and that they met actual "mental and material needs," rather than following industrial and economic growth alone.[254] This notion was also represented in the design prompts given to the participants in the *Stadt von morgen* exhibition that called for the creation of city units of approximately 10,000 inhabitants.

In saying that his demands for urbanism were inspired by the experience of the Hansaviertel development, Hoffmann did not imply that they had been achieved in the Hansaviertel. In fact, in the minutes of the CIAM meeting in Berlin, he is quoted as saying that

> the Hansaviertel is the "City of Today" with all the difficulties and compromises that are caused by today's social reality. By our standard, there are not many good buildings there, and in the course of the development, the idea for urban planning was so compromised that Carl [sic] Otto and Erich Kühn decided to exhibit the "city of tomorrow" as the ideal of a changed environment, as a demonstration of the

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[251] The meeting minutes make multiple references to the shared understanding that CIAM 9 was considered less productive, if not a failure, due to clear crystallization of the split between the so-called "middle generation" of CIAM and those members that would later form Team 10.

[252] "Thesenvorschläge zum CIAM X." Hubert Hoffmann, July 15, 1956. Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 167 Nr. 95, my translation.

[253] An implication of this was that the provision and administration of housing would continue to be subject to considerable governmental control, or be contained in public-private partnerships. The brochure for the *Stadt von morgen* exhibition makes the skepticism harbored towards profit-driven company executives very explicit.

[254] See "Thesenvorschläge zum CIAM X." Hubert Hoffmann, July 15, 1956. Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 167 Nr. 95.

necessary, as a possibility for urbanism, as a method of team work, as an attempt to awaken social consciousness.[255]

What comes to the fore here are the different goals of the Interbau as a practical project, and the exhibition on the 'city of tomorrow' as a theoretical project. As generators of ideas and ideals, the CIAM delegates present in Berlin looked at the Hansaviertel as just another part of the physical environment of the city to be analyzed, the only difference being that it had been constructed more recently than others. This is made clear when Hoffmann calls it the "City of Today," a concept seen as mutually exclusive with the city of 'tomorrow.' If the already built city can never be of the future, it explains why future visions and goals had to be confined to the exhibition as a theoretical exercise, with limited references to desired architectural forms and building typologies.[256] Hoffmann said that

> the 'city of tomorrow' shows mankind a positive path that it has to conquer itself. That is why this exhibition is not an object for a newspaper sensation. Fortunately, one can say! Too fast is too cheap. Ideas have to come slowly—only slowly grown wood turns out well![257]

Not radical departures from the present futuristic images, but workable and realizable proposals were the goal of the exhibition. Hoffmann's above-mentioned concept of the *Raumstadt* helps illustrate why he saw the Hansaviertel project as deficient, despite its realization of many of the modernist goals such as increasing green spaces and using a diversity of building typologies. In fact, by saying that in the Hansaviertel "all the difficulties and compromises that are caused by today's social reality" are still present, Hoffmann implies that the only true city of tomorrow would be in a society without any social or material conditions leading to compromises and difficulties, and with a guarantee of every individual's right to claim and design their own living space. He claims that his "city of tomorrow" does not provide a quick solution in the shape of an architectural utopia and sensational imagery. The question that this raises is whether describing social conditions and relations that are far from the present but are promised to relieve urban society of its ailments is all that different from producing and

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[255] "CIAM-Gespräch über die "stadt von morgen" am 26/27. September 1957." Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 167 Nr. 95, my translation.

Newspaper writer Ernst Runge went even one step further and titled his review of Interbau from September 17, 1957 "Die Stadt von vorgestern" ("The City of the Day before Yesterday"). Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 009 Nr. 54.

[256] The notion of the city of the future necessarily being invisible assumes a strong presence in urban discourse in Japan in the 1960s. See Chapter 4 - The City of the Future is Invisible / Ruined.

[257] "CIAM-Gespräch über die "stadt von morgen" am 26/27. September 1957." Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 167 Nr. 95, my translation.

describing architectural images that propose to do the same thing. In other words, the medium changes, but the message remains similar.

A striking example of this similarity between architectural and social imagination is Hoffmann's description of the relationship between the city of tomorrow and a future without war.

> The "city of tomorrow" is also the strongest weapon against war! The more we raise the standards of living [*Ansprüche der Wohnkultur*], and the more humans see their their life goal in an exchange with and design of the environment, the more will destructive forces be reduced. The profitability of residential building is inversely proportional to the profitability of armament. This direct interdependence can be verified on the world market.[258]

War—including the fear of future wars—was likely one of the heaviest burdens resting on humanity's shoulders in 1957. If the city of tomorrow, according to Hoffmann, was capable of tackling and addressing issues plaguing not only urban populations, but also humanity at large, it becomes clear that it went far beyond being just a practical proposal for urban change. At a time when utopian urbanism was still associated with prewar visualizations of grandiose block buildings by architects such as Le Corbusier or Ludwig Hilberseimer, ideas that did not rely on visuals but on reformulating the social structures within the city might not have intuitively been seen as utopian, even if they were to effect civilizational changes on the grandest scale. There is a social utopia at work in the idea of an urban society that democratically, and across all strata of age, wealth, marital status, and gender sets its mind to building and demanding a city that, through forms not to be pinned down, reproduces and promotes this same mindset.

Reading Hoffmann's and other CIAM delegates' proposals as expressions of a social utopia shows that there are important similarities between architectural and social imagination; two approaches, with astoundingly similar goals. At the CIAM meeting in Berlin, architect Tange Kenzō said that a departure from the purely rationally planned city was indeed desirable, in favor of a stronger consideration of the 'values of landscape.'[259] There is an obvious contradiction in assuming that a modern planned city made of architecture was necessarily more rational than a modern city characterized by its democratically enlightened social structure and

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[258] "CIAM-Gespräch über die "stadt von morgen" am 26/27. September 1957." Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 167 Nr. 95, my translation.

[259] "CIAM-Gespräch über die "stadt von morgen" am 26/27. September 1957." Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 167 Nr. 95.

population. This is made especially clear by one of Oswin's caricatures at the end of the last section in the brochure accompanying the 'Stadt von morgen' exhibition.

Fig. 31. *Die Stadt von morgen.* Interbau GmbH, Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin, 1957. Illustration by Oswin.

The drawing shows a man in a heavily decorated military uniform, carrying a saber and scepter, and wearing a monocle. The drawing is the only one in the brochure that contains its own caption as part of the image, written in cursive script: "Tomorrow the urban planner [*Städtebauer*] has as much time, money, and power as a general."[260] Not only does this planning principle of authoritative control fly in the face of the proclaimed democratic spirit of the city,

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[260] Interbau - Abteilung "Die Stadt von morgen" and Oswin, *Die Stadt Von Morgen [the City of Tomorrow]* (Berlin: International Bauaustellung Berlin GmbH, , 1957), no pagination, my translation.

but it is also hard to see how a military general's approach to urban planning would be distinctly non-rational if that was the desired mode for urban planning. Dutch architect Ben Merkelbach criticized the caricature at the CIAM meeting in Berlin, saying that "not the individual planner may have as much power as a general, but the team, which includes the politician."[261] However, this criticism, while highlighting the role of democratically elected representatives of the public will, does rely on the notion that a group of elite experts, including people such as Merkelbach himself, ought to be making final planning decisions.

It is also important to note that just as much as the interpretations of what a democratic, equal, and fair society was depended on the views of the planners and organizers of the exhibition, it also expressed broader social tendencies in 1950s Germany. The categories that are most present in Interbau documentation as dividing forces in society that ought to be overcome, are age, wealth, marital status, and gender. Proposals for addressing the first three are focused on providing housing options of various sizes and cost in all parts of the city, so that these categories would never have to determine where a person could live and, by extension, what their life would be like, but that instead their ability to live based on their own choices would be protected. The issue of gender in this context is of a fundamentally different nature, and deserves closer attention.

Karl Otto declared that the "problems of the kitchen" ought to be addressed in the planning of living spaces, given the increasing entry of women into the workforce. While there is no direct implication that this development was seen as negative, a patriarchal attitude is evident in the notion that the professional occupation of women caused 'problems' at home.[262] The challenge for planners and architects, then, was to help enhance the household that would enable women to manage domestic chores *and* be employed at the same time. In the minutes of a planning meeting for the "City of Tomorrow" exhibition, Otto is recorded as saying that in the development of the project "both the planning men as well as women should have a say." The syntax in the German original (*"daß sowohl die planenden Männer als auch Frauen zu Worte kommen"*) leaves no doubt that only the men do the planning. Therefore, again, the implication is that changes to women's lives were causing problems that men would have to solve, while listening to female input. This attitude was maintained despite the fact that the working group

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[261] "CIAM-Gespräch über die "stadt von morgen" am 26/27. September 1957." Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 167 Nr. 95, my translation.

[262] Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 009 Nr. 54.

that developed the exhibition included multiple high-ranking and professionally trained female officials, including president of the government district of Hanover (*Regierungspräsidentin*) Theanolte Bähnisch, senior federal government official (*Regierungsrätin*) Dr. Ingeborg Jensen, licensed architect Vera Meyer-Waldeck, and engineer Hilde Weström.[263]

The Interbau headquarters received letters in 1957 from the German Housewife Association (*Deutscher Hausfrauen-Bund*) and the Assocation of German Women's Culture (*Verband Deutsche Frauenkultur e.V.*) containing complaints about insufficient kitchen spaces and a lack of playgrounds. Architectural aesthetics, on the other hand, were praised by both organizations, with the caveat being that the authors of the letters could not 'contribute professionally' to the matter. The entirely unsurprising conclusion here is that in the debate over domesticity and living spaces in these 1950s visions for urban living, gender roles, and the roles of women as homemakers, caregivers, and non-expert users of architecture in particular, were widely accepted on both sides of the binary, patriarchal, heteronormative gender divide.[264] The 'city of tomorrow' signifies the idea of a city that will facilitate, if not directly bring about, all desirable social and civilizational changes. As far as gender roles were concerned, the most desirable change seems to have been the idea of creating an environment in which women would be able to more effectively play multiple parts, rather than working towards gender equality.

The 'Stadt von morgen' was a thought experiment for a world facing a range of social issues and grappling with the legacy of war. While making direct references to some urban developments in other German and European cities, Berlin's precarious urban condition during the postwar was not addressed. This omission highlights that the city of tomorrow was not tied to any one place, but it also serves to disguise the anxieties and uncertainty over Berlin's future as a West German city. Whether the city of tomorrow with its assertions of every individual's inalienable right to living space and its contributions to a future without war were unrealistic or not, as a major contributor to postwar urban thought, it was a great unifier because it positioned war not as a thing to be won, but as a thing to be eradicated. The city of tomorrow also served as an important reminder that even the construction of a new model section of Berlin in the shape of the Hansaviertel would be meaningless if it was not accompanied by a profound shift in how society operated as a whole.

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[263] "Die Stadt von morgen." Press release, Prof. Dipl.-Ing. Karl Otto, January 1, 1957. Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 009 Nr. 54.
[264] Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 009 Nr. 51.

This analysis of the *Stadt von morgen* exhibition shines a different light on Interbau because it allows it to be understood less as an outgrowth of Cold War geopolitics and ideological representation. Instead, it shows that there was a dimension to Interbau that investigated urbanism as a global phenomenon, and was trying to see it beyond entrenched conflicts. The following section expands this perspective by looking into how postwar visions for West Berlin as a Western city were reflections of an image of urbanism in the United States and of an increasingly global understanding of that same image.

THE IMAGE OF US URBANISM

When politicians and planners after WWII looked for examples for rebuilding Berlin's and, later, West Berlin's urban fabric and society, as well as German society at large, Soviet Russia and the United States were the two principal models available. Even though Britain and France were shaping forces of postwar Germany in their respective occupation zones, there is little evidence that stakeholders in German social and urban planning were looking to these countries for inspiration. The great ideological divide existed between the two extra-European forces of Russia and the US, and the choice for a path forward would have to be made between these two. As such, West Germany's, and West Berlin's, vivid interest in US urban models was owed to ideological allegiance and the conviction that urban developments in the US were superior to those in Soviet Russia, but not that they were superior, *period*. Wrapped into this desire to identify new ways forward for German society was the implication that cities were direct material expressions of society's structures, and its health.

However, looking at the portrayals of US urbanism in the 1950s, specifically in relation to Berlin, shows how the desire for a democratic capitalist political ideology shaped images of the city of the future, and how that desire precluded a more thorough analysis of the inherent benefits and detriments of the development of cities in the United States. In other words, the notion that urbanism in West Berlin was modeled after US examples and therefore became representative of Western ideological positions in the Cold War is complicated by the fact that the results that were being pursued were not necessarily congruent with the realities of urban and suburban living in the United States.

Two changes to US housing trends following WWII often described in German studies and media coverage were suburbanization and the government-led promotion of home ownership. The formation of suburbs for the wealthy classes gained momentum with the development of the steam locomotive in the mid-19th century and became widespread amongst a white middle class with the boom of the automobile in the 20th century. The US government's efforts to increase private homeownership could be traced to the aftermath of the Great Depression of the 1920s and 30s, and to the founding of the Federal Housing Administration in 1934. In the mid-20th century, both private home ownership and suburban residential communities were seen as examples of a free and democratic society enabling its citizens to live in low-density environments away from the crowds, crime, poverty, and pollution of cities. That suburbanization came to be virtually synonymous with the phenomenon of white flight, and that people of color were systemically disenfranchised—through redlining and the absence of anti-discrimination policies—has long been corroborated in historical and sociological scholarship.[265] Just like in the US there was little acknowledgement of the institutionalized nature of racism, German observers paid little attention to those who were disadvantaged in generous government-backed loan programs and for whom the ideal of a free, equal, and democratic society was an unfulfilled promise.

In the September 1948 issue of the *Baurundschau*—a magazine on trends in construction, living, and urban planning—Americans are characterized as 'tired of cities' (*stadtmüde*), but there is a rare acknowledgement of racial identities—albeit couched in presumptions about socioeconomic status.

> Income levels, especially of lower income groups, have risen steeply in recent years. Thus negroes, for example, have become a significant client base for architects of single-family homes. Special financial support through government loans—which are given to veterans at almost no interest—has also contributed majorly to the construction of new settlements.[266]

The implication here is that Black Americans are readily assumed to be part of lower income groups, which is testimony to an attitude that accepts class difference matching with

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[265] For thorough historical investigations of suburbanization in the US, including the discussion of implications vis-à-vis race, class, and gender, see Kenneth T Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (Oxford University Press, 1985). See also Dolores Hayden, *Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Urban Growth, 1820-2000* (Random House Digital, Inc., 2009). For a recent investigation of explicit government involvement in the creation and promotion of residential segregation in the United States, see Richard Rothstein, *The Color of Law : A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America*, First edition. ed. (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2017).

[266] Baurundschau, Septemberheft 1948, 176. Landesarchiv Berlin, C Rep. 711 Nr. 272, my translation.

racial difference. It is noteworthy that the race- and class-blind appraisal of the social consequences of motorization, the movement of workplaces and industries, and suburbanization made these developments in the US seem attractive from a German perspective. In reality, they were hardly representative of the lofty goals that planners and architects had for an equitable society, such as those that were manifest in the city of tomorrow exhibition at Berlin's Interbau.

In a 1957 piece for the *Nordwest Zeitung*, Fritz Lucke called Berlin the "impeded capital," criticizing the West German government's tepid assertion of city's status during the separation of the two German states. He identified many of the challenges that the Berlin was facing, such as the construction of at least 20,000 housing units per year required to support the growth necessary for a productive economic and political future. The substantial involvement of the US government in these efforts is seen as an example of the West's responsibility towards this important ideological battleground.

> The claim to the capital city of Berlin would be empty lip service, especially for the Soviets who derisively described Berlin as their safe harvest, if there was no will to economically and—not least—morally put the city on the [river] Spree into a position to become a shining island of the democratic world in the midst of that communist darkness that depresses us so in East Berlin.[267]

Lucke also stated that any physical changes in Berlin went hand in hand with the city's Americanization, not necessarily because of the US support the city was receiving, but because the US was seen as the center of the democratic world in the postwar era. When democratization equals Americanization, the interest in US urban development appears more intuitive, and less like an analytic decision. Therefore, German descriptions and analyses of US cities ought to be read less as an appraisal of distant US practices, but as a prognosis of challenges Germany would have to face in the future, or as a way to understand how some challenges might apply more than others within the context of Germany. Whether it is made explicit or not in the many articles appearing in German newspapers and in the studies that were conducted, analyses of US urbanism implied that some consequences of democratization for cities were unavoidable, and that some were caused by policy and national context. Lucke, for example, points out that no

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[267] Lucke, Fritz. "Die verhinderte Hauptstadt. Berliner Tagebuch: Der Irrsinn der Teilung - Die Weltstadt von morgen." Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburger Nachrichten, 1957. Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 167 Nr. 217, my translation.

matter the Americanization and physical changes of Berlin, "the Berliner with his humor and his temper remains unchanged."[268]

The *Hamburger Anzeiger* reported in May 1955 on a presentation given by James Marshall Mill on *The Cities of Tomorrow*, the article's headline reading "On the Problems of Building in the USA."[269] The focus on the challenges here may be read as both a word of caution against unbridled Americanization of German cities, as well as a way of highlighting the fact that German cities, too, needed to be prepared for issues to come. In other words, whatever US cities were facing at the time, German cities should be prepared to face in the future. At the same time, obvious differences between building programs and the provision of housing were worked out, too, such as the government-driven financing of homeownership in the US. The 35,000 publicly funded housing units constructed in the US were negligible compared to 1,000,000 privately funded units, indicating a stark difference in approaches to the provision of housing. The *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* printed a detailed article outlining the funding structures behind this difference, from the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) that increased the liquidity of the housing market with government-backed loans, to the Federal National Mortgage Association (FNMA) which created a secondary market by functioning as the buyer and reseller of FHA-backed mortgages. Beginning in 1954, the FHA was permitted to guarantee mortgages for 30 years, requiring only a 5% downpayment on the first $10,000, and 25% for any amount above. In the 1950s, $10,000 was sufficient to buy a three-bedroom house in many working- and middle-class suburbs.[270] While the article takes no position on which system seemed favorable, the elephant in the room was the question of whether a truly democratic state should focus on financially equipping its population to purchase their own homes through personal loan systems, or whether the state should control and administer rental properties that could be subsidized.

Some contributors made their opinion on the conditions of US urbanism very clear. The German municipal building official (*Stadtbaurat*) Rudolf Hillebrecht from Hanover spent four months in 1954 and 1955 traveling through the United States, spending considerable time in the Midwest. His observations centered on issues to do with housing and transportation, and thus are

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[268] Lucke, Fritz. "Die verhinderte Hauptstadt. Berliner Tagebuch: Der Irrsinn der Teilung - Die Weltstadt von morgen." Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburger Nachrichten, 1957. Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 167 Nr. 217, my translation.

[269] "Die Städte von morgen. Prof. James Marshall Mill zu Bauproblemen in der USA." *Hamburger Anzeiger*, May 8, 1955. Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 167 Nr. 217.

[270] Stolper, Wolfgang. "Staat und Wohnungsbaufinanzierung in Amerika." *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, March 15, 1955. Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 167 Nr. 217.

implicit commentary on what can be seen as the consequences of policies leading to rapid suburbanization that is particularly prevalent in the sprawling cities of the Midwest. Hillebrecht in 1955 presented images and conclusions from his US journey in different German cities. On the occasion of his talk at Cologne's Academy of Management and Economics (*Kölner Verwaltungs- und Wirtschaftsakademie*), the *Kölnische Rundschau* published a summary of Hillebrecht's core points titled "…where much is negative" ("…*wo vieles negativ ist*"), which reads like a journalistic attempt at bursting a bubble of idolizing the United States. Accordingly, the parts of Hillebrecht's presentation highlighted in the article concern the scarcity of public transportation options and the lack of "esprit" and "inventiveness" in housing. The conclusion of the planner's observations is given as follows:

> The European urban planners or traffic engineers might be pondering many problems, but they may consider themselves lucky not to be exposed to the indeed different, but also unmistakeable awfulness over there [in the US].[271]

This coverage speaks to the struggle that existed vis-à-vis US urbanism at the time. On the one hand, the strong interest in urban trends across the Atlantic was tantamount to an acknowledgement that whatever was happening there would be an indication of what could be expected in any other country recognizing the US as a world power—politically as well as economically. On the other hand, relativizing idealizations of US society, and urban society in particular, served to soften the blow of potential sweeping changes, offered reassurance that not all things at home were bad, and suggested that there would be considerable agency in Germany in being able to pick and choose those urban changes that would benefit the domestic situation.

In some ways, then, there was uncertainty over what made up the essential components of life in the United States, while the perceived shortcomings of the country's cities served as cautionary tales for the planning for the future of Germany. There was rarely any acknowledgement of the fact that cities in the US themselves were in a state of transition following WWII, and that they were not a finished product that would end up being imported as part of a 'package of democratization.' A notable exception was a talk Walter Gropius gave at the Technical University Berlin on September 19, 1955, titled "Optic Culture" ("*Kultur der Optik*"), adapted as an article by *Die Welt* newspaper a month later. Gropius enjoyed a celebrity-like status in Germany, well-known as the founder of the Bauhaus and key figure in the

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[271] "…wo vieles negativ ist." *Kölnische Rundschau*, March 18, 1955. Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 167 Nr. 217.

development of modern architecture, after he had been driven out of the country by Nazi fascism. His visits to Germany drew much attention and his appearances attracted large crowds, akin to the metaphorical lost son coming home.

In his presentation in Berlin, Gropius spoke about the fundamental tasks of architecture and urban planning as providing an organic frame within which human life can achieve its own beauty. In order to effectively provide such an environment, he argued that a deep understanding of the relationship between time and space was necessary—a challenge that all visual arts ought to be tackling.[272] Having lived and taught in the US since 1937, Gropius was also recognized as an expert on architectural and urban trends there. In *Die Welt*, he wrote that

> I found it nearly impossible to explain to foreign visitors the character of the American lifestyle, which in its traditional form has almost entirely been blurred by the technological revolution of our time and the enormous concentration of people in our megacities, and which in its modern form is still developing, and is by no means already showing fixed and unambiguous form in the way that earlier, more mature cultures could give to the life of their peoples and environment.[273]

US urbanism is here portrayed as subject to forces that are pulling it in various directions. Two important implications of this statement are that the Americanization of cities and societies has less to do with essential aspects and realities of US cities and society, but more with technological and economic shifts resulting from industrialization. Gropius suggests that older European societies with firmly established cultural and social structures are better equipped to handle and absorb those shifts, while American cities are very much in flux as a consequence.

In Gropius' view, then, the postwar concerns for urbanism in Germany should not focus on an image of the city that is being transferred from one presumably distinct or homogeneous place to another. Instead, the true concerns should be about a type of unity that transcends the logic of the nation state and its presumed cultural borders. Gropius describes it as a "unity of order and spirit that visibly expresses itself in space and built volumes, and remains artistically significant into the future."[274] Built forms therefore should be expressive of the lived realities of society, and not be expressive of a curated set of abstract values or social norms, except to the extent that these are manifest in everyday life.

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[272] Gropius, Walter. "Wie wir in Zukunft bauen sollten." *Die Welt*, October 29, 1955. Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 167 Nr. 217.

[273] Gropius, Walter. "Wie wir in Zukunft bauen sollten." *Die Welt*, October 29, 1955. Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 167 Nr. 217, my translation.

[274] Gropius, Walter. "Wie wir in Zukunft bauen sollten." *Die Welt*, October 29, 1955. Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 167 Nr. 217, my translation.

Gropius advocated for high-rise construction and pre-fabrication. High-rise residential buildings would allow for the population density and low cost of construction necessary to provide an adequate amount of green space for the highest number of people while allowing them to still live in an urban setting. He did, however, warn against the 'Manhattan style' that was taking the idea of the high-rise too far, which is why "Professor Gropius decided on an eight-story [nine-story if the ground floor is counted as first floor] building which will soon grace Berlin's Hansaviertel" as part of the Interbau exhibition.[275] He also emphasized the benefits of pre-fabrication, quoting Japan as an example of abundant design creativity and quality even in the presence of strict norms and standards.

The high-rise architecture of Manhattan attracted much commentary, as both an awe-inspiring feat of modernity, and as an expression of humanity's greed for more. Taking a position similar to Gropius', Berlin Senate Building Director Hans Stephan penned a discussion piece on the 'the new cityscape' ("Das neue Stadtbild") in late 1957, drawing on the notion that social values and structures shape buildings, and not the other way around. Stephan, like Gropius, argued for building as an expression of social responsibility.

> A cityscape like Manhattan is of course the most consistent and merciless self-representation of a time in which the thinking and musing of the most powerful builders revolved around money, just like in earlier times the thinking and musing of the most powerful builders had revolved around the holy ghost. In this respect Manhattan, too, is a creation of utmost expressivity. And although we might find it embarrassing that today corporate and bank buildings, and not churches and temples, command our cityscapes and their decisive places, that, too, mirrors our situation.[276]

The idea that architecture should not be a vehicle for political ideology, but instead for social reality, is a tenet of modern architecture, but in Germany it experienced a renaissance as part of a process of denazification and the desire to move away from fascist symbolism at the end of WWII. As mentioned above, architect Hans Scharoun was appointed to the city building council of Berlin and put in charge of the Department of Building and Municipal Housing (*Abteilung Bau- und Wohnungswesen*) within the Magistrat government in 1946, he organized an exhibition titled "Berlin plant" ("Berlin plans") in which his ambitious plans for the city's rebuilding and reorientation along an east-west infrastructural axis were presented to the

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[275] *Die Rheinpfalz*, October 1, 1955. Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 009 Nr. 66, my translation.

[276] Stephan, Hans. "Das neue Stadtbild. Ein Diskussionsbeitrag." Signed January 28, 1958. Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 009 Nr. 50, my translation.

public.[277] (Fig. 29) During the 9th meeting of the Berlin Magistrat's Building Committee (*Bauwirtschaftsausschuss*), Scharoun elaborated at length on his visions for the city. Regarding architecture, Scharoun forcefully argued against representation, and for pure 'optics.' In the case of new buildings,

> we demand <u>complete</u> presence, we do not only want to gaze with our eyes, but take possession with the body. Sculpture shows similar tendencies; it, too, now offers itself again—in a new type of immediacy—to the eyes and to touch.[278]

A noticeable difference between Scharoun's and Gropius' suggestions is that Scharoun does not evoke any international comparison, while Gropius does—only to dismiss it again in the interest of introducing an urban approach that transcends any superficial national differences. Scharoun starts from a position entirely devoid of considerations of national identity. It is impossible to get a precise understanding of where the two architects positioned themselves in regards to the nation states in these moments in 1946 and 1955, respectively. However, it does not seem far-fetched to think that in 1946—before even the government of Berlin was formally separated, let alone two German states established, but when there was an acute fear of the occupation zones of the Soviets and the Western allies drifting apart—the issue of the nation state would be avoided altogether. As such, the contents of Scharoun's grand vision for Berlin were theoretical, and astoundingly apolitical. The family unit was to form the core of all planning efforts and goals, a notion that would have transcended competing political ideologies, and whose importance would have easily been acknowledged across the political divide. Accordingly, the criticism brought by members of the Building Committee to which Scharoun spoke, pointed out the lack of practical thinking in his plan and lamented that it was nothing but a sweeping overview with no direction for action. The plan was accused of having been conceived in complete isolation from the general public, without discussions in public forums such as newspapers. Thus despite their apolitical appeal, Scharoun's ideas were not very well received, and they quickly became obsolete as the separation of Berlin became more and more likely.

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[277] See *Der Bauhelfer*, "Berlin plant. Zur Eröffnung der Berliner Ausstellung." Issue 4, 1946. Landesarchiv Berlin, C Rep. 711 Nr. 272.

[278] Scharoun, Hans. "Grundsatzfragen der Stadtplanung." Minutes of the 9th meeting of the Building Committee of the Magistrat of the City of Berlin. Thursday, April 4, 1946. Landesarchiv Berlin, C Rep. 109 Nr. 98, 9, my translation, emphasis in the original.

By the time that Walter Gropius was speaking in Berlin about the future of cities in 1955, the border between East and West Berlin was still permeable, but it was firmly established. Berlin's status as a city divided between two different states, and two different political systems had become reality. In this context, Gropius' advocacy for a vivid exchange of "achievements" (*Errungenschaften*) appears to fuel the hope that this might lead to mutual understanding of different peoples, cultures, and nations. In other words, differences would have to be overcome from a global place of acknowledging them.

> After we have abandoned our meaningless hunt for styles, we finally start to take certain positions, develop foundations, and find means of expression that match the deeply changed way of life of the 21ˢᵗ-century human and that are becoming culturally valid for all of us. We begin to understand that the re-formation [*Neuformung*] of our world demands a consistent inner growth, a conviction, that in the conscious union with others and for the benefit of our fellow humans constantly seeks new truths. That is the path towards a new optic culture.[279]

Only two years after Gropius' visit to Berlin, the Interbau opened its doors to visitors, and this invites looking into the relationship between his own architectural contribution and 'optic culture.'

For the building exhibition, Gropius designed a nine-story reinforced concrete building containing 67 apartments that was presented as a compromise between skyscraper architecture and the suburban single-family dwelling set in greenery. The structure has a rectangular footprint that is slightly curved, the concave side facing south, as if embracing the Tiergarten that is immediately adjacent. Every apartment included a balcony ensuring easy access to the outside, most of them facing south, and some located on the short edges of the building, facing east and west, respectively. On the convex northern side, four shafts containing staircases and elevators protrude from the building, visually breaking up that facade in the four bends that create the structure's overall curve. On the south-facing side, the mixing of three different apartment layouts on the eight principal residential floors results in a rhythmic texture and three-dimensionality of the facade, with the corrugated metal railings of the balconies protruding from the building and standing out like screens against the smoothly plastered walls. The first floor contains storage units, laundry facilities, and trash rooms, and the tenth floor—only covering part of the building footprint and sitting slightly recessed in a penthouse-like manner—houses three apartments with unique floor plans and terraces.

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[279] Gropius, Walter. "Wie wir in Zukunft bauen sollten." *Die Welt*, October 29, 1955. Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 167 Nr. 217, my translation.

At 25 meters (82 feet) tall and 80 meters (262 feet) long, the building possesses a strong horizontal orientation, reinforced by the stacked lines of balconies and unbroken rows of windows that also make apparent its compartmentalization into individual living units. An obvious design flaw is the fact that the elevators do not stop on residential floors, but at the half-way mark between them, making the building non-accessible. All in all, Gropius' design does mitigate the megastructural approach of earlier Corbusian proposals while still holding on to the goal of creating relative residential density amidst easily accessible green spaces, but not to the degree that Stephan, in his assessment of Manhattan, later described as a pure expression of capitalism's drive towards profit. The building's overall proportions, dominant horizontal lines, and facade structure that communicates the cellular arrangement of interior dwelling units can be read as expressions of a type of optic culture that Gropius had in mind when he suggested that architecture and planning ought to provide a framework for living.

On April 8, 1957, then-Minister for Families in the West German government Franz-Josef Wuermeling wrote a letter to the Interbau organizers, questioning the exhibition's high-rise apartment buildings for their social viability.[280] Wuermeling referenced a German study from 1953 on US housing policy that argued against high-rise construction, based on US trends towards suburbanization and homeownership. He wrote that

> my concerns with the high-rises are especially serious, precisely because of the human consequences that living has for our families. What speaks against multi-story apartment buildings—that they hardly afford the space in which people can live freely in ways that are prevented by their rationalized life outside of the home, and in which the intimate sphere of the family is protected from the intrusion of the public—these concerns apply even more to the living machines. Especially today, when professional life is increasingly shaped by technology and rationalized, and people are at risk of becoming mentally impoverished like never before, it seems especially important to provide them with a space in which they can retain personality and individuality. These living machines essentially breathe the same technological spirit as the workplace and therefore offer little opportunity for mental balance.[281]

Even though Walter Gropius' building for the Hansaviertel was not its tallest, it is still representative of the kind of multi-unit dwellings that Wuermeling was opposed to. Both men positioned the family at the center of all concerns to do with housing—in theory and practice. However, they would have disagreed considerably on what a family-centered city might look

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[280] Letter from Federal Minister for Families (Bundesminister für Familienfragen) Franz-Josef Wuermeling to Karl Mahler, Director of the Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin GmbH, April 8, 1957. Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 167 Nr. 6

[281] Letter from Federal Minister for Families (Bundesminister für Familienfragen) Franz-Josef Wuermeling to Karl Mahler, Director of the Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin GmbH, April 8, 1957. Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 167 Nr. 6

like, and this is where the different views on the city and on Americanization are thrown into relief. Wuermeling essentially argues that Berlin should imitate housing trends that were unfolding in US cities, based on the assumption that following US political ideology would result in similar challenges and opportunities in housing as were already becoming manifest in the US.

However, it would be too simple to think that this approach is tantamount to wanting to introduce a practice from one national context to another. Rather, it is the absence of recognition of local differences between US and German urbanism that stands out in Wuermeling's letter. As an island of West German territory within the German Democratic Republic, space in West Berlin was a finite resource, and the suggestion that the city should embark on a large-scale suburbanization project akin to that unfolding in the vast United States seems unrealistic, at best.

Further, as a social development, suburbanization in the US was deeply enmeshed in contemporary social issues, and was available primarily only to white Americans—an inequality that likely escaped Wuermeling's unqualified praise of single-family homes and homeownership. The minister idealizes and simplifies both the opportunities available in Germany, and the realities in the United States. It becomes clear that West Berlin as an urban project was an expression of Western capitalist ideology as seen in the US. However, looking at the proposals and pleas for Berlin's future reveals that the urban imaginary they construct challenges the notion that the city's history can be captured through the conflict between East and West. Instead, the future that was painted for Berlin had a dimension that was not nationally defined, but was that of a global democratic society. This was true even after the Berlin Wall was built.

In May 1962, Karl Schiller, then Berlin Senator for Economy and Credit Affairs, visited the United States, spending time in New York City, Washington, DC, and Boston. Schiller's advocacy for Berlin was not concerned with urban plans and architectural aesthetics, but was part of contemporary discourse that positioned Berlin at the center of the US-dominated 'system of the West.' In his "Berlin Report" that he presented as part of his visit, Schiller wrote that

> the people of the United States and of Berlin both love freedom, and this is the root of the confidence that 2 million people behind the Iron Curtain have in the leading power of the Western world.[282]

The construction of the Berlin Wall, which began on August 13, 1961, had been the most serious setback to the project of German reunification, and it heavily informed Schiller's

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[282] Schiller, Karl. "Berlin Report." 1962. Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 010 Nr 84.

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rhetorical strategy during his visit. To ensure the viability of Berlin as a city and as the West German capital—which it technically remained during the separation even though all functions of the government were carried out in Bonn—Schiller presented the city as a core interest of the Western world, and thus as a core interest of the United States. A press release on Schiller's visit from May 6, 1962, quoted his position as follows:

> 'We may say that Berlin is a test case for our system. If we succeed in continuing with its economic expansion and the maintenance of peace, it will mean a strengthening of the entire Western order. Thus, everyone, Berliner or not, can say: "This is my cause."'[283]

Economically speaking, the primary purpose of Schiller's visit to the US was to encourage private investment in the city. While much aid and investment was coming to Berlin from government sources, private investment was lagging behind. This was important not just economically, but politically, for invested capital was seen as a direct interest in, and commitment to the future of West Berlin. It is hard to overestimate how much more serious these concerns for Berlin's political, economic, and cultural future became with the construction of the Berlin Wall in August 1961—both psychologically and practically. Prior to this date, approximately 500,000 people were crossing the border in Berlin in both directions every day, and West Berlin experienced an overnight loss of 50,000 people in its labor force who were no longer able to come to work. More than before, Berlin's viability depended on investments in jobs, housing, and infrastructure that exceeded the average expected growth. In his address to the German-American Chamber of Commerce in New York on May 15, 1962, Schiller said that

> if, from an economic point of view, we want only to retain the position which we have already reached in the past; and if we administer and run in a routine way only what we already have in Berlin, this would mean nothing other than coming to a standstill, to a standstill that would be in contrast to continuing economic growth in the free world, and a standstill also in contrast to the process of accumulation being carried on with every possible measure in the East. Therefore, anyone who is not in favor of investments in Berlin would be contributing to the withering away of the economy there; and anyone who thinks he will wait before taking any new economic measure until he can see the result of international negotiations on Berlin, will fall ultimately a victim of "attentism," or "wait and see."[284]

While also emphasizing his strong faith in the economic future of Berlin—especially in industry and manufacturing—and claiming that investments will be profitable, Schiller is here arguing for private capital to be invested largely for political reasons. He formulates a type of 'corporate political responsibility' when he implies that those who seek to receive benefits from

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[283] Press release, May 6, 1962. Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 010 Nr. 84.

[284] Schiller, Karl. Speech given before German-American Chamber of Commerce in New York City, May 15, 1962. Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 010 Nr 84, 5-6.

a capitalist Western system ought to support Berlin as the very vulnerable linchpin of that system. This continued the rhetoric that Schiller had employed in his arrival speech on May 6, saying that Berlin should be developed into "a cultural center of international standard" and be a "center for urban development." Interestingly, in his speech manuscript, a line about the city's determination to make new investments in Berlin as successful as previous ones, was crossed out and replaced in handwriting with the following sentence: "The inspiration of all our work in Berlin consists in our conviction that Berlin is a test case for the social order of our choice and its strength."[285] That social order would have been seen as important and relevant to any nation invested in Western ideology, and thus the implication is that Berlin should be considered less an issue that West Germany was facing with foreign help, but a political project whose success would be an important indication of the future of the Western world.

It is easy to say that the planners of postwar West Berlin were primarily looking to the United States for inspiration in preparing the city for its future, and it would not be a false statement. However, it is much more difficult to qualify and explain that statement in a way that expresses the complex roles that Berlin and the image of US urbanism played during the postwar era. There is no strong evidence of any attempts to reshape Berlin in any way akin to a 'US city,' other than the hint at an infrastructural grid system in Scharoun's 1946 plan. Rather, the politicians' and planners' goal was to establish and secure a Western, capitalist, and democratic political system of which the United States had emerged as the epitome after WWII. However, the structure of the city and the structure of society were increasingly seen as interchangeable signifiers for the reigning type of political economy. Discursively, Berlin is thus positioned not as an optimized version of international urban models, but as the global center of a democratic urban and industrial society.

The conceptual move away from aesthetic concerns about urban plans and architectural styles, and towards what Gropius called 'optic culture' that was about creating an environment finely attuned to social needs, relationships, and realities, shaped the meaning of the city as a political project and projection. As such, it is less productive to speak of an 'Americanization' of Berlin if Americanization means that a thing elsewhere is becoming more like the equivalent thing in the United States. Instead, what was at work in postwar West Berlin was a theorization of US urbanism, along with a globalization of the role, challenges, and future of Berlin.

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[285] Schiller, Karl. "Begrüßungsrede." May 6, 1962. Landesarchiv Berlin, B Rep. 010 Nr. 84, 3.

THE STRONGEST WEAPON AGAINST WAR

To conclude, we can see in these examples the ways in which WWII had shaped the fate of West Berlin and radically changed the context—political, material, epistemological—in which the city could be imagined. Some of these ways reached back to modern urbanism of the interwar period, aiming to restore visions of reduced building densities and green spaces. Others, such as Scharoun's *Kollektivplan*, proposed a tabula rasa approach to postwar planning, utilizing urban destruction as an opportunity to further demolish the city. This plan was to implement a new infrastructural beginning that was expected to prevent the crowded living conditions and mixing of functions seen as the core of urban issues brought about by industrialization. Lastly, we saw visions for the future city whose 'completeness' was seen in their 'incompleteness'— either by being imagined without concrete design plans and specific aesthetics as in the 'city of tomorrow' exhibition, or by being woefully unconcerned with the social complexities inherent in the foreign example of US urbanism.

In historicizing these urban changes following WWII, it becomes clear that organizing them based on historical tropes that rely on the mechanisms of war only shows a piece of the puzzle that is the postwar city. For example, there are tendencies to think of the proposals for reconstruction primarily as responses to destruction, or of the penchant for US urban models primarily as responses to ideological divides of war and the Cold War. While these approaches may not be inaccurate, they do obscure the changing image and meaning of the city within a world view that was becoming increasingly focused on global interdependencies and vulnerabilities. There may have been many continuities between prewar and postwar urbanism, and the project of the Interbau most certainly had an important propagandistic purpose vis-à-vis the urbanism of Soviet Russia. However, when Hubert Hoffmann called the city "the strongest weapon against war," he articulated a view of the city as a medium of global aspirations for peace that was radically novel, and that is lost in a historical perspective focused on the analytic pursuit of conflict and ideological hegemonies.

CHAPTER 4

URBAN SPACE IN TOKYO:

FROM WAR AND NUCLEAR ANXIETY TO THE CITY OF THE FUTURE

MONSTROUS THREATS, WAR, AND NUCLEAR ANXIETIES

Fig. 32. Still from *Gamera vs. Jiger*, Daiei Motion Picture Company, 1970.

"I feel like I have come to the city of the future,"[286] says Hiroshi, protagonist in Yuasa Noriaki's 1970 monster movie Gamera vs. Jiger (*gamera tai daimajū jaigā*), when he is taken on a tour of the newly constructed grounds of EXPO '70 in Senrigaoka (Senri Hills), outside Osaka. (Fig. 32) The masterplan for the EXPO grounds was purposely designed to be a model for a city of the future, and thus Hiroshi's statement seems to confirm that the project's design mission had been accomplished. The middle school student is visiting the world's fair and is impressed with its elevated monorail and the unconventional designs of the colorful pavilion buildings. Later in the movie, Hiroshi comes to play a major part in preventing the destruction of the expo grounds

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[286] 「未来の都市へ来たような気がするよ。」

by an evil quadruped named Jiger. An ancient sculpture called the 'devil's whistle' (*akuma no fue*) is moved to the expo grounds from a South Pacific island, producing a high-pitched sound that harms Jiger. The monster follows the sculpture to destroy it and anything in its way. With the combined efforts of Hiroshi, other human actors, and Gamera, a friendly monster joining the human cause much like Godzilla, the threat can be fought off and EXPO '70 saved.

The film was the sixth installment in Daiei Motion Picture Company's Gamera series that had begun in 1965 as a response to Toho Studios' hugely successful Godzilla franchise. The way in which the world's fair is integrated into the film is indicative of the importance of the event for the Japanese nation at a time of unprecedented economic growth, global business partnerships, and international political as well as cultural integration. The first few minutes, containing Hiroshi's tour of the grounds, seem more like an infomercial sponsored by The Japan Association for the 1970 World Exposition—which organized EXPO '70—than a typical monster film (*kaijū eiga*). The character Sawada Keisuke states the exact dates of the expo, which is significant seeing that the film opened in cinemas around Japan on March 21, 1970, precisely one week after the world's fair. The expo theme of "Progress and Harmony for Mankind" (*jinrui no shinpo to chōwa*) is also quoted, followed by an explanation of the exhibition inside the iconic Tower of the Sun *(taiyō no tō*, visible in the background of fig. 32) designed by artist Okamoto Tarō. Throughout the rest of the film, the expo grounds—although only visible on painted scenic backdrops—play an important role as the ultimate landscape to be protected from the destructive threat of the monster Jiger.

It is worth thinking about the juxtaposition of the ancient artifact that attracts Jiger and the 'city of the future' in the movie. Bringing the 'devil's whistle' to the world's fair claims a connection to a cultural past and therefore opens a chronological framework for the exhibition of the future not as a utopian vision completely separate from the present, but as a logical next step on a trajectory of architectural, urban, and social development. In other words, the future is not a matter of dreams, but the necessary outcome of deeply rooted cultural and historical tradition. Needless to say, the politics of patrimony associated with the acquisition of the sculpture are not addressed or challenged in the movie. The tribal inhabitants of the so-called Western Island (*wesutā shima*) try to prevent the removal of the sculpture, but the ethics, that is, the self-righteousness, of bringing it to Japan are never questioned. Further, the threat of physical destruction in the shape of Jiger that is triggered by this act is presented as undeserved and

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unfair, and the full brunt of Japanese military force is unleashed against the monster that itself is only suffering from the presence of the sculpture.

Fig. 33. Jiger attacking the Soviet pavilion at EXPO'70, Daiei Motion Picture Company, 1970.

Creating a path of destruction through Osaka, Jiger finds its way to the EXPO grounds. Suggestively, the only physical structure it is shown to attack at the world's fair is the pavilion of the Soviet Union. (Fig. 33) The pavilion is not identified in the movie through symbols or writing, but the architecture is unmistakeable.

The implied ideological position of the movie is that Japan is entitled to reduce and counteract the negative and destructive consequences of its own actions. Thus, what is presented is a Western, neocolonial ideology of a self-declared global society that takes it upon itself to preserve the world's cultural treasures in a museum-like fashion (disregarding the opinions of the 'preserved'). Further, and importantly, Japan is also presented as the place where the future of urban society is most actively engaged, envisioned, and enshrined—in the shape of EXPO '70. This position is supported by an extensive 1970 Time Magazine special on Japan titled "Toward the Japanese Century" that opened with a report on the world's fair and stated that "No country has a stronger franchise on the future than Japan."[287]

More clearly than the publicity around EXPO '70 itself, Gamera vs. Jiger articulates the underlying ideological presuppositions that shaped the dominant geopolitical worldview in Japan in 1970. The movie is able to do this because its entire narrative is obviously fantastical. In 1965, Susan Sontag wrote that fantasy can do two things; one is

to lift us out of the unbearably humdrum and to distract us from terrors, real or anticipated—by an escape into exotic dangerous situations which have last-minute happy endings. But another one of the things that

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[287] "Toward the Japanese Century," Time 95, no. 9, March 2 (1970): 20.

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fantasy can do is to normalize what is psychologically unbearable, thereby inuring us to it. In the one case, fantasy beautifies the world. In the other, it neutralizes it.[288]

Sontag argues that science fiction films, especially those involving 'exotic,' that is, thoroughly 'othered' monsters and destructive disasters, do both of these things because they represent the intersection of naive narratives that downplay real or potential crises, and society's inadequate responses to the challenges and terrors that infect its consciousness.[289]

Sontag's reasoning can easily be applied to *Gamera vs. Jiger*. The movie renders a devastating monstrous threat quite harmless, which is only amplified by the fact that a significant part of the task of fending it off is left in the hands of a child; at the same time, the movie provides an opportunity to transfer real fear of attack onto the safe space of the filmic narrative. The invocation of the world's fair in the movie only becomes more interesting in light of this analysis, and it invites us to think about EXPO'70 as part of a science fiction narrative. The expo's visions for a city of the future and its aspirations for "Progress and Harmony for Mankind" beautified the aesthetics of the everyday, and clearly represented an escape that came with a happy ending. At the same time, EXPO'70 normalized threats and fears of annihilation that were psychologically unbearable, and neutralized them by showing a path towards a world of global peace, even if born out of national fear. Historical specificity and historical context play an important role in the construction of both beautifications and normalizations of reality. Sontag addresses the "depersonalizing conditions of modern urban society," as well as the threat of nuclear warfare when she writes that

> there is a historically specifiable twist which intensifies the anxiety, or better, the trauma suffered by everyone in the middle of the 20th century when it became clear that from now on to the end of human history, every person would spend his individual life not only under the threat of individual death, which is certain, but of something almost unsupportable psychologically—collective incineration and extinction which could come any time, virtually without warning.[290]

The notion of imagining a world without war after WWII no longer appears as a viable option. This may be the reason why in the filmic fantasy of *Gamera vs. Jiger*, war-like violence is omnipresent, gratuitous, and morally unconcerned, and why in the architectural fantasy of EXPO'70 war was addressed through the portrayal of a future without it, while it continued to haunt the present. The simultaneous defeat and denial of war in the context of EXPO'70 make

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[288] Susan Sontag, "The Imagination of Disaster," *Commentary* October 1965(1965): 42.
[289] Ibid., 48.
[290] Ibid.

this event a highly advanced materialization of the conflict between idealized visions for the future, and downplayed challenges of the present. The 'city of the future' stands at the very core of this conflict, and it is spelled out in the many contradictory understandings that the term elicited.

However, the mediation—and mitigation—of disaster that Sontag sees in science fiction has some very serious limitations. As Maurice Blanchot wrote, disaster escapes our grasp. "The disaster, unexperienced. It is what escapes the very possibility of experience—it is the limit of writing."[291] This is compounded if the disaster in question is nuclear war, which was a fear awoken by the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, and the very beginning of the Japanese monster movie genre, which started with the original Godzilla in 1954. Godzilla was released the same year that a Japanese fishing boat suffered nuclear fallout from a US bomb test in the Pacific, leading to the death of a crew member and public outcry.[292] Derrida writes that nuclear war has no precedent and has never happened, and argues that makes it inherently fabulous and speculative. The bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were not nuclear war; they ended the war. Actual nuclear war, with misguided beliefs that it could be 'won,' escapes all symbolism and signification. In Derrida's words,

> there is no common measure adequate to persuade me that a personal mourning is less serious than a nuclear war. But the burden of every death can be assumed symbolically by a culture and a social memory (that is even their essential function and their justification, their *raison d'être*). Culture and memory limit the "reality" of individual death to this extent, they soften or deaden it in the realm of the "symbolic." The only referent that is absolutely real is thus of the scope or dimension of an absolute nuclear catastrophe that would irreversibly destroy the entire archive and all symbolic capacity, would destroy the "movement of survival," what I call "*survivance*," at the very heart of life.[293]

Therefore, all literature, all filmmaking, and, as we will see, all architecture that symbolizes or signifies nuclear war, can be read as an act of preservation. This leads to something that film scholar Akira Mizuta Lippit called a "conceptual emulsion"—"encounters between heterogeneous elements, which resisted the moment of a dialectical writing, representation, knowledge."[294] This is representation that knows about the impossibility of

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[291] Maurice Blanchot, *The Writing of the Disaster* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986), 7.

[292] See Yuki Tanaka, "Godzilla and the Bravo Shot: Who Created and Killed the Monster? ," *The Asia-Pacific Journal Japan Focus* 3, no. 6 (2005).

[293] Jacques Derrida, "No Apocalypse, Not Now (Full Speed Ahead, Seven Missiles, Seven Missives)," *Diacritics* 14, no. 2 (1984): 28.

[294] Akira Mizuta Lippit, "Antigraphy: Notes on Atomic Writing and Postwar Japanese Cinema," *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* 10, Japanese Film and History, as History(1998): 58-59.

representation, or "a signifier that indicates the inability of language to absorb and stabilize the atopicality of atomic destruction."[295]

At a moment when Japan has 'the strongest franchise on the future' of any country, the monstrous threat to EXPO '70 and its 'city of the future' in the form of the monster Jiger speaks to two complex issues entwined with WWII that are here investigated from the perspective of urban and architectural history—nuclear anxiety and colonialism.

Fig. 34. Time Magazine, March 2, 1970.

Deliberately or not, *Gamera vs. Jiger* speaks directly to Japan's role as a colonial force when the organizers of EXPO '70 forcibly remove an ancient artifact from a foreign territory to exhibit it at home—a situation that could have easily unfolded before 1945, at which point Japan lost all its colonies. In fact, there are multiple dimensions of colonial signification that underlie this moment in 1970.

First, there is the event of the world's fair itself that started out in the 19th century as a celebration of (Euro-American) industrialization, which was fueled by colonial exploits. One of the best-known world's fairs, the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, was an

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[295] Ibid., 58.

explicit celebration of the 400th anniversary of a consequential expedition that led to the colonization of the "New World."

Second, EXPO '70, above anything else, was a demonstration of Japan's prowess and high performance in a world of Western capitalist globalization, which literary and postcolonial scholar Ukai Satoshi has called inseparable from the transatlantic beginnings of European colonialism in an article on the position of the Japanese colonial project within that Western history.[296] It is also worth noting that the aforementioned 1970 *Time Magazine* feature article includes a map showing global trade volumes by region or country. Staggeringly, it is titled "Japan's Reach" and instead of singling out Japan's national output to be compared with the US, the diagram shows the combined volume of the "Co-Prosperity Sphere," (fig. 34) leaning on the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere (*dai tōa kyōeiken*)—a piece of Japanese imperial propaganda that was to promote the benefits of Japanese supremacy amongst nations colonized and to-be-colonized between 1940 and 1945.[297] The implication here is that even with Japanese imperial rule dismantled, and colonies lost, the nation's reach and control continued—now exercised through economic and industrial means, speaking very poignantly to Ukai's argument about the immediate parallel between colonialism and the spread of Western capitalism.

Third, the 'city of the future' at EXPO '70 developed under the master plan of Tange Kenzō, in the vastness of its more than 815 acres (3.3 million square meters), came closer to the large scale of the Japanese colonial urban imaginary than any other project in postwar Japan. Like Tange, other architects that had been active in the colonies and had developed urban and architectural designs for them were involved in EXPO '70. The project afforded them some degree of the freedom that their plans met in Manchuria and elsewhere, and that the complicated political situation of postwar Japan had made impossible when there was a desire to use the tabula rasa of war destruction for large-scale urban reimaginations.

Fourth, while EXPO '70 was the first world's fair held in an Asian country, it was also the delayed realization of the canceled 2600th Anniversary Japanese World's Fair (*kigen 2600 nen kinen nihon bankoku hakurankai*) that had been planned for 1940 in Tokyo, and that would

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[296] Ukai argues that Japanese colonialism is both exceptional and exemplary within the history of the globalization of capitalism and of the West; exemplary, because colonialism is by design a Western invention, and exceptional, because Japanese colonialism is located in a moment of near-total Western world domination. Satoshi Ukai, "Postcolonial Conditions Explained to Japanese Children," ibid.

[297] See William Swan's article on a possible postwar trajectory of the sphere had Japan not lost its colonies. William L. Swan, "Japan's Intentions for Its Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere as Indicated in Its Policy Plans for Thailand," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 27, no. 1 (1996).

have been the original first world's fair in Asia.[298] The event was to celebrate the 2600th anniversary of the accession of the mythical first emperor, Jimmu, in 660 BCE. Its goal was to position Tokyo as a 'world city,' and to secure Japan's place as a major player in a Western-dominated world, all the while emphasizing the nation's own deep historical and cultural traditions.[299]

Nuclear disaster—or the threat thereof—and colonial thought position architecture and urbanism in Japan, and Tokyo specifically, within the global specter of war. They provide an opening for a global historiography that neither sees Japanese architecture since 1940 reduced to the destruction it suffered, or to the ways in which it is entwined with histories of Western modernism. Instead, it draws on architecture and urbanism as an insightful perspective on intangibles of war—fears of destruction and types of global thinking (colonial or otherwise).

This chapter investigates a number of urban and architectural moments in Japan between the war years and 1970, from the global perspective that WWII had broken open, and makes them part of the historiography of the war; that is, it makes them speak to the relationship between war and urban thought. The 'city of the future' is a guiding theme in the selection of evidence, and it is read as a response to war and the changing global postwar world. The city of the future is at odds with reconstruction narratives of production and productivity, and offers a perspective on how WWII became absorbed by architects and planners, and how their designs were filled with both optimism and anxiety that is easily lost in the historiography of international architectural modernism and avant-garde movements. Beginning with an analysis of these two dominant historiographical strains, the chapter then discusses the unrealized 1940 Tokyo world's fair, artistic and architectural responses to Hiroshima, Metabolist architecture and urbanism, the relationship between art and urban space, and discourse on the city of the future, before returning to the architecture of EXPO '70.

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[298] Similarly, Tokyo had been awarded the 1940 Summer Olympic Games that, too, were canceled following the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937, but returned to Tokyo in 1964.

[299] In comparing the planned 1940 world's fair with the 400th anniversary of the founding of Edo in 1989, historian and anthropologist Mikako Iwatake argues that both of these events aimed to position Tokyo as a world city, that is a "hegemonic city which serves as a sort of node in a network of important cities in a perceived new world order." The difference was that in 1940 that world order was focused on the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere, whereas in 1989 it had come to encompass the entire globe. See Mikako Iwatake, "From a Shogunal City to a Life City: Tokyo between Two Fin-De-Siècles," in *Japanese Capitals in Historical Perspective: Place, Power and Memory in Kyoto, Edo and Tokyo*, ed. Nicholas Fiévé and Paul Waley (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 243.

URBAN HISTORIOGRAPHY BETWEEN RECONSTRUCTION AND MODERNISM

The dominant historical narrative of post-WWII Japan is that of a nation *Embracing Defeat*, as the title of historian John Dower's book on the topic argues. This embrace is seen as including the US occupation of Japan from 1945 to 1952, which accelerated many reforms in sectors of business, finance, agriculture, and politics, and included the writing of a constitution that established Japan as Asia's first parliamentary democracy, and introduced a range of civil rights advances, outlawing discrimination based on sex, race, creed, social status, or family origin, and elevating the status of women in matters of marriage, divorce, property, and inheritance.[300] The administration of General Douglas MacArthur, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) banned all institutions of censorship—with the exception of the censorship exercised by the occupiers themselves—and "arguably allowed a greater range of political expression than was possible in the United States at the time."[301]

Histories of wartime and postwar Japanese urbanism, and of Tokyo's urban development in particular, are focused on the ways in which the military devastation and subsequent shortages of housing, food, and construction materials were addressed and, eventually, overcome.[302] An epitome of this historiographical approach is the Japanese Ministry of Construction's official ten-volume publication of *War Damage Recovery Records* (*sensai fukkōshi*) that was released between 1959 and 1961. It begins with a description of the material condition of Japan at the end of the war, and then discusses in great detail the reconstruction effort as a combination of political measures, focused entirely on the things that did happen and the steps that were taken. Amongst the many hundreds of pages describing how laws were applied and land readjustment

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[300] See John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat : Japan in the Wake of World War Ii*, 1st ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Co./New Press, 1999)., 346-404 and Andrew Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan : From Tokugawa Times to the Present*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 228-29.

[301] *A Modern History of Japan : From Tokugawa Times to the Present*, 209.

[302] See David Tucker, "Learning from Dairen, Learning from Shinkyō : Japanese Colonial City Planning and Postwar Reconstruction," in *Rebuilding Urban Japan after 1945*, ed. Carola Hein, Jeffry M. Diefendorf, and Yorifusa Ishida (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 156-57. See also Roman A. Cybriwsky, *Tokyo : The Shogun's City at the Twenty-First Century*, World Cities Series (Chichester ; New York: J. Wiley & Sons, 1998), 88-93.

practiced, and scores of statistical tables on redeveloped areas, there is no room in these tomes for speculation and intellectual confrontations with the war and the postwar condition.[303]

Other themes specific to issues of urban and architectural recovery are the notion that post-WWII reconstruction plans were heavily indebted to those drafted following the 1923 Great Kantō earthquake that devastated Tokyo, Yokohama, and other areas in the region.[304] Further, the heavy involvement in postwar planning of architects that had previously designed large-scale developments for Japan's colonies, particularly on the vast plains of Manchuria, is often quoted.[305] These included Uchida Yoshikazu and his son Yoshifumi, Takayama Eika, Sakakura Junzō, Maekawa Kunio, and Tange Kenzō.[306] The older Uchida, in fact, was working with then-Home Minister Gotō Shinpei on the 1923 Plan for the Reconstruction of the Imperial Capital before even becoming active in the colonies.

After 1945, there is considerable excitement amongst these key actors for having an opportunity to bring the colonial tabula rasa approach to planning back to Japan. However, it

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[303] For a general overview of the reconstruction efforts, see Kensetsushō, *Sensai Fukkōshi [War Damage Recovery Records]*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Toshi keikaku kyōkai, 1959). For details on urban reconstruction specifically, see volume seven, especially the section on Tokyo ibid., 7: 11-172. It is worth noting that the Tokyo Metropolitan Government released a similar publication focused on Tokyo and titled *Tōkyō-to sensaishi* (*Tokyo War Damage Records*) six years before. The six-hundred page volume differs from the nation-wide publications in that it includes more contextual information, and more detail in certain areas. Based on the conviction, as stated in the explanatory notes, that any records of war damage ought to include the genesis and unfolding of the war, the public and social situation during the war, urban defense measures, war damage, emergency measures, as well as reconstruction, the book is split in six parts addressing these issues. The war damage section pulls together a staggering 120 pages of attack protocols, listing every single enemy aircraft with exact time, flight path, and area damaged. Tables display casualties and material damage done on an almost daily basis, pulling all this data from records of the fire and police departments, as well as the imperial air defense forces. An important similarity with the *sensai fukkōshi* is that 'planning' here means budgetary and political planning, and says nothing about actual urban plans, urban visions, or conceptual and aesthetic issues of architectural reconstruction. Tōkyō-to, *Tōkyō-to Sensaishi [Tokyo Prefecture War Damage Records]* (Tokyo: Tōkyō-to, 1953).

[304] Koshizawa quotes planning officials pointing out the appeal of the modernist rationality of the post-earthquake plan and its reliance on land readjustment as a tool allowing precise and deliberate reshaping of land. The 1920s plans were also seen as representative of a national identity that was seen as highly desirable. Akira Koshizawa, *Tōkyō No Toshi Keikaku [Urban Planning of Tokyo]* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shinsho, 1991), 196-99.

[305] Carola Hein, "Rebuilding Japanese Cities after 1945," in *Rebuilding Urban Japan after 1945*, ed. Carola Hein, Jeffry M. Diefendorf, and Yorifusa Ishida (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 12.

[306] Uchida and his team designed the Housing Collective Scheme for Agricultural Immigrants for Manchukuo, which envisioned gridded uniform core cities situated amongst vast areas of agricultural land, endlessly replicable across the Manchurian plains (1933). Uchida Yoshikazu and Yoshifumi, Takayama Eika, and Sekino Masaru created a master plan for Datong (1938). Sakakura Junzō designed the Nanhu Housing Project for Changchun, at the time Hsinking, the capital of Manchukuo, called Shinkyō in Japanese (1939). Maekawa Kunio developed a Housing Plan for New Civic Area in northern Shanghai (1939). Tange Kenzō, 29 years old and still a graduate student at Tokyo Imperial University, won the competition for the Monument to the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, to be constructed near Mt Fuji as the epicenter of Japanese imperial power (1942). For images of these projects see Rem Koolhaas et al., *Project Japan : Metabolism Talks* (Köln ; London: TASCHEN GmbH, 2011), 62-77.

becomes clear rather quickly that even though much of Tokyo is burned to the ground, the complicated system of land ownership, as well as SCAP's refusal to allow large-scale planning approaches, make a duplication of the colonial experience impossible.[307] These circumstances also led to a situation in which the majority of individual projects of architectural production happen haphazardly, without oversight, and outside of coordinated approaches, leading architectural historian Carola Hein to the assessment that only the most dire needs were being addressed, that Japan does not have a history of visionary planning, and that conceptual debates on aesthetics and urban theory, or discussion of architectural design in political contexts were by and large non-existent.[308]

Thus, when Ishikawa Hideaki became chief city planner in Tokyo's planning office in 1943, and started to work on a plan for Tokyo the following year in anticipation of heavy air strikes, the aforementioned parallels to Gotō's urban goals were becoming evident. Wide arterial roads and at least 10% green spaces in the city were to prepare the city for increasing motorization, and serve as fire breaks, while also accelerating decentralization, particularly of industry—a process that had already started as part of air defense measures, with munitions plants being moved outside the city following the passing of the Air Defense Act of 1938.[309] Land readjustment (*tochi kukaku seiri*)—the preferred centralized planning tool in Japanese urbanism since the Meiji Restoration of 1868—did not facilitate sweeping urban interventions as were seen in the colonies, but it did allow for the construction and straightening of roads, as well the reshaping and arrangements of lots in more straightforward layouts.

In other words, the grander ideas for reconstruction, especially those shaped by the invasion and colonization of other parts of East Asia, disappeared due to their unfeasibility. However, they disappeared twice. First, they were abandoned as guiding principles for reconstruction, and then they were not included in official historical accounts, which focus on budgets and legislative measures. The history of Tokyo's reconstruction can thus be called a history of production, not of imagination. The many unrealized visions for urban and

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[307] See Hiroo Ichikawa, "Reconstructing Tokyo: The Attempt to Transform a Metropolis," in *Rebuilding Urban Japan after 1945*, ed. Carola Hein, Jeffry M Diefendorf, and Yorifusa Ishida (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

[308] Hein, "Rebuilding Japanese Cities after 1945," 4-5.

[309] For Ishikawa's goals, see Koshizawa, *Tōkyō No Toshi Keikaku [Urban Planning of Tokyo]*, 203-09. For a historical overview of land readjustment in Japan, and its intersection with planning and building laws, see Peter Nakamura, "A Legislative History of Land Readjustment," in *Land Readjustment, the Japanese System : A Reconnaissance and a Digest*, ed. Luciano Minerbi, et al. (Boston, MA: Oelgeschlager, Gunn & Hain, in association with the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 1986).

architectural form that were drafted are analyzed in architectural history, but within that they are commonly contextualized as examples of architectural modernism, often in conversation with Western influence.[310]

Thus, there is in this historiography a separation between war as a material challenge and an urban and architectural imaginary. This is due both to the many political and economic constraints that visionary plans were met with, as well as the positivist approach with which war records were treated. The consequence of this separation is that design imagination is underutilized as a perspective onto the ways in which the legacy of war became manifest. Even though many plans were not executed, this does not mean that they cannot tell us something about the relationship between war and urban and architectural thought. In order to get a better understanding of how 'war thinking' shaped architecture, colonialism and nuclear anxiety are here considered and investigated as major shapers of the war experience in Japan, and therefore as playing a central role in the impact that the global imaginary of the war had on the city. While the beginning of the specter of nuclear destruction coincides with the end of WWII, the Japanese colonialist imaginary has its roots in the 19th century—especially in its connection with the institution of the world's fair that is of central importance here.

COLONIAL THINKING AND THE 1940 TOKYO WORLD'S FAIR

With the Meiji Restoration of 1868, Japan started taking a pronounced and serious interest in world's fairs. Beginning with London's Great Exhibition of 1851, these events celebrated the achievements of industrialization and, by extension, showcased the spread of Euro-American influence around the world. The Meiji government, desiring a place amongst the world's leading nations, was drawn to world's fairs which seemed to constitute an ideal means of representation for powerful nations, short of more aggressive displays of superiority such as military invasion, subjugation, or colonization—although many of the riches displayed had in fact been derived from precisely such activities.

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[310] See Carola Hein, "Visionary Plans and Planners : Japanese Traditions and Western Influences," in *Japanese Capitals in Historical Perspective: Place, Power and Memory in Kyoto, Edo and Tokyo*, ed. Nicholas Fiévé and Paul Waley (London and New York: Routledge, 2003).

Meiji Japan participated as exhibitor at the first world's fair following its constitution as a modern nation state in a Western image—the 1873 exposition in Vienna. Exhibited goods included pottery, textiles, other craft products, as well as models of Nagoya Castle and Kamakura's 13th-century seated statue of Amida Buddha.[311] Sociologist Yoshimi Shunya writes that there were five core reasons for Japan to take part in the exposition: to promote Japanese quality goods amongst an overseas audience, to learn about Western technology, to demonstrate the usability of Japanese products in order to spur on exports, to study demand and pricing in order to improve market competitiveness, and, importantly, to lay the foundations for building exhibition spaces and hosting a world's fair in Japan.[312]

Fig. 35. Overview map of the First Domestic Exposition for the Promotion of Industry, held in 1877 in Ueno Park, Tokyo. NDL-OPAC 024004409. Copyright National Diet Library, Japan.

No time was lost in gaining experiences in the design and execution of industrial fairs, at first by way of organizing domestic events. The First Domestic Exposition for the Promotion of Industry (*daiikkai naikoku kangyō hakurankai*) was held in 1877 in Ueno Park. The overview map (Fig. 35) shows the integration of the fair ground into the existing structure of Ueno Park. It consists of a rectangular arrangement of exhibition halls around a large courtyard, crowned by a

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[311] Shunya Yoshimi, *Toshi No Doramaturugii : Tōkyō - Sakariba No Shakaishi [Urban Dramaturgy : A Social History of Tokyo and Entertainment Districts]* (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 2008), 125.

[312] The Tokyo National Museum (*Tōkyō kokuritsu hakubutskan*), then called the Museum of the Ministry of Education (*monbushō hakubutsukan*), Japan's first national museum, was founded in 1872 and opened its first exhibition. It was later moved to its current location inside Ueno Park, where it occupies an Imperial Crown style building designed by Watanabe Jin and completed in 1938.

large brick structure on the opposite end of the main entrance into the complex. The map appears to be drawn in perspective, but is entirely out of scale—not unusual for early adoptions of perspective in Japanese painting and prints of this period. The large brick edifice is the 'Art Building,' although its depiction in a different print betrays the map's inaccurate rendering of the three-gabled roof, which is here shown as a single roof structure with three large gabled dormers projecting out to both sides (Fig. 36). This image also demonstrates how dramatically out of scale the overview map is—in it, people appear as mere black dots next to the building that was a simple two-level structure.

Fig. 36. 'Art Building' (*bijutsu kan*) at 1877 expo in Ueno Park, Tokyo. Copyright National Diet Library, Japan.

Brick as a building material was in high fashion at the time, especially given that English architect Thomas Waters' 'Bricktown' in Tokyo's Ginza area had just been completed in 1875, after large parts of it had been destroyed in a 1872 fire. It stood as a beacon of Japan's modernity, although the complete unsuitability of mildew-prone and poorly ventilated brick architecture for Japan's climate became obvious soon after. It is no surprise, then, that scale is used in the map to place particular emphasis on what mattered most at the time—the representation of Japan's modernity in the shape of a European brick building. Notably, this building is situated in the midst of the rich religious and cultural traditions of Japan—shown in the overview map as the bright red wooden shrine and temple buildings scattered around Ueno Park. Nature is shown as pastoral and idyllic, and Japan's island status is emphasized by the ocean shore in the background, which, even before Tokyo's extensive land reclamation projects, was more than a mile from Ueno Park, and would not have been visible regardless, given that the map's perspective is oriented inland. Visitors to the exposition are going in one clear metaphorical direction—past tradition, and towards the brick building crowning the park as the nation's new identity—and the windmill on the right hand side ever so subtly indicates that they have the wind of modernity in their back.

Fig. 37. Sketch showing the location and demarcation of individual building contents (*kakukannai reppin ichi bunkaku ryakuzu*). Copyright National Diet Library, Japan.

A more detailed sketched plan of the fair ground itself reveals that the overview map not only distorted perspective, but also made the fair's exhibition halls seem more extensive than they were (Fig. 37). The L-shaped building in front is labeled as the 'Agricultural Building' (*nōgyōkan*). The other two principal exhibition halls flank the art building in a V-shaped arrangement, and they are called 'Western' and 'Eastern Main Building,' respectively. The names of color-filled sections on the plan correspond to prefectures in Japan, thus indicating the space given to these regions in their efforts to promote their industry in the capital city of Tokyo, which itself occupied a third of the entire Western Main Building, indicating not only its home advantage, but also its booming industry.

The plan, then, can be read as a diagram of the state of Japan's industrial modernization in 1877, expressing significance through size, much like the colonial worldview in which a global spread of territory could secure power. However, it is clear that Japan was no global player, for the participants in its first industrial fair were not called England, France, or Spain, but Akita, Kanagawa, and Wakayama. Regardless, the first exposition for the promotion of industry set a trend, and was followed by many similar events that positioned Ueno Park as the representative location of Japan's process of modernization. Many more expositions and public events took place in Ueno, and public facilities and museums were added over time.[313]

The Tokyo world's fair planned for 1940—to commemorate the 2600th anniversary of the accession of the mythical first emperor Jimmu—was to set entirely new standards and exceed in grandeur any of the fairs that Ueno Park had seen. Given that the plans would have required a complete remodeling of the park, and exceeded it in size, the fair was moved from this representative center of modernization in the heart of Tokyo. However, rather than moving it to an existing place, a new place was created. In a large-scale land reclamation effort, the islands of Harumi and Toyosu in Tokyo bay were prepared as location for the fair (Fig. 38). Given that the event, like those preceding it, was designed to make Japan known in the world and claim its standing amongst powerful modern nation states, there is something deeply suggestive in the fact that new national territory was 'claimed' to carry it out. Since its first participation in a world's fair in Vienna in 1873, and its beginning hosting expositions in 1877, Japan had now become a colonial power.

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[313] Yoshimi, *Toshi No Doramaturugii : Tōkyō - Sakariba No Shakaishi [Urban Dramaturgy : A Social History of Tokyo and Entertainment Districts]*, 132-39.

Fig. 38. Drawing showing the design for the 1940 Tokyo world's fair on the islands of Harumi (right) and Toyosu (left). From a 1938 summary of the event published by the fair's secretariat. 「紀元二千六百年記念日本万国博覧会概要」. NDL-OPAC 000000710151. Copyright National Diet Library, Japan.

Following the First Sino-Japanese War, Taiwan was ceded to Japan in 1895, and Korea was first occupied, and eventually annexed by Japan in 1910. Under the pretext of the staged Mukden Incident—a harmless explosion near Japanese-owned tracks of the Manchuria railway—Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931 and established the puppet state of Manchukuo the following year. As the country's principal colonial possessions, these three regions stood at the center of the Japanese colonial imaginary that culminated in the propagandistic establishment of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere in 1940.

The construction of administrative centers in the colonies, as well as the architectural and urban planning for the large-scale resettlement of Japanese farmers in the plains of Manchuria was well underway when the islands of Harumi and Toyosu were filled in in the bay of Tokyo. The world's fair can be read as a symbol for Japan's colonial situation—not only in its location on reclaimed land, but also in its architectural styles. The buildings on Toyosu are rendered in the style of fascist architecture that dominated governmental design in Germany and Italy at the time—a hybrid of ancient Roman concrete heft and structural details such as columns and arches, combined with the unadorned simplicity and geometry of international modernism.

Grand vistas in the site plan, simple building footprints, and a clear center spell out the virtues of a powerful modern nation state as broad in scope and reach, controlled and

bureaucratically organized, and steered by the vision of a governing body or individual with sweeping authority.[314] The designs for neighboring Harumi appear like a mirror image of Toyosu, but with a Japanese twist. The structure at the center is the Memorial Building for the Founding of the Nation (*chōkoku kinenkan*), which was to serve as the critical centerpiece of the exposition. According to the fair's organizers, "as the theme building of the Japan world's fair, it ought to symbolize the Japanese spirit and be the grandest structure..."[315]

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[314] For a discussion of the Japanese absorption of Western architectural models in the building of state authority since the Meiji period, see William Howard Coaldrake, *Architecture and Authority in Japan* (London ; New York: Routledge, 1996), 208-50.

[315] Tomitarō Suzuki, ed. *Kigen Nisen Roppyaku Nen Kinen Nihon Bankoku Hakurankai Gaiyō [Summary of the 2600th Anniversary Japanese World's Fair]* (Tokyo: Kigen nisen roppyaku nen kinen nihon bankoku hakurankai jimukyoku, 1938), 19, my translation.

Fig. 39. Drawing showing Takanashi Masaru's winning entry for the design of the Memorial Building for the Founding of the Nation (*chōkoku kinenkan, here labeled as kenkoku kinenkan*). Tōkyō-shi kōhō 東京市広報 (1937), November 18, 2533. Copyright Tokyo Metropolitan Archives.

The authors also stated that the building design was determined through a general public competition the previous year. In the November 18, 1937 issue of *Tōkyō-shi kōhō*, the city government's daily official news publication, the winning designed was announced to the public,

and the image (Fig. 39) makes it clear that it was already adopted in the drawing of the map for the 1938 official outline for the fair (Fig. 38). The first prize and one of two second prizes were awarded to Takanashi Masaru of Tokyo, totaling 4,500 yen in prize money.[316] The building design draws heavily on the ancient *shinmei-zukuri* style of Shinto architecture, most famously exemplified by the Ise Grand Shrine. Raised-floor construction, ornamented roof ridges, protruding gables, low straight eaves, and the presence of *nure'en* or *engawa* (the wooden strips running on the outside of the building, often referred to as 'veranda') make the reference unmistakeable. Although this cannot be confirmed with the present images, it is possible that the winning design envisioned a thatched roof for the Memorial Hall—another key element of *shinmei-zukuri* (Fig. 40).

Fig. 40. Photograph by Watanabe Yoshio of a part of Naikū (Inner Shrine) at the Ise Grand Shrine. The shrine is said to have been established around the beginning of the common era. It is rebuilt every 20 years.

In his book on Ise (co-authored with Kawazoe Noboru, and with photographs by Watanabe Yoshio, first published in Japanese in 1962) Tange Kenzō expressed his deep admiration for the architecture at Ise. He calls the buildings "plain to the point of artlessness," and asks "how did these perfect forms originate?" He also makes clear that despite the

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[316] *Tōkyō-shi kōhō* 東京市広報 (1937), November 18, 2536. Tokyo Metropolitan Archives.

transcendent perfection, there is something inherently Japanese about the structures: "Ise, as the first architectural achievement of the Japanese people, incorporates a distinct symbolism."[317] This does not mean that Japanese history starts at Ise but, for Tange, it is the history of Japanese architectural achievement that has its beginnings in the shrine buildings—as well as its end. Writes Tange, "in the subsequent history of Japanese architecture, extending over more than a thousand years, it proved impossible to advance beyond the form of Ise."[318] He also references Walter Gropius and Bruno Taut's reverence for Ise, saying that for the latter, "along with the Parthenon, it represents the peak in the history of world architecture."[319]

The notion that Ise represents 'the peak in the history of world architecture' makes its aesthetic particularly suitable for an imperialist or colonial project. With a tower added, as well as a grand staircase and two curved ramps opening onto a large plaza and giving the design a palatial quality, the Memorial Hall at the world's fair was very consciously combining a Japanese contribution of long-standing, if not essential, superiority, with an assumption of Western mechanisms of authoritarian rule. It was as if the 1940 world's fair was to restore to civilization the long-lost heart and spirit of world power, making it complete—rather than mimicking a Western symbolism of authority. It is no surprise, then, that core aspects of this design would resurface throughout Japan's colonial era.

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[317] Kenzo Tange, Noboru Kawazoe, and Yoshio Watanabe, *Ise : Prototype of Japanese Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1965), 14.
[318] Ibid., 16.
[319] Ibid., 18.

Fig. 41. Japanese Pavilion, Paris Exposition, Sakakura Junzō, 1937.

With Japan's colonialism, the Meiji trend of taking up foreign influences and working out a modern Japanese national identity alongside them was turned into an expansionist goal of marking newly acquired territories as distinctly Japanese. The expression *hakkō ichi u*, which can loosely be translated as "putting the eight corners of the universe under one roof" became a nationalist slogan for a government aspiring to remodel the geography of East Asia into the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere (*daitōa kyōeiken*).

It is worth noting the marked stylistic difference between the winner of the 1937 design competition, and Sakakura Junzō's Japanese pavilion for the Paris Exposition of the same year (Fig. 41).[320] Sakakura had worked in Le Corbusier's office in Paris between 1930 and 1936—an influence that shaped his work throughout his entire career. The presence of pilotis and ramped access to the building are testament to this, although there is also a confluence with the raised-floor construction current in the architectural aesthetics of the Japanese imperialist project. Primarily, however, what this building in Paris represented was Japan's complete fluency in modernist expression and, by extension, modern statehood. The different design strategies for the two world's fairs, then, are no contradiction, but speak to different representational needs—one more modernist, the other more colonialist.

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[320] See Jonathan M. Reynolds, *Maekawa Kunio and the Emergence of Japanese Modernist Architecture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 107.

Another example of the colonial imaginary in architecture was Tange's 1942 winning competition entry for the Memorial Hall for the Co-Prosperity Sphere, to be erected at the foot of Mount Fuji, southwest of Tokyo (Fig. 42). Tange was only 29 and still in graduate school at Tokyo Imperial University when his entry was selected, but that by no means reduce its grand aspirations.

> Bringing back home the thinking from Manchukuo, he acts as if Japan too is a tabula rasa. Using the language of imperialism as a vehicle for radical modernization at home, Tange plans not just a monument but a massive new urban network to 'relieve the excessive expansion of Tokyo.' [...] Tange chooses Ise Shrine-style architecture, refusing the mainstream Imperial Crown Style (modernism with an Asian roof), and renders his vision in classical Japanese style.[321]

What is most interesting about this project is that it was to stand as an expression and epicenter of Japan's imperialist reach inside Japan. In that regard, it is closely aligned with the representational goals of the 1940 world's fair, and the architectural vocabulary is remarkably similar. Like the Memorial Building by Takanashi, Tange's Memorial Hall is drawing on the aesthetics of Ise's *shinmei-zukuri*; and like the planned fair grounds on the islands in Tokyo bay, Tange's vision included wide open plazas to be used as state-controlled ceremonial spaces—an anomaly in the development of Japan's urban form.[322] The architectural representation of Japanese colonialism in these examples is drawing on the perfection and 'artlessness' that Tange saw in Ise, and embracing a spatial decadence that could only be had in the vastness of the colonies themselves.

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[321] Koolhaas et al., *Project Japan : Metabolism Talks*, 74.

[322] For an analysis of Japanese urban form that is not defined through its difference from Western models, but instead works out flexibility and spontaneity as assets of Japanese urban space in the context of organicist discourses of the 1960s, see Arata Isozaki et al., *Nihon No Toshi Kūkan [Japanese Urban Space]* (Tokyo: Shōkokusha, 1968), 29-95. Carola Hein has shown how Japanese urban modernization did not embrace European urban form on a wide scale, despite the adoption of other aspects of European modernity. See Carola Hein, "Shaping Tokyo: Land Development and Planning Practice in the Early Modern Japanese Metropolis," *Journal of Urban History* 36, no. 4 (2010). Similarly, Hidenobu Jinnai's comparison of the overall urban structure of Edo and Tokyo demonstrates that the feudal spatial framework for the city has largely remained unchanged over time. An important change was the dissolution of the large lots inhabited by the daimyō (feudal lords) that have often become absorbed into the fabric of the city. Otherwise, Hidenobu's analysis implicitly supports the structuralist arguments of the Metabolist group of architects that aim at building the city as a framework with organically changing content. See Hidenobu Jinnai, *Tokyo, a Spatial Anthropology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 7-65.

Fig.42. Unrealized plan for the Memorial Hall for the Co-Prosperity Sphere by Tange Kenzō, 1942.

Japan's involvement in world's fairs, like other aspects of its Westernization and industrialization, progressed in connection with its colonialist project. What becomes clear in this investigation is that the way in which the colonial imaginary becomes represented in architecture changed over time and in relationship with the refashioning of a Japanese nationalist self-image on a global stage of world powers, drawing on different modernities—from Western building technologies following the Meiji Restoration of 1868, to the transcendent perfection of Ise that was seen as always already modern on the other hand.

However, the brick Art Building constructed in Ueno Park in 1877 that fit squarely with the modernization of English architect Thomas Waters' reconstruction of Ginza stands a far cry from the self-assured gables of the Memorial Hall for the 1940 world's fair, or Tange's ceremonial design at the foot of Mount Fuji. There is an irony, then, in the fact that while brick after brick was laid down, the stylistic epitome of Japan's eternal (that is, 2600-year-old) empire did not come to be built due to the impact of war, despite the fact that war had been the very foundation of the colonialist project in the first place.

Beginning in 1942, and peaking in the spring of 1945, more than 200 Japanese cities were bombed and at least partially destroyed.[323] Together with the relocation of munitions factories outside of urban and industrial centers beginning in 1938, other urban planning

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[323] For official Japanese records of the destruction, see Kensetsushō, *Sensai Fukkōshi [War Damage Recovery Records]*, 1. For a day-by-day listing of air raids against Tokyo, see Tōkyō-to, *Tōkyō-to Sensaishi [Tokyo Prefecture War Damage Records]*, 263-384.

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measures, such as the creation of fire breaks and evacuation were taken in anticipation of air attacks on Japan. However, any such measures became feeble attempts at mitigating damage when the nuclear bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945 started an entirely new era of warfare, unlike anything humanity had ever seen. These bombs brought death and destruction, but they also fueled fears of more death and destruction—on an entirely new scale.[324] While Japan's colonialist identity was formed with (and through) a set of aesthetics and signifiers that also found their expression in architecture, the nuclear bomb challenged the very possibility of signification and expression. However, it was precisely this threat of annihilation that also spurred on acts of preservation by way of dealing with the history and memory of the nuclear trauma—in painting, and in architecture.

HIROSHIMA AND THE TRAGEDY OF MODERN ARCHITECTURE

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[324] For a detailed account of the devastating force of the nuclear bombs, see The Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki [Hiroshima-shi Nagasaki-shi Genbaku Saigaishi Henshū Iinkai]. *Hiroshima and Nagasaki : The Physical, Medical, and Social Effects of the Atomic Bombings [Hiroshima Nagasaki No Genbaku Saigai]* (New York: Basic Books, 1981).

Fig. 43 and fig. 44. Maruki Iri and Maruki Toshi, Ghosts, 1950. Left (top) and right (bottom). Copyright Maruki Gallery for the Hiroshima Panels Foundation 原爆の図　丸木美術館

When news of the bombing of Hiroshima on August 6, 1945 reached Tokyo, Maruki Iri, a painter and Hiroshima-native, took the first available train going from the capital to his family home on August 9, the day that a second nuclear bomb was dropped on Nagasaki.[325] His wife Toshi—a painter and illustrator—followed a few days later, and together they cared for the survivors, cremated the dead, and went looking for food and medical supplies in the chaos of atomic devastation. Falling sick from exposure to the lingering—and at the time unknown—nuclear radiation, and losing some of their own family members and friends, the artist couple left Hiroshima some weeks later with their own scars, both physical and psychological. Back in Tokyo, the Marukis were going to resume their careers—Iri was working in traditional ink painting, and Toshi had been trained in European oils, and had been particularly active as an illustrator. However, in an interview with filmmaker John Junkerman published in 1985, Toshi said that

after the war, many of our artist friends in Tokyo decided that we should try to paint healthy, cheerful portraits of Japan at peace. We tried to do this. [...] But somehow, inexplicably, we ended up painting grief-stricken faces. No shining light came from within.[326]

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[325] Japan's rail network had sustained relatively little damage during the bombing campaigns and stayed largely operational.

[326] John Junkerman, "Oil and Water: An Interview with the Artists," in *The Hiroshima Murals : The Art of Iri Maruki and Toshi Maruki*, ed. John W. Dower and John Junkerman (Tokyo ; New York: Kodansha International ; Distributed in the U.S. by Kodansha International/USA through Harper & Row, 1985), 123.

The artists could not help but paint the sadness underlying any ostensibly happy motif, thus bringing to the surface of the painting what they felt was their own memory, the memory of the survivors, and that of the people around them. The first of the 15 large scale (720cm x 180cm) paintings known as the Hiroshima Panels in English (*genbaku no zu* 'atomic bomb pictures') was titled Ghosts, and completed in 1950 (Fig. 43 and fig. 44). Iri stated that

> we don't paint these subjects because we enjoy painting them. It's not out of some desire to do something for humanity or to make a point. We painted the bomb because we had seen Hiroshima, and we thought there had to be some record of what had happened.[327]

It appears striking that the artist here speaks of a 'record', for the panels are not documenting actual scenes witnessed by them; rather, each one is an amalgamation of different stories and sketches. Models, including the artists themselves, were used to create those preparatory sketches. Thus, the word 'record' here is less about realistic representation, but quite simply stands for proof that something did happen; that an atomic bomb was dropped over Hiroshima; that hundreds of thousands of people lost their own lives or lost loved ones; that an entirely new line was crossed in the use of weapons of mass destruction, positioning all of humanity on the edge of a nuclear abyss. The painters created not only a record of an event in the past, but also a warning that everyone's future is endangered by this type of warfare. In addition to the fact that humans were killed and cities destroyed, these paintings record that human civilization at large was under attack. This resonates with how Robert J. Lifton has characterized the effects of the bomb in 1963: "the atomic bomb destroyed the complex equilibrium which ordinarily mediates and integrates the great variety of cultural patterns and individual emotions which maintain any society, large or small."[328]

From today's perspective, it may seem striking that a record of an event on the scale of the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was even seen as necessary. A wealth of records is now available on the impact and consequences of these tragic events.[329] However, it was not always obvious that it would one day be this way, and certainly not during the occupation period

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[327] Ibid., 125.

[328] Robert Jay Lifton, "Psychological Effects of the Atomic Bomb in Hiroshima: The Theme of Death," *Daedalus* 92, no. 3 (1963).

[329] For one of the most comprehensive documentations of the impact of the two bombings, see The Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki [Hiroshima-shi Nagasaki-shi Genbaku Saigaishi Henshū Iinkai]. *Hiroshima and Nagasaki : The Physical, Medical, and Social Effects of the Atomic Bombings [Hiroshima Nagasaki No Genbaku Saigai]*.

in Japan.[330] Under the leadership of Douglas MacArthur, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) between 1945 and 1952, heavy censorship was in place, meaning that many—especially visual—accounts of the nuclear attacks were not available in Japan until after 1952.[331] Even John Hersey's well-known 1946 journalistic essay *Hiroshima*, which was first published in *The New Yorker* one year after the attack and attracted a great deal of attention outside Japan, was suppressed inside the country. The same was true for other publications on the domestic war experience in general. In 1948, Kagoshima resident Yamaguchi Genshichi wrote a 24-page book on his experience of war suffering in his city.[332] Like all Japanese publications between 1945 and 1949, it had to be submitted to the Allied Forces' Civil Censorship Detachment (CCD) for inspection. The book was passed on February 24, with some changes made to its text. One of the redacted sections is translated in the official censorship forms as "Before me spread a sea of fire. Flames were rising up into the sky blown by whirlwinds." The reason given for the redaction is "Incitement to Unrest."[333]

As for photographs of the nuclear devastation, and especially the human suffering caused in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, it was not until August 1952 that such images were published and reached a wider national audience in an issue of the magazine *Asahi Graph*, which sold 520.000 copies in a single day, and 700.000 in total.[334] Domon Ken's now iconic photographs of atomic bomb survivors were only taken in 1957, and published as *Hiroshima* in 1958.[335] These examples support Toshi Maruki's assessment of how the attack was discussed and portrayed in various media in the immediate aftermath:

> the few reports of the bomb that had begun to circulate focused on how many square kilometers had burned, what had happened to buildings and houses, how the concrete bridges had been destroyed. There was very little information on what had happened to the people of Hiroshima, which was the only thing that

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[330] For a discussion of mechanisms of censorship and self-censorship, including the social stigma surrounding hibakusha (atomic bomb victims) in Japan, see Monica Braw, "Hiroshima and Nagasaki : The Voluntary Silence," in *Living with the Bomb : American and Japanese Cultural Conflicts in the Nuclear Age*, ed. Laura Hein and Mark Selden (Armonk, NY and London: M.E. Sharpe, 1997).

[331] See John W. Dower, "Ground Zero 1945. Pictures by Atomic Bomb Survivors," *MIT Visualizing Cultures*(2008), http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/groundzero1945/gz_essay01.html.. See also Laura Hein and Mark Selden, "Fifty Years after the Bomb: Commemoration, Censorship and Conflict," *Economic and Political Weekly* 32, no. 32 (1997).

[332] Genshichi Yamaguchi, *Sensai Zatsuwa [War Damage Stories]* (Kagoshima: Fuchikami, Susumu, 1948).

[333] CCD censorship report, Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland Libraries. Call # DS-9016.

[334] Hiro Saito, "Reiterated Commemoration: Hiroshima as National Trauma," *Sociological Theory* 24, no. 4 (2006): 365.

[335] Ken Domon, *Hiroshima [Hiroshima]* (Tokyo: Kenkōsha, 1958).

truly mattered. So we decided we would go to the other extreme and paint only people and nothing else. They would have to be nude, since the bomb had stripped people of their clothing and they were nearly naked as they fled the city.[336]

The Marukis thus created a record of a human tragedy, of human suffering so great that all data-driven assessments of damage had to be removed from it, lest they make the disaster seem comprehensible or relatable within an empirical framework. Their works do not record the decision that was made in the US to drop two atomic bombs on Japan, or what did or may have led to this decision; and they were not about showing to future generations images of flattened and largely annihilated cities.[337] Instead, they record the fact that parts of the very fabric of humanity were annihilated or mutilated by blasts that started the nuclear age and put into question continuation of human existence. To borrow Derrida's words, the paintings are part of a 'movement of survival,' what he calls 'survivance.'[338] However, what the Marukis describe as a record that comes out of pain, avant-garde artist Okamoto Tarō would consider the very foundation of art itself.

> The wounds inflicted by art are the result of a suffering and despair that come from the fundamental contradiction between art and reality. The true artist does not daydream in vain. He burns continually with the will to realize his desires.[339]

What Okamoto calls the 'contradiction between art and reality' denotes an uninhibited engagement of reality through art. Rather than offering justifications, and using hypocrisy to evade reality, the artist's suffering in his or her confrontation with reality is here positioned as the true grasp of life, leading Okamoto to say that life is not art, but "art, rather, is life."[340]

In discussing writing, Blanchot puts forward a comparable point about the absorption of reality as disaster. He holds that in the face of disaster,

> to write is perhaps to bring to the surface something like absent meaning, to welcome the passive pressure which is not yet what we call thought, for it is already the disastrous ruin of thought.[341]

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[336] Junkerman, "Oil and Water: An Interview with the Artists," 124.

[337] For a discussion of the changing and conflicting interpretations in the US and Japan of the decision to drop nuclear bombs, see Sadao Asada, "The Mushroom Cloud and National Psyches: Japanese and American Perceptions of the Atomic Bomb Decision, 1945-1995," in *Living with the Bomb : American and Japanese Cultural Conflicts in the Nuclear Age*, ed. Laura Hein and Mark Selden (Armonk, NY and London: M.E. Sharpe, 1997).

[338] Derrida, "No Apocalypse, Not Now (Full Speed Ahead, Seven Missiles, Seven Missives)," 28.

[339] Tarō Okamoto, "Avant-Garde Manifesto: A View of Art [1949]," in *From Postwar to Postmodern : Art in Japan 1945-1989 : Primary Documents*, ed. Doryun Chong, et al. (New York, NY; Durham, NC: Museum of Modern Art ; Distributed by Duke University Press, 2012), 35.

[340] Ibid.

[341] Blanchot, *The Writing of the Disaster*, 41.

For Okamoto, then, we can paraphrase that it is reality as the disastrous ruin of thought that inflicts pain and suffering on the artist. It is a reality that is ruined before it comes into existence; and as much as this creative struggle holds for painting and writing, it also applies to architecture following nuclear disaster, such as Tange's design for the Hiroshima Peace Monument and Museum, completed in 1955 (Fig. 45).

Tange Kenzō had lived in Hiroshima during his high school days, and returned to the destroyed city in 1946 with his associates Asada Takashi, Ōtani Sachio, and Ishikawa Mitsuru to design a reconstruction master plan for the Institute for War Recovery (*sensai fukkōin*).[342] Already having worked out an overall scheme for the redevelopment of what is now the Peace Memorial Park located at the epicenter of the nuclear explosion, Tange entered the 1949 competition that was held following the decision to not simply rebuild Hiroshima, but establish it as a 'peace city' with the passage of the August 1949 Hiroshima Peace Memorial City Building Law (*hiroshima heiwa kinen toshi kensetsuhō*).[343] The central Exhibition Hall was executed according to Tange's plans, the neighboring buildings were added later and connected to the main building with covered elevated walkways. The cenotaph situated on the visual axis between the Exhibition Hall and the ruined Hiroshima Peace Memorial (known as the Atomic Bomb Dome, consisting of the concrete remnants of the Hiroshima Prefecture Industry Promotion Hall, or *hiroshima-ken sangyō shōrei kan*) was originally designed by Japanese-American sculptor Isamu Noguchi, but ended up being created by Tange due to a controversy about Noguchi's memorial allegedly resembling human viscera, as well as uneasiness about the sculptor's US heritage.[344]

Tange's curved cenotaph constructed in thickly poured concrete was modeled after terracotta funerary objects of Japan's Kofun period (3rd to 6th centuries CE), especially vessels and the roofs of miniature houses called *haniwa*.[345] The Exhibition Hall that forms the centerpiece of the complex consists of a cuboid concrete shape raised on pilotis, accessed from below through two staircases. The long sides of the singular volume are encased in floor-to-ceiling glass that is rhythmically broken by concrete posts, and the south-facing part has an

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[342] See Koolhaas et al., *Project Japan : Metabolism Talks*, 80-93.

[343] Mori Bijutsukan (Mori Art Museum), *Metaborizumu No Mirai Toshi Ten : Sengo Nihon - Ima Yomigaeru Fukkō No Yume to Bijon (Metabolism, City of the Future : Dreams and Visions of Reconstruction in Postwar and Present-Day Japan)* (Tokyo: Shinkenchikusha, 2011), 30.

[344] See Koolhaas et al., *Project Japan : Metabolism Talks*, 106-15.

[345] Seng Kuan, Yukio Lippit, and Harvard University Graduate School of Design., *Kenzo Tange : Architecture for the World* (Baden, London: Lars Müller; distributed by Springer, 2012), 29.

added lattice layer that serves as a brise-soleil and echoes the structural pattern of shōji (Japanese paper screens set in sliding doors). The design is commonly seen as paying homage to the raised-floor tradition of the Yayoi period, and the Ise Shrine as its epitome. Architectural critic and historian Yatsuka Hajime has described it as a "Corbusean spin on this traditional raised-floor structural type."[346]

This characterization of a hybridization of Western modernist architectural expression with traditional Japanese form belies the complexity with which this exact issue had been discussed in Japan—both aesthetically and historiographically. The postwar interest in Japanese tradition and history started with archaeology. The 1943 discovery of the Toro site in Shizuoka, dating to the late Yayoi period (100-300 CE, Yayoi period 300 BCE to 300 CE), and its extensive excavation beginning in 1947 played an important role in the postwar refashioning of Japanese history.[347]

Until Japan's capitulation in 1945, "the view of history held by most was subsumed under the ideology of tennōsei, the set of beliefs enveloping the emperor system."[348] This included the belief that the members of the imperial family were direct descendants of a divine lineage going back to the sun goddess Amaterasu. Thus, Japanese history until 1945 was less shaped by scientific inquiries into genealogy, and more by the mytho-historical records of the *Kojiki* and the *Nihon Shoki*, Japan's oldest works of classical history, completed in the 8th century CE. The emperor's forced renunciation of that divinity in 1946 suddenly opened national history to investigation in unprecedented ways, and the Toro archaeological site became a focal point of that interest.[349] The excavations at Toro were significant because they delivered proof of long-standing sophistication in rice cultivation in Japan, which was seen as a bedrock of cultural identity, and thus added to the perception of Yayoi period culture and technology as the source of an unsullied and true origin of the Japanese nation.

In 1952, Okamoto Tarō published his article "Theory of Jōmon Pottery: Dialogue with the Fourth Dimension" (*Jōmondokiron yojigen to no taiwa*) in the art journal *Mizue*. It was

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[346] Hajime Yatsuka, "The Social Ambition of the Architect and the Rising Nation," in *Kenzo Tange : Architecture for the World*, ed. Seng Kuan, Yukio Lippit, and Harvard University Graduate School of Design. (Baden, London: Lars Müller ; distributed by Springer, 2012), 47.

[347] See Walter Edwards, "Buried Discourse: The Toro Archaeological Site and Japanese National Identity in the Early Postwar Period," *The Journal of Japanese Studies* 17, no. 1 (1991).

[348] Ibid., 13.

[349] Giving the so-called "declaration of humanity" (*ningen sengen*) on New Year's Day 1946 was part of Allied-imposed measures for the emperor to be exonerated from all potential war crime charges. See Dower, *Embracing Defeat : Japan in the Wake of World War Ii*, 308-18.

triggered by Okamoto's encounter with Jōmon period (14,000-300 BCE) earthenware at the Tokyo National Museum in Ueno Park the year before, and Okamoto argued for the central importance of the Jōmon period in the history of Japanese art. The revived scientific interests in Yayoi culture stemming from the Toro archaeological site, and Okamoto's lifting of the Jōmon out of a pre-historic and pre-Japanese past onto the map of Japanese art history constitute the context for the central debate on the role of tradition in architecture in Japan since WWII.[350]

In 1955 and 1956, Tange's friend and collaborator Kawazoe Noboru, who at the time was editor-in-chief of the influential journal *shinkenchiku* ("New Architecture," better known in its English edition as *The Japan Architect*), invited contributions to what later came to be known as the "tradition debate" (*dentō ronsō*). The goal was to gather different viewpoints on questions of history and tradition in Japanese architecture.[351] The series opened with Tange's article "How to understand modern architecture?" (*Kindai kenchiku wo ikani rikai suru ka*), in which he argues that beauty and function are not mutually exclusive, and that traditional architectural form should not be imported into contemporary production in a straightforward manner. The debate occurred at a moment when the war had been over for ten years, and the US occupation for three, and there was an active attempt to repair and reclaim Japanese history and tradition from a contemporary position without the problematic recent legacy of the emperor system.

As mentioned above, the question of the role of Jōmon and Yayoi culture in Japanese history was of central importance, and Okamoto and Tange expressed key positions on that question. Both see the Jōmon as an important part of Japanese cultural development, but for different reasons. For Okamoto, that period's art was wild, asymmetrical, and open, thus

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[350] Okamoto's argument, while impactful within art and architectural discourse, had little influence on archaeologists. A full embrace of the Jōmon as the foundation of Japanese culture did not occur within that field until the booming interests in Japan's best known Jōmon site at Sannai Maruyama in Aomori Prefecture in the 1990s. See Junko Habu and Clare Fawcett, "Jomon Archaeology and the Representation of Japanese Origins," *Antiquity* 73, no. 281 (1999). For more recent perspectives, see also the special issue of *Asian Perspectives* on "New and Emergent Trends in Japanese Paleolithic Research" (Vol. 49, No. 2, Fall 2010)

[351] For a concise summary of the debate, see architectural critic and historian Igarashi Tarō's online series on Japanese architectural theory (*nihon kenchikuron*). Tarō Igarashi, ""Minshū" No Hakken to Jōmonteki Naru Mono : Dai 5 Shō (2) [the Discovery of the Public and the Jomonization of Things : Chapter 5 (2)]," (2015), https://cakes.mu/posts/9443. "Okamoto Tarō Kara Kangaeru / Kōchaku Shita Dentōron Wo Kaitai Suru Shikō : Dai 6 Shō (1) [Thinking with Okamoto Tarō / Thoughts on Dismantling the Stiffened Tradition Discourse : Chapter 6 (1)]," (2015), https://cakes.mu/posts/9614.

enabling him to think of 'tradition' as a dynamic concept, rather than a static one; the Yayoi, on the other hand, he saw as symmetrical, hierarchical, and closed.[352]

In Tange's understanding of Japanese architectural tradition, the Jōmon and Yayoi were the two origins of Japanese architecture and there is a dialectical relationship between them. The Jōmon pit house developed into peasant dwellings, and the Yayoi raised-floor gabled house and granary developed into aristocratic dwellings. The latter was deified at Ise, and also took form in the palatial structures of Heian-kyō (now Kyoto) and Edo (now Tokyo), thus demonstrating the form's openness. The pit house—and subsequent farms and merchant dwellings—was seen as closed. The Katsura Imperial Villa in Kyoto combines these trajectories by bringing the country-inspired *sukiya* tea house style together with palatial architecture, thus making it a space that is of the emperor system, but also includes the sensibilities of the Japanese people.[353]

In other words, the Jōmon were an important part of Japanese architectural history for both Okamoto and Tange, but while Okamoto saw their nonconforming 'wildness' as the key for understanding and invigorating the contemporary moment, Tange positioned them as a 'lower' form of expression to be refined and elevated—metaphorically, as well as literally through the use of pilotis.

Tange's dialectical thinking about the formation of Japanese culture and tradition thus contrasted with a more integrated approach. The latter was also expressed by architect and writer Shirai Sei'ichi who in the August 1956 issue of *Shinkenchiku* argued that it was a losing game to think of the formation of culture as driven by different discrete traditions. Instead, Shirai positioned tradition as a matter of infinite diversity, not isolation. He saw the positivist and isolationist understanding of tradition as the result of how the dominant belief in the superiority of the symmetry and hierarchy of the Yayoi period a posteriori shaped the historiographical interpretation of all history.

In other words, if Yayoi culture is already assumed to be the purest form of Japanese aesthetic and artistic expression then it becomes easy to see all other expression as a stepping stone on the teleological path toward the Yayoi period as the pinnacle of Japanese culture. In his article "The Tradition of the Jōmon Culture: on the Nirayama Mansion of the Egawa Family"

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[352] See "Okamoto Tarō Kara Kangaeru / Kōchaku Shita Dentōron Wo Kaitai Suru Shikō : Dai 6 Shō (1) [Thinking with Okamoto Tarō / Thoughts on Dismantling the Stiffened Tradition Discourse : Chapter 6 (1)]".

[353] See ""Minshū" No Hakken to Jōmonteki Naru Mono : Dai 5 Shō (2) [the Discovery of the Public and the Jomonization of Things : Chapter 5 (2)]".

(*Jōmon teki naru mono: Egawa-shi kyū nirayama kan ni tsuite*), Shirai argues that a hard look at architecture reveals the impossibility of completely separating or disentangling different cultural traditions.[354] The fluidity and diversity at the core of Shirai's thinking about tradition is also important for thinking about Japanese cultural identity along ethnic identity, and it offers a productive avenue for thinking about cultural formations within a global or universal, non-national framework.[355]

It would be too simple to say that Tange favored Yayoi culture, and Shirai preferred Jōmon culture. Instead, the two architects pursued different historiographical approaches in characterizing the relationship between Jōmon and Yayoi. Tange saw the Jōmon as part of an ancient past, whereas for Shirai, Jōmon culture continued as an active cultural force in the formation of Japanese tradition and contemporary aesthetics. Tange's friend and *Shinkenchiku* editor Kawazoe Noboru saw the contemporary moment of 1955 as most accurately defined by Tange's architecture and use of tradition. Using the pseudonym of Iwata Kazuo, he contributed to the January 1955 issue of his journal that started the "tradition debate." In his article "The Japanese Character of Tange Kenzō," he writes that Tange "must have felt devastated" at the news of Hiroshima's destruction. Strikingly, he continues

> Thanks to the conceptual genius of Tange Kenzō, what ended up being only a castle in the sand—his urban planning for the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere—has materialized in the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park [...]
> The contradictions inherent in Hiroshima came to epitomize the many contradictions of postwar Japan, and it was through the design of this Hiroshima project that Tange would distinguish himself in the field of postwar architecture. For Tange, modern Japan's foremost architect, the tragedy came to exemplify all the conflicts of the world.[356]

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[354] For an English translation of the article, as well as a more detailed description of Shirai's positions on questions of tradition, see Toru Terakawa, "History and Tradition in Modern Japan: Translation and Commentary Upon the Texts of Sei'ichi Shirai" (McGill University, 2001).

[355] Shirai's position resonates with views that employ the Jōmon for re-examining Japanese ethnicity, especially vis-à-vis Japanese minority populations in Hokkaido and Okinawa. "Broad public acceptance of a prehistoric cultural and biological link between the modern ethnic Japanese and the Ainu and Ryukyuans could result in a new paradigm of the archaeological past which would focus on prehistoric diversity rather than homogeneity and would provide space for a modern-day acceptance of ethnic diversity within Japan." Habu and Fawcett, "Jomon Archaeology and the Representation of Japanese Origins," 592. For an analysis of Shirai's thought as a form of universal or cosmopolitan architecture, see Torben Berns, "The Trouble with "Boku" - a Meditation on Cosmopolitan Architecture," *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* 13, Architecture: Re-building the Future(2001).

[356] Kazuo Iwata, "The Japanese Character of Tange Kenzō [1955]," in *From Postwar to Postmodern : Art in Japan 1945-1989 : Primary Documents*, ed. Doryun Chong, et al. (New York, NY; Durham, NC: Museum of Modern Art ; Distributed by Duke University Press, 2012), 69.

Fig. 45. Tange Kenzō, Hiroshima Peace Monument and Museum, 1955. Photograph by Ishimoto Yasuhiro.

Although Kawazoe likens the Peace Memorial (Fig. 45) to Tange's 1942 proposal for what would have been an imperialist and colonialist edifice, he also states that Tange specifically eschewed Ise-style architecture, lest it be seen as connected to the emperor system. However, in light of a public's desire for tradition and memory as epitomized in Ise, there was a contradiction in the use of the Grand Shrine's symbolism that seemed unsolvable. Similarly, Kawazoe identifies a contradiction in the city of Hiroshima itself, which—ten years after the end of the war—not everyone wanted to see rebuilt as a 'peace city.' Conservative forces were challenging article 9 of the US-imposed postwar constitution that reduced the Japanese military to self-defense, and protests of the Japanese-American military Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security (Anpo) that had been established at the end of the US occupation of Japan in 1952 were ongoing.[357]

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[357] On the changing nature of protest in postwar Japanese society, Amemiya Shōichi describes significant transformations in labor, education, and community organization, and argues that it was not in the Anpo protest that a new society was formed, but that it was a new society that made Anpo so visible. Shōichi Amemiya, *Senryō to Kaikaku [Occupation and Reform]* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shinsho, 2008), 181-88. For an analysis of issues between Japan and the US in the postwar era, see Shunya Yoshimi, *Shinbei to Hanbei : Sengo Nihon No Seijiteki Muishiki [Pro-America and Anti-America : The Political Unconscious of Postwar Japan]* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shinsho, 2007).

Conveniently, this now-discovered contradiction subsumes and conceals the prior imperialist connection of Tange's 'genius.' This situation itself can be seen as one of 'all the conflicts of the world' that were exemplified in the tragedy of Hiroshima. In fact, Kawazoe later broadens this by talking about the 'tragedy of Japan,' which he sees in the country's marred and, ultimately, unachieved modernization. He writes that

> Modern architecture is achieved only in conjunction with the modernization of the peoples' daily lives, the modernization of industrial production, and the modernization of government. When modern architecture is attempted in the absence of these conditions, it starts by seeking material from foreign sources, which, when imported, undergo a startling distortion under Japan's feudalistic institutions.[358]

What is missing in Japan, according to Kawazoe, is modernization as a synthetic process and modern architecture as a synthetic expression. He argues that while Tange comes closer to achieving such synthesis than any other architect, he is "unable to escape the limitations imposed by his times," and "has come to exemplify the tragedy of Japan."[359] To take this thought one step further, we can say that the tragedy of Japan resides in the fact that the country is trapped in the unachievability of its modernization, and in the impossibility of settling questions about its history, especially as the fragility of that history had been exposed by the nuclear bomb.

Tange's Exhibition Hall epitomizes the challenges of postwar Japan because it is much more than the hybridization of Le Corbusier's modernism and Yayoi raised-floor architecture. The building complicates hybridization as between domestic and foreign influences, given that at the time of its creation there was little agreement on the boundaries and historical limits of what constituted a domestic style. It is also unclear whether the pilotis are a reference to Ise's *shinmei-zukuri* architecture or Le Corbusier, or whether they establish a safe distance from the radioactive earth of Hiroshima. The cuboid main volume, while appearing open and transparent, is simultaneously closed off with the entrance and exit hidden underneath. Tange's design, modernist at first glance, also raises a critical question about the place of modernity in Japan. From the vantage point of this potentially modernist, potentially traditional building, death and destruction come into view. The visual axis connecting to the *haniwa*-inspired concrete cenotaph and ruined A-Bomb Dome in the distance is a reminder that nuclear weapons are also an outcome of that modernization that Japan can neither shake off or, according to Kawazoe, fully achieve.

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[358] Iwata, "The Japanese Character of Tange Kenzō [1955]," 71-72.
[359] Ibid., 72-73.

When Kawazoe suggested that for Tange the tragedy of Hiroshima "came to exemplify all the conflicts of the world," he alluded to the universality that is a function of a nuclear specter that, as Derrida had it, "would irreversibly destroy the entire archive and all symbolic capacity."[360] Further, Yatsuka Hajime positions Tange's Exhibition Hall as a starting point for the imagination of megastructures in Japanese architecture, which culminated in the projects envisioned by the Metabolist group from 1960.[361] With Hiroshima being established as a peace city for the world and embodying a universal threat of nuclear destruction, while laying a foundation for the Metabolist urban imaginary, this city became not just a 'tragedy,' but also raised important questions about the universality of the city as a postwar intellectual concept.

THE UNIVERSAL CITY AND URBANISM IN METABOLIST ARCHITECTURE

In August 1960, the Croatian-born architect Ernest Weissmann led a group of four experts to compile a development survey for Japan's Hanshin region, stretching from Osaka to Kobe. Weissmann was the Assistant Director of the United Nations Social Affairs Bureau (now incorporated within the Department of Economic and Social Affairs) in New York, and responsible for the areas of housing as well as town and country planning. On the occasion of their research visit to Japan, the group—which consisted of professors at Harvard and the University of Chicago, and a representative each of the Ford Foundation and the Dutch Social Science Research Center—was invited to also conduct a study on the city of Tokyo. The resulting report was titled *Tokyo Memorandum* (*Tōkyō memorandamu*).[362] It was submitted to Tokyo officials in 1961 and published by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government in February 1962.

In the preface to an abridged version published by the Yokohama Municipal Architecture Office (*Yokohama-shi kenchiku kyoku*) in March 1962, Weissmann's position on the research project is quoted from an interview he gave in the *Mainichi Shimbun* daily newspaper. He emphasized that the memorandum is not a medium for telling Japan what to do, but that it represents a survey of Japan's real urban conditions based on the UN's toolkit for planning assistance, and therefore merely offers suggestions that seem suitable for Japan from an

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[360] Derrida, "No Apocalypse, Not Now (Full Speed Ahead, Seven Missiles, Seven Missives)," 28.

[361] Yatsuka, "The Social Ambition of the Architect and the Rising Nation."

[362] "Waizuman-shi no Tōkyō memorandamu" 「ワイズマン氏の東京メモランダム」. Yokohama: Yokohama-shi kenchikukyoku 横浜市建築局, 1962. Tokyo Metropolitan Archives U318.8-ア-1474, reel 内02-112.

international perspective. Weissmann states that the decisions regarding what suggestions to follow are to be made entirely on the Japanese side.

However, he also shared his conviction that all city planning should be based on four foundational principles. First, Japan should be divided into economic and social regions. Second, each region should invest in creating an industrial core city. Third, satellite cities should be created surrounding that city, and, fourth, these processes should be closely monitored and assessed along the way. This way, Weissmann reasoned, the urbanization and migration of rural populations could be effectively handled. This model of creating economic, industrial, and social zones, all the while devising a grand infrastructural system with caps on the size of urban populations, is highly reminiscent of modern proposals such as Ebenezer Howard's *Garden Cities of To-Morrow* (1902, originally published in 1898 as *To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*).[363] Weissmann's pronounced goal of providing suggestions to Japan from an international perspective without infringing on the country's agency is challenged by his simultaneous desire to uphold universally desirable principles of good urban planning that were rooted in a specifically European precedent developed as a solution to the challenges of English industrialization and urbanization.

Weissmann moves fluidly between three different conceptual spaces when thinking about the city. There is the space of the nation that is concerned with domestic social issues, and whose development is guided by national political and economic interests. Then there is the space of an international world made up of discrete nation states and their respective foreign interests; that is, the space in which Weissmann does not want the Japanese government to feel like they are in any way told what to do. And, finally, there is the space of the universal or global city that is abstract and ideal, and at the same time is seen as a real possibility for the future.

It is telling that the Memorandum opens with a statement concerning the ubiquity of processes of urbanization the world over, which introduces the notion that the city as an object for social and political concern is shared amongst all of humanity. This also introduces the necessity for international comparisons when it comes to figuring out plans for future urban development and policies. Section five of the Memorandum states the need for Tokyo to look to cities in other countries for examples and models, implying that attempts at domestic comparison would be fruitless, and that, in fact, Tokyo will only be able to find its own likeness in other

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[363] See Hein, "Visionary Plans and Planners : Japanese Traditions and Western Influences," 313-14.

dense and highly industrialized cities abroad. This is spelled out in section seven of the Memorandum where it says that the experiences of other cities can be the lessons that make the production of helpful proposals a little easier.[364]

One person who would have likely found himself agreeing with this stance was the architect and planner Asada Takashi. In his 1969 book on environmental development (*kankyō kaihatsu ron*) Asada would argue that New York's Greenwich Village was more similar to Tokyo's Roppongi district than to the neighborhood of Harlem because the former two were both subject to gentrifying forces (in the 1960s). In fact, Asada argued that Roppongi should be understood through the experience of Greenwich Village—that Greenwich Village should become a crystal ball for predicting the future of Roppongi.[365] From a US urban perspective that takes into consideration the racially and socio-economically charged differences between the two New York neighborhoods, this argument would seem—at the very least—out of touch with reality. However, what this tells us is that Asada positioned the relationship between human activity and the environment (architectural and landscape) as unspecific enough to invite global comparisons, and as particular enough to be concerned with individual architecture.

According to the critics Yatsuka Hajime and Yoshimatsu Hideki, Asada was no architect in a narrowly defined sense of the word. Rather, he used architecture to think about the much larger civilizational implications of the city and the environment.[366] In fact, it was Asada who had coined the usage of the term environment (*kankyō*) in the context of urban architecture and planning in Japan, and brought it into wider dissemination when he established his urban consultancy in Shinjuku in 1961—the first of this kind in Japan. Asada's argument for a type of post-architecture that puts urban planning above architecture in the order of importance was largely shaped by his experience as a rescue worker and associate of Tange's in Hiroshima after the atomic bomb was dropped. As art historian Sawaragi Noi explains, Asada realized that "a city annihilated by a nuclear bomb is not revived simply by rebuilding its architecture."[367] For him, design had to work down from the level of the environment to that of architecture, that is, from the totality of the system to its individual parts. Therefore, Asada was an advocate of

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[364] "Tōkyō memorandamu," 5.

[365] Takashi Asada, *Kankyō Kaihatsu Ron [Environmental Development]* (Tokyo: Kajima kenkyūjo shuppankai, 1969), 89-92.

[366] Yatsuka and Yoshimatsu as quoted in Noi Sawaragi, *Sensō to Banpaku [World Wars and World Fairs]* (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 2005), 20.

[367] 「原子爆弾によって 壊滅した都市は、そこにふたたび建築を再建するだけでは再生しない」 In ibid., 29, my translation.

planning based on the forces that shaped their environment—social, cultural, economic, and others—and he made comparisons based on them.

Asada worked as Tange's right hand on a number of projects in the 1960s, but in 1965 declined the offer to become the general producer for the construction of EXPO '70.[368] He did so because he had lost faith in the mission of the expo when he realized that there was no strong vision for the use of the grounds once the event would end in September 1970, a good indication of the sustainability-oriented approach to planning that dominated Asada's thinking about urban space. According to Tange's wife Katō Toshiko, no one was closer to Tange after the war than Asada, calling him "the top person in Tange Lab," Tange's experimental research cluster at Tokyo University.[369] It was Asada who Tange entrusted with with his responsibilities as secretary general for the 1960 Tokyo World Design Conference (May 11-16 in the Sankei Kaikan Kokusai Hall) while he was away for a semseter teaching at MIT. The Metabolist architectural movement was started and its manifesto—published by Kawazoe Noboru—first presented to the world. Given Asada's central role, architect Isozaki Arata suggests that he was the driving force behind forming a Metabolist group, and that it was in fact Asada who moved Kawazoe to publish a manifesto, all the while neither joining the group or appearing in the manifesto.[370]

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[368] Ibid., 19-20.

[369] Koolhaas et al., *Project Japan : Metabolism Talks*, 93-95.

[370] Ibid., 35.

Kawazoe did in fact confirm that it was due to Asada that a group was formed. See Sawaragi, *Sensō to Banpaku [World Wars and World Fairs]*, 29.

Fig.46. Tange Kenzō, Plan for Tokyo Bay 東京計画１９６０, 1960.

The architectural cornerstone of the World Design Conference was the presentation of Tange's well-known urban Plan for Tokyo Bay (Fig. 46). It was first developed as a plan for Boston Harbor while Tange was teaching at MIT. However, he said that it only "'happened to be designed on the ocean at Boston,'" saying that "'its location is not of primary importance.'"[371] Location was not seen to be of primary importance because the project was not designed for

[371] Tange quoted in Ken Tadashi Oshima, "Rereading Urban Space in Japan at the Crossroads of World Design," in *Kenzō Tange: Architecture for the World*, ed. Seng Kuan and Yukio Lippit (Zürich: Lars Müller, 2012), 179.

Boston or Tokyo, but for a space that, first and foremost, was global. This space was of a conceptual, theoretical, or abstract nature, and, in many ways, placeless. This type of transfer was exactly in line with knowledge exchanges that Ernest Weissmann had in mind, and that Asada thought of when comparing Greenwich Village and Roppongi. The plan, whether in Boston, Tokyo, or elsewhere, focused on providing features that became known as the tenets of Japanese metabolist architecture—with ample infrastructure and flexible opportunities for expansion or reconfiguration; these were designed to address universally applicable challenges of urban growth and congestion, positioning the city as a globally shared common denominator amongst all nations and societies. The city was not to represent idiosyncrasies of specific geographies.

Fig. 47. Tange Kenzō, Plan for Tokyo Bay 東京計画１９６０, 1960.

However, as much as this urban design by Tange has been discussed in literature, a closer look at its architectural components is surprisingly rare. A detailed view of the plan's model shows its great architectural uniformity, reliant on tent-like concrete structures whose elegantly

curved roofs, at their edge, are almost exactly parallel to the water surface, as if the buildings themselves were solidified waves coming up from the ocean, randomly scattered across the gridded area (Fig. 47). After having witnessed the reconstruction of the Ise Shrine in 1953—an event normally closed to observers—Tange and Kawazoe published the book *Ise: Prototype of Japanese Architecture* in 1962 (*Ise—nihon kenchiku no genkei*, English edition 1965) with photographs by Watanabe Yoshio. One of the things that Tange emphasized in his writing is the Shrine's seamless integration with nature, and one of the vantage points he describes is that from a helicopter (Fig. 48):

> During my visits to Ise, I had an opportunity to view the Shrine from a helicopter. This made the tremendous impact of the Geku stand out even more clearly. When the helicopter approached closer, one was led to imagine the brute strength of some primeval animal crouching on the ground, or the presence of some living, breathing earth spirit, the image of the deity enshrined in the Geku.[372]

Fig. 48. Gekū at Ise. Photograph by Watanabe Yoshio, published 1965.

The similarity between the photographs of the model and Gekū speaks to the role a newly discovered Japanese architecture and urbanism would play in both going back to the "brute strength" of days before the trauma of war and occupation, and in moving forward into a future of universalist urbanism that remained all so subtly Japanese. There is thus recognizable in Tange's mega-urban proposal for Tokyo the sensitivity that Kawazoe had called Tange's

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[372] Tange, Kawazoe, and Watanabe, *Ise : Prototype of Japanese Architecture*, 51.

'genius' in the architecture of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park—his synthetic approach to dealing with the tragedy of Japan's unachieved modernization. With this, the fact that Tange was not an actual member of the Metabolist group becomes much more intuitive, since his central negotiation of modern architecture as trapped between a past that was hard to recuperate and the knowledge of possible future destruction was less of a concern in the work produced by the Metabolists.

The Metabolist manifesto published by Kawazoe emphasized the importance of a conception of the city and all its architecture as an ever-changing organism. The book's original 1960s edition contained text in Japanese and English, and the incongruences between the languages are noteworthy. While the Japanese text only rarely makes use of the word 'future' (*shōrai*, or *mirai*), it appears frequently in English. In the very first sentence, there is mention of 'the form of the society to come' (*kitaru beki shakai no sugata*) in Japanese, and of "future designs of our coming world" in English.[373] This slight discrepancy is important, because although the manifesto offers concrete models and designs for a city to come, those are not to be confused with ideas proposed for construction. Rather, it presents a series of possibilities of what urban form could become if it was to develop like the organic metabolism of nature. Accordingly, Kawazoe, in his written contribution to the publication, argues that "we should stimulate the metabolism of Nature. Cities in the future should be capable of promoting the dynamic development of Nature by way of civil engineering."[374] In the end, he asks "what will be the final form? There is no fixed form in the ever-developing world."[375] No matter how iconic the designs of Metabolist proposals have become, the manifesto's key contribution to thinking on urban development pertains to process, not form.

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[373] Noboru Kawazoe, *Metaborizumu 1960. Toshi He No Teian [Metabolism 1960. A Proposal for the City]* (Tokyo: Bijutsu Shuppansha, 1960), 4-5.

[374] Ibid., 49. The Japanese text (46) actually speaks of civil engineering adding nature to vital and dynamic processes to make the city the unified drama of a 'greater nature', that is, the city of the future. 「未来の都市は… 自然 をダイナミックな生成発展の過程に組み入れ、その大自然のドラマと一体にになったような都市と なろう。」

[375] Ibid.

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Fig. 49. Kikutake Kiyonori, Marine City, 1963.

Kikutake Kiyonori's Marine City from 1963 (Fig. 49) shows this emphasis on process and change even in the architectural model, in which some of the towers have not yet been fully stacked with housing units. A different iteration of the plan from 1968 even included cranes on top of the towers in order to highlight the notion that the living units would be undergoing constant change and would always be ready to grow.[376]

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[376] Mori Bijutsukan (Mori Art Museum), *Metabolism, the City of the Future : Dreams and Visions of Reconstruction in Postwar and Present-Day Japan*, 1st ed. (Tokyo: Shinkenchikusha, 2011), 78.

Fig. 50. Maki Fumihiko, *Golgi Structure (High Density City)*, 1967.

In his *Golgi Structure (High Density City)* from 1967 (Fig. 50), Maki Fumihiko tries to eliminate any kind of void or empty space based on the model of cell structures in the nervous system which was discovered by Camillo Golgi.[377] In this proposal, exterior space is dissolved and made part of an ever-expanding infrastructural interiority. The design looks to integrate the multiplicity of forms and functions in the city in one single architectural object, thus eliminating (a need for) relations between the whole and its parts, that is, between the city and architecture. There is no city outside of architecture and vice versa, and the capacity for theoretically endless expansion emphasizes organic growth and renewal.

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[377] Ibid., 88.

Fig. 51. Kurokawa Kishō, Helix City Plan for Tokyo, 1961.

Kurokawa Kishō's 1961 helix structure (Fig. 51) also aims at creating a continuous structure that is both strongly horizontal, and able to expand vertically.[378] After its discovery by Rosalind Franklin, James Watson, and Francis Crick in 1953, the helix form could symbolize the control that genetic information has over life forms—DNA produces organism and is then reproduced by them. More so than being a realizable living space, Kurokawa's design advocates for a profound relationship between life, life form, and form. This relationship need not always be harmonious; in fact, in his writing Kurokawa described the tensions between different aspects of life as a core of the metabolist idea. This tension is visible in the helix form that grows vertically, and rotates horizontally. Kurokawa wrote that "the same kind of relations should exist between architecture and nature and between human beings and technology."[379] A key difference between Kurokawa's proposal and that of Ōtaka and Maki is that he gives much importance to what he called in-between space, or *en*-space, following traditional Japanese spaces such as the narrow wooden strip surrounding traditional elevated Japanese houses called *engawa*—a space

[378] Kishō Kurokawa, *Metabolism in Architecture* (London: Studio Vista, 1977), 56.
[379] Ibid., 36.

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that is neither quite outside nor inside, much like in the helix structure where verticality and horizontality seem to challenge one another.

While many of the Metabolists went on to become prolific architects, realizing projects all over the world, it is unrealizability that marks their early visions for the future of the city. Kurokawa even said that "[t]here is no value [...] in describing detailed plans which can be realized with available technology when cities are changing so quickly,"[380] which matches his notion that "the thought of Metabolism is theoretical and philosophical."[381] This could explain why projects such as Tange's Tokyo 1960 and Ōtaka and Maki's Shinjuku Project from the same year were discussed as theoretical suggestions at the Team 10 meeting on "the issue of urban infrastructure" at Royaumont in September 1962. The goal particularly of Team 10 was not to realize projects on such a large scale, but to use them to rethink the roles, possibilities, and meanings architecture and urban design would have on a much more human scale in this new age.[382] While noting that the same was true for the architects of CIAM, Isozaki also commented on the unrealizable nature of urban proposals from around that time:

> Over time it became the custom for hopeful Japanese avant-garde architects to debut with an unbuilt project. There was no question that having a project actually constructed was the fundamental condition for achieving credibility, but presenting a project set clearly beyond the frame of realizability afforded a different kind of fame. This unbuiltness prolonged the utopian impetus and provided the new and unwritten manifesto of being avant-garde. In Japan, from the 1930s to the 1960s - in parallel with the international avant-garde movement - the strategy solidified.[383]

Outside of such a historiography of visionary urbanism and planning utopias, it is also possible to understand 'unbuiltness' as a function of the impossibility of ideal design becoming ever more inescapable. In other words, with the tragedy of architecture that Kawazoe had diagnosed in 1955 increasingly coming into focus, the city itself as a concrete possibility was disappearing. In that context, the positivism of Weissmann's *Tokyo Memorandum* was racing into the past, and the Metabolists were racing into the future; both with their vision blurred.

Even though Tange's plan for Tokyo bay was a fantastical proposal, Kawazoe's analysis of his work forcefully argues that it never became disentangled from issues of historiography and tradition that weighed heavy in the postwar era. The Metabolist projects of the 1960s, on the

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[380] Ibid., 43.

[381] Ibid., 35.

[382] http://www.team10online.org/team10/meetings/1962-royaumont.htm, accessed February 23, 2016.

[383] Arata Isozaki, *Japan-Ness in Architecture*, ed. David B. Stewart, trans. Sabu Kohso (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2006), 86.

other hand, while reflecting abstractly on issues of urban expansion and spatial scarcity, were much less plugged into the political conflicts around urban space that at the time were increasingly dominant in Japan—and Tokyo in particular. In fact, a look at artistic and activist interventions in 1960s Tokyo reveals how Metabolist abstractions of urban space as social space were running counter to the concerns put forward by forces pursuing the strengthening of a democratic society.

ART AND THE CITY IN THE 1960s

Tange's design for Tokyo bay was shown to a public audience at the Tokyo World Design Conference in mid-May 1960, which concluded only four days before the bitterly debated Anpo Treaty was passed in the Japanese House of Representatives.[384] Anpo is the Japanese abbreviation for the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan (*Nihon koku to amerika gasshūkoku to no aida no sōgo kyōryoku oyobi anzen hoshō jōyaku*), which continues to be in effect as the legal foundation for US military presence in Japan. The passing of the treaty led to the so-called Anpo protests in May and June 1960, recognized as a most severe political crisis in postwar Japan, leaving one protester dead and many injured.

Hamaya Hiroshi's iconic photographs of the protests—taken between May 20 and June 22—show urban space as political space. In one photo (Fig. 52), protesters and riot police are seen in equal numbers, the latter from behind in uniformed anonymity. Their facelessness is contrasted with the expressive, often agitated, faces of the majority male protesters. While there are many other pictures that show mixed-gender groups, protest in the city as well as the quelling of it are here distinctly male activities. The perspective of the image, as well as the density of bodies, give it a distinct verticality. The picture's historical moment, importantly, shows civilian

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[384] Together with Asada Takashi, who shouldered many of Tange's responsibilities while the latter was away teaching at MIT beginning 1959, other organizers of the event included architects Sakakura Junzō and Maekawa Kunio, industrial designer Ekuan Kenji, and graphic designer Awazu Kiyoshi. The conference theme was "Our Century: The Total Image—What Designers Can Contribute to the Human Environment of the Coming Age." Given this theme, Tange's large-scale proposal and the subsequent Metabolist preoccupation with the mechanics of urban living, rather than its social dimensions, appears intuitive. See Toshino Iguchi, "The Era of the World Design Conference," in *From Postwar to Postmodern : Art in Japan 1945-1989 : Primary Documents*, ed. Doryun Chong, et al. (New York, NY; Durham, NC: Museum of Modern Art ; Distributed by Duke University Press, 2012).

resistance to military state power (both Japanese and American), which had not existed on this scale during the militarism of the Meiji, Taisho, and Showa periods, that is since the 1868 restoration of imperial rule and the parallel westernization of Japan.

Fig. 52 Hamaya Hiroshi, *Student protesters in front of Prime Minister's residence* (*Shushō kanteimae de kōgi suru zengakuren gakusei tachi*), 1960.

Looking at Tange's plan for Tokyo bay (Fig. 46) and Hamaya's photograph, the rift between the respective representations could barely be bigger. Tange shows us a transferable urbanism that is devoid of people and defined by concerns about efficient connections. Hamaya, on the other hand, shows the city's infrastructure as a space that is purely people, to the point of the city's materiality and infrastructure becoming invisible. The political and social context of the city constitutes an important context for understanding urban proposals at a time of urban unease, and for analyzing the ways in which forces of war continued to inform the city years after the war had officially ended. Space in the city was more than a mere stage for the politics, economics, and other large-scale projects of the postwar period; it was itself transformed by these processes. While this transformation should inform urban historiography, it achieved its greatest visibility not in architecture, but in other forms of art.

This is not to say that progressive and avant-garde artists—whether they were concerned with the city or not—were pursuing expressly political goals with their work. In fact, the established historical narrative of the Japanese avant-garde positions it as markedly apolitical.[385] At the same time, Kazu Kaido argues that it is clear that "there was an underlying spirit of radicalism and anti-authoritarianism in post-war Japanese avant-garde art."[386] Photographs such as Hamaya's of the Anpo protests may be seen as inherently anti-authoritarian because they depict scenes of disobedience, but the radicalism of 1960s art was gradually becoming more apparent as the years went by.

The Anpo protest movement, which had been fueled by the outrage over the feeling that Japan was offering tacit support for American imperialist wars in Asia, died down after the renewal of the treaty was ratified and Prime Minister Kishi Nobusuke resigned just a few days later. In the same year, the photographer Tōmatsu Shōmei started to become preoccupied with the city as a photographic object. His series *Asphalt* (*Asfaruto*) (Fig. 53) introduces an abstract materiality of a city in transformation, tracing Tokyo's roads like a geologist would trace neolithic sedimentation.[387] This work may not be outwardly anti-authoritarian, but it registers changes in the city that were becoming increasingly visible as the Japanese economy was expanding and as the government was pursuing a more prominent position for the nation on an international stage.

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[385] Kazu Kaido, "Reconstructions: The Role of the Avant-Garde in Post-War Japan," in *Reconstructions: Avant-Garde Art in Japan 1945-1965*, ed. David Elliott and Kazu Kaido (Oxford: Museum of Modern Art Oxford 1985).

[386] Ibid., 20.

[387] See Yasufumi Nakamori, "Shōmei Tōmatsu's Dialectical Visions : Shinjuku, Okinawa, and Beyond," in *For a New World to Come : Experiments in Japanese Art and Photography, 1968-1979*, ed. Yasufumi Nakamori and Museum of Fine Arts Houston. (Houston: The Museum of Fine Arts; distributed by Yale University Press, 2015).

Fig. 53 Tōmatsu Shōmei, *Asphalt* (*Asfaruto*), 1960.

A key event in postwar Tokyo that cemented Japan's reputation as an economic force on a global scale and demonstrated the country's complete recovery from war to an international audience were the 1964 Tokyo Summer Olympic Games. The Games were awarded to Tokyo in 1959 and were the first Olympics held in Asia. Originally, Tokyo had been awarded the 1940 Summer Games but, much like the world's fair of that year, the event was canceled due to the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War. The event led to massive investments in infrastructure, especially the Shuto Expressway (*shuto kōsoku dōro*) and the Tōkaidō Shinkansen, Japan's high-speed bullet train that was the first of its kind in the world. The Shinkansen line to Osaka opened on time for the start of the Olympic Games and convinced foreign visitors of the country's industrial and economic competitiveness.[388]

The Games happened in the same year that the Yomiuri Indépendant—Japan's foremost avant-garde exhibition, started by the *Yomiuri* newspaper in 1949—was canceled for good.

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[388] For a discussion of the changes that the 1964 Summer Olympics brought to Tokyo, see Edward Seidensticker, *Tokyo Rising : The City since the Great Earthquake*, 1st ed. (New York: Knopf : Distributed by Random House, 1990), 226-81.

William Marotti describes the end of the exhibition as "part of a general patter in the early 1960s of pressure to tidy up symbols that detracted from the presentation of a Japan reborn into happy prosperity."[389] Having participated in the final Indépendant in 1963, artists Takamatsu Jirō, Akasegawa Genpei, and Nakanishi Natsuyuki formed the group Hi Red Center (*Hai reddo sentā*) the same year, and they played into the void left by the exhibition, taking their activities out of the gallery and into the streets of Tokyo.

On October 16, 1964—six days after the opening of the Olympic Games—the short-lived group staged their last event, titled *Be Clean!* (*sōji-chū*). Dressed in white lab coats and surgical masks, the members of the group and additional participants blocked off parts of a Tokyo sidewalk and, with a serious demeanor, started cleaning it with great attention to detail. Their cover was never blown while they were on site, and police patrols even thanked them for their work.[390] The event constituted a critical commentary on the government's approach to the Olympic Games—both in terms of the promotion of a body politic of health and cleanliness, as well as the efforts to modernize the urban infrastructure.[391]

From Tōmatsu's 'abstract geology' of Tokyo's asphalt to the satirical and critical intervention by Hi Red Center, the fact that the city was changing under the influence of corporations and state power was very clearly registered by these artists. The resistance that inhered in the works by Akasegawa and his partners culminated in the so-called Model 1,000-Yen Note Incident (*mokei sen-en satsu jiken*) that began in 1963. Akasegawa says that even before the last Yomiuri Indépendant of 1963, he

> had already been losing hope in the value of works made with my own hands. How could an artist express individuality or originality? [...]
> It seemed to come down to this: I, as a painter, wanted to paint the state of not having anything to paint. Bank notes were the subject I discovered for this; while I was searching for something almost without value as a motif, I began to realise that the subject of paper money was at an infinite distance from what had value for painting. Nothing, would, I thought, be more meaningless and mechanical that [sic] the act of painting, of accurately depicting, paper money just as it was. In doing this, my work would consist of self-torture.[392]

[389] William Marotti, "Political Aesthetics: Activism, Everyday Life, and Art's Object in 1960s' Japan," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 7, no. 4 (2006): 613.

[390] Reiko Tomii, "*Geijutsu* on Their Minds : Memorable Words on Anti-Art," in *Art, Anti-Art, Non-Art : Experimentations in the Public Sphere in Postwar Japan, 1950-1970*, ed. Charles Merewether, et al. (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2007), 55.

[391] See Charles Merewether, "Disjunctive Modernity : The Practice of Artistic Experimentation in Postwar Japan," ibid., 19-20.

[392] Genpei Akasegawa, "The 1960s : The Art Which Destroyed Itself: An Intimate Account," in *Reconstructions: Avant-Garde Art in Japan 1945-1965*, ed. David Elliott and Kazu Kaido (Oxford: Museum of Modern Art Oxford 1985), 87.

Akasegawa at first made oversized prints of the 1,000-Yen note and hung them on gallery walls, but soon after ordered a printing press to make life-size copies that were distributed in the streets as invitations to his gallery show. The copies were monochromatic and only showed the 1,000-Yen note's image on one side, but they were also produced at a moment when a notorious case of money forgery was plaguing the authorities, providing all the more leverage in prosecuting Akasegawa. He started to be questioned by police in 1964, was indicted in 1965, and eventually found guilty and sentenced in 1970.[393]

William Marotti argues that the case was more about social and political signification than about the forging of bank notes; it pitted the state's interpretation of art, criminality, and the wider social system against that of artists who were challenging those categories.

> By contrast, it is precisely the way that the activities of Akasegawa and the various contemporary artists, dancers, dramatists, musicians, and the like tended to efface these distinctions [between unproblematic spheres such as art and criminality] that is the ground of their radical cultural productivity and ultimately, of their politicality.[394]

This became obvious in the trial's most notorious moments, when the defendant was charged with proving that his actions constituted art and were thus constitutionally protected freedom of speech. It led to Akasegawa turning the court room into a performance and installation space that flew in the face of the legal system's positivist adherence to social categories—what Marotti has called "the practice of the State."[395]

It is rather poignant that Akasegawa chose currency as his art object, and as expression of "the state of not having anything to paint," for money and state power were taking over both spatial structures and social structures of Tokyo at rapid speed in the 1960s by creating it as a discrete object. To this point, the members of Hi Red Center wrote in October 1963 in the progressive avant-garde journal *bijutsu techō*:

> Whereas corporations manage to turn out completed objects in the course of their business, the work of the Center ends with the creation of opportunities. It unfolds while overturning and transforming plans and

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[393] For more detailed discussions of the incident and its subsequent lawsuit that transfixed the Japanese art world, see Reiko Tomii, "State V. (Anti-)Art: *Model 1,000-Yen Note Incident* by Akasegawa Genpei and Company," *positions: east asia cultures critique* 10, no. 1, Spring 2002 (2002). See also William Marotti, "Simulacra and Subversion in the Everyday: Akasegawa Genpei's 1000-Yen Copy, Critical Art, and the State," *Postcolonial Studies* 4, no. 2 (2001).

[394] "Simulacra and Subversion in the Everyday: Akasegawa Genpei's 1000-Yen Copy, Critical Art, and the State," 218.

[395] Ibid., 236.

images, developing in a way that is unfathomable to the parties concerned, or providing energy that fades away within a set of circumstances.[396]

The conflict between 'completed objects' and the 'creation of opportunities' that is here described encapsulates the spectrum of ways of seeing the city in 1960s Japan. The city of corporations and state authority is finished, whereas that of artists is subject to constant renegotiation. This openness and freedom of the city as a signifier is what Tōmatsu already expressed in his Asphalt series. According to Matthew Witkovsky,

the pavement in *Asphalt* is a real mess, and the detritus mashed into its softened surface could as well have been scattered by a bomb. This is matter in an unredeemed state, invitingly ambiguous in scale but also worryingly free in its form.[397]

Photographers and performance artists such as Tōmatsu and Hi Red Center, respectively, express the instability of both the art object and the city in times of rapid change. In this context, the design proposals put forward by the Metabolist architects then appear much more like 'completed objects' than 'creations of opportunities.' While their conceptual narrative is one of dynamic change and renewal, materialized through infrastructural innovations such as the replacement of individual building parts over time, the city, nonetheless, is planned as a total and controlled environment. This is not to say that Metabolism was necessarily anti-radical, but that it was much less engaged with the politics of urban space than the work of visual and performance artists at the time. The Metabolist movement saw inspiration in the natural environment, in which countless parts and participants worked together to operate complex processes of growth, change, and decay; Tōmatsu, Akasegawa, Takamatsu, Nakanishi, and others were observing and addressing the fact that the city in the 1960s had very little in common with the natural environment—and that was not necessarily seen as a bad thing.

The majority of radical art and performances in 1960s Japan were at home in Shinjuku— one of Tokyo's 23 administrative wards. Around 90% of the area had been destroyed during the war, and postwar Shinjuku was characterized by an informal urbanism that developed into Tokyo's most active black market and red light district, and attracted underground subcultures for which there was less room in more organized and controlled parts of the city. By the 1960s, Shinjuku had developed into a center and gathering place for leftwing radicals, squatters (called

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[396] Translated and excerpted as Hi Red Center, "Sakka No Hatsugen to Sakuhin [Memorandum to You] [1963]," in *Provoke : Between Protest and Performance : Photography in Japan 1960-1975*, ed. Matthew S. Witkovsky, et al. (Göttingen: Steidl, 2016).
[397] Matthew S. Witkovsky, "Provoke: Photography up for Discussion," ibid., 472.

füten), and political protesters.[398] At the end of the decade, student protesters and musicians of the so-called folk guerrillas also made Shinjuku the geographic focus of their activities. The area's importance and influence on artistic and activist forces is obvious in its many representations. Tōmatsu's 1969 photo book *Oh! Shinjuku* exhibits the side-by-side of informal urbanism, arts, activism, and sex that form the foundation of the imaginary of 1960s Shinjuku. The often blurred images that record the movement of photographic subjects—whether engaged in sex acts or a face off with riot police in the streets—show the city as a space filled with fleeting characters and activities, and would become a hallmark of Japanese photography during this period.

A second generation of artists that adopted this aesthetic that came to be known as *are-bure-boke* ("rough, blurred, out of focus") combined forces in the founding of the experimental photographic magazine Provoke that came to be highly influential despite having lasted for only three issues. The first issue in 1968 was put together by photographers Nakahira Takuma, Takanashi Yutaka, critic Taki Kōji, and writer Okada Takahiko. Photographer Moriyama Daidō joined with the second issue. For Nakahira, the work of William Klein was a source of inspiration because it did not simply illuminate pre-existing concepts, but created new ones. He likened Klein's work to a dream—not symbolist or static, "but endlessly moving and supported by an infinite number of viewpoints."[399] Taki Kōji, similarly, suggested that "we can strip away the veneer from objects and people. It is an act of stripping away their invented authority, which was inevitably constructed by existing in this world."[400]

There is some debate over whether these goals were achieved. Duncan Forbes argues that *Provoke* separated photography from protest, marking a tipping point in the experience of Japanese urbanism and developing an aesthetic of urban mediation that was more focused on the changes to the city than on how it was made by its subjects.[401] Adding some contrast to this interpretation, Yukio Lippit writes that

> Far from simply documenting the margins of the mainstream, they [works dealing with Shinjuku, from movies to *Provoke* photographs] internalized the informal urban conditions in Shinjuku to generate a specific mode of interrelational subjectivity. The resulting subject was not so much a *flaneur*-observer of

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[398] Yukio Lippit, "Japan During the Provoke Era," ibid., 21.
[399] Takuma Nakahira, ""William Klein" [1967]," ibid., 365.
[400] Kōji Taki, ""Me to Me Narazaru Mono" [Eyes and Things That Are Not Eyes] [1970]," ibid., 352.
[401] Duncan Forbes, "Photography, Protest, and Constituent Powerin Japan, 1960-1975," ibid., 243.

the streets, but a participant in a dynamic process of becoming through encounters with the fragments of an abstracted, post-industrial landscape.[402]

The shared element of these readings, then, is that the subject of *Provoke* was a post-protest subject, even if protest was photographically shown. Further, the 'provocation' of *Provoke* resided in the aesthetic imagination, not the political imagination. Tokyo in the 1960s was in motion, and *are-bure-boke* was an attempt at exposing the new urban subjectivity that was produced out of that motion. Similarly, the work of Tōmatsu and Hi Red Center raised important questions about the construction of urban space in the context of large-scale urban change and projects such as the Summer Olympics of 1964.

These developments had consequences not only for the artistic encounter with the Japanese city, but also raised important questions about what it could mean to plan the future city between the extremes of 'creating opportunities' and producing a 'completed object.'

THE CITY OF THE FUTURE IS INVISIBLE / RUINED

In 1968, the 'Urban Design Research Group' (*toshi dezain kenkyū tai*) published a book titled *Japanese Urban Space* (*nihon no toshi kūkan*).[403] In addition to Isozaki Arata, other members of the group included the architectural historian, engineer, and novelist Itō Teiji, the urban planner Tsuchida Akira, the planner and community developer (*machi zukuri*) Hayashi Yasuyoshi, the architect Tomita Reiko, and the urban designer and architect Ōmura Ken'ichi. The authors offer a passionate Japanese perspective on modernist urban planning and functionalism, and use case studies of Japanese urban space to propose systematic solutions to what they argue constitute the two (connected) principal challenges facing cities: the separation between architecture and urban planning, and lack of awareness of the importance of urban structure.[404]

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[402] Yukio Lippit, "Japan During the Provoke Era," ibid., 22.

[403] The book was based on the collective's 1963 article "City Invisible" that addressed many of the same core issues. Arata Isozaki et al., "'Mienai Toshi' E No Apurōchi / City Invisible [Approach to the 'Invisible City' / City Invisible]," *Kenchiku Bunka* 1963, no. December (1963). See also Oshima, "Rereading Urban Space in Japan at the Crossroads of World Design."

[404] One of the core arguments that is made about Japanese urban space is that it is highly adaptable and open to different uses. For example, the absence of central plazas or town squares is more than compensated for by different parts of the streets turning into different types of public or semi-public space, and providing space for parades and processions. For example, see Henry D. Smith, "Tokyo as an Idea : An Exploration of Japanese Urban

Rather than continuing with an aesthetic focus of architectural and urban modernism that they saw in Le Corbusier's work and that appears to ignore the living conditions in cities and proposes solutions as disconnected parallels, they argued that the goal for urban planning as a method should be to unify the quantitative analysis of urban space with the materiality of the built form.[405] Therefore, Isozaki and his co-authors offer an outspoken critique of functionalism as an urban model that they saw as having two main shortcomings: it offered an abstraction of space insufficient for working with and understanding the conditions of actual urban space, and it lacked a deep structural understanding of the city to which the methods and mechanisms of functionalism would be applied.[406] The argument was that in functionalism, the city was not one organic body, but an aggregation of different functions because the overall structure was more arbitrary than deliberate; that is, the whole was a result of the parts, rather than the other way around.[407] Tange's 1960 Plan for Tokyo Bay is praised as an example that—much like a vertebrate animal—provides a large overall structure within which different functions are able to take up space.[408]

The authors thus make an argument for the city as one large structural object—the type of 'completed object' that the members of Hi Red Center were rebelling against. However, it is important not to confuse this desire for structure with a desire for a fixed shape to be filled in with parts and functions. Instead, the shape of the planned city is here 'vague, and ought to waft like fog' ("*mōrō to shite, kiri no yō ni yure ugoku mono to naru hazu de aru*").[409] In other words, there is no inherently good, or universally suitable urban form in this mode of thinking, and the realization of every urban plan depends on the thoughtful and attentive integration of actual conditions in the city with the capabilities of the built form. The authors of *Nihon no toshi kūkan* argue that "there is no firm shape of the future, and the shape of the city is becoming increasingly invisible."[410] This means that the designed form ought to be the consequence of an approach to urban planning that explores the opportunities of building within an already existing city. This approach—a structurally mediated compromise between the city as an object both

Thought until 1945," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 4, no. 1 (1978). See also Kurokawa, *Metabolism in Architecture*, 23-40.

[405] Isozaki et al., *Nihon No Toshi Kūkan [Japanese Urban Space]*, 9-10.
[406] Ibid., 16.
[407] Ibid., 17.
[408] Ibid., 18.
[409] Ibid., 26.
[410] Ibid., 26, my translation.

fixed and flexible—does not preclude innovation or even radical departures from urban traditions (such as Tange's Tokyo Bay Plan), but it is strongly opposed to the notion that the city of the future could be an object or idea first in the imagination, then on paper, and finally in reality. Instead, the city of the future plays a purely symbolic role as an unknown that will come into existence, but whose emergence can never be sped up.

> That is why the future city has to be something that is always swaying and moving inside your imagination. [...]
> This moving and unfixed image can also be called 'invisible city.' It is the invisible city that really is the city of the future.[411]

In the same year that the book was published, Isozaki had an opportunity to experiment with the invisibility of the city in his installation *Electric Labyrinth* for the XIV Triennale di Milano. In an ironic turn, the work ended up being destroyed by protesting students, professors, and artists before it could even open to the public. Isozaki described himself as sympathetic to the protesters' anti-establishment cause and—with support from photographer Tōmatsu Shōmei, graphic designer Sugiura Kōhei, and composer Ichiyanagi Toshi—had put together an installation that was to throw a critical light on narratives of reconstruction, recovery from atrocity, and ideas of overcoming the past.[412] Pictures of ghosts and demons from Japanese woodblock prints and Tōmatsu's photographs of postwar ruins in Hiroshima were printed onto aluminum sheets that would rotate in frames in response to visitor movement, variably exposing the ghosts, or dead bodies and nuclear devastation. On the walls was printed a panoramic view of destroyed Hiroshima, with two megastructures that looked like they would have been made of modular parts inserted into the ruins. However, the simulated large-scale edifices were falling into ruin themselves. The curator and art critic Hans-Ulrich Obrist quotes Isozaki's description of this part of the project. Isozaki said that he

> 'made a kind of collage about the ruins of Hiroshima and the megastructure it would later become, which itself was in a state of ruin: a ruined structure on the ruins, which I titled *The City of the Future is the Ruins.* I was very much obsessed by these ruins of the future. I projected many images of the future city onto the wall. We tried to show how the future city would itself constantly fall into ruin. This was on the moving

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[411]　「それゆえ未来都市は、いつもあなたのイメージの内部でゆらゆらと揺れ動いているもので なければならない。[...]
揺れ動いて固定しないイメージを《見えない都市》と呼んでもいい。見えない都市こそ実は未来の都市だ 。」 ibid., 27, my translation.
[412] Koolhaas et al., *Project Japan : Metabolism Talks*, 42.

panels, which, whenever they turned, would be accompanied by Toshi Ichiyanagi's strange sounds. I called the installation *Electric Labyrinth*.'[413]

The only thing predictable about any rendition the city of the future as demonstrated in Isozaki's *Electric Labyrinth* is its entropic nature; that it can never escape time and the constraints of its material existence. The fact that the futuristic megastructure in the panoramic mural is itself decaying shows that the visualization of any future makes it first a matter of the present, and then, immediately, a matter of the past. Discourse on the future thereby becomes discourse on decay, not on idealism.

As Isozaki's city of the future in Milan was vandalized, work was underway to construct the Tange Kenzō and Kyoto University architecture professor Nishiyama Uzō's master plan for EXPO '70—likewise envisioned as a city of the future. An obvious first irony of this concept was that the expo grounds were not going to become a city or give room to inhabitation, which, again, was the reason for Asada to decline being involved in the production, and it made 'the city of the future' into a statement that was plainly false. Tange and Nishiyama were appointed jointly following disputes between the Osaka municipal government and the industrialists and bankers that financed a large part of the expo. Nishiyama was a marxist scholar who placed great emphasis on low-income housing and social issues in cities, and received support from local government forces, whereas Tange's practice was favored by the corporate stakeholders. Nishiyama's responsibility was the development of the overall structural and conceptual plan for the site, and Tange produced the final layout for the facilities and buildings.[414]

Nishiyama dropped out of the commission before plans were finalized, but the parts of his design that were compatible with Tange's planning ideology ended up being realized. While remaining aware of the world's fair's temporary nature and short-livedness of many of its structures whose demolition was scheduled before they were even constructed, the two planners saw the event's legacy in its infrastructural solutions. Therefore, the site was developed in earnest as a model for a 'city of the future.' However, that future was located primarily in its overall connective structures and transportation access, and less in the shapes and forms of its buildings, although many of them did exhibit visions for what living and domesticity in the future would look like. Both Nishiyama and Tange may have embraced a positive attitude

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[413] http://www.castellodirivoli.org/en/mostra/arata-isozaki-electric-labyrinth/, accessed April 14, 2016.
[414] Zhongjie Lin, *Kenzo Tange and the Metabolist Movement : Urban Utopias of Modern Japan* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 211-12.

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towards technology and held compatible views on the importance of urban structural planning, but their ideological differences were emblematic of the different positions on the world's fair as a whole. Zhongjie Lin argues that "the competition between Nishyama and Tange offered a prelude to the larger battle between utopianism and commercialism at the Expo, which in turn reflected the changing social climate in Japanese society as the 1970s began."[415]

The *Japan Architect*[416] contributor Sasaki Takabumi, in the magazine's special issue on EXPO'70, sharply criticized Tange's notion of the "city of the future", writing that

> if EXPO is no more than a carefully budgeted and financially endorsed show, it can only deal with the very near future. In short, the very word 'future' becomes meaningless in connection with world expositions. It is not the world of the future that is meant by the oversimplified space frame of the Great Roof, but merely the world of the never accomplished before.[417]

The "Great Roof" refers to the 100-foot-tall space frame designed by Tange that covered EXPO'70's central festival plaza, and through which artist Okamoto Tarō's *Tower of the Sun* protruded (Fig. 32). Sasaki focuses on the designs and materiality of the expo that may be structurally impressive and novel, but offer little in terms of visualizing the future. Unfortunately, Sasaki did not elaborate on what he would have liked to see done that would have engaged the concept of the future in a way more meaningful to him. Sasaki's assertion that the expo was a budgeted event required to work within economic and political constraints cannot be disputed. However, rather than engaging the question of whether planning and executing a world's fair to engage issues as broad as "Progress and Harmony for Mankind" and the "City of the Future" is ever a feasible project, it is important here to grasp the spectrum of understandings of the concept of the future. Sasaki appears to see in the expo a material exercise of futuristic building when he would have preferred to judge it by its merits as a theoretical exercise that may or may not have a physical form, but in which the material constraints and physical achievements are not center stage. Again, Sasaki's criticism of the world's fair as being nothing more than a boastful attempt at raising the bar for contemporary exhibitions may well be valid, but it may apply to any project aiming to make a built vision of the future accessible to masses of visitors, and operable as a political and economic endeavor. It appears, of course, that Sasaki was looking for a conceptual synthesis of tradition and modernity that Kawazoe Noboru saw achieved in

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[415] Ibid., 214.

[416] *Japan Architect* is the international edition of the Japanese architectural magazine *Shinkenchiku*.

[417] Takabumi Sasaki, "A Passage through the Dys-Topia of Expo '70," *The Japan Architect*, no. 164 (1970): 147.

some of Tange's work, and for the 'invisibility' of the city as a dynamically changing object that was articulated by Isozaki.[418]

Isozaki himself was involved in EXPO '70 and designed large kinetically controlled robots for the festival plaza (omatsuri hiroba) that was covered by Tange's space frame and used for parades and performances. A wealth of cultural events put together by countries participating in the world's fair, art performances by groups such as the avant-garde Gutai founded by Yoshihara Jirō in 1954, as well as the expo's opening and closing ceremony were held in the festival plaza. The 'Gutai Art Festival' was comprised of performance and installation pieces that were "defiantly human scale in a space that demanded the outsize", and made "poetic gestures of resistance against the architecture's dehumanizing bombast."[419] Not unlike what Hi Red Center did in 1964 during the Tokyo Olympics, the Gutai group presented a performance at EXPO '70 that counteracted the overwhelming nature of a carefully curated and controlled space infused with state and corporate power. Further, the authors of Nihon no toshi kūkan had identified an antimonumental countertradition in the public uses of common spaces, including roads, in Japan that set it apart from Western models of organizing urban space around plazas or squares that often introduced monumentality into the city.[420] If spontaneous appropriations of a variety of spaces were seen as a typical act of the people, utilizing spatial monumentality was not.

The salience of the festival plaza at EXPO '70 as a monumental place of control becomes even more poignant if it is seen next to the one other nationally significant gathering space in Japan at the time—the Shinjuku Station West Gate Plaza (shinjuku eki nishiguchi hiroba) that had been completely redesigned in 1967 by Sakakura Junzō in anticipation of heavy corporate and commercial development to reach West Shinjuku. Japan's first high-rise hotel, the 47-floor Keio Plaza Hotel was completed across the street from the station exit in 1971, followed by landmarks such as the Sumitomo Building (1974) and the Mitsui Building (1974). The influx of corporate capital redeveloped Shinjuku quickly, turning it into Tokyo's densest business district. That transition in the late 1960s went hand in hand with the expulsion of countercultures and protestors for whom Shinjuku had been a central hub; in fact, it was Sakakura's plaza that was

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[418] Iwata, "The Japanese Character of Tange Kenzō [1955]," 72-73.

[419] Ming Tiampo, "Please Draw Freely," in Gutai: Splendid Playground, ed. Ming Tiampo and Alexandra Munroe (New York, NY: Guggenheim, 2013), 67.

[420] On this point, as well as a general overview of the history of urban squares (hiroba, literally 'wide space' or 'open space') in Japan, see Jordan Sand, Tokyo Vernacular : Common Spaces, Local Histories, Found Objects (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 25-53.

quickly established as a protest space, and was therefore frequently visited by riot police.[421] During the night of July 19, 1969, this conflict culminated when authorities moved in and changed all signage in the area, renaming the *hiroba* ('open' or 'wide space') to *tsūro* ('passage' or 'concourse').[422] Creating a circulation space out of a plaza gave authorities increased leverage in evicting protestors and represented "an end to hopes invested in direct democracy in the public square."[423]

Tōno Yoshiaki, who had been involved in the event planning for the festival plaza at EXPO '70 felt great admiration for the protestors in Shinjuku, writing that

> the fact that the west-exit plaza was transformed into the site of a folk rally at the hands of a group of young people was a brilliant example of how an architectural space can be used to betray its creator's original intent and expectations through the resolve of the people who later come to use it.[424]

As for the space at EXPO '70, he held a more negative opinion:

> Festival Plaza is nothing more than a fictionally conceived space. In terms of its public nature, it is a plaza created by authority. And yet, the tens of thousands of people who will be assembling, resting, performing, lingering, passing through, looking on passively, taking part, killing time, getting excited, and leaving the space are not "dunces," and we certainly cannot see them as just a physically moving mass.[425]

Seen from the perspective of accessibility of public space for political action, then, EXPO '70 indeed represented the city of the future of the 1970s—a future in which police had become ever more efficient at cracking down on protesters—and the West Shinjuku Plaza represented the past of the politically tumultuous and protest-heavy 1960s.[426] With the majority of demonstrations in Tokyo directed against the Vietnam War and US-Japanese military alliance as embodied in the Anpo Treaty that was due for renewal in 1970, the Shinjuku space became a locus of anti-imperialism in the American century. At EXPO '70, on the other hand, the festival plaza was "created by authority"—this meant state and corporate power in the age of globalizing economies (unaware of the oil crisis to come), the history of which Ukai Satoshi called inseparable from that of colonialism.[427]

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[421] See Ai Maeda, "Urban Theory Today," *Current Anthropology* 28, no. 4 (1987).

[422] Forbes, "Photography, Protest, and Constituent Powerin Japan, 1960-1975," 243.

[423] Sand, *Tokyo Vernacular : Common Spaces, Local Histories, Found Objects*, 50.

[424] Yoshiaki Tōno, "Artists Participating in the World Expo, Speak Out! [1970]," in *From Postwar to Postmodern : Art in Japan 1945-1989 : Primary Documents*, ed. Doryun Chong, et al. (New York, NY; Durham, NC: Museum of Modern Art ; Distributed by Duke University Press, 2012), 249.

[425] Ibid.

[426] Maeda, "Urban Theory Today," S102.

[427] Ukai, "Postcolonial Conditions Explained to Japanese Children," 47.

EXPO '70 thus presents itself as a 'colony of capital' that seemed only to invite more war—be it in the form of US interventionism in Southeast Asia supported by Anpo, or by attracting the aggressive monster Jiger that was immune to conventional weaponry and kept the specter of nuclear devastations alive.

EXPO ARCHITECTURE

Fig.54. Azuma Takamitsu, Mitsui Group Pavilion, 1970.

Sumitomo and Mitsui, Japan's two oldest corporate conglomerates—whose skyscrapers set new limits for high-rise construction in Tokyo when they came to dominate West Shinjuku in 1974—also constructed pavilions to make their mark at EXPO '70. In *The Japan Architect*'s special issue on EXPO'70, Sasaki Takabumi makes the Mitsui pavilion (Fig.54) stand in for what he sees as the fundamental failure of the event:

> The Mitsui pavilion [architect: Azuma Takamitsu] is only a classic example of the numerous attempts at EXPO '70 to employ a number of artists and designers - more often avant-garde than establishment - and multi-projectors and speakers to make it an exposition of photographic images and sounds. The trouble is, however, that vast environmental light, sound, and color shows are so plentiful that the visitor is likely to

sink into a totaly [sic] apathetic unconcern about them. This means that the shows have produced an effect exactly opposite to the one they wanted to make.[428]

Fig.55. Azuma Takamitsu, Tower House, 1966.

The Mitsui pavilion is indeed a good example for illustrating the involvement of cutting-edge artists in the design of its facilities and exhibitions: Azuma had caused a stir with his architectural debut, the Tower House (tō no ie, fig. 55) from 1966, now DOCOMOMO-listed; the composer Ichiyanagi Toshi was a student of John Cage's for some years while in the US from 1954 to 1961, and also married to the artist Yoko Ono roughly around the same time (1956-62); the sculptor Ihara Michio after the expo took up a fellowship at MIT's Center for Advanced Visual Studies, at the time still under the leadership of its founder György Kepes. The design of the pavilion was certainly radical in its exploration of the relationship between used space and building infrastructure, a theme that would become dominant throughout the 1970s, in the Centre Pompidou as well as Richard Rogers' Lloyd's building in London from much later in the decade (1978-86). Inside the pavilion, visitors were 'flown' through the space of the dome on three erratically moving platforms, each holding 80 people, and taking them on a multi-media trip into space and through creation (uchū to sōzō no tabi). The components of this 'befuddlement'—as

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[428] Sasaki, "A Passage through the Dys-Topia of Expo '70," 149.

the critic Sasaki would probably describe it—are explained in the official report of the exposition published in 1972:

> On the mammoth screen - 720 square meters - were projected pictures of steam, sea animals and other social and natural phenomena of the present and the future. The space sound system, consisting of 1,726 built-in speakers, and special lighting effects created an audio-visual wonder.[429]

The audio-visual onslaught means that the exhibition was designed for pure consumption. Yet, this multi-media spectacle was made of contributions from artists who made good use of the freedom given to them, freedom that they certainly would not have had in designing anything for Mitsui outside the context of EXPO'70.

The influential art critic Nakahara Yūsuke, organizer of the 1970 Tokyo Biennale, Japan's first full-fledged international art exhibition, contends that it was precisely because of their avant garde connections that many of the artists were selected to work on the exposition.[430] He also points out that this type of collaboration must seem contradictory:

> It is true that their system of artistic values seemed incompatible with that of the state or corporations, which until then had rarely been patrons of artists.[431]

Following the announcement of the expo theme "Progress and Harmony for Mankind" in 1968, Nakahara, together with five others, organized the five-day symposium "Expose 1968: Nanika ittekure, ima, sagasu" ("Expose 1968: Say something now, I'm looking for something to say") that provided a forum for launching a critique at the world exposition.

> Many of the artists and groups that had been active throughout the previous two decades accepted the invitation to participate in "Expose 1968," whose proceedings included lectures, performances, exhibitions, films, poetry readings, and psychedelic shows.[432]

It is interesting to note that many of the same groups would later make use of the fact that "Expo '70 would likewise afford artists a stage on which to try out their avant-garde ideas",

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[429] Nihon Bankoku Hakurankai Kyōkai., *Japan World Exposition, Osaka, 1970: Official Report* (Suita City, Osaka Prefecture: Commemorative Association for the Japan World Exposition (1970), 1972), 430.

[430] Yūsuke Nakahara, "Art, Environment, Technologie," in *Japon Des Avant Gardes, 1910-1970 : Exposition*, ed. Centre Georges Pompidou, Kokusai Koryu Kikin, and Asahi Shinbunsha (Paris: Editions du Centre Pompidou, 1986), 387.

[431] "Leur système de valeurs artistiques semblait, il est vrai, incompatible avec celui de l'état et des entreprises, lesquelles avaient rarement été jusqu'alors les mécènes des artistes." Ibid., 387, my translation.

[432] Merewether, "Disjuntive Modernity : The Practice of Artistic Experimentation in Postwar Japan," 27.

including Yoshihara Jirō's Gutai group, who staged indoor and outdoor exhibitions and an art festival[433].

Fig.56. Ōtani Sachio, Sumitomo Group Pavilion, 1970.

Across the walkway from the Mitsui pavilion stood that of Sumitomo (Fig. 56). The Sumitomo Pavilion was designed by Ōtani Sachio, who started his career in Tange's office, traveled with him to Hiroshima in 1946, and worked on the design for the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum. He later designed the Kyoto International Conference Center, completed in 1966. Hikosaka—in his analysis of utopian urbanism—describes him as different from his contemporaries, in that Ōtani did not privilege authoritarian macrostructures, for example in his 1961 project for Kōjimachi, consisting of massed rectangular courtyard dwellings that in their multiplicity and honeycomb-like arrangement cover a large areas and yet do not convey the monumentality of a megastructure. He was briefly involved with the Metabolists, which is evident in his own description of the Sumitomo pavilion:

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[433] Ibid., 27-28.

The Sumitomo pavilion, by surpassing limitations of age and region, strives to express the two important meanings of space: functional and unrestricted.
[...] I believe that spaces with set functions should also participate in the creation of hope-giving environments.[434]

The bringing together of functional and unrestricted space strikes a chord with Kurokawa Kishō's understanding of Metabolist architecture as pulling together ostensible contradictions; it is also reminiscent of the ideal of enabling exchange, flux, and variation within an efficiently functioning superstructure or space frame. Kurokawa's signature approach to this problem was via a certain compartmentalization of life in his capsule-based structures that would be adaptable to the different life spans of different spaces by allowing the exchange of capsules within one given system.[435] Ōtani's pavilion for Sumitomo works in a very similar way, combining an efficient infrastructural frame of large pods connected by escalators. Visitors traveled through the structure on a fixed narrative paths, learning about different techniques of storytelling and the world's fairy tales in each space. Escalators connected the pods and paced the visitor traffic and circulation speed. Morphologically, however, the structure conveyed a considerable degree of formal freedom as the arrangement, relative position, and sequence of the pods followed no discernible pattern and may have seemed arbitrary to onlookers. It is indeed this combination of chance and flexibility with a rigid narrative program that can be found in many of the pavilion designs. Kurokawa's Tōshiba IHI pavilion, Kikutake's Expo Tower, and Murata Yutaka's Fuji group pavilion—a vast inflatable structure surrounded by concrete domes—are cases in point.

However, a key difference between Kurokawa's structures and Ōtani's Sumitomo pavilion is the respective construction effort. While the parts of the Takara Beautilion were assembled in only seven days, it took the contractors two and a half years to turn Ōtani's drawings into a building[436]. This was due to both the design's complexity as well as Ōtani's efforts to integrate the building into its environment. In an interview with Nakawada Minami, he states that for him any thinking about a 'city of the future' always has to include thinking about

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[434] Sachio Ōtani, "The Sumitomo Fairytale Pavilion," *The Japan Architect*, no. 164 (1970): 125.

[435] The Nakagin Capsule Tower (1970-72) in Shinbashi, Tokyo, is probably the best-known example of this type of architecture, although Kurokawa also designed buildings at EXPO'70. The Takara Beautilion consisted of a freely assembled steel frame holding prefabricated 'exhibition capsules,' and the Capsule Dwellings (*jūtaku kapusuru*) were nestled in the beam structure of the big roof designed by Tange that covered the exposition's so-called festival plaza.

[436] See, for example, the description in the official expo guidebook. Nihon Bankoku Hakurankai Kyōkai., *Japan World Exposition, Osaka, 1970: Official Report*, 189.

For Ōtani's pavilion, see Minami 中和田ミナミ Nakawada, *Expo 70: Kyōgaku! Ōsaka Bankoku Hakurankai No Subete [Expo 70: Amazement! Everything About the Osaka World's Fair]* (Tokyo: Daiyamondosha, 2005), 52.

individual 'architecture of the future.'[437] In this vein, he wrote to the planners of all the adjacent pavilions, communicating his ideas for his own design and asking for information that would make it possible to co-operatively create a more coherent, smooth, and less compartmentalized landscape. While Maekawa Kunio, designer of the automobile pavilion, responded—resulting in the two pavilions' plazas connecting smoothly, Yoshida Isoya, architect for the Matsushita pavilion located on the other side, did not. The very enclosed design of Yoshida's structure, with the buildings located in the middle of a pond, connected to the main walkway only by a bridge, exhibits a more hermetic design approach. The official guide map of the exposition illustrates the spatial relationships nicely (Fig. 57).

Fig.57. Official guide map, EXPO '70, 1970.

Ōtani also comments on the unusual fact that Nikken Sekkei, the large architectural firm that had grown out of the Sumitomo conglomerate, was not selected for designing the project. He gives credit to the pavilion's producer Kotani Masakazu, who had made the hiring of Ōtani a

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[437] *Expo 70: Kyōgaku! Ōsaka Bankoku Hakurankai No Subete [Expo 70: Amazement! Everything About the Osaka World's Fair]*, 53.

condition for his own joining of the project.[438] His attention to detail in considering the vicinity of the pavilion's environment supports Hikosaka's attestation that the architect's approach to monumental structures was reserved. Ōtani summarizes his position like this:

> it is necessary not just to be absorbed in your own architecture, but also to exercise consideration vis-a-vis the surroundings. That's because you're not building buildings on your own in the middle of a desert.[439]

The Sumitomo pavilion thus appears to be pervaded by a desire for exchange and communication, on a number of different levels. The spatial relationships between the nine exhibition spaces are rendered visible by the structural framework, and they were planned in consideration of the surrounding buildings. The exhibit inside the pavilion focused on fairy tales, which—traditionally passed on as oral narratives between generations—also contain parables that often explore the role of the individual in society and amongst her peers during a time of crisis. Finally, the exhibition pods are subject to the tension that exists between functionality and a free exploration of form. They are functional but their purpose is not self-evident, and they prompt a critical look at the forms of oral or written tradition, of cross-cultural and cross-generational communication, as well as the structures of tradition in the face of modernization.

In comparison to the Mitsui pavilion, Sumitomo's structure relies much less on cutting-edge media technologies. The exhibition program thus keeps alive conversations about society, lest it turn into the kind of desert of self-centeredness Ōtani warned against. In that sense, the pavilion's achievement is similar to that of EXPO'70 as described by Nakahara Yūsuke. Nakahara, while being highly critical of the exposition, is also convinced that it did not just showcase technical innovations of the 1960s in a corporatized fashion, but—even if hyperbolically—enabled a new type of questioning of that same corporatization. In addition to technology-oriented narratives, he says that

> I am convinced that, in addition, the expo has raised new questions, that of the meaning of art in contemporary society, even that of the very existence of artists.[440]

Another building that is of interest is the Electric Power pavilion (*denryoku kan*) designed by Sakakura Junzō. Sakakura died a good six months before EXPO'70 opened to the

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[438] Ibid.

[439] "自分の建築だけに熱中するのではなく、周囲に対する配慮も必要です。砂漠の中で自分ひとり建物を建てているわけではないのですから。" ibid., 53, my translation.

[440] "je suis persuadé que l'Expo a, de surcroît, soulevé de nouvelles questions, celle du sens de l'art dans la société contemporaine, voire celle de l'existence même des artistes." Nakahara, "Art, Environment, Technologie," 391, my translation.

public on March 15, 1970. He had designed the Japanese pavilion for the 1937 world exposition in Paris, and the Nanhu Housing Project in the Manchukuo capital of Hsinking/Shinkyō (now Changchun) in 1939. The aesthetics for the colonial project were influenced by the work he had done on Le Corbusier's La Ville Radieuse—the plan that would have wiped out central Paris—when he worked in his Paris office in the early 1930s.[441] Sakakura is also known as the architect of the 1951 Kamakura Modern Art Museum, Japan's first museum entirely dedicated to modern art, of a 1953 residence and atelier for Okamoto Tarō, and, together with Maekawa Kunio and Yoshizaka Takamasa, he was a producing architect of Le Corbusier's only building in Japan—the 1959 National Museum of Western Art in Ueno Park, Tokyo.[442] In 1966 he planned the development of the plaza at West Shinjuku, and it must have been shortly after this that he began the design for the Electric Power pavilion (Fig.58), which stood opposite the Mitsui group pavilion on the expo grounds.

Fig. 58. Sakakura Junzō, Electric Power Pavilion, 1970.

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[441] Koolhaas et al., *Project Japan : Metabolism Talks*, 72.

[442] Laura Hein, "Reckoning with War in the Museum: Hijikata Teiichi at the Kamakura Museum of Modern Art," in *Art and War in Japan and Its Empire 1931-1960*, ed. Asato Ikeda, Aya Louisa McDonald, and Ming Tiampo (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013).

While Azuma's design for Mitsui liberated building infrastructure from its usual hidden spaces within walls, floors, and ceilings, Sakakura attempted to liberate the building from material constraints, even playing with those of physics[443]. The roof, columns and wires give the pavilion a palpable sense of tension and weight, while still retaining an open and transparent form. Both the cylindrical theater space at the top and the exhibition halls below were assembled on the ground and afterwards suspended from the building's structural frame. The theater was mounted directly into the space frame, and the round exhibition spaces are freely suspended on steel cables anchored in the space frame's four corners. The goal of creating a flexible structure was here pursued through structural means openly manipulating gravity (Fig.59).

> Special emphasis was placed on bringing out the dynamic quality of the Electric Power Pavilion through various lighting effects. For exterior lighting during the night, four automatic control systems produced a "poem of light" by switching lights and controlling the brightness and colors. The inside lighting effects were also changed according to the time and occasion.[444]

Fig.59. Electric Power Pavilion by night, Sakakura Junzō, 1970.

[443] Nakawada, *Expo 70: Kyōgaku! Ōsaka Bankoku Hakurankai No Subete [Expo 70: Amazement! Everything About the Osaka World's Fair]*, 56.

[444] Nihon Bankoku Hakurankai Kyōkai., *Japan World Exposition, Osaka, 1970: Official Report*, 414.

One way of thinking about Sakakura's design is to emphasize its innovations in technology and infrastructure. While the suspension system invokes lightness and fragility, it also gives transparency to massing and gravitational force, thereby, in turn, demonstrating heft as if the building was placed on scales before the onlooker's eyes. The noted lighting effects are programmatic for a pavilion representing the electric power industry. Electricity may in fact serve as a metaphor here for a building that is airborne—in Japan domestic power lines are kept above ground. Posts and cables that connect houses in Japanese neighborhoods shoulder the burden and responsibility of powering a nation undergoing rapid development—much like those that carry and hold together Sakakura's building. The exhibition on the inside of the pavilion, titled "Man and Energy," retraced the history of electricity in human use from primeval times to the present, thereby positioning electricity as a universally shared and connective force.

This way of reading the pavilion shall here be referred to as the Festival Plaza way; it is the way of a neat and controlled narrative, of signification and symbolism that fits into programs, master plans, and developmental paradigms of industrialization and globalization. Another way of reading the pavilion is the Shinjuku Plaza way—the way of conflict and disruption, of complicated painful pasts and exploding invisible futures, and of ghosts and demons. This way suggests that the building components are suspended because the earth underneath them is scorched and uninhabitable; it suggests impending doom because electricity that is not grounded causes death; and it suggests that a building for corporate clients is where their heads are—up in the clouds, chasing profit and funding military destruction.

WAR, URBANISM, AND ARCHITECTURE

This chapter diverged from more established historiographical paths for the interpretation of post-WWII Japanese architecture and urbanism. Rather than seeing core analytical foundations in the material management of devastation or Western histories of modernism, wartime thought shaped by the imperial-colonialist experience and the threat of nuclear annihilation were here pursued as interpretive opportunities in an age of war. The goal was not, and will not be, to debunk established historiographies; instead, it is to add layers to those

histories that afford us insight into the many faces of war—especially death and the threat thereof. If some insight was afforded into the traces that war leaves in the city and in architecture that are not rubble, then this goal would have been achieved.

The development of urban and architectural space in Japan as chronologically framed by Tokyo's unrealized 1940 world's fair and EXPO '70 shows how profound the impact and experience of war and nuclear devastation was in the context of architecture and urbanism. It complicated the legacy of Japan's colonialist transgressions and oppressions; it challenged its modernization as a project that only meekly achieved a synthetic negotiation between Western influence and domestic heritage; it overshadowed the recovery of Japanese tradition in the wake of imperialism; it eventually broadened the rift between the planning of cities as corporate or state power and as democratic intervention in a global age of urbanism; and it paved the way for a structuralism that embraced solid form as much as it embraced invisibility.

The city of the future in Japan was born out of all these struggles, and, in more ways than has been recognized, continued to absorb the effects of war and nuclear anxiety long after the bombs had stopped falling.

CONCLUSION

TOWARDS A NUANCED URBAN HISTORY

In his well-known commentary on Paul Klee's 1920 work *Angelus Novus*, Walter Benjamin describes the figure in the picture as the 'angel of history,' who is blown backwards into the future by a storm coming from paradise. (Fig.60) The angel is unable to close his wings, unable to turn away without breaking them off. He is forced to look onto the wreckage that piles up as one large mass, prevented from repairing the damage and awakening the dead. "This storm," Benjamin writes, "is what we call progress."[445] The text can be invoked not just as a metaphor for the writer's rejection of Marxist historical materialism, but also for the history of modernity, as Kenneth Frampton has done in his history of modern architecture.[446] Let us consider for a moment the fact that Benjamin wrote this text in 1940, the year of Paul Klee's death, and of his own tragic suicide. What would have happened to the angel if he had seen the end of WWII?[447] If he had seen the true horror and scale of the war and of the Holocaust? If he had seen nuclear bombs being dropped? Would he have been able to continue looking at the suffering piled up sky-high, spanning the horizon, even slowing the storm of progress that

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[445] Walter Benjamin and Hannah Arendt, *Illuminations*, 1st Schocken pbk. ed. (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), 258.

[446] For example, it opens Kenneth Frampton's *Modern Architecture*, setting the stage for a historiographical approach that critically investigates the ways in which modernity interacts with, and determines social conditions. See Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*, fourth edition ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), 8.

[447] In his introduction to the *The Journal of Architecture*'s special issue on Warsaw, Mark Dorrian implies a similar question when comparing Benjamin's commentary on Klee's *Angelus Novus* with a photograph of a girl deeply traumatized by WWII. The girl, asked to draw 'home' on a chalkboard, creates a tangle or spiral of overlapping lines in an act that Dorrian calls "a grinding down of the instrument of representation as the only possible response to its inadequacy" (2). The catastrophe that is here beyond history because it is beyond narrative, is also part of the picture, rather than outside the picture, as is the case in Benjamin's reading of *Angelus Novus*. Catastrophe here has a face, but one that we neither have the tools to represent or narrate within the modernity that has produced it. See Mark Dorrian, "Warsaw: Tracking the City: Introduction," *The Journal of Architecture* 15, no. 1 (2010).

initially prevented his intervention? Or would the angel have turned himself around—even if that had cost him his wings—to look away and mourn the loss with his eyes closed?

Fig.60.   Paul   Klee,   *Angelus   Novus*,   1920.   The   Israel   Museum,   Jerusalem.
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/4b/Klee%2C_paul%2C_angelus_novus%2C_1920.jpg
(Accessed March 29, 2017).

It is easy to forget that WWII had only just started when Benjamin wrote his iconic interpretation of Klee's painting because he describes the catastrophic war with uncanny prescience. To a considerable degree, this neglect of the precise historical moment is a function of the dominance of narratives of cataclysm and rupture in the historiography of the 20th century. In other words, how Benjamin made us see Klee's work is how we came to see much of the last century's history, and particularly that of WWII. Dominated by airborne weaponry and a staggering growth of aviation capacities, genocide, as well as an entirely new register in weapons production in the shape of the formidable nuclear bomb, the war made a world that had not existed in that form before. Regardless of whether Benjamin was able to anticipate devastation and suffering on such an unprecedented scale, the fact that his premonition of the self-destruction

of modernity remains current demonstrates that it is closely connected to dominant historiographies and narratives of 20th-century history.

What the 'angel of history' thus exemplifies is that, in a world at war, thinking about the world changes. Here, it shows the dark side of progress, which not only allows for war to happen, but might in fact make it more likely as an outcome of industrial competition, and most certainly makes it more lethal. The goal of this research has been to provide additional angles on how thinking about the world, and cities in particular, changed in a world of war, and what opportunities exist for urban history to bring together diverse perspectives on the history of cities at war, and after war. The primary focus has been on the global dimension of WWII, that is, in terms of how the experience of war provided a different context for thinking about cities, about their vulnerability, about their history, and about their future. Despite the fact that there are countless ways of historicizing cities, and countless bodies of evidence to draw from, the relationship between cities and war has largely been characterized by analyses of the material effects that the war had on them. These range from detailed recordings of air raids to explanations of changing demographics following the economic transitions after the war. Attention given to the ways in which *thinking* about cities changed in the context of war, however, had been extremely limited.

This scarcity of research into how war shaped thinking about cities and, as has been argued, made it more global, is certainly not due to lack of evidence, although the evidence is often located in non-obvious places. Archives are necessarily organized around institutional structures, people, or historical episodes that are re-inscriptions of dominant narratives. 'Urban thinking' or 'global thinking' are not organizational paradigms in the archives that are, nonetheless, filled with evidence of precisely these types of thinking.

The principal goal of global history, as it is seen here, is to move beyond narratives, institutions, and structures in history and historiography that are shaped by hegemonic systems such as eurocentrism. Therefore, global history is taken as a methodological precedent for an urban history whose aim is not to rely on established narratives in the relationship between war and cities, but instead to diversify the body of evidence and write histories that expose the complex and less obvious ways in which urbanism in the second half of the 20th century is a product of WWII.

What has been presented here is evidence for how the histories of New York, Berlin, and Tokyo were histories of war, and how these cities were planned and represented in a global context that was significantly shaped by the experience of war. Some of that evidence pointed to direct parallels between the war and the struggles in cities such as the notion that African Americans in New York were fighting one battle against fascism abroad, and another one at home. In 1950s West Berlin, the development of theoretical and physical models for a 'city of tomorrow' was premised on a fundamental implied universality amongst cities existing without conflict. This stood in contrast to the city's uniquely confined situation as a West German city landlocked in East Germany, and thereby created an idealized global context. In Tokyo, thinking about urbanism as framed by the design ideologies of Japan's world's fairs—one unrealized in 1940, the other one setting a worldwide visitor record in 1970—shows the impact on urbanism of an imperialism with global aspirations, of the indiscriminate and universal destructive force of the nuclear bomb, and of the positioning of the city of the future in the world as a global economic landscape. In other words, the narratives are diverse and the bodies of evidence are manifold. At the same time, within this attempt at a global history of global cities, each chapter occupies a specific place in this methodological exploration.

The investigation in Chapter 2 of how race, housing, and war came together in New York City very directly explored the way in which WWII provided a context for the 'globalization' of seemingly domestic issues. It demonstrated how national, and especially presidential, rhetoric on democracy during the war shaped the discourse on democracy at home. This story exposed the dimension of 'the global' in which events are seen as unfolding in the world as an integrated space. A common theme in global historiography is the exchange of ideas across borders, systems, and contexts. Chapter 3 complicated such narratives by demonstrating how the ideas for an urbanism of the future developed in West Berlin were positioned as a tool for the prevention of war anywhere, and by exploring the complexities in the import of US urban trends that were less American, and more expressive of an idealized version of democratic urbanism. Lastly, the focus of Chapter 4 was on the theoretical implications of 'the global' for the development of urban models. Tracing a trajectory from the imperialist aspirations of the Meiji state based on Euro-American examples to the celebration of unbridled economic growth in a globalizing economy, the chapter pitted these instantiations of international competition against the

experience and continued threat of nuclear warfare as forms of 'the global' particular to the 20th century.

The three chapters were arranged chronologically. Chapter 2 was primarily concerned with the war years in New York, with a brief discussion of materials from the 1960s to show the legacy of discourses that were begun 20 years prior. Chapter 3 revolved around the 1950s and early 1960s in West Berlin, focusing on the period of the Interbau building exhibition and construction of the Berlin Wall in the context of the Cold War. However, the Cold War conflict between East and West as a historical metanarrative is here specifically avoided in order to expose the global aspirations for an urbanism of the future. Chapter 4, while going back to the 1870s in order to provide context for the building of a larger theoretical argument, began and ended with Japan's 1970 world's fair and its vision for a 'city of the future,' and the complex ways in which those urban models are a legacy of the experience of war, and the future threat of war.

As a part of this chronological structure, the chapters thus represented different understandings of 'the global' and, as a consequence, different iterations of a global history method, drawing on different bodies of evidence. This is important because it reinforces the fact that the goal of this research was not to provide a comparison between New York, Berlin, and Tokyo, or to argue for global history as a methodological template. Primarily, then, 'the global' here denotes a complication—both in the historical moment, and in the moment's historiographic analysis—of established ideas that are often hegemonic. The global is not necessarily revisionist, and it is not uniform, but it is committed to a diversity of viewpoints.

The preceding chapters have shown that in a world at war, thinking about cities in the world changed. Investigating those changes is important for understanding the nuances of how cities were reimagined, and how current urban conditions are connected to such nuances, or directly follow from them. To conclude, let us look at one example of such historically connected conditions from the city that was discussed first—New York.

On April 20, 2015, New York Mayor Bill de Blasio signed into law five pieces of legislation, three of which concerned human rights. Intro. 421-A increased the Human Rights Commission's required reporting on the discrimination cases it investigates, and Intro. 689-A and 690-A established official testing programs for discrimination in housing and employment.

These programs were designed to strengthen New York City's Human Rights Law, the enforcement of which thus far had depended on complaints brought to the attention of the authorities. At the bill signing ceremony, Council Member Brad Lander commented that this initiative "puts the city on offense" and that it will proactively work towards a reduction of discrimination in housing and employment.[448] Testing programs have been conducted by non-profits such as the Fair Housing Justice Center in New York, and typically they entail two equally eligible or qualified candidates whose only difference lies in a protected category, such as race, gender, or sexual orientation, applying for housing or employment in the same place. Based on the treatment they receive, instances of discrimination can be found and violators of the Human Rights Law can be prosecuted.

This legislation marked a dramatic shift in New York City's acknowledgement of inequality. It also constituted a delayed delivery on the promise of unity and fair treatment that Mercedes Owens felt President Roosevelt had made to her by signing Executive Order 8802 in 1941, banning employment discrimination in the war industry. While the war on the forces of 20th-century European and Japanese fascism had long been over in 2015, the creation of these programs made a clear statement that racism was still present, and that active enforcement was required to combat it.

Even though this legislation passed almost 73 years after Mercedes Owens wrote to Mayor La Guardia, it is nevertheless connected to that historical moment in 1942 because it illuminates a changing perspective on New York as a global city. In 1942, 'the global' that Owens articulated in her letter was that of the value of democracy as an American and, by extension, universal virtue. The fact that it took more than 70 years for this ideal to trickle down into legislation that emboldens the government to proactively pursue and enforce that virtue is proof that in the postwar era, the image of New York City as a global city of democracy was dwarfed by that of the economy. Further, it adds evidence to the case of the petitioners behind *We Charge Genocide* who argued that democracy was never desired for all parts of the population, and that therefore the entire democratic system was founded on a hypocrisy.[449]

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[448] http://www1.nyc.gov/office-of-the-mayor/news/252-15/mayor-de-blasio-signs-legislation-establish-testing-programs-housing-employment (Accessed March 27, 2017).

[449] See Civil Rights Congress (U.S.), *We Charge Genocide: The Historic Petition to the United Nations for Relief from a Crime of the United States Government against the Negro People.*

Thinking about cities became increasingly global during and after WWII. This means that in the context of war, the roles and meanings of cities in the world were beginning to be understood differently. The resulting understandings are varied and often conflicting, and they are rarely investigated closely. However, it is in the nuances and in the often subtle ways in which visions and representations of cities were articulated that urban history can uncover the effects of the transition from global war to global cities—a transition that continues to shape urbanism to this day.

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