

CIAM AND THE EMERGENCE OF TEAM 10 THINKING, 1945-1959

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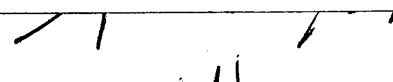
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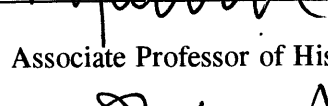
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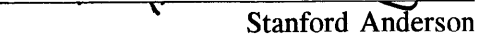
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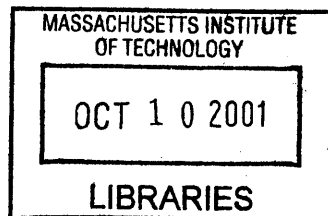

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ABSTRACT

This study is an intellectual micro-history which examines the debates about the future of modern architecture and planning that occurred within CIAM (Congès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne) between 1945-1959. This investigation traces the emergence of a new set of values for modern architecture as they were expressed by a group of its younger members that became known, in 1954, as Team 10. Set within the context of CIAM before World War II, the intellectual context during the war, and the radically new social and political context of Europe after the war, this inquiry pays particular attention to the period between 1954-1956, an intense period for the young Dutch and English CIAM members in developing the theoretical position that would lead to the dissolution of CIAM as an institution, form the basis of their work in Team 10's better-known period of the 1960s and 1970s, and change the terms of debate for architectural practice ever since.

This inquiry contributes to the neglected area of architecture inquiry that examines theories of production. It is founded on the premise that all design production is based on a theory, implicitly held or explicitly stated, and these theories are not necessarily consistent with architectural production. From this methodological position I argue that the importance of Team 10 lies less in their role as insurgents who dismantled the institution of CIAM, than as contributors, for the discipline of architecture, to a cultural critique of Modernism occurring in postwar society in general. This study contributes to on going studies on the development of modernist practices by proposing a critical role for Team 10 in the shift from formal Modernism to critical Postmodernism, and provides a case study for how important intellectual shifts occur.

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INTRODUCTION

The perception that Team 10 was a group of radical young architects who in the 1950s brought about the downfall of the influential international architectural organization CIAM (Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne) is the starting point for this enquiry. Team 10 began as a loose association of like-minded but intellectually diverse personalities, who shared their dissatisfaction with the overly rigid "functional" planning methodology they had inherited from pre-war CIAM. Asked to organize the tenth CIAM congress, a circumstance from which they became known as Team 10/Team X¹, this group of young CIAM members were held together by a shared desire to for a more responsive modern architecture that would better address the new conditions of postwar society.

This study is a micro-history of early Team 10 thinking, tracing the emergence of Team 10 thinking from within CIAM from 1947 to the dissolution of CIAM after 1956. Particular attention will be given to the period between the CIAM 9 and CIAM 10 congresses (1954-55), when they were reevaluating the agenda for modern architecture and developing the theoretical basis for their more widely known work, projects and publications of the 1960s and 1970s. This study is primarily concerned with the discussions about the future of modern architecture as they were being discussed within CIAM by the older and "younger" CIAM members and does not concern itself with the projects presented at CIAM congresses except where they elucidate the issues being discussed. The thesis will attempt to expose the highly complex situation during this period out of which Team 10 emerged, one in which major cultural changes, which especially affected the "younger" generations, occurred as a result of the effects that World War II had on culture and society. In particular, this investigation will focus on the role played by the members of this group in changing the future direction of modern architecture towards more democratic and empirical values that they believed would better accommodate the new social and cultural conditions of postwar European societies.

The investigation attempts to answer a range of questions, which would suggest that although Team 10 certainly played a part in the demise of CIAM, that was only part of the story. Issues can be identified, such as changing institutional membership, an acceptance of

¹CIAM documentation around 1954 refers to the group interchangeably as Team X or Team 10. In published accounts of the group by Alison Smithson, they are designated as Team 10, which is how they are referred to in this study except in a titles or direct quotations where they are cited as Team X.

modern architecture, and how a Western culture radically affected by the experiences of World War II would influence in different ways both the younger and the older generations of CIAM members who increasingly would find it difficult to reach agreement. Here I will try to uncover how the younger CIAM members succeeded in shifting the culture of modern architecture in a way that resulted in CIAM's breakdown. I will argue that Team 10's importance lay in revitalizing modern architecture in the postwar period and contributing through the discipline of architecture to the larger cultural debate in Europe after World War II.

Team 10 was not a coherent group; nor was their consensus among its members as to what its theoretical agenda should be. The architects who contributed most to the reevaluation of the modernist agenda were those who were associated with Team 10: Jacob Bakema and Aldo van Eyck (Holland), Georges Candilis (Morocco/France), Alison and Peter Smithson, John Voelcker and William Howell (Britain); and Ernesto Rogers (Italy), and Rolf Gutmann and Theo Manz (Switzerland), who were not. Moreover, the history of Team 10 did not begin, as the publications about the group suggest, at the CIAM 9 congress. Dissatisfaction with CIAM planning methods was evident before the war, but it gained momentum and direction with the participation of the young generation in the first congresses after the war.

Scholarship

Popular conceptions about Team 10 have been, for the most part, formulated from the three publications about the group that were all edited and compiled by Alison Smithson. The first of these, the *Team 10 Primer*, remains the key text about the group; it was first published in *Architectural Design* (1962), and then a few years later re-issued in a book format (1966) in which the unsold off prints were bound together with reprints of Team 10 projects from the August 1964 issue of the journal.² Conceived of as a collection of fragments of texts, drawings, sketches, and commentaries, Alison Smithson took complete editorial control in defining the membership and representing "Team 10 thinking." The next publication about the group was a highly selective collection of facsimiles of CIAM and Team 10-related documents compiled in *The Emergence of Team 10 out of CIAM* (1982).³ This in turn was

²Alison Smithson, ed., "Team 10 Primer," *Architectural Design* 32 (December 1962): 559-602; *Team 10 Primer*, (London: Standard Catalogue, 1966).

³Alison Smithson, comp., *The Emergence of Team 10 out of CIAM* (London: Architectural Association, 1982).

followed by a final publication, *Team 10 Meetings* (1991), an anecdotal account by Alison Smithson of Team 10 from the CIAM 9 congress to the lack-luster final meeting in Lisbon in 1981.⁴ The impression of these publications was that Team 10 was a group of revolutionary architects who intended to dismantle CIAM. The impression of the group as “young radicals” was supported by Reyner Banham in his entry on CIAM in the *Encyclopedia of Modern Architecture* (1964). The publication about the CIAM’59 congress at Otterlo in 1959, the last to be held under the name of CIAM and the first to be organized entirely by Team 10, is documented by Oscar Newman in *CIAM ’59 in Otterlo* (1961). This publication is considered by some who attended the meetings to be an inaccurate account of the proceedings and requires a critical evaluation using the tapes and transcripts of the congress housed at the Bakema Archive in Rotterdam.

The radical aura of the group is sustained in the secondary sources, which include Team10 histories as an event to be accounted for in the trajectory of modern architecture. No comprehensive history about Team 10 has been written. Kenneth Frampton’s history of modern architecture (1975) limits his discussion of the group to their projects and buildings after the 1960s and also casts revolutionary tenor to the declarations of the small group of younger CIAM members who he described as having created “decisive splits” within CIAM.⁵ Manfredo Tafuri, in his history of modern architecture (1976), describes the Team 10 critique of CIAM as a polemic of the historical avant-garde.⁶ Eric Mumford’s book, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism* (2000) is the first lengthy study of CIAM from its inception in 1928 to its dissolution in the late 1950s.⁷ This book is required reading for any study of Team 10 since it provides the institutional context of CIAM, details of the congresses and the discourse surrounding CIAM, but it does not delve into detail with the role played by the younger CIAM members in the dissolution of CIAM. The only publication that concerns itself exclusively with postwar CIAM is *The Last CIAM’s*, a collection of national monographs of the contexts and contributions of the various national CIAM groups to postwar CIAM

⁴Alison Smithson, ed., *Team 10 Meetings 1953-1984* (Delft: Delft University Press, 1991).

⁵Kenneth Frampton, "The Vicissitudes of Ideology: CIAM and Team 10, Critique and Counter-critique 1928-68," *Architecture d’Aujourd’hui* 177 (January-February 1975): xlix, 1, 66; *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1992): 269-279.

⁶Manfredo Tafuri and Francesco Dal Co, *Modern Architecture* (New York: Electa and Rizzoli, 1976): 345-347.

⁷Eric Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2000). This book is based on his Ph.D. dissertation "The Discourse of CIAM Urbanism, 1928-1959," Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1996.

(*Rassegna*, 1992).

The Nature of the Inquiry

Several methodological issues are raised with this investigation. CIAM after World War II was a complex, hierarchically organized institution with an ever-changing international membership. Team 10 was never formally organized. In the beginning Team 10 was assembled for and by CIAM and had no formal membership, despite claims to the contrary by Alison Smithson in the *Team 10 Primer*. Its membership after the demise of CIAM was by invitation only. It was a heterogeneous international collection of individuals with different experiences of the war, different philosophical backgrounds, and different experiences of the modern movement. Although its members unanimously identified themselves as modernists and were bound by their dissatisfaction with CIAM, their values and formal strategies, methods of work, and intellectual orientation differed. Team 10 had an open-ended agenda; its rhetoric often lacked clarity and its theoretical statements and formal propositions-- reflecting the creative nature of the discussions-- were often inconsistent. For example, the British "youngers," Alison and Peter Smithson, John Voelcker and William Howell, developed a tool they referred to as the "Scale of Association" which was meant to encourage architecture and town planning to be socially and topographically responsive instead of stylistically or historically based. At the same time Jacob Bakema argued that modern architecture ought to be democratic and provide variety so that people could exercise the right of choice, while Aldo van Eyck operated from a philosophically anti-rationalist and anthropological premise; while Georges Candilis and Shadrach Woods built on the basis of a culturally and regionally sensitive International Style; and Ernesto Rogers argued for a modernism that took into account present conditions which in his understanding included everything that led to the present – its historical context.

The debate is most easily characterized as being one between the older founding members of CIAM and the "younger" post-World War II new members. The old-young distinction is only partly accurate since affiliations with these two age groups was by loose affiliation. The "older" generation consisted mainly of the executive CIAM members -- Le Corbusier, Sigfried Giedion and Walter Gropius. The younger group by those members born in the early 1920s and who had formed their theoretical positions during the Second World War. But blurring these distinctions were mid-generation architect Jacob Bakema and Ernesto Rogers who were sympathetic to the concerns of the CIAM elders, but contributed to the

discourse of the youngers; and José Luis Sert, who was sympathetic to the youngers but, as president of CIAM in the postwar period, associated himself with the elders.

Problems of defining the Team 10 era in temporally categorical terms is created by the fact that many of Team 10's ideas were expressed in CIAM long before Team 10 even existed. Criticisms of CIAM's planning methods were evident even before the war, and the theoretical grounds for the new direction that would be debated had been prepared by older CIAM members. The crucial moment for the future of modern architecture, according to the younger CIAM members, and the beginning of the Team 10 era can be said to have occurred in 1952, two full years before the group was given a name at a meeting in Sigtuna, Sweden, that was not even on the roster of official congresses. But emergence of Team 10 thinking is not to be found in the published record of CIAM and is only partially evident in the institutional records of congresses 9 and 10, the period of its final formation.

Another historiographical issue is raised by the natures of CIAM and Team 10 as debating societies. Due to the international membership of CIAM, the written records that do exist were in many languages or suffered delays for translations. In this multi-lingual setting, particular words had different connotations, some words did not carry commonly held meanings but represented entire personal theoretical constructs, and the period being examined in one in which the theoretical notions being developed were in a state of flux with discourses influencing the positions being developed. Published sources -- the illustrated books often published after CIAM congresses, articles and news items about CIAM congresses and exhibitions in architectural journals -- were vehicles for promoting CIAM's image and ideology; they and other official CIAM documents -- unpublished reports circulated to national groups, minutes of meetings, commission reports, circular letters -- comprise the institutional record, which was constructed by including or ignoring certain contributions depending on who led the commission or wrote the reports.

Team 10 thinking raises the additional problem that it is accessible, for the most part, only outside the official CIAM records such as in drafts of statements, as correspondence between friends, and the less circulated and less guarded documents produced at inter-congressional meetings at local meetings of national CIAM chapters and among themselves in their respective countries. Unlike CIAM, the young CIAM did not write documents as manifestoes -- although the "Statement on Habitat" written as a summary of a meeting held in Doorn, Holland in 1954, would subsequently be re-titled as the "Doorn Manifesto." Team 10 thinking was also subject to the editorial control of Alison Smithson

whose representation differed in significant ways from Team 10 thinking as it had developed within CIAM.

The problem encountered in this investigation was how to write a history that captures the complexities of CIAM while following the emergence of the new attitude that ultimately spelled its end. The shift in attitude that occurred in the 1950s was by not confined to CIAM in the 1950s, nor was it unanimous, nor was it bound to the years of the Team 10 era after 1953 as defined by Alison Smithson, nor did it evolve as a clear progression of ideas that would be expressed in written proclamations.

The oral nature of these groups, and Alison Smithson's close control of the image, definition, and history of Team 10 required detailed archival research of the debates between the CIAM generations that led to the formation of Team 10. This research revealed that there is a disparity between the official CIAM documentation of the discussions with what was actually presented and discussed. Taking this into account, this history is based, with the exception of the first chapter, almost exclusively on archival material. Particular attention has been paid to the least edited and self-conscious record available that is, handwritten notes, drafts of documents, personal correspondence between members, and documents prepared by national CIAM groups and individuals for meetings and congresses which were not included in CIAM reports or publications.⁸ Other documents that did not become part of the institutional or published record also included handwritten notes of meetings, personal correspondence between members, drafts of documents exchanged between CIAM congresses, taped recordings of the congresses, and retrospective interviews with members and others who attended the CIAM congresses. The texts omitted from the official documentation of the congresses were as important as the ones that were included. These inconsistencies show how power, circumstance, and personality worked to establish one discourse over another, revealing a more dynamic and complex evolution of ideas than the official records show and focusing this investigation to reveal the discourse underlying the discourse, and bringing to bear the many factors, such as chance, error, circumstance, personality, ambition, power that influence the development of a discourse.

⁸Concerns about the constructed nature of CIAM history have been raised by Giorgio Ciucci in "The Invention of the Modern Movement," *Oppositions* 24 (1981): 68-91; "The Story of CIAM and the Myth of the Modern Movement," *Casabella* no.463/464 (November/December 1980): 28-35, 118.

Approach

Underlying this study is the premise that all design activity is preceded by a design theory – implicitly held or explicitly stated - and that design theory provides a useful tool for discussing complex historical situations.⁹ All production is based on an attitude which may or may not have been explicitly stated, but is always implicitly held.

This study is a detailed historical account of a particular debate at a particular time taking into account often overlooked sources and documents of a less self-conscious and emergent phase of a discourse. This study demonstrates that important intellectual shifts occur in a more fluid, reiterative, evolutionary, unpredictable, and contentious manner than is commonly depicted in general narrative histories. A general narrative history tracing the development of a few themes runs the risk of failing to account for the complexities of the context and process by which the values of modern architecture were changed in this period. By examining the history of particular theories and the contexts from which they emerged, one can see the cultural complexities that form an integral part of any particular historical situation and that accompany any important shift in thinking. Considered from this point of view this history of how Team 10's theory evolved can be considered a case study for how many important intellectual shifts occur.

In an attempt to access this implicit agenda, the pre-history of Team 10 of the 1960s, and the history of this particular intellectual change takes into account the contributions made not only by the protagonists in the debate -- the younger Dutch and British CIAM members and the context from which they emerged -- but also by other CIAM members, and to locate these discussions within the context of the commissions for which reports were produced and the political structure of those commissions determined by their membership. An effort has been made to articulate the individual contributions, taking into account the varying institutional and cultural backgrounds that they bring to this debate, where they overlap and where they do not, and the role they played in the debate. One purpose of this study is to distinguish between individual contributions; another is to identify the principles or concepts that held the group together; and a third is to account for ideological continuities that were sustained in the face of the intellectual changes. The primary purpose of this study is to demonstrate that this change, and perhaps all important intellectual changes, emerge from a

⁹The notion of implicit and explicit theory is attributed to Royston Landau in a series of lectures given for a course titled "The Architectural Agenda: Historical and Theoretical Research," at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Spring 1992.

collective field of exchange in which a few of the more ambitious members take the initiative to codify and express the position being experienced within culture at large.

CHAPTER I

CIAM, 1928-1945

From its inception in 1928, CIAM was planned as an advocacy group for modern architecture. As Eric Mumford points out, the organization came into as a result of several forces, the most significant of these being as a response to the competition for the design of the Palace of the League of Nations in Geneva in 1927.¹ This competition had turned into a modernist-traditionalist contest in which Le Corbusier's impressive competition entry was rejected in favor of an undistinguished Beaux-Arts project by P. H. Nénot. The jurors supporting Le Corbusier's entry were H.P. Berlage (Holland), Josef Hoffman (Austria), and Karl Moser (Switzerland), all of whom had modernist ties. In opposition were Sir John Burnet, an empirical Scottish architect, also with modernist concerns, M. Lemareshquier, a Beaux-Arts classical academic, and Victor Horta, a Belgian Art Nouveau architect. Breaking the deadlock of this six-member jury were the deciding votes cast by the League of Nations representative. The result of the competition made clear the need to rally support for modern architecture, which Le Corbusier, Sigfried Giedion, and others saw as an opportunity to further their cause. They would organize architects into an assembly where they could meet, debate issues, and promote the cause of modernism to the public.²

Throughout its existence CIAM was constantly changing its composition, its priorities, and its choice of direction. In the five congresses held before the Second World War, it shifted from an organization that encouraged a plurality of views about modern architecture to one devoted solely to the cause of furthering Le Corbusier's idealistic and authoritarian ideas about town planning.³ Between the first and fifth CIAM congress one can discern a progressive erosion of realistic, sociological, and economic criteria as a basis for city planning.⁴ How this happened has to be considered before we can understand why CIAM

¹For the circumstances and cultural context surrounding the establishment of CIAM see Eric Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960*, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000), 9-16.

²Royston Landau, "Rise and Fall of CIAM and the British," unpublished manuscript, Landau Papers, London, 1993; published as "The End of CIAM and the Role of the English," *Rassegna* 52 (1992): 40-47.

³See Martin Steinmann, *CIAM Dokumente 1928-1939* (Basel and Stuttgart: Birkhäuser, 1979), 12-33; Giorgi Ciucci, "The Invention of the Modern Movement," *Oppositions* 24 (1981): 69-91; Winfried Nerdinger, review of *CIAM Dokumente 1928-1939*, by Martin Steinmann, in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 40, no.4 (December 1981): 338-339.

⁴Nerdinger, Review of *CIAM Dokument*, 339.

eventually broke down.

From the very beginning Le Corbusier played his part in influencing the direction of the organization.⁵ Le Corbusier's increasing influence over the CIAM agenda was partly constructed and benefited in part by a series of circumstances which favored Le Corbusier's gaining control. He had the support of influential members such as Giedion (who remained secretary of the CIAM from 1928 to 1957) and Gropius (who was vice-president from 1930 to 1957). Circumstances, such as the presence and absence of particular people at a given congress, influenced the ideological direction of CIAM aided by more conscious attempts to ensure the primacy of the Le Corbusian position by expelling members unsympathetic to the particular version of modern architecture that they were promoting.

CIAM meetings from its inception were the scene of fierce arguments along the lines of the practical versus the idealistic.⁶ On the idealist side, the group led by Le Corbusier consisted of André Lurçat and Pierre Chareau of France, the Italian Alberto Sartoris, and A. J. Mercadal from Spain. On the practical side, were two Germans, the socially committed Ernst May, the municipal architect of Frankfurt-am-Main, and Hannes Meyer, who had succeeded Gropius as head of the Bauhaus in 1928; the Dutch architect Mart Stam, who had designed terraced housing for the 1927 Weissenhofsiedlung building exhibition at Stuttgart and was critical of Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret's houses, which he described as "architecture of appearance" leading to results diametrically opposed to his vision of the world; and the Swiss architect Hans Schmidt, contributor to the Weissenhof and Neubühl Hellerhof *siedlungen* in Stuttgart, Zurich, and Frankfurt respectively.

The most important document produced from this first congress was the CIAM manifesto known as the La Sarraz Declaration, the final version of which, stated the principles of modern architecture that would be espoused by CIAM and outlined the future

⁵Martin Steinmann assigns an influential role to Le Corbusier in the preparation of the program for the first congress and in using CIAM as an instrument to promote his particular vision of urban planning. (Steinmann, *CIAM Dokumente*, 12-33), a view supported by CIAM historian Eric Mumford, who claims that most of the La Sarraz congress was based on the program prepared by Le Corbusier (Mumford, *CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 18). Giorgio Ciucci, however, argues that Le Corbusier did not manipulate the first congress to serve his own ends; his aim was a more general attack on the "academies," which is expressed both in the initial program and in the final declaration of La Sarraz (Giorgi Ciucci, "Invention of the Modern Movement," 74).

⁶For a discussion of the conflict between the French- and English-speaking participants at CIAM 1, see Ciucci, "Invention of the Modern Movement," 74-79; Jacques Gubler, *Nationalisme et Internationalisme dans l'Architecture Moderne de la Suisse* (Lausanne: L'Age d'Homme, 1975), 150-157; Steinmann, *CIAM Dokumente*, 339.

direction of the institution.⁷ The twenty-four architects who endorsed the document explained them in general terms in the introduction and then elaborated them more specifically under four headings: General Economic System, Town Planning, Architecture and Public Opinion, and Architecture and Its Relations with the State.⁸ In the introduction to the La Sarraz Declaration, its authors restated the fundamental tenets of modernism—that it was responsible for being of its day. They perceived that their epoch was one in which they had to address the changes in their economic and social lives brought about by mechanization. Their stated aim—to counteract the effects of mechanization on society and satisfy the spiritual needs of people in the face of mechanization—would not be addressed by merely satisfying the material demands of the day, but also the spiritual and intellectual demands of contemporary life which, in their view, had been disrupted by the machine.⁹ This agenda would almost immediately be eclipsed by Le Corbusier's until after World War II when a younger generation of CIAM members who joined CIAM would champion that cause again.

Although the preface to the charter announced that their aspiration was to fulfill the spiritual needs, the primary theoretical focus of the group was on the material requirements of housing¹⁰ which they discussed under the first two headings in the La Sarraz Declaration. Under the first heading, "General Economic System," they argued that the economics of their day demanded efficiency, which they understood as being fulfilled by production with a minimum of effort. Toward this end they proposed that architecture concern itself with industrialized building processes based on rationalization and standardization in order to maximize the satisfaction of the needs of the greatest number of people. CIAM's conception of the public saw its members as morally committed consumers who would adjust to and accept the necessary changes brought about by standardization.¹¹ They defined this "new

⁷An English version of the Sarraz Declaration is included in Ulrich Conrads, *Programs and Manifestoes on 20th-Century Architecture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1970), 109-113, and in Auke van der Woude, "CIAM," in *Het Nieuwe Bouwen International. CIAM: Housing Town Planning* (Delft and Otterlo: Delft University Press; and Rijksmuseum Kröller-Müller, 1983), 158-161; German and French versions in Steinmann, *CIAM Dokumente*, 28-29, 30-31.

⁸The signatories of the Sarraz Declaration were, from France, Pierre Chareau, G. Guivrekain, H. Hoste, P. Jeanneret, Le Corbusier, Andre Lurçat; from Switzerland, M.E. Haefli, A. Höchel, W. M. Moser, Hans Schmidt, R. Steiger, H. R. von der Mühl; from Holland, H. P. Berlage, G. Reitveld, Mart Stam; from Germany: Hugo Häring, Hannes Meyer, Ernst May; from Italy: E.C. Rava, A. Sartoris; from Spain: A.G. Mercadal, Juan de Zavala; from Belgium: Victor Bourgeois; and from Austria: J. Frank.

⁹CIAM, "La Sarraz Declaration," in Conrads, *Programs and Manifestoes*, 109; Declaration of La Sarraz," in *Het Nieuwe Bouwen* by van der Woude, 158.

¹⁰Landau, "Rise and Fall of CIAM," 2.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 3.

architecture" as replacing the moral deprivation and inefficiency of traditional building techniques with one based on rationalization of economy, property, hygiene, and the use of mechanical devices in domestic life. Under the second heading, "Town Planning," they outlined their aims for town planning in organizing collective life and laid out a functionally-based method for the planning of cities that would become CIAM's central concern after the fourth congress in 1933. The La Sarraz Declaration makes evident CIAM's preoccupation with proving that the new architecture would remedy the unhealthy conditions of nineteenth-century cities--the chaotic division of land, the ill effects of darkness, the lack of essential hygiene--and rid them of the outmoded conceptions of the craftsman and the entirely artificial and sentimental notions of dwelling which they wanted to replace with a healthier and more rational conception of the house. Urbanization could not be based on a preexisting aestheticism or on the existing chaotic division of land. Instead, it was to be based on a new collective and methodical land policy, and understood, conceived, and acted upon in terms of a "functional order," defined by the functions of dwelling, producing, and relaxing, and the relations between them as dictated by the existing economic and social environment.

The third section, "Architecture and Public Opinion," set forth the promotional aspect of CIAM's institutional role by stating that the architect was to influence opinion by educating the public on the fundamentals of what the document called the "new architecture." The fourth section, "Architecture and Its Relations with the State," is a vitriolic attack on the dogmas of academic architecture -- of aestheticism and formalism -- which, they contended, corrupted the architect's vocation at its very origin. Academicism they argued, stood in the way of progress and had to be replaced by a new attitude situated in economic reality. The academies had taken on the erroneous function of guardians of the past; they had established dogmas of architecture based on the practical and aesthetic methods of historical periods; they sought to replace the outmoded methods of craftsmen with industrial technology which, they argued, would lead to products that were fundamentally different from those of the past. This attitude, along with setting themselves the moral obligation of establishing the orientation of their age and refusing to use methods that may have been used to illustrate past societies, set CIAM up as rejecting history -- both its methods and styles.

The Sarraz Declaration is a document of compromise.¹² Le Corbusier used the

¹²Ciucci, "Invention of the Modern Movement," 79. According to Martin Steinmann the antagonism that had emerged between Le Corbusier and the German-speaking members constantly influenced the CIAM resolutions (*CIAM Dokumente*, 28-33). Eric Mumford analyses the various contributions and describes the

occasion to attack the academies from whose "sterilizing grip" and the methods of the past he wanted modern architecture to be set free. For German speakers Stam, May, Schmidt, and Meyer this would be accomplished by placing architecture on a practical, economic, and sociological foundation. For Schmidt the problem of form in architecture was secondary: technology was inexorable and it was entirely logically and rationally determined.¹³

After the La Sarraz congress, CIAM members held a series of meetings where they continued to discuss the institution's agenda and decided how the organization should be run. They chose a hierarchical structure with Karl Moser as president and Ernst May and Victor Bourgeois as vice-presidents and Sigfried Giedion as secretary-general.¹⁴ They decided that a "general assembly" for architects and honorary members would be held every year or two as determined by the president. A governing body to be called CIRPAC (Comité Internationale pour la Resolution des Problèmes de l'Architecture Contemporaine) was established at the suggestion of Le Corbusier; it was to be an elected study committee whose members would represent each national group. CIRPAC members would be called "delegates"; they would plan each congress and carry out the decisions it made.¹⁵

CIAM members shared a belief in the social responsibility of architecture and agreed that the task of modern planning was to deal with the unsavory conditions of nineteenth-century cities, but it soon became evident that the French- and German-speaking members each understood social responsibility to mean something different, and they differed in their solutions to the problems of the nineteenth-century city. Le Corbusier's solutions were utopian and based on formal, abstract principles. The German-speaking members opposed his utopian concepts by warning against adopting a program where ideological concepts and artistic values took precedence over economic feasibility. Their spokesman Ernst May, unlike Le Corbusier and Gropius, was an experienced city planner and administrator, and he and his group fought for a realistic housing architecture.

The Germans dominated the early congresses as they dominated modern architecture

complications surrounding the production of the La Sarraz Declaration (*CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 24-27).

¹³Gubler, *Nationalisme et Internationalism*, 150-157.

¹⁴Sigfried Giedion was CIAM's secretary-general for its entire history (1928-57). Cornelius van Eesteren replaced Moser as president in 1930 until 1946 when José Luis Sert was chosen to succeed him. Sert maintained his tenure until the dissolution of CIAM (c.1957). Vice-presidents for CIAM would change: Ernst May (1929-30); Victor Bourgeois (1929-46); Walter Gropius (1930-57); José Luis Sert (1937-57); Le Corbusier (1947-1957); Helena Syrkus (1947-53).

¹⁵Mumford, *CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 34-35.

generally at that time.¹⁶ The CIAM 2 congress was held 24-26 October 1929, in Frankfurt, where Ernst May was carrying out his ten-year housing plan, applying prefabrication to housing construction.¹⁷ With Le Corbusier away on his first lecture tour of South America, the tension between the different approaches of the French- and German-speaking factions receded, and members turned instead to the question of how to build low-cost housing along the economic and programmatic lines laid down by Ernst May and Hans Schmidt. The participants came up with the idea of surveying existing conditions of housing throughout Europe, using the data collected to establish guidelines for future action and for proposing solutions to the problems they uncovered. They agreed that the survey would proceed along the lines set by Rudolf Steiger and Hans Schmidt of the Swiss CIAM group, who advocated basing modern architecture on sociological conditions and had outlined a program aimed at determining as accurately as possible the needs of low-income groups.¹⁸ At Ernst May's suggestion, this was changed to a study to determine the "minimum dwelling"¹⁹ with the intention of combining the Bauhaus functionalism of Meyer with the sociological approach favored by Schmidt and Steiger. May and Schmidt believed that the "sociological" approach would help them deal with the problems caused by the unhealthy living conditions of masses

¹⁶After the stabilization of the mark in 1924 the construction industry in Germany had boomed, and many of the broad range of state-supported programs for housing were given to modern architects. Hundreds of thousands of dwellings were built--May's Frankfurt project alone accounted for 15,000 units, and in Berlin modern architects produced 14,000. Several German architects had already experimented with the principles of modern town planning, with the Stuttgart Weissenhof Siedlung representing a moment of testing and comparing new ideas and languages (Ciucci, "Invention of the Modern Movement," 71). Other examples where the principles of modern town planning had been put into practice before the first congress included Taut's housing projects in Britz (1925-30) and Zehlendorf (1926-31). After the first congress these principles continued to be followed in the Friederich Ebert Estate (Berlin-Wedding, 1929-31), Scharoun's Siemensstadt (1929-31) was a synthesis of Garden City and Neues Bauen, Gropius's Haselhorst Estate (Berlin-Spandau, 1929) and towers-in-the-park at Karlsruhe-Dammerstock (1929, partly executed), where town planning was conducted as the technical arrangement of straight rows with no hierarchy, no center, no front or back. Since Frankfurt and Berlin were the only places in Europe where housing was being built on a large scale according to ideas of Neues Bauen architects they had been forced to test the credibility of the social argument of Neues Bauen and as a result put aesthetic concerns aside. This reorientation of the modern movement was finding its echo in the internal debates of CIAM.

¹⁷Most of the plans and the talks given at the congress were published by CIAM as *Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum* by Ernst May (Frankfurt: Englert and Schlosser, 1930). The context and proceedings for CIAM 2 are discussed by Mumford, *CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 27-44, and van der Woude, "CIAM," in *Het Nieuwe Bouwen*, 58-62. Hans Schmidt produced a set of notes found in *Beiträge zur Architektur, 1924-1964* (Berlin: VEB, 1965). Walter Gropius's notes are published in Steinmann, *CIAM Dokumente*, 56-59.

¹⁸Van der Woude, "CIAM," in *Het Nieuwe Bouwen*, 58.

¹⁹Mumford, *CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 30.

of working-class people.²⁰ This sociological approach to housing was also favored by Walter Gropius, who had just left the management of the more aesthetically-based Bauhaus to Hannes Meyer and had returned to practice in Berlin where he could devote himself to these concerns. He did not attend CIAM 2, but his lecture, "The Sociological Foundation of the Minimum Dwelling," was read at the congress by Giedion. In it he attempted to establish a theoretical model for mass housing in the context of the social developments that had resulted from increased mobility, the desire of the state for more collective social arrangements, and in an observation unique to CIAM discussions, the emancipation of women.²¹ Entrusted with the task of organizing CIAM 3, May and Schmidt specified that its program would include a discussion of efficiency in low-, medium- and high-rise buildings and mixed forms, based on surveys of existing conditions, from which they would draw up guidelines.

By the time CIAM 3 met in Brussels in November,²² the interests of the organization had begun to shift from a general consideration of modern architecture to a more concentrated focus on town planning and to look for a rationalized logic that could standardize its practices.²³ May and Schmidt's program for the congress was changed from rational building methods to a theme already treated by Gropius at the second CIAM meeting, namely promoting the replacement of the existing city with widely spaced high-rises set in greenery, along the lines set out by Le Corbusier and Gropius and embraced by Neutra, Bourgeois, and many other members of CIAM.²⁴ At CIAM 3 Le Corbusier began to gain the upper hand because many of those who opposed him -- Ernst May, Schmidt, Stam, and thirteen others -- had gone to the Soviet Union the month before to plan new cities as part of the first Soviet Five-Year Plan, convinced that it would provide them with a more realistic context in which to work. Their absence meant there were no powerful advocates for a realistic program based on economic and sociological conditions, leaving Le Corbusier, supported by Gropius and Giedion, to advocate replanning urban areas with high-rise housing for the working classes.²⁵ The theme of the "functional city" began to dominate the discussion at this congress. Walter Gropius, who participated for the first time at CIAM 3 and who was an ally of Le

²⁰Van der Woude, "CIAM," in *Het Nieuwe Bouwen*, 62.

²¹Walter Gropius, "Sociological Premises for the Minimum Dwelling of Urban Industrial Populations," in *The Scope of Total Architecture* (New York: Harper, 1943), 104-18; first published as "Die soziologischen Grundlagen der Minimalwohnung," in *Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum*.

²²For a discussion of the preparations for CIAM 3, see Mumford, *CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 49-58.

²³Landau, *Rise and Fall of CIAM*, 4; Mumford, *CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 44.

²⁴Mumford, *CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 58.

²⁵Nerdinger, *Review of CIAM Dokumente*, 339.

Corbusier's *tabula rasa* towers-in-the park utopian urbanism as a means of providing everyone with space, air, and sun, but differed from Le Corbusier in that this should be guided by modern construction, not social or economic reality.²⁶ He was convinced that by solving the problems of the physical environment, the other problems would solve themselves.

Le Corbusier had been re-working his *Ville Contemporaine* (1922) in preparation for CIAM 3 in his "Response to Moscow" plan which was his proposal for a competition organized by the Soviet Union for a satellite leisure city for Moscow.²⁷ His plan called for the total obliteration of parts of the existing city, which would be divided up into functions, filled in with cruciform towers connected by high-speed transportation links, oriented along a central spine that had been oriented to guarantee the best solar orientation. Le Corbusier had asked that the plan be exhibited at CIAM 3, but Gropius and others deemed it inappropriate for a personal position be presented alongside the official exposition of *Rationelle Bauweisen* (rational building methods).²⁸ In June 1930, he retitled the plan the "Ville Radieuse" (the Radiant City) and began to make preparations to exhibit this model of rational control at the next CIAM meeting.²⁹

Le Corbusier displayed his *Ville Radieuse* at CIAM 3, which he accompanied with an explanatory lecture, "The Subdivision of Land in Cities."³⁰ The question of whether low-cost housing should be high-rise or low-rise also came to the fore, but was by and large ignored by Le Corbusier and Gropius. The economic analysis of Herbert Boehm and Eugen Kaufmann, collaborators of Ernst May, demonstrated that the problem of mass housing, or building for people with low incomes, could not be solved by using prefabrication or new materials, but was a matter of interest rates. An increase of one or two percent in interest rates would increase the cost of building significantly more than what could be saved by using prefabrication or new materials--the favorite idea of Gropius.³¹ Le Corbusier and Gropius were adamant that the workers' wages could not be used to finance workers' housing, because if it were, their towers could not be realized because they would cost more than a worker could afford.

²⁶Gropius, "Sociological Premises," in *The Scope of Total Architecture*, 104-18.

²⁷For a discussion of Le Corbusier's "Response to Moscow" plan, see Mumford, *CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 44-49.

²⁸Ciucci, "Invention of the Modern Movement," 83.

²⁹See Mumford, *CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 44-49, for a discussion of the "Response to Moscow" plan and its development into the "Ville Radieuse."

³⁰Mumford, *CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 49.
³¹Nerdinger, *Review of CIAM Dokumente*, 339.

Gropius tried to mediate between the Le Corbusian and the German-speaking position. In his keynote lecture he stated that rationality should not be strictly economic, but should also take into account psychological and social demands.³² But unlike May and Schmidt, he felt that these demands could be met by the Le Corbusian typology of high-rise towers in park-like settings. Among others, however, the favored projects at CIAM 3 were those that rejected the Garden City concept and focused on collective dwellings, solar orientation, and high density with spaces between buildings.

The CIRPAC members, under the influence of Le Corbusier, paid no heed to the detailed analysis of Kaufmann and Boehm who demonstrated at the congress that high-rises were uneconomical;³³ nor did they consider rehabilitation, no matter how economically feasible, on the congress agenda or in the publication for CIAM 3 and the accompanying exhibition, both titled *Rationelle Bebauungsweisen*, because they insisted on rejecting all previous forms of urbanism.³⁴ All forms of traditional urbanism -- Garden City, Beaux Arts, and Berlagian urbanistic methods, like any other kind of explicit "formalism" -- were seen as being dark, unsanitary, and chaotic, and thus unsuited to modern needs.³⁵ The Berlin projects by Bruno Taut, a socialist advocate of housing and town planning who was critical of a formalistically based modernism (he referred to it as "international trash") were also absent, as were Hugo Häring's courtyard houses.³⁶ This systematic censorship was evidenced again at the "special congress" in Berlin, 4-7 June 1931, where Arthur Korn's questioning of the absence of any reference to actual social conditions in the methodology of the "functional city"³⁷ was also ignored.

To push their advocacy of towers-in-the-park urbanism, CIRPAC invited the Dutch CIAM members, under the direction of Cornelius van Eesteren (1897-1988) to organize CIAM 4, and chose van Eesteren to replace Karl Moser as president; they did so behind the scenes and in direct contravention of CIAM statutes, which required that officers be chosen

³²Gropius, "Houses, Walk-ups or High-rise Apartment Blocks?" in *The Scope of Total Architecture*, 119-135. For a description of Gropius's keynote lecture and see Mumford, *CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 50-51. Gropius's speech at CIAM 3, "Flach-, Mittel- oder Hochbau?" in Steinmann, *CIAM Dokumente*, 86. Most of this lecture, along with some parts of his article, "Das Wohnhochhaus," *Das Neue Frankfurt* (Frankfurt: Englert and Schlosser, 1933) is published as "Houses, Walk-ups, or High-rise Apartment Blocks?" in *The Scope of Total Architecture*, 103-15; Mumford, *CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 50.

³³Mumford, *CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 49; Nerdinger, Review of *CIAM Dokumente*, 339.

³⁴*Ibid.*, 54.

³⁵*Ibid.*

³⁶*Ibid.*

³⁷*Ibid.*, 64; Steinmann, *CIAM Dokumente*, 116.

by the membership at large.³⁸ The Dutch group was also asked to draft a set of guidelines for town planning based on those van Eesteren was developing in his work with the Urban Development Sections (UDS) of the Amsterdam Public Works Department which more fully developed the approach already hinted at in the La Sarraz Declaration. Van Eesteren was working on a more scientifically-based functional approach than the decentralized Garden City schemes that had been favored by the Amsterdam Housing Department. His first step at the UDS had been to appoint the engineer K. van Lohuisen to head a research section to study the demographic, economic, and technical aspects of Amsterdam's future development. The statistics collected were displayed in analytical plans color coded for each of the three functions of work, housing, recreation, and for major transportation routes; these provided the basis for the plan, which was completed by the UDS in 1934.

Van Eesteren's proposal to CIAM at the Berlin meeting in June 1931 was that its members produce three plans, color-coded in the same manner as was being used in Amsterdam.³⁹ The first plan was to show data regarding dwelling, work, and recreation; the second plan was to present transportation networks; and the third was to display the same four functions for the region around the city. In Van Eesteren's approach, this functional analysis of the existing city was only the first of three stages for producing an urban plan.⁴⁰ It was to be followed by another stage in which a program for the new city would be developed, and a final stage which would realize the plan. He suggested that each of these stages be examined at a different congress, starting with CIAM 4, which would analyze thirty-three different cities.

Although Van Eesteren's plan for Amsterdam bore a strong conceptual relationship to the Neues Bauen design for mass housing and was judged by CIAM members as modern,⁴¹ it was antithetical to creating a "modern style," nor was he interested in creating a form for the modern city. He was first and foremost concerned with producing a modern city as the result of a method.⁴² His presence had served to orient the debate at CIAM 3 toward the problems of preliminary surveys, statistical studies on population and housing, and collective

³⁸Van der Woude, "CIAM," in *Het Nieuwe Bouwen*, 66.

³⁹*Ibid.*, 67.

⁴⁰For details of Cornelius van Eesteren's "functional" approach to town planning and the Amsterdam Expansion Plan, see Mumford, *CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 59-66; and van der Woude, "Town Planning" in *CIAM: Housing Town Planning*, 132-34.

⁴¹Van de Woude, "Town Planning," in *Het Nieuwe Bouwen*, 134.

⁴²Vincent van Rossem, Introduction, *Het idee van de functionele stad/The Idea of the Functional City* (Rotterdam: Nederlands Architectuurinstituut, 1997), 49.

needs.⁴³ His plan went further than the zoning plans being drawn up at the time in that it not only mapped out existing facilities, but also predicted and located overall future development.

CIRPAC was not really interested in the scientific nature of the detailed statistical analysis that was used in preparing the Amsterdam Expansion Plan, and Giedion pointed out that the congress did not have the funds for such scientific research in any case.⁴⁴ Le Corbusier adopted van Eesteren's approach by translating the Dutch planners' functional analysis into a planning methodology. Although Van Eesteren's Amsterdam General Expansion Plan and Le Corbusier's Ville Radieuse had functional organization in common, they differed radically in their approach to the existing city. The Dutch method was based on information about local circumstances; the Le Corbusier/Gropius model was based on the assumption that the existing city would be destroyed, since any manifestation of the past was considered antithetical to the conception of the modern city.

CIAM 4 came at a time of world crisis in architecture. In Russia, Stalin had replaced modernism with Socialist Realism and in the United States economic depression had decimated the building industry. In Europe, also in economic depression, Italy under Mussolini was moving towards the "Lictorial Style," and the National Socialists, who would come to power in Germany in 1934, would as one of their first acts outlaw modern architecture.⁴⁵ Within this climate of increasing authoritarianism, Le Corbusier began to dominate the program for CIAM 4, using it as an occasion to consolidate the doctrines of his Ville Radieuse.

The CIAM 4 meetings were held between July 29 and August 14, 1933 aboard the chartered ocean liner S.S. Patris.⁴⁶ The "functional city" provided the framework for the realization of the Ville Radieuse model favored by Le Corbusier and Gropius at CIAM 3, who had after CIAM 3 synthesized the functional categories developed by van Eesteren with the ideas he had developed in his Moscow plan in the Plan Macià (1931-34)⁴⁷ that he prepared in collaboration with José Luis Sert and the Catalan/Spanish-CIAM Group

⁴³Ciucci, "Invention of the Modern Movement," 87.

⁴⁴Mumford, *CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 85.

⁴⁵See Reyner Banham's criticism "Neoliberty: The Italian Retreat from Modern Architecture," *Architectural Review* 125 (April 1959): 230-35.

⁴⁶For a discussion of the fourth congress, see van der Woude, "CIAM," in *Het Nieuwe Bouwen*, 66-74; Mumford, *CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 73-91.

⁴⁷For a discussion of the political context and the Plan Macià, see *ibid.*, 66-73.

GATCPAC (Grup d'Arquitectes i Tècnics Catalans per al Progrés de l'Arquitectura Contemporània). In this plan they zoned the city in terms of the four functions, emphasized the modernization of its port and transportation facilities, and proposed a separate "leisure city". At CIAM 4, national CIAM groups presented thirty-three plans showing the information that they had assembled about their local circumstances using the color-coded analysis specified as the first step of van Eesteren's approach. Gropius's absence at CIAM 4 again left sociologically based modern architecture without an advocate.

Disagreements soon arose at the meeting, however, making it impossible for CIAM to draft any resolutions regarding the functional city.⁴⁸ Only one result of the CIAM 4 meeting was published. Entitled simply "Statements" ("Feststellungen," "Constatations," 1933), it reveals a shift in the CIAM planning agenda away from van Eesteren's practical agenda and towards Le Corbusier's more idealistic approach.⁴⁹ The "Statements" used the original four categories -- dwellings, work, recreation, and transport -- to examine the existing conditions of the city and restated CIAM's concern, expressed in the La Sarraz Declaration five years earlier, that they involve themselves with ridding their cities of the chaotic, unhealthy, and overcrowded nineteenth-century city. CIAM proposed new principles for town planning: sites would be chosen based on use, and areas would be developed and planned in accordance with their own specific regulations and requirements and arranged so that work, home, and recreation would be convenient to one another.⁵⁰ Housing would be placed in the most favorable parts of the city with respect to climate and geography, and green open spaces would be evenly distributed throughout the city. Work areas were to be located within the shortest possible distance from residential areas. Some mixing of functions would be allowed, such as locating small enterprises in residential districts. Transportation and streets were to be distinguished by type, e.g., residential streets, district roads, and main roads. The "functional city" presented in the "Statements" was to be the tool for creating favorable physical and psychological conditions within an economical, political and social whole.⁵¹

It had been decided at CIAM 4 that CIAM 5 would be devoted to the theme of the "functional city,"⁵² and the suggestion by the Dutch CIAM group between the congresses

⁴⁸The "Resolutions/Contestations" produced after CIAM 4 are analyzed by Steinmann, *CIAM Dokumente*, 148, and Mumford, *CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 85-91.

⁴⁹Landau, "Rise and Fall of CIAM," 5.

⁵⁰Van der Woude, "CIAM," in *Het Nieuwe Bouwen*, 71.

⁵¹CIAM, "Statements of the Athens Congress," in van der Woude, *Het Nieuwe Bouwen*, 166.

⁵²Van der Woude, "CIAM," in *Het Nieuwe Bouwen*, 67.

that the theme be the reorganization of historic districts, was ignored. The original plan for the Paris congress had been for members to present concrete cases of the "functional city" -- Sert's Macià Plan for Barcelona, the "functional Warsaw plan" by Szymon and Helen Syrkus, who were members of the Polish Praesens group, and the reconstruction of a neighborhood in Zurich by the Swiss group led by Rudolf Steiger. These examples were to contribute to the formulation of a concrete plan for installing the functional city in the future.

CIAM 5, held in Paris from 28 June to 2 July 1937 and marked the peak of Le Corbusier's unashamed promotion of his ideas to which there was only weak resistance.⁵³ The German CIAM group had broken up after the Nazis had seized power in 1933, and Le Corbusier promptly filled the resulting vacuum. Although Le Corbusier, Sert, and the French group had been charged with organizing the congress, Le Corbusier was acting unscrupulously and without any regard for CIAM's constitution. On his own authority, and in violation of CIAM rules, changed the theme to "Dwelling and Leisure [Logis et Loisirs]." When a letter of admonishment was sent to him by the CIAM President Cornelius van Eesteren, he simply ignored it.⁵⁴ This infuriated Gropius, prompting him to write to secretary-general Giedion to ask him to stop Le Corbusier who, he felt, would falsely state CIAM's ideals.⁵⁵

Le Corbusier's program departed from the CIRPAC decisions in critical ways. Research and analysis had become peripheral; only two of the four main functions -- dwelling and recreation -- provided Le Corbusier with the opportunity to make his concept of the tower blocks set among greenery the focus of the congress. To support his position he drew up a program with speakers -- himself, Syrkus, and Sert -- who were not advocates of scientific analysis; they would make up the main part of the program. Steiger was not included as had originally been intended. The work of the other national groups and contributions from specialists were scheduled in the intervals between speeches, because their content was felt to be inconsequential and scheduled thus would not "disturb the progress of the conference."⁵⁶

⁵³Ibid., 75. For a discussion of the CIAM 5 congress, see van der Woude, "CIAM," in *Het Nieuwe Bouwen*, 74-79; Mumford, *CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 104-16.

⁵⁴Van der Woude discusses the transgressions committed by Le Corbusier in the preparation of CIAM 5 in "CIAM," in *Het Nieuwe Bouwen*, 75.

⁵⁵Nerding, Review of *CIAM Dokumente*, 339.

⁵⁶Van der Woude, "CIAM," 76. These speeches are summarized in *ibid.*, 74. The complete texts of the talks given by Le Corbusier, "Solutions de principe" and "Cas d'application: Villes," and Helena Syrkus, "Cas d'application régions et campagnes," see CIAM, *Logis et Loisirs, 5è Congrès CIAM, Paris, 1937* (Boulogne-sur-Seine: Editions de l'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui, 1938), 17-49.

The Polish group supported the functional city as long as the plans were based on real conditions such as new methods of work, transport, and production and took into consideration the needs of a specific time and place. They thought the functional city should deal with the program synthetically, and consider collective living forms and technical possibilities, and they stressed the importance of examining every particular situation.⁵⁷ Helena Syrkus's lecture at CIAM 5 seemed to reveal a firm commitment to the Le Corbusian ideal of functional town planning convention. By reducing the importance of the analytical and functional approach, she proposed a planning methodology that would, by means of physical and demographic surveys, take into account existing conditions as well as the interests and needs of the inhabitants. The particulars of a region would be ascertained using an analysis of the geography, ethnography, climate, and soil, not as a statistical study, but to obtain real fundamentals that would provide the data needed for the preparation of a synthetic plan.⁵⁸ She then presented the "Functional Warsaw Plan" which she had prepared with Jan Chmielewski as an example of this approach, taking into account demographics and their projected change over time and the interests of the inhabitants and their changing needs. In developing a detailed plan she proposed establishing a scheme of directives which were as flexible as possible, allowing each function to be situated in the corresponding setting and maintaining the maximum possible freedom for technical, economic and social development.⁵⁹

Having removed the emphasis on the analytic aspect in the planning procedure of the "functional city," Syrkus felt that any such project would provide a synthetic harmony of space and time, an instrument of the conscious formation of the play of forces that influenced

⁵⁷"ich erlaube mir also vorzuschlagen, die bearbeitung der pläne einer funktionellen stadt auf basis der kollektiven lebensformen, neuer arbeits-, transport- und produktionsmethoden, die in jedem lange, ja sogar in jeder städte verschieden sein werden und müssen, als obligatorisches thema für jede landesgruppe zu betrachten. ich muss es stark betonen, dass es sich hier für viele städte keineswegs um sogenannte utopische, ins blaue hinein entworfene projekte handelt. für uns z.b. ist es dringende not, und wenn ein projekt einer funktionellen stadt entsteht, kann es in naher zukunft in erfüllung kommen, und dann ist es schon keine utopie mehr. . . . der synthetische teil des programmes ist als obligatorisches thema zu betrachten. Dadurch wird man internationales material zur reorganisation des städtebaues auf grund neuer lebensformen und technischer glichkeiten zur Verfügung haben." Polish Group, "Die Stellungnahmen zu den Richtlinien," in Steinmann, *CIAM Dokumente*, 117.

⁵⁸"Tout d'abord l'analyse des facteurs tels que géographie, ethnographie, climat, sol, etc., non pas certes analyse pour analyse--comme le font les staticiens--mais pour obtenir des données réelles permettant d'établir un plan synthétique afin que la région puisse remplir le plus efficacement possible la tâche imposée par le plan général directeur" (Syrkus, *Logis et Loisirs*, 46).

⁵⁹Ibid.

the development of the region.⁶⁰ The city was not to be considered in isolation, but as existing--along with the countryside around it--in a region, which had its own particularities and was located within the larger context of a national plan. "The architectural discipline that orders space and time called urbanism," she said, "ought to be called regionalism because it embraces much more than the urban phenomenon."⁶¹ Syrkus conceived of the region as an "organism," which should function rationally and as an entity at every stage of development.⁶² Thus the plan needed to extend beyond its analytic basis to accommodate changes in needs and desires over time; it had to be a reflection of the forces which influenced the development of the entire region and needed to be conceived of in stages.

Although Le Corbusier and Syrkus were in agreement in principle that the basis for the modern plan should be the needs of the people, they differed in their assumptions about the nature of that population and what these needs might be. While Le Corbusier assumed "an enlightened population that would understand, desire, and demand what the specialists have envisaged for it,"⁶³ Syrkus assumed that the "masses of workers" would determine the "new culture" of the working man, with the architect as collaborator. "I want to emphasize," she concluded, "that the best, the most functional technical plan cannot improve the situation of the masses of workers in cities and in the country. The effort of the technicians must be part of the battle [to win] the right not only to work, but also for habitation worthy of modern man. The new workers' culture will be the oeuvre of the workers; we will only be their collaborators."⁶⁴ She agreed with Le Corbusier however, understanding that his reasoning

⁶⁰Ibid., 47.

⁶¹"La discipline architecturale qui organise l'espace et le temps s'appelle URBANISME; elle devrait se nommer RÉGIONALISME puisqu'elle embrasse beaucoup plus que le phénomène urbain" (Helena Syrkus, *ibid.*, 43).

⁶²"En concluant je veux souligner que le meilleur, le plus fonctionnel plan technique ne pourra pas comme tel améliorer la situation des masses ouvrières des villes et des campagnes. Les efforts des techniciens doivent faire la part de la lutte des ouvriers pour le droit non seulement au travail mais aussi aux habitations dignes de l'homme moderne. La nouvelle culture ouvrière sera l'oeuvre des ouvriers, nous ne serons que leurs collaborateurs" (*Ibid.*, 49).

⁶³Le Corbusier, *The Athens Charter*, translated by Anthony Eardley (New York: Grossman, 1973), 103. First published as *La Charte d'Athènes* (Paris: Plon, 1943). For a discussion of the various versions, see Reyner Banham, review of *The Athens Charter* in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 33 (October 1974): 260-61. In this study, the Athens Charter also refers to Le Corbusier's 'functional' planning principles.

⁶⁴"En concluant je veux souligner que le meilleur, le plus fonctionnel plan technique ne pourra pas comme tel améliorer la situation des masses ouvrières des villes et des campagnes. Les efforts des techniciens doivent faire la part de la lutte des ouvriers pour le droit non seulement au travail mais aussi aux habitations dignes de l'homme moderne. La nouvelle culture ouvrière sera l'oeuvre des ouvriers, nous ne serons que leurs collaborateurs" (Helena Syrkus, *Logis et Loisirs*, 49).

for his method did not ignore the emotional factors that contributed to man's well being; they merely assumed that they would be taken care of by sun, air, and greenery.⁶⁵

Le Corbusier's domination of CIAM at this point was paralleled by increased criticisms of the method he proposed. As early as 1931, even before Le Corbusier had appropriated Van Eestern's working method, there had been members who were against it. The Czechs, the Poles, and some among the German group took issue with the assumption that materialistic and deductive analysis would solve the problems of a non-functional city.⁶⁶ Some CIAM members were beginning to question the limits of scientific analysis as a planning method, and to admit the need for an attitude that went beyond analytical rationalism and dividing the city up by function. The Steiger/Stam proposal contended that the work should show a more integrated and contextual approach in which there was close interaction between the city, region and country "so that the operative geological, technical, economic, social, political and historical factors" would be brought out and presented. Steiger and Stam wanted these factors to be studied at the level of the city, region, and country. In addition, each level should be studied in relation to the level above it: the country should be examined in relation to the world, the region in relation to the country, the city to the region and the district due for reconstruction in relation to the city.

Skepticism about this new method was evident among the Dutch and Italian members. The Dutch CIAM group, although it did not completely reject the functional approach, disagreed with Le Corbusier's contention that any difficulties in the implementation of such a plan were merely technical: "We do not agree with Le Corbusier when he thinks that he is able -- right now, before any social change occurs -- to convince both the owners of apartments and lots and the banks to form a coalition to destroy their buildings and reconstruct them according to our ideas."⁶⁷ In the opinion of the Dutch, CIAM had not yet found a technical solution, and should therefore use this technical-economic problem as the

⁶⁵"Les méthodes de constructivisme et de fonctionnalisme que nous voulons appliquer à la réorganisation des villes par les moyens de la technique moderne, serviront à rétablir le contact intime du citoyen avec la nature, à lui fournir ce que Le Corbusier appelle "les joies essentielles" -- espace, soleil, verdure" (Helena Syrkus, *Logis et Loisirs*, 44).

⁶⁶Van der Woude, "CIAM," in *Het Nieuwe Bouwen*, 67.

⁶⁷"Mais nous ne sommes pas d'accord avec Le Corbusier quant il croit pouvoir convaincre dès à présent, sans un changement social préalable, les propriétaires d'appartement et de terrains et les banques de se coaliser pour détruire leurs immeubles et de les reconstruire selon nos idées. Dutch Group, "Propositions du Groupe Hollandais pour compléter les principes de Le Corbusier," *Logis et Loisirs*, 78.

basis for the debates for the next congress.⁶⁸ Their much more realistic approach was to cooperate with the economists to find a way to make their arguments for the collectivization of landed property more convincing.⁶⁹ The Italian delegation pointed to the limitations of the four-function approach to cities such as theirs that had both historic and modern sections. The historic parts of the city must be preserved.⁷⁰ Examples of urban organizations discussed by CIAM--Le Corbusier's visionary projects, Frankfurt's social housing, and the nineteenth-century housing blocks of Amsterdam, Paris, Milan and Basel--did not emphasize any particular cultural context.

The attempt to create a purified version of modern architecture by Le Corbusier and CIRPAC necessitated suppressing parts of the CIAM discourse in CIAM documentation and even the personal opinions held by individual CIRPAC members themselves.⁷¹ CIAM ignored the regionally based thinking of architects like the Finn Alvar Aalto. Aalto had attended CIAM meetings between 1929 and 1939,⁷² but always had a problematic relationship with the group, notwithstanding that he had become good friends with Giedion at the second congress. His contributions to CIAM congresses do not appear in any CIAM publication. Excluding Aalto and his place-centered and human-centered architecture revealed the bias of the universalist agenda favored by CIRPAC.⁷³ Le Corbusier and Giedion also expelled the expressionist architect Hugo Häring from the organization because they were

⁶⁸Van der Woude, "CIAM," in *Het Nieuwe Bouwen*, 71.

⁶⁹Dutch CIAM, *Logis et Loisirs*, 78.

⁷⁰Van der Woude, "CIAM," in *Het Nieuwe Bouwen*, 71.

⁷¹CIAM's version of modern architecture "purified" of expressionist tendencies is discussed by Eric Mumford, *CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 9-12.

⁷²Aalto did not attend the first congress but he attended all the others before the war, as well as CIRPAC meetings in 1934, 1935, 1936, and the "special" CIRPAC congress at Berlin in 1931. After the war he attended CIAM 6, but is not listed as a delegate or participant for CIAM 7 (Italian Report of CIAM 7; Mumford, *CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 207). Although listed as a member of CIAM 9 and 10, there is no evidence of his having presented a project at CIAM 9 or attended CIAM 10.

⁷³Aalto's work was well known before the war: there had been exhibitions of it in London in 1933 and at the Museum of Modern Art in 1938. Swiss CIAM member Alfred Roth was enthusiastic about his work. In 1943, Roth arranged a Swiss lecture tour, touting Aalto's 'New Regionalism' as compatible with the Swiss character (Teppo Jokinen and Bruno Mauer, *Der Magus des Nordens: Alvar Aalto und die Schweiz* [Zurich: ETH, 1998]). Aalto, like other modern architects of his day, addressed the problems of the identity of the individual, housing for the masses, and "flexible industrialization" (Winfried Nerdinger, "Aalto: Design for a Human Environment," paper presented at the conference "Interpreting Aalto: Baker House and MIT," Cambridge, Mass., October 1-2, 1999). By excluding Aalto from CIAM, the organization was ignoring an expression of modern architecture that was both place-centered and human-centered. Much in his thinking would become the basis of CIAM's reformulation of modern architecture after the war. His definition of democratic architecture as one that responded to people's needs was another theme that would later gain adherents among the younger CIAM members.

against his organicist principles. Suggestions by the Dutch and Italian members at CIAM 4 and again at CIAM 5 that CIAM consider the existing conditions of the city in their plans were ignored. By the last congress before the war Le Corbusier's supporters also expressed a desire to move beyond technocratic solutions, asserting that the new architecture had "overflowed its too narrow framework, and that it had ventured at last to grasp life."⁷⁴

The subject of everyday life was being pursued by Giedion in 1929, the summer before CIAM 2, when he spent the summer at the Bibliothèque Nationale researching the "biological foundations of everyday life" as part of a multi-volume work which he had projected about the birth of modern man. The thesis behind Giedion's research was that historians ought to examine "minor daily events" in order to grasp the "essence of the age."⁷⁵ This notion of meeting the requirements of everyday life, which would become an important part of the post-war CIAM discourse, was already being discussed in the early CIAM congresses by Gropius and Giedion, at least to the extent that they were concerned with sanitation and healthful conditions for city dwellers.⁷⁶

As Le Corbusier's rationalist approach gained ascendancy in CIAM, so did the distrust of technical rationalism. The emphasis at CIAM 2 on rational building and minimum housing standards was attacked by Hungarian-born architect Fred Forbat, who was a member of Gropius's Berlin circle. He had risen to object to "Rational Site Planning" as the title for CIAM 3 because he felt it would limit the congress to discussing ways to reduce costs and facilitate mass production, instead of finding what was rational in the "higher sense."⁷⁷ Gropius was also aware of the risk of focusing exclusively on standardization, which would place economic rationality above a "higher" rationality that had its social and spiritual dimensions. Like Le Corbusier, however, Gropius believed that these values could be achieved by high-rise building for the working classes in redeveloped urban areas.

After the CIAM 4 congress, Le Corbusier tried unsuccessfully to have his own version of the resolutions, which centered on the characteristics of the Radiant City, accepted as the official one. CIAM had also intended to publish the "Statements" as a small book with

⁷⁴"L'architecture déborde de son cadre trop étroit. . . . L'architecture dépassant le domaine des spécialistes et ayant le besoin profond de toucher au fond même de la vie." Giedion, "Habitations et Loisirs. 2e Compte-rendu du 5e Congrès," in *Logis et Loisirs*, 9; published in *Neue Züricher Zeitung*, (3 August 1937).

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, 31, 34.

⁷⁶Gropius, "Sociological Premises," in *The Scope of Total Architecture*, 104-18.

⁷⁷Fred Forbat to Sigfried Giedion, 26 October 1930, quoted in Mumford, *CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 44 and Steinmann, *CIAM Dokumente*, 74.

a selection of illustrations provided by each national group, but it ended up being published in little-known periodicals like the Spanish *A.C.*, the Dutch *De 8 en Opbouw*, and the Swiss *Weiterbauen*.

CIAM Thinking during World War II

Although the Second World War temporarily halted civilian construction and interrupted the meetings of CIAM, it did not stop Sert and Le Corbusier from continuing to promote CIAM's urban doctrine, or Sigfried Giedion and Alfred Roth from rethinking the theoretical premises of modern architecture.

At CIAM 5, Sert had been commissioned to write an official report documenting CIAM's work in the period up to the war. He took advantage of the assignment to fill out his English translation of the Statements of the fourth congress with his own ideas and published the results as a book called *Can Our Cities Survive?* (1942); it was as close as the Statements would come to the publication the congress had planned. It promoted the division of cities by function, but emphasized the conception of the city as a "regional unit."⁷⁸ The book was prepared with the intention of popularizing CIAM's urban agenda in the United States. In it Sert describes and illustrates the chaotic nature of the contemporary city and argues that the "reduced form of life" of the average man could only be remedied by "planning from a human point of view." This human point of view meant that planning had to proceed from a basis of "the most elementary needs of man" represented by the four primary functions of cities--dwelling, recreation, work, and transportation. After discussing the requirements for each of these functions, Sert proposed a large-scale planning method that considered the city as a whole and in relation to its regional setting. Sert's argument for the functional city was that it addressed human needs--both material and spiritual--on a "human scale"⁷⁹ which, as Giedion wrote in the introduction, would bring about a more "organic" existence.⁸⁰

Sert's effort was eclipsed by Le Corbusier's unauthorized and polemical version of CIAM urbanism that he published under the name *La Charte d'Athènes* (1943) and which

⁷⁸J.L. Sert, "The Town-Planning Chart, Fourth CIAM Congress, Athens, 1933," in *Can Our Cities Survive? An ABC of Urban Problems, Their Analyses, Their Solutions, Based on the Proposals Formulated by the CIAM* (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press and Oxford University Press, 1942), 246-49. For a discussion of this book, see Mumford, *CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 131-42.

⁷⁹Sert, *Can our Cities Survive?*, 229.

⁸⁰Giedion, Introduction, *ibid.*, xi.

would become his defining text on urbanism.⁸¹ Although he also drew on the Statements of CIAM and wrote the book in collaboration with the French CIAM group ASCORAL (Assemblée de constructeurs pour une rénovation architecturale), which he had founded in 1943, it was never recognized by CIAM as an official document.⁸² It did not constitute an analytical program, as Sert's book did. By removing the provisional tone of the Statements,⁸³ and giving the text a title with legalistic connotations by using the word "charter," he made of it something akin to a manifesto. The propositions that had previously been merely summarized were now given the more emphatic designation, "points of doctrine."⁸⁴

The Statements sought to understand the particular local character of a city, whereas the Charter operated on the premise that all existing structures would be destroyed. The most contested point in Le Corbusier's translation of the CIAM Statements was his declaration that the four functions be given autonomous sectors in the city, reflecting a totally different attitude toward town planning than the Statements, which allowed some mixing of functions within an area. The misguided attempts to separate functions and zoning in city planning after the war cannot be blamed on Le Corbusier alone, since, as Auke van der Woude points out, the method of dividing the city by function would be adopted by city planners after the war for reasons of precedent and expediency rather than as a result of the influence of CIAM and the Charter of Athens.⁸⁵

Le Corbusier also promoted the functional city as a model for postwar reconstruction, with projects, exhibitions of his work and that of his followers and with publications. Le Corbusier also wrote several other books in collaboration with ASCORAL -- including *Les Trois Établissements humains* (1944), and *Manière de penser l'urbanisme* (1946) -- as vehicles for promoting his model of planning.⁸⁶ Towards the end of the war, he prepared two urban-design projects, a plan for St.-Dié and the reconstruction of the port of La Rochelle-La

⁸¹Le Corbusier's *La charte d'Athènes* grew out of an article published under the title "Feststellungen und Richtlinien des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für neues Bauen" published in 1934 in *Weiterbauen* 1 (September 1934): 1-4 and 2 (November 1934): 9-13. Steinmann discusses the difference between the CIAM 4 "Statements" and the Charter of Athens, in "Neuer Blick auf die 'Charte d'Athènes'," *Archithese* 1 (1972) and in Steinmann, *CIAM Dokumente*, 129-65, n. 33. See also von Moos, *Alfred Roth*, 23.

⁸²For a discussion of ASCORAL's activities between 1940 and 1946, see Mumford, *CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 153-59.

⁸³Van der Woude, "Town Planning," in *Het Nieuwe Bouwen*, 72.

⁸⁴Landau, "Rise and Fall of CIAM," 5.

⁸⁵Van der Woude, "Town Planning," in *Het Nieuwe Bouwen*, 72.

⁸⁶Mumford, *CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 91.

Pallice, as examples of the application of both the Athens Charter and a CIAM design for a civic center.⁸⁷ In 1946, he started to design what was a highly conspicuous building at the time, the Unité d'Habitation, in Marseilles. Opened in 1952, the Unité was conceived as the basic unit for the total vision for the modern city. Its arrangement of living units into a compact block contained within it collective spaces and services such as parking, shops, nursery, laundry, and recreation spaces, and its most notable feature, an interior "street in the air" on the eighth floor, included a hotel for guests and space for a grocery store.⁸⁸ These high density blocks, open on both sides and raised on pilotis, allowed for most of the ground space to remain clear and for the separation of various forms of transportation.

At the same time that Le Corbusier, Sert, and Giedion were promoting CIAM urbanism as the model for modern town planning, Giedion and Alfred Roth were establishing the premises on which a regionally, socially, and culturally based post-functionalist modern architecture could be based. Sigfried Giedion, in his book *Space, Time and Architecture* (1941), which, along with Sert's *Can Our Cities Survive?*, also pointed to van Eesteren's Amsterdam General Expansion Plan as the first example of this type of "modern" planning. Giedion was developing his own theoretical preoccupations during the war; Roth, then the most conspicuous promoter of modern architecture in Switzerland, spent the war rethinking its premises and promoting a demystified, relativized and more mature modernism based on "historical tradition," an attitude that would ultimately undermine Le Corbusier's universalizing and idealist approach to planning.⁸⁹

The theoretical groundwork for the debates in CIAM after the war emerged from Switzerland. Switzerland did not suffer from war damage or occupation, and its neutral status

⁸⁷Other prewar and war-time publications are *Des Canons, des Munitions? Merci! Des Logis...S.V.P.:* Monographie du "Pavillon des Temps Nouveaux" à La Exposition Internationale "Art et Technique" de Paris 1937 (Boulogne-sur-Seine: Editions de l'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui, 1938), which promoted the CIAM 4 congress and what Le Corbusier was already referring to as the Athens Charter; *Le Lyrisme des temps nouveaux et l'urbanisme* (Colmar: Les Editions du Point, 1939), in which he used the Ville Radieuse as one example of modern urbanism; *Destin de Paris* (Paris: Sorlot, 1941), in which he introduced a new urban model of the Ville Radieuse and applied it to Paris; *Sûr les 4 Routes* (Paris: Gallimard, 1941), which was intended to guide reconstruction by relocating his urbanistic projects in a new system of linear organization along four types of transportation routes: highways, railroads, waterways and air routes; *La Maison des Hommes* (Paris: Plon, 1942), written with François de Pierrefeu, editor of the syndicalist journals *Plans* and *Prélude*, which proposed the vertical city as an answer to the Garden City and satellite towns; *Entretien* (Paris: Denoel, 1943) and *Les Trois Établissements humains* (Boulogne: Editions de l'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui, 1945), which dealt with how the function of work might revitalize the urban village, the creation of the linear industrial city, and centers of exchange.

⁸⁸Mumford, *CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 156.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, 158.

made the country a haven for avant-garde refugees. Emerging from this culturally dynamic situation were Ernesto Rogers and Aldo van Eyck who would make important contributions to the reassessment of modern architecture that occurred within CIAM after the war.⁹⁰

Switzerland also had the advantage, according to its promoters in the late 'thirties and early 'forties, of having avoided the experimental phase of modern architecture. Not having had an architectural avant-garde, Swiss architects had developed a more mature, moderate, regionally tinted modernism. Peter Meyer, who edited the Swiss journal *Werk* between 1930 and 1943, described the state of modern architecture in Switzerland in 1940 as being one in which modern principles had been relaxed. The spokesmen of the modern movement had been obliged to give up some of their more radical ideas such as their aim of total standardization and industrialization of building and even to accept certain requirements of popular taste.⁹¹ However, this shortcoming did not preclude the Swiss CIAM group from playing a consequential role in the development of modern architecture through CIAM from its inception: Moser was its first president (1928-29), Giedion was its secretary-general responsible for the organization of the congresses, and Alfred Roth, Rudolf Steiger, and Werner Moser were all active members.

This "mature" modernism resonated with the society that, by its very nature, was accommodating. Switzerland was a country with a strong middle-class structure that fostered *Konkordanzdemokratie*, that is, a democracy of consensus that was necessary in a country made up of four distinct regions speaking four different languages. Switzerland's political and cultural climate was the result of mixing the regional nationalism of the canton with the internationalism of federalism and of the modern movement.⁹²

⁹⁰Ernesto Rogers who, because of his Jewish origins, was forced to leave Italy in September 1943 earned his living in Lausanne, giving classes as an assistant in the architecture section of one of the many university campuses for Italian students that were organized in French-speaking Switzerland. Aldo van Eyck, then a student at the ETH had been sent to Zurich at the outbreak of the war for similar reasons. Paolo Scrivano, "A Country Beyond Its Borders: Foreign Influences and Infiltration in Postwar Italian Architecture" *2G* 3, no.15 (2000): 12-17; Aldo van Eyck, "Ex Turico Alquid Novum" *Archithèse* no.5 (1981): 35-38.

⁹¹Peter Meyer, "Die Situation der Architektur. 1940," *Werk* 9 (1940): 241-51.

⁹²In the nineteenth century, when the question was raised as to what constituted national expression in architecture, it played itself out in Switzerland as a crystallization of a Helvetic style in the model of a rural village. These regional tendencies were balanced by their international contacts gained from the participation of Swiss architects in CIAM. Also contributing to the development of modern architecture in Switzerland was a version of *Neues Bauen* that was developed into functionalism between 1929 and 1932 by entrepreneurs and eclectic architects, a distortion that alarmed the pioneers. On the subject of the political context for Swiss Modernism, see Gubler, *Nationalisme et Internationalisme*, 9-10, 236-38.

Swiss modernism had a decidedly anti-formalist cast. In the first books documenting modern Swiss architecture, Giedion and his co-editors made it clear that modern architecture in Switzerland was not a transient fashion, but a cultural expression of the "most essential characteristics of our country"--qualities which they described as being a "special feeling for precision, for economy, hygiene and democratic simplicity."⁹³ This stance was also the favorite theme of Alfred Roth,⁹⁴ who was against architects thoughtlessly adopting the fashionable forms of the moment.⁹⁵ Roth thought that modern architecture ought to be rooted in regional identity. He had first put forth his ideas in 1940 in a book he called *The New Architecture* (1940) and addressed to the younger generation of modern architects.⁹⁶ His intention, according to its author, was to write a pedagogical work that would provide young architects with "suggestions and fruitful ideas."⁹⁷ This book was influential among the next generation of CIAM members who were in their formative years during the war, including Peter and Alison Smithson, Giancarlo de Carlo, Aldo van Eyck, and Ernesto Rogers.⁹⁸ According to Giancarlo de Carlo,

⁹³The documentation of Swiss modern architecture was published in a series of three volumes between 1938 and 1947 (Linus Birchler, Sigfried Giedion, et al., eds., *Modern Swiss Architecture*, 3 vols., (Basel: K. Werner, 1939-40). In the first volume, building types were organized by function--work, traffic, dwelling, recreation.

⁹⁴Alfred Roth was born in Canton Berne in 1903 and died in 1999. He studied at the Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule (ETH) in Zurich between 1922 and 1926, receiving his Dip. Arch. under the pioneer of Swiss modern architecture Karl Moser. He worked in Le Corbusier's atelier on the League of Nations project as well as on two houses for the German Werkbund exhibition "Die Wohnung," held in Stuttgart in 1927. Roth met Mies van der Rohe, Walter Gropius, J.J.P. Oud, and Mart Stam, and worked with J.L. Sert, Charlotte Perriand, Ency Wissmann, and Albert Frey. In 1930 he joined a Swiss CIAM group, and presented a paper, "From Wall Painting to Spatial Painting," at CIAM 4. He was a co-founder of the society, "Friends of the Neues Bauen," later known as "Friends of the New Architecture and Art," and was editor of the magazine *Weiterbauen. Diskussionsblatt für die probleme des neuen Bauen und verwandter gebiete* (Supplement of the *Schweizerische Bauzeitung*). Roth took over the editorship of the leading Swiss architectural journal *Werk*, the official paper of the Fund Schweizer Architekten, the Swiss Werkbund and the Swiss Kunstverein. He was the chairman of the Swiss CIAM group between 1951 and 1956. Both as editor and architect he assumed a position somewhere between the internationalism of CIAM and the regional romanticism of the Swiss Heimatstil, a view that Kenneth Frampton would later call "critical regionalism."

⁹⁵Von Moos, *Alfred Roth*, 26.

⁹⁶Alfred Roth, *La Nouvelle Architecture/Die Neue Architektur/The New Architecture* (Zurich: Girsberger, 1940; reprint, Zurich: Erlenback, 1946). The text was published in three languages to broaden its audience, and its success is reflected in the fact that it was reprinted six times after World War II.

⁹⁷ Von Moos, *Alfred Roth*, 22-23.

⁹⁸According to the Smithsons, "the book that was of special importance to [them] personally was Alfred Roth's *The New Architecture*, whose second edition appeared in 1946 -- the first year after the war" (Alison and Peter Smithson, *The 1930s* [Berlin: Alexander, 1985]: 9). Aldo van Eyck in conversation with author, 5 May 1998, Amsterdam. Peter Smithson in conversation with author, 8 July 1998, London. Giancarlo de Carlo in conversation with author 17 July 1998, Milan.

. . . one of the books which were important in the formation of many of us, of architects of our generation, is a book made by Alfred Roth which is called *Neue Architektur* [in which] many projects of building [are] published all together and they are from many different countries and they had different attitude[s] [toward] language. And the idea of Alfred Roth was that this was the internationality of the modern movement--the capacity of keeping its principles and adapting them to the places. This is how we interpreted the book by Alfred Roth. I'm not sure he thought precisely that, but [it] can also happen that someone becomes the witness of some ideas that are around and he does not understand that he is a witness but he was. In fact, if you ask Peter Smithson, this book was very important for his formation. If you ask van Eyck it was important for his formation. We didn't know that it was important for the others. This came out later talking among ourselves, it came out that each of us had read this book and considered that book very important. So the idea of internationality became more complex. In fact, Team X, which was born after the falling apart of CIAM, was international, and we considered the fact that it was international, fundamental.⁹⁹

In breaking down mutually exclusive opposites such as past and present, function and aesthetic, reason and imagination, Roth redefined the meaning of the word modernity. He believed that the architect must belong "wholly to his time": he should accomplish his tasks using only the building and design methods of his day with no recourse to the outmoded styles of former times. Roth believed that "the feeling of belonging wholly to his time gave the architect the belief in its future and the firm conviction that the means of accomplishing our tasks are to be found only in the present."¹⁰⁰ Foreshadowing a discussion that would emerge in CIAM after the war, his definition of the "new architecture" was based on the premise that it had to take into consideration prevailing social and economic premises as well as local conditions such as topography, scenery, climate, available materials, and customs. This demand that architects have a "more extended consciousness of their times" might, he suggested, require the cooperation of other experts.¹⁰¹

Roth's expanded conception of the present included history. But the term as he used it was riddled with hermeneutic problems because Roth rejected the use of historical forms and CIAM had been established as a reaction against academicism and historicism. He referred to what he called "living" or "real history" as distinct from "historicism." "Living history" was an indispensable element of the "practical life." History helped one affirm and extend the consciousness of one's own time. Historicism, on the other hand, had nothing to do with "real" history. This popular historical conception was, according to Roth, a retrogressive

⁹⁹De Carlo conversation with the author.

¹⁰⁰Roth, *The New Architecture*, 8.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

phenomenon, "an escape from the thrills of the present into the calm of the past." Modern architecture had to overcome the historicism that hung over from the nineteenth century - "that will give us the strength to shape our times into a clear and happy epoch."¹⁰² This distinction between "historicism" and "living history" would surface in CIAM after the war with the younger Italian CIAM members, but would be ignored by CIAM generally, which remained staunchly anti-historical.

In addition to his critical realistic stance toward history, Roth introduced the value of human relations to modern architecture. Restating the premise of the progenitors of modernism with respect to the redemptive powers of modern architecture, Roth believed that by shaping human relations, architects would achieve a universal social order. But he felt that this needed to be accomplished through the coexistence of both human reason and creative imagination. While the "new architecture" took for granted imaginative spatial and aesthetic concerns, technical, material, and economic considerations of building that had been the focus of modernism, he added the criterion that modern architecture should now aspire to creating significance in human life which he proposed was to be achieved by creating relations between things. The relation between things was the innermost essence of the new architecture, what differentiates "real value from external form" and lends a "certain significance to human life."¹⁰³

Roth appealed to the cultural and political program of Neues Bauen, and declared form to be of secondary importance. Roth's manifesto for a regional, social, and historically aware modernism provided both the theoretical basis for and criticism of the International Style, as promoted by such histories of the modern movement as that by Henry Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson's *International Style: Architecture since 1922* (1932), Gropius's *Internationale Architektur* (1925); Alberto Sartoris's compendium *Gli elementi dell'architettura funzionale* (1932), and the multinational strategy promoted by CIAM during that period.¹⁰⁴

The value of the relations between things was shared by Giedion in his book *Space, Time, and Architecture*.¹⁰⁵ According to Giedion, living without a feeling for relationships led "to a perception of events as isolated points rather than as parts of a process with

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Gubler, *Nationalisme et Internationalisme*, 10.

¹⁰⁵ Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949); original edition 1941.

dimensions reaching out into history. The demand for a closer contact with history is the natural outcome of this condition."¹⁰⁶ Giedion contributed to the intellectual groundwork for the "new architecture" by emphasizing the importance of interrelations through time and between disciplines as an antidote to the excessive emphasis on rationalist functionalism and the way to achieve a different type of universality. Like Roth, Giedion thought that history was at the foundation of the "new architecture" and to acknowledge history was to acknowledge the conditions and events leading up to the present day.

Giedion's treatise on integration was also expressed in his subsequent book, *Mechanization Takes Command*, which he wrote during the war.¹⁰⁷ Responding to what he perceived as a society that was suffering from the effects of an excessively "mechanistic view of the world" inherited from the nineteenth century, in which thinking was dissociated from feeling, he argued that the way to humanize architecture was through "integration." To remedy the effects of excessive mechanization on everyday life, he proposed in its place a more organic conception of the world and the city. This shift toward a more organic conception of the world brought with it ideas of the relation between man and his environment, change over time, and the relation of differentiated parts to the whole: "Relations between man and his environment are subject to continual and restless change. There is no static equilibrium between man and his environment, between inner and outer reality. . . . All is in a state of flux." The need to "establish a new balance between the individual and collective spheres . . . today, both the life of the individual and the life of the community, are frustrated and lack real shape and structure."¹⁰⁸ Countering the universalizing effects of mechanization, Giedion reinforced the need for regionalism: "We must organize the world considered as a whole, and at the same time allow for the right of each region to develop its particular language, habits, customs."¹⁰⁹

The discussions about the "New Monumentality" by Giedion, Sert and Le Corbusier's during the war were the first attempts to deal theoretically with an awareness of the limits of the "système CIAM" or functional city. The discussions about the New Monumentality which

¹⁰⁶Ibid., 7-8.

¹⁰⁷Sigfried Giedion, *Mechanization Takes Command: A Contribution to Anonymous History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1948). Giedion finished *Mechanization Takes Command* in the United States, where he stayed between 1941 and 1945. The last chapters were written in the summers of 1944 and 1945 which Giedion spent with Fernand Leger and his wife at Rouses Point on Lake Champlain.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., 717-21.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., 715.

resulted from the critique by cultural critic Lewis Mumford of the inadequacy of the functional city in providing attention to the cultural and civic role of cities would form the theoretical foundations for the discussions in postwar CIAM about the core. As discussed by these founding members of CIAM, the discussions about the New Monumentality gave them a venue for grappling with the issue of how the modern city would take into account the popular needs and aspirations of a newly emerging constituency -- the mass. Giedion was already addressing the issue of the mass in *Mechanization Takes Command* as a discussion about the effects of excessive rationalization. In thinking about New Monumentality he introduced the notion that the modern city ought to be a response to the emotional life of the community which he saw expressed in populist spectacles for the masses such as water, light, and sound displays, and fireworks.¹¹⁰ For Sert the urban core ought to provide a civic function as an area of the city planned with the specific use of public gatherings and "symbols of popular aspirations." Sert made the link between New Monumentality and CIAM urbanism in which he made an argument that emphasized the need to create pedestrian civic centers and in large cities these civic centers ought to be the focus of civic and cultural life which he believed to be the most important part of a city -- its brain and governing mechanism.¹¹¹ Sert also made reference to Le Corbusier's project for St. Dié as another examples which emphasized the public gathering space.

The initiatives of Le Corbusier to promote the functional city in publications during the war was being paralleled by theoretical attempts to deal with the limits of such a system as revealed by the discussions about the New Monumentality, and with the theoretical initiatives of Alfred Roth in proposing a more regionally responsive modern architecture. In a more pragmatic setting, planning bureaucracies in England and Holland were initiating planning infrastructure in anticipation of the reconstruction effort that would be inevitable at the end of the war.

¹¹⁰Sigfried Giedion, "The Need for a New Monumentality," *New Architecture and City Planning*, ed. Paul Zucker (New York: Philosophical Library, 1944), 549-68.

¹¹¹J.L. Sert, "The Human Scale in City Planning," in *New Architecture and City Planning*, ed. Paul Zucker (New York: Philosophical Library, 1944), 403-4.

CHAPTER II.

COMING TO TERMS WITH A NEW REALITY, 1945-1948

The war changed everything. Europe had to rebuild territories devastated by the war and create bureaucracies to implement social agendas. Most urgent was to rebuild and increase the supply of housing. Not only had hundreds of thousands of housing units been destroyed, but the housing industry had been at a standstill for six or seven years--no slums had been cleared and nothing had been maintained. A conservative estimate of the number of dwellings immediately needed in Western Europe was 10 million. The numbers in Germany were the highest, as its cities had been almost totally destroyed. France estimated it needed about 1.5 million dwellings in 12 years, and the British had projected the need for a total of 4 million dwellings over a period of 20 years.¹ By 1950 the Netherlands was still short about 45,000 dwellings, or 20 percent of the existing housing stock.

The reaction to the fascist domination of the war was an increased desire for democratization. European countries were electing socialist governments, and these central governments were taking a more active role than they had before the war in the production of these vast numbers of housing units. National planning during this period became the principle source of the development and regulation of socioeconomic policy. The techniques of planning had moved forward as a result of the experience some countries gained with these new programs. Of particular interest to the discussions that would occur between the younger and older CIAM members in the postwar period were the planning initiatives established by England and the Netherlands whose considered governments as the only logical institution that could properly coordinate regional planning.² By the end of the war, many countries already had planning legislation in place, and the idea that physical and social planning was a *bona fide* function of government, though recently developed, was generally accepted, although most CIAM members seemed unaware of it. Instead they continued to hold firmly to the belief that, as the Athens Charter showed, planning must be sociologically based; the reason it was not was simply because two important fields--national and regional planning and

¹These are not necessarily accurate figures and they varied from country to country; see Van der Woude, "Town Planning," in *Het Nieuwe Bouwen*, 140, n.39.

²*Ibid.*, 146.

neighborhood planning--had still to be developed.³

Holland

The architecture culture of Holland after the war was still characterized by opposing schools of Nieuwe Bouwen and the traditionalist school led by Granpré Molière. Before the war, modern architects in Holland had been engaged in a battle to stamp out the transcendental rhetoric and a revival of traditional forms by the Delft School led by Granpré Molière. Molière, a pioneer of modern town planning in the Netherlands in the 1920s, had turned to championing traditional architecture when he became a professor at Delft. He believed that traditional forms were the answer to the problem of inappropriate architecture and town planning which had been the result of the moment in history when both science and art had been divorced from religion.⁴ The ethical and philosophical considerations of Granpré Molière, who felt that architecture was a means of expressing heavenly reality, were on a totally different plane from the functionalist creed of the Nieuwe Bouwen architects for whom the social context set the standard.⁵ It became increasingly apparent to these architects that the Delft movement simply did not understand how the economic, technical, and aesthetic aspects of Dutch life functioned.⁶

Nieuwe Bouwen was represented by the Dutch CIAM group De 8 en Opbouw which had been formed in 1932 by combining the two Nieuwe Bouwen groups, the Amsterdam-based De 8 and the Rotterdam-based Opbouw groups.⁷ De 8 had been founded in 1927 by, among others, Ben Merkelbach,⁸ as a reaction to the Amsterdam School of Architecture. All of the founders had been trained at the School for Architecture, Fine Arts and Crafts at

³"1947, Bridgwater, England" (CIAM 42-JT-2-7); Commission I, Draft of "Re-statement of Aims" (CIAM 42-RV-X-6-24); "The Bridgwater Commission IIIA. Urbanism: Preparation for CIAM 7," in *A Decade of New Architecture*, 22; "Reaffirmation of the Aims of CIAM: Bridgwater, 1947," in *ibid.*, 16-17.

⁴J.B. Bakema, "Untitled," 30 August 1952, (NAi/BAK a35). Granpré Molière's views on modern town planning are elucidated in M. J. Granpré Molière, "'De Moderne Stad,' Preadvies Internationaal Stedebouwkundig Congres te Amsterdam" (NAi/GRAN 0014 3x0.9).

⁵During the occupation, a mystical interpretation of architecture was realized in projects such as the Museum of Navigation and Aviation and the Ophthalmology Hospital in Rotterdam (*Ibid.*).

⁶Tod Idsinga, "Nieuwe Bouwen in Rotterdam, 1940-1960: What Is Urban Living in an Open City?," *Het Nieuwe Bouwen in Rotterdam 1920-1960* (Rotterdam and Delft: Museum Boymans-van Beuningen and Delft University Press, 1982), 113.

⁷For a history of Dutch CIAM groups and Nieuwe Bouwen in the Netherlands, see Ben Rebel, *Het nieuwe bouwen: het functionalisme in Nederland 1918-1945* (Assen, The Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 1983), 343-55.

⁸Ben Rebel, Indir van't Klooster, Maarten Kloos, Birgitte de Maar, *Ben Merkelbach: Architect en Stadsbouwmeester* (Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura, 1998).

Haarlem in which function and construction were taught but form was not: it was believed that form could not be taught, so in theory it could be left out of consideration. The architects of De 8 were pragmatic. They thought they could eliminate history after the First World War and make a new start in the direction of a new international culture. They also believed that in the development of modern planning lay the foundation for dealing with the changes in society. The Rotterdam-based group Opbouw, founded in 1920, began with a heterodox outlook, supporting members such as the Granpré Molière and Kropholler, who could certainly not be considered as supporters of Nieuwe Bouwen.⁹ At the end of the twenties, it grew more orthodox with J. B. Van Loghem providing its left-wing political impetus. Opbouw's official stance, as it was expressed in the aims of the association and opinions formulated in the field of town planning, was that developments in town planning should begin in the society; they should not be creating ideal solutions.

The pragmatic, anti-formalist, and socially-based functionalism of Nieuwe Bouwen, as expressed by the founding manifesto of De 8 in its journal *i10* (1927), had been introduced in the twenties. Their anti-stylistic aesthetic was based on the premise that there was no objective truth in the concept of beauty; it derived from an emphasis on the functional -- whether social or physical or constructional. However, Nieuwe Bouwen in Holland had also moved parallel to, and coincided with, the Dutch avant-garde movement de Stijl in a climate of advanced social-political thought. De Stijl was the hub of the Dutch avant-garde after 1917, embracing all the various arts and one of the groups most directly concerned with the relations underlying form and a working through the synthesis of the arts. The de Stijl architects: Oud, Rietveld, Wils, van't Hoff, and van Eesteren had from the start been in close contact with the de Stijl painters: Mondrian, van Doesburg, van der Leek, Vantongerloo, Huzar, and a little later El Lissitzky. There was also contact with de Stijl poets and writers hardly known outside Holland. The horizon around these pioneer architects was wider even than that: there was Holland Dada (and the "little magazine" *Meccano*) around Theo van Doesburg and Kurt Schwitters. Architectural modernism in Holland had a history of critiquing functionalism in the rejection by Groep '32 of the strict functionalism of the Amsterdam CIAM group De 8, and in projects like J. J. P. Oud's Shell Building, completed in 1942 during the German occupation, criticized pure functionalism, and expressed the

⁹Jeroen Schilt, "1947-1957: Ten Years of Opbouw," in *Het Nieuwe Bouwen in Rotterdam 1920-1960* (Delft: Delft University Press and Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, 1982), 139-70.

conviction that modern architecture can provide for a population's spiritual need.¹⁰ The Dutch CIAM groups jointly published the review *De 8 en Opbouw* with Ben Merkelbach as editor-in-chief between 1932 and 1943. This journal provided a forum for Dutch modern architects, including old adherents of de Stijl, young urbanists, dissidents from the Amsterdam School, Groep '32,¹¹ and De 8 and Opbouw, and the Delft School. They mainly discussed housing--the chief preoccupation of architects and town planners during the war.

During the German occupation of the Netherlands from 1940 to 1945, the traditionalists gained the support of the occupying Nazis, and the activities of Nieuwe Bouwen, represented by De 8 and Opbouw were forbidden.¹² Opbouw disbanded from December 1941 until 1945, and a sort of truce was declared between the various other architectural movements. A meeting was called by Granpré Molière between the traditional and modern architects, and they came together in June 1942 at Doorn for discussion.¹³ Clandestine study groups of practicing architects and students also met during the occupation to discuss neighborhood planning and standards for housing. The Rotterdam Study Group consisted initially of the architect's offices of Brinkmann and van den Broek, Van Tijen and Maaskant, and two less-well-known firms. Because most of the population lived in cities, they felt that the social and architectural development of the block of flats was one of their foremost tasks, and in fact one of their principal contributions was to improve the program for this type of housing. A study group on domestic architecture, organized by van Tijen in

¹⁰J.J.P. Oud, "Mr. Oud Replies [1947]," in *Architecture Culture, 1943-1968: A Documentary Anthology*, ed. Joan Ockman and Edward Eigen (New York: Rizzoli, 1993), 104-6. See Paolo Scrivano, "J.J.P. Oud and Dutch Architecture in the Writings of Henry-Russell Hitchcock," *Zodiac* no. 18 (Sept. 1997-Feb. 1998), 99.

¹¹Groep '32 was organized in 1932 by Albert Boeken about two years before it merged with De 8. But the ideas on architecture of the two differed too much to ensure a long-term cooperation, and in 1938 a large number of Groep '32 members left De 8. Groep '32 was founded by a group of young architects, who like the founders of 'De 8' received their education in Haarlem. They had to finish their education in Amsterdam, however, when the Haarlem school closed down. The members of the group, in addition to Boeken, were Staal, Zanstra, Giesen, Sijmons, Neter, Elte, Elzas, Nuyten, Komter, Holt, Mastenbroek, Limperg, Wagenaar, Van Woreden, La Croix, and Röntgen. Unlike De 8, they were not prepared to leave aesthetics out of the discussion about architecture and to follow a complete rationalization of the design process. In their view, the goal of architecture should be to synthesize form and functional requirements, and they criticized the more programmatic basis of Nieuwe Bouwen. The group wanted the freedom for buildings to have cultural value and to give form to the new culture. See the exhibition catalogue *Groep '32* (Delft: Publikatieburo Bouwkunde, 1998); and Manfred Bock et al., *Van het Nieuwe Bouwen naar een Nieuwe Architectuur. Group '32: Ontwerpen, gebouwen, stedenbouwkundige plannen 1925-1945* (The Hague: Staatsuitgeverij, 1983).

¹²Bakema, "Untitled."

¹³A record of the Doorn meeting during the war was published as "Studie-weekend, 6 en 7 Juni 1942, Doorn," *De 8 en Opbouw* 13, no. 9 (September 1942).

1942, was set up to consider various aspects of postwar housing. Van Tijen's group involved 600 architects working in subgroups around the country.¹⁴ Another group, the Kerngroep voor Woningarchitectuur continued the dialogue with the erstwhile enemy Delft School, but the report it produced was an unsuccessful attempt at compromise, unclearly defined and heterodox in character.¹⁵ The book *Woonmogelijkheden in het nieuwe Rotterdam* by van Tijen, Maaskant, Brinkmann and van den Broek promoting Nieuwe Bouwen, succeeded in producing a clear image of postwar housing. Their image of the postwar town was the logical continuation of the Nieuwe Bouwen notion that had been formulated in a preliminary paper, "De organische woonwijk in open bebouwing" (1932).¹⁶

The new principles for housing also dealt with the larger context of neighborhood: "A dwelling and its direct environment should . . . [offer everything] that is indispensable for a healthy spiritual and material development of individual, family and community."¹⁷ Such fundamental needs were defined in terms of the individual (activity and reflection), the family (gathering), and community ("natural and free contacts between the occupants of street, quarter and neighborhood").¹⁸ As the building block of a modern urban community, the neighborhood unit would solve the problem of the individual in modernizing the closely packed, completely built-up metropolis of the nineteenth century in which the individual had been submerged into the mass.¹⁹ The dwelling was to be situated within a neighborhood unit, which they defined as an area that was experienced by the individual as surveyable and comprehensible, a notion that future Team 10 member Jacob B. Bakema would, in the congresses after the war, refer to as the "visual group."

The more community oriented town planners were critical of the methods used in Cornelius Van Eesteren's Amsterdam General Expansion Plan. In their book, *Bouwen van woning tot stad*, Groep '32 criticized Van Eesteren's approach for its lack of cultural background. De 8 also opposed his idea of splitting the city into functions, as had been done in the Frankfurt housing districts, because it discouraged community integration. Instead, they proposed an "organic housing district" that would incorporate schools, churches, district

¹⁴ Idsinga, *Het Nieuwe Bouwen in Rotterdam*, 114.

¹⁵ Studiegroep Woningarchitectuur and Kerngroep, "Richtlijnen voor de woningarchitectuur," draft version of "Richtlijnen voor Woningarchitectuur," August 1943, (NAi/BAK vd14).

¹⁶ Idsinga, *Het Nieuwe Bouwen in Rotterdam*, 113.

¹⁷ "Summary of the standards for home and neighborhood units worked out by Dutch architects during the years of the war" (CIAM 42-JLS-7-206).

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Idsinga, *Het Nieuwe Bouwen in Rotterdam*, 117.

centers, and cultural and recreational facilities into housing districts, leaving only the function of work separate.²⁰ Their thesis was that urban features should be integrated insofar as possible except where one might damage another—for example, heavy industry could not be near housing unless separated by a green belt, but light industry could be allowed in housing districts and integrated with recreational facilities.²¹ They understood functionalism as being rooted in the organic forces of life in the neighborhood.

In the Netherlands after liberation hope for a more balanced way of life led to a spirit of collaboration. Between 1945 and 1950, socialist and labor parties sought out progressive groups outside the party to support their cause.²² Architects renewed their efforts to eliminate the differences between the traditionalists of the Delft School and the modernists of Nieuwe Bouwen. Leading the reconstruction were the traditionalists of the Delft School who tried to solve the problems of post-war housing by imitating the principles of medieval towns such as Middelbur and Rhenen. But the functionalist wing of this collaboration still represented by the CIAM group De 8 en Opbouw became a sort of unofficial advisory committee for the ministry of reconstruction and housing, which declared that "expression in architecture and town planning can only be real if rooted in the understanding of the dynamic forces in society."²³ The spatial and plastic expression of the de Stijl group combined with the fondness for analysis and composition using a human scale by De 8 en Opbouw were of practical value for planning teams, though results were yet to be seen in new villages and towns.²⁴ Dutch CIAM sought to bring organic order out of the current disorder by developing towns with planned neighborhoods of about 20-25,000 inhabitants, such as the Zuidwijk neighborhood in Rotterdam.

England

After the war it was apparent that the battle for modern architecture had been won, thanks in part to the efforts of the British CIAM group, MARS (Modern Architectural Research Group),²⁵ which had continued to promote modern architecture during the war with

²⁰Rebel, *Het functionalism in Nederland*, 346.

²¹Ibid., 349.

²²Bakema, "Untitled."

²³Ibid.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Kenneth Frampton, "MARS and Beyond: The British Contribution to Modern Architecture," review of *The Politics of Architecture*, by Andrew Jackson, in *Architectural Association Quarterly* 2, no.4 (Autumn 1970): 51-55.

initiatives such as the MARS plan for London (1941) drawn up by German-born architect Arthur Korn and structural engineer Felix Samuely. Modern architecture was being taught at the Architectural Association and the Bartlett. A regional and socially-based version of modern architecture was being taught during the war through the initiatives of MARS member and promoter of the planning methods of Patrick Geddes²⁶ Jaqueline Tyrwhitt at the APPR (Association of planning and Research for Regional Development),²⁷ an approach that was encouraged by *Architectural Design* and *Architect's Year Book*. After the war, the intellectual climate in England coupled with political initiatives in the form of legislation and public approval had also set the stage for a more sociologically-based planning methodology in the postwar period.

By the war's end, planners and politicians in Britain had already set up a framework for the implementation of postwar national, regional, and local town-planning initiatives. Beginning with the Town and Country Planning Act of 1932-34, the British had produced a series of reports and acts that would later form the basis for this planning. The Barlow Report (completed in 1939 and presented to Parliament after the outbreak of the war); the Scott Report (1942); the Uthwaite Report (1942); the County of London Plan (1943); and a

²⁶Jaqueline Tyrwhitt became a MARS member in 1941. She wrote an introduction to the new edition of Patrick Geddes's book *Cities in Evolution* (London: Williams and Norgate), which was republished in 1949, the same year of CIAM 7 at Bergamo.

²⁷The APPR was a research organization that ran correspondence courses in Planning for architects and engineers on active service, publishing books, broadsheets, and bulletins on various social and economic aspects of planning. Jaqueline Tyrwhitt was educated in landscape architecture and town planning, she joined MARS in 1941 and was acting secretary of CIAM from 1951 to 1954. From 1941 to 1948 she replaced E.A.A. Rowse, who was in military service, as Director of Studies at the School of Planning and Research for Regional Development at London University. In 1943 she founded a War Office correspondence course for architects and planners in the Allied Armed Forces at the Association for Planning and Research for Regional Development (APRR), which was expanded after the war into an intensive course for returning veterans. By 1944 the APPR housed a multidisciplinary research staff of about 20 people, including architects, chemists, a dietician, doctors, economists, educators, engineers, farmers, geographers, housewives, industrialists, lawyers, sociologists and statisticians. They prepared a book of 14 maps of Britain called the "Ground Plan of Britain" and produced a series of 19 illustrated broadsheets on subjects of interest to planners, 35 reports, 5 long technical reviews, and at least 3 books—*Adapting Wartime Sites to Post-War Uses*, *Maps for the National Plan*, and *Planning Prospect*. All these courses taught the sociologically based planning initiatives of Patrick Geddes (1854-1931). Geddes was an evolutionary biologist, builder, and promoter of the newly emerging disciplines of city planning and sociology, who understood modernism to be, not programmatically or aesthetically driven, but based on sociological studies and surveys determining the needs and desires of the inhabitants of a region. The influence of his book, *Cities in Evolution* (1915), summarizing his ideas about town planning, and its relevance to the post-war planning efforts was made clear by the fact that it was reprinted in 1949 (Patrick Geddes, *Cities in Evolution*, with an introduction by Jaqueline Tyrwhitt (London: Williams and Norgate, 1949), first published in 1915).

white paper (1945) accepting and extending the recommendations of the Uthwaite report, which formed the basis for the Town and Country Planning Act of 1947.²⁸ All these reports and acts had been set up during the war and were followed by supplementary acts to meet postwar needs.²⁹ Between 1945 and 1951 ten new towns were founded in England. The seven established around London represented the initiation of a major plan on a regional scale.³⁰ Using standard components--a town center, two-story housing, and industrial estates at the edges of the town--these plans were built along the lines of the Garden City--inspired plans of Parker and Unwin forty years earlier at Letchworth, and failed to take into account changes, such as the automobile.

The Housing Department of the London City Council (LCC) had in the late 1940s and early 1950s adopted the "New Empiricism" as its social and humanistic foundation. The LCC, under the direction of Scottish architect Sir Robert Mathew, and assisted by the architect of the Festival Hall in London, Leslie Martin, was the largest employer of architects in England after the war.³¹ The Housing Department at the LCC into "soft" Scandinavian-based empiricists and "hard" Le Corbusian formalists.³² The picturesque, Swedish-inspired style of minimum housing standards and traditional materials and methods of construction known as the "New Empiricism" led to what most felt were disappointing results and would later be subject to criticism by a younger generation of modern architects who, after being in the war and having just finished school, converged upon the LCC.³³

²⁸ Royston Landau, *New Directions in British Architecture* (New York: George Braziller, 1968), 15-24. To ensure the success of these planning initiatives they were promoted in a series of documentary films; John R. Gold and Stephen V. Ward, "Of Plans and Planners: Documentary Film and the Challenge of the Urban Future, 1935-1952," in *The Cinematic City* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), 59-82; and Nicholas Bullock, "Imagining the Post-War World: Architecture, Reconstruction and the British Documentary Film Movement," in *Cinema and Architecture: Méliès, Mallet-Stevens, Multimedia*, ed. François Penz and Maureen Thomas (London: British Film Institute, 1997), 52-61.

²⁹ See Landau, *New Directions in British Architecture*, 15-24.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 19.

³¹ Andrew Jackson, *The Politics of Architecture* (London: Architectural Press, 1970).

³² Royston Landau, "The End of CIAM and the Role of the British," *Rassegna* 52 (December 1992): 40-47; Colin St. John Wilson in conversation with author, 7 July 1998, London.

³³ The New Empiricism was a logical extension of the moral/humanistic attitude towards modernism that had begun with John Ruskin and William Morris and had been maintained and renewed through the histories of the modern movement by English historians and critics such as J. Morton Shand, Nikolaus Pevsner, J. M. Richards, and Reyner Banham, who were critical of the formalist and programmatic practices of modern architecture as they had been promoted by Hitchcock and Johnson in the International Style (1932). Underlying this debate was the particular English intellectual lineage of a humble, solid, moral, pragmatic, and socialist Marxist-based modernism which resisted both the picturesque modernism of the New Empiricism and the formalism of the International Style.

Postwar reconstruction efforts had a close resemblance to CIAM planning methods -- the separation of the four functions could be found everywhere in the form of row houses and high-rise blocks surrounded by fields of greenery and wide, straight roads. It was a result, however, of circumstance and expediency more than it was evidence of a worldwide acceptance of the prescriptions of a few modern architects, or the Athens Charter, by planning authorities. With cities undergoing rapid and vast expansion, separation of functions was simply the easiest way to ensure rapid production, and the rapid production of housing and commercial premises was a social necessity. Mixing functions could lead to delays and conflicts at the various stages. CIAM claimed as its success the strategy of physical planning based on the four functions that were already being implemented by the authorities of reconstruction.³⁴

Because the goal of governments was the most rapid construction possible, housing production brought with it an expansion of government authorities and their bureaucracies intent on implementing social programs. Societal changes were created by an experience of the mass in the form of migrations, communication, pop culture, and travel. In conjunction with initiatives to raise the standard of life in undeveloped countries where great change was taking place, the period was marked by a new global awareness and new notions of ethnicity, and an awareness of cultural and social diversity.³⁵ At a cultural level architects were faced with issues of industrialization, mass culture, and Americanism. These experiences of new bureaucracies and unprecedented experience of the mass raised the issue of anonymity and a concern with how to maintain one's identity within an undifferentiated mass. Many of the younger generation were concerned with the effects of industrialization as well as with the impact of the increasing number of automobiles in creating suburbs and the "shapeless growth" of cities.³⁶ Some CIAM members found this new type of undefined and multi-directional order confusing. They were also contending with the effect of speed in creating a new consciousness: "The entire world is in movement; the state of its conscience is changed . . . mechanical speeds and their undescrivable consequences have opened a new era. It is an

³⁴Outside Europe a modified approach using the four functions had been implemented by Venezuelan architect Carlos Raúl Villanueva in his "El Silencio" Housing Project (1942-45). This project tested ideal urban precepts of CIAM by attempting to create new urban structures that could adapt to the possible evolution of life and outlive the social functions for which they were designed.

³⁵Peter Smithson in conversation with author, 8 July 1998, London.

³⁶J.L. Sert, "Centres of Community Life," in *The Heart of the City: Towards the Humanization of Urban Life*. edited José Luis Sert, Ernesto Rogers and Jaqueline Tyrwhitt (London: Lund Humphries, 1952), 4, 11.

era of solidarity."³⁷ All these factors together were responsible for the new conception of integrated planning which was gradually emerging.³⁸

In reaction to the tyrannical politics of the war, there was apprehension in Western European nations of totalizing and hierarchical strategies, and a climate that favored the breakdown of categories. In a context in which rationalism became equated with Fascism, CIAM members were also becoming familiar with Giedion's argument, in *Mechanization Takes Command* (1948) about the effects of "machinist society" and the rupture between man with his surroundings which were ruptured by mechanization.³⁹ CIAM members were also considering another effect of excessive rationalization -- excessive specialization.⁴⁰

The ten-year interruption in congresses due to the war, in conjunction with the criticisms surfacing at pre-war meetings and in the anti-rationalist tendencies in the theoretical initiatives of Roth and Giedion during the war, made it increasingly clear that CIAM would have to change its direction if it was to maintain its relevance in this new context. The topics that CIAM had hitherto focused on -- mass housing, minimum housing standards, industrialized construction, whether to chose low-, medium-, or high-rise housing, the effects of providing housing in the planning of towns and cities -- would all be revived, but framed within a new perspective of developing the relationship of the individual to the collective.

CIAM 6: humanizing modern architecture

At the congress in Bridgwater in CIAM began to deal with their institutional circumstances. The CIAM congresses were freed from their now ineffective prewar structure as a gathering of individual members to a meeting of representatives of local CIAM groups based on a common attitudes.⁴¹ CIRPAC was also declared unworkable because its membership was too widely dispersed and the number of groups represented had become too

³⁷"Programme du 7ème Congrès CIAM," 24.

³⁸"Reaffirmation of the aims of CIAM. Bridgwater, 1947," 16.

³⁹"Programme du 7ème Congrès CIAM. Mise en Application de la Charte d'Athènes" (Boulogne: *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, 1948): 5.

⁴⁰"The very structure of the society in which we live makes for specialization in every field of activity -- narrow-minded, self-centred and disdainful of others." Report of Committee II, "The Collaboration of the Architect, Painter and Sculptor," 24-26 July 1949, CIAM 7 Congress, Bergamo (CIAM, 42-JT-2-468/469), 3.

⁴¹"Notes on the CIAM Statutes" (CIAM 42-JT-5-683/684); also in "Statutes of the International Congress for Modern Architecture (CIAM). Revised in accordance with decision of the Sixth Congress taken at Bridgwater, England, 13 September, 1947," CIAM 6, Bridgwater (CIAM 42-JT-5-685/686) and Sert, Introduction, 1051-3.

great. A new executive body called the CIAM Council, consisting of the president, two or three vice-presidents, an administrative secretary, and eleven elected representatives, was to take its place to provide effective central and democratic control, or so it was thought.⁴² In practice, the CIAM Council was led by an executive sub-group consisting of Gropius, Giedion, Sert, and Le Corbusier, who directed the course of CIAM until its dissolution after 1956. They made decisions before meetings and congresses and then brought their resolutions first to CIRPAC and then to the CIAM members to be ratified. Symbolic of the changing preoccupations of CIAM after the war was the replacement of Cornelius van Eesteren by Josep Lluís Sert as president of the organization in 1947.⁴³ This change in power would be reflected in CIAM's agenda which would shift from its pre-war concern with van Eesteren's "sociological" approach to town planning to the more symbolic concerns represented by Sert's notion of the civic center as an expression of the new monumentality.⁴⁴

Another innovation was the establishment of "permanent commissions," each of which would study one of the general themes of concern to the members; both the topics and the composition of the commissions were subject to change. Using the same organization as the parent body, the commissions were led by the members of the CIAM Council, or by members chosen by them to keep some measure of control over the direction of the discussions and, more important, the written reports. The four permanent commissions established at CIAM 6 were I, "Restatement of Aims," with Sert as chairman, and including Le Corbusier, van Eesteren, Bakema as members; II, "Reorganization of CIAM" with Rudolf Steiger as chairman and including Le Corbusier and Bakema as members. Commission III, "Program for the 7th Congress," was divided into subcommissions: sub-commission IIIa, "Urbanism," had Le Corbusier and Arthur Ling as co-chairmen, and sub-commission IIIb dealt with "Architectural Expression" with Giedion as chairman; it included van Eyck, editor of *Architectural Review* James M. Richards, and Bakema as members. Commission IV dealt with "Architectural Education," and had Walter Gropius as chairman, and Giedion as one of the members.

The members who had attended CIAM 6, held at Bridgwater, England, in September 1947, noticed a general shift in attitude, owing to the vast changes in social and economic

⁴²"Notes on the CIAM Statutes" (CIAM 42-JT-5-683/684).

⁴³For a discussion of the shift in power represented by this change in the presidency of CIAM, see van der Woude, "CIAM," 80, 82.

⁴⁴Sert, "The Human Scale in City Planning," 392-413. On the New Monumentality, see Mumford, *CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 150-52.

structure that had taken place in the decade since their last congress in Paris. Giedion was to remark that during the last ten years of struggle against fascist domination, political, economic and social questions took on a new significance, along with technical progress and the experience of certain countries in their socialist organization, all resulting in a new conception of integrated planning.⁴⁵ CIAM's functional city had been criticized by some in the pre-war congresses, which combined with the theoretical developments during the war it became increasingly clear that CIAM would have to examine its aims and change its direction if it was to maintain its relevance in this new context.

At the planning meeting for CIAM 6 held in Zurich those attending--namely, architect and city planner Fred Forbat (Hungarian-born but representing the Swedish CIAM group), Giedion, J.M. Richards, Hans Schmidt, Mart Stam, Helena Syrkus, and André Wogensky--had decided that the first congress after the war should be an informal "interim" congress to start CIAM going again. Its purposes would be to reestablish contact between the various groups, to come to some sort of conclusion about its organization, and to prepare for CIAM 7.⁴⁶ The impact of contemporary conditions on architectural expression was to be the major topic at the congress. The proposed subject was "social urbanism" in every country, taking into account a wide range of factors in order to identify for each country the aspects that would create difficulties in applying the Athens Charter. In France architecture and city planning were thought to be in chaos; in democratic nations like the Netherlands, Sweden, and Switzerland they were a retrogressive, and in Britain, although "high standards" had been achieved, no outstanding experiments had been made. Canada, the United States, and South America had a promising generation of imaginative young architects, but only in Finland and Brazil had architects produced works of "inspiration and discovery."⁴⁷

At CIAM 6 the leaders felt the need to revalidate their initial premise as it had been stated almost twenty years earlier in the Sarraz Declaration. Although these aims had addressed a specific period they contained principles that, in their opinion, were "fundamental and essential to reaffirm today."⁴⁸ They reasserted their initial claim that the role of modern architecture ought to meet the requirements of contemporary society: architects and planners were to "work for the creation of a physical environment that [would] satisfy man's emotional

⁴⁵CIAM, "Reaffirmation of the Aims of CIAM," in *Decade of New Architecture*, Sigfried Giedion, ed., (New York: Wittenborn, 1951), 16-19.

⁴⁶Commission I, Draft of "Re-statement of Aims" (CIAM 42-RV-X-6-24).

⁴⁷"1947, Bridgwater, England" (CIAM 42-JT-2-7).

⁴⁸Commission I, Draft of "Re-statement of Aims" (CIAM 42-RV-X-6-24).

and material needs and stimulate his spiritual growth."⁴⁹ Curiously enough, given the context of a Europe desperately seeking to meet the requirements for housing their populations, CIAM members seemed to come to a general agreement that modern architecture and planning now also needed to emphasize the emotional and spiritual needs of the people for whom they were building⁵⁰ by fostering "individual development integrated with the life of the community" resulting in harmony between the works of man and his environment.⁵¹ They reminded themselves of their commitment to achieving these goals through a combination of scientific planning and social idealism. Skeptical of the results of excessive mechanization and rationalization, they needed to "humanize" modern architecture, to "enlarge and enrich the aesthetic language of architecture in order to provide a contemporary means whereby people's emotional needs can find expression in the design of their environment."⁵² These communities needed "a truly human aspect" which meant for Giedion, "enlarging the subject to include ideological and aesthetic problems."⁵³

Although the participants at CIAM 6 had agreed that modern architecture in the postwar period had to be humanized and that they had to focus on the spiritual and emotional needs of people for whom they were building, there were differences of opinion about what "spiritual" meant and how a more "humanized" architecture was to be achieved. Although they could still agree on the principles on which their future actions would be based, there were signs at CIAM 6 of the divergence of opinions that would lead, over the course of the next few congresses, to an irreparable schism. A human point of view, as promoted by the CIAM leaders, assumed that planning had to proceed from the most basic needs of the inhabitants involved as represented by the four primary functions of cities--work, dwelling, recreation and transportation. But there were other opinions. For the Swedish and American groups, humanization was defined in terms of a more socially based approach to town planning developed through neighborhood units. The MARS group believed that CIAM architects needed to discuss the impact of technical and social developments on "architectural

⁴⁹Commission I, "Reaffirmation of Aims" (CIAM 42-JT-X-3); published in, *A New Decade of Architecture*, 16-17.

⁵⁰In their view at the time there was no possibility for contemporary architecture to develop without a "full expression of the emotional needs of our period." Giedion, *ibid*, 49.

⁵¹CIAM, "Statutes of the International Congresses" (CIAM 42-JT-5-685/686).

⁵²Commission I, "Reaffirmation of Aims" (CIAM 42-JT-X-3); published in, *A New Decade of Architecture*, 16-17.

⁵³Giedion, "Proposed Program of the Seventh Congress," June 1947, trans. S. Papadaki, 12 July 1947 (CIAM 42-JLS-11-53).

expression." Anticipating the view they would hold throughout the debates among CIAM members after the war, MARS also argued that a humanized modern architecture should take into consideration the particularities of the built environment.⁵⁴ In contrast to Giedion's aestheticized, elitist solution to contemporary problems with his notion of the "synthesis of the arts" were the more realist and populist concerns of the MARS group, who believed that modern architecture ought to take into consideration the impact of social and technical developments on architecture expression in what was now a more egalitarian society, and one in which the masses were the client. They argued that a lack of concern for the "common man" was the reason CIAM's ideals were not being realized to the full. MARS member, and J. M. Richards reasoned that the products of modern architectural thought were not sympathetic to the aspirations of the "common man" and thus, he reasoned, modern architecture as a whole was not given their support.⁵⁵ He argued that the problem of their day was no longer publicizing the principles of the Athens Charter; they should move on to examine the impact of contemporary conditions and public opinion on architectural expression.

Spiritual aspirations also meant different things to different members. "Spiritual" needs for Sert and several of the CIAM groups referred to the experience of community. For Bakema, it meant the fulfillment of a democratic way of life by allowing for individual choice, social justice, liberty and cooperation. For Giedion, spiritual needs referred to something that could be satisfied through aesthetics, specifically through a synthesis of the plastic arts. Giedion's concern, as he stated it in a questionnaire he prepared with the artist Hans Arp for CIAM 6, was how to achieve a synthesis of the arts in a society where life was characterized by a split between mind and matter, but in which new discoveries in science now regarded the two spheres as interdependent.⁵⁶ Moreover, Western civilization was at a

⁵⁴Le Corbusier to André Wogenscky, 3 May 1947 (CIAM 42-HMS-297/298).

⁵⁵J. M. Richards, "Report on MARS Group: War and Postwar," May 1947 (CIAM 42-HMS-305/307); idem and MARS Group, "The Impact of Social Developments" September 1947, in "Commission 2 Report. The Collaboration of the Architect, Painter and Sculptor" 24-26 July 1949 (CIAM 42-JT-2-468/469, 4); idem, "Contemporary Architecture and the Common Man," in *A New Decade of Architecture*, 33-34.

⁵⁶Three questionnaires were produced for CIAM 6: one by Giedion and Arp, another by the MARS group, and a final one, whose authorship is unclear, that was modified at Bridgwater. Sigfried Giedion and Hans Arp, "Relation between Architect, Painter and Sculptor" December 1946, in "The Impact of Contemporary Conditions upon Architectural Expression," January 1947 (CIAM 42-JLS-7-98); published in *A New Decade of Architecture*, 30. The MARS group questionnaire contained 19 questions and was entitled "Architecture and the Common Man" (RIBA GoE 314/2); J.M. Richards, "Report of Delegates" (CIAM 42-RV-X-6-18).

turning point where rationalism was "reaching its end."⁵⁷ Aesthetics--specifically the synthesis of the arts--was a way of redressing the imbalance of what he believed to be an excessively rational attitude in society by taking into account the emotional needs of man.⁵⁸ Giedion thought that to "beautify a building is an eternal emotional need of the people, and determining how to satisfy that need today is an urgent problem."⁵⁹ Synthesis, in Giedion's opinion, was the way to deal with the effects of rationalization and a way to counteract the "boxed in," categorical quality of the Athens Charter.⁶⁰ The synthesis of the arts represented for Giedion the moral and ethical function of modern architecture. His premise was that beautifying a building was an "eternal emotional need" and that the pressing problem of their day was finding a way to satisfy that need.

Underrated, but important contributions to this new trend in CIAM were made at the sixth congress by Jacob Bakema (Opbouw) and Aldo van Eyck (De 8). For Bakema who had just joined CIAM, its aim should be to create a community that would establish harmony between the built environment and man's natural surroundings.⁶¹ Jacob B. Bakema (1918-81), had had a more practical and nationally-based education and the experience of living under an authoritarian regime during the war than Van Eyck who had spent the war in Switzerland. Bakema had studied building and marine engineering at the Technical High School in his home town of Groningen.⁶² He had begun working there in 1934 and moved to Amsterdam in 1937 where he became superintendent in the municipal building department. He augmented his studies through evening courses which he completed in 1941, at the

⁵⁷Giedion, "Our Attitude towards Problems of Aesthetics," in *A New Decade of Architecture*, 35.

⁵⁸Giedion, "Architecture, Painter and Sculptor," in *A New Decade of Architecture*, 30.

⁵⁹Giedion, "The Bridgwater Questionnaire. Bridgwater 1947," in *A New Decade of Architecture*, 31; idem, "Programme of the VIth Congress" June 1947 (RIBA GoE 314/2); J. M. Richards, Minutes. "MARS Group Report of Delegates to CIRPAC," CIRPAC Meeting, 26-29 May 1947, Zurich (CIAM 42-RV-X-6-18, 2); "Reaffirmation of the Aims of CIAM: Bridgwater, 1947," in *A New Decade of Architecture*, 16; "1947, Bridgwater, England" (CIAM 42-JT-2-7); Wogenscky, "Directives for the Agenda" (RIBA GoE 314/2); Commission IIIb, "The Bridgwater Commission IIIA. Urbanism: Preparation for CIAM 7," in *A New Decade of Architecture*, 22.

⁶⁰Sigfried Giedion, "Our Attitude towards Problems of Aesthetics," in *A New Decade of Architecture*, 35; "Report of Commission IIIb. On Architectural Expression: Questionnaire," in "CIAM 6 Documents" (CIAM 42-JT-X-3: 22).

⁶¹"Statues of the International Congresses" (CIAM 42-JT-5-686).

⁶²See Cornelis Wagenaar, "Jaap Bakema and the Fight for Freedom," in *Anxious Modernisms: Experimentation in Postwar Architectural Culture*, ed. Sarah Williams Goldhagen and Réjean Legault (Montreal and Cambridge: Canadian Centre for Architecture and MIT Press, 2000), 261-277; E.S. Brierley, "J.B. Bakema, An Architect's Social Attitude to Design," unpublished ms, 1985, NAI/B.01 BAKE; "Separate Statement Belonging to the "Preliminary Application for Nonimmigrant Visa," 1957 (NAI/BAK v35).

beginning of the Nazi occupation. His education at the Academy of Architecture in Amsterdam was first under Smits, a traditional arts-and-crafts practitioner, then under the direction of Mart Stam, the most rigorous of the Dutch modernists who succeeded van Eesteren as director in July 1939. During this period he also attended lectures by Granpré Molière until the Germans closed Delft University, and supplemented his work in Amsterdam and his studies with freelance work for the Rotterdam-based firm of Willem van Tijen, the public housing expert of the Dutch modern movement. What Bakema referred to as his international training on the street began when he managed to escape Holland with his friend Jan Rietveld and went to France, where they became couriers for the Dutch government in exile until they were caught in the Pyrenees in April 1943 and interned in a concentration camp at Bordeaux. There they were interrogated and sent on to a camp in Germany, but with help from the French Resistance, they end up in a camp in Compiègne instead, from where they escaped in December. Bakema returned to Groningen where he spent the rest of the war working underground in the Resistance, writing for the underground newspaper *de Vrije Kunstenaar*, organizing a lecture series on town planning, and working for van Tijen. Rotterdam had been devastated by a German Blitzkrieg attack on 14 May 1940. When the war ended, Bakema returned to Rotterdam to work in the Housing Department and became involved with a group of architects and interior designers who at the behest of Stam and Kloos were supporting the cause of Nieuwe Bouwen. Bakema was also asked to join the Rotterdam-based Opbouw, and they sent him to the preparatory meeting for CIAM 6 at Zurich in 1947 where he met a number of the luminaries of the time-- Aalto, Roth, Giedion, Gropius, Ernst May, and a former member of May's team in Frankfurt and the Soviet Union the German architect and planner Werner Hebebrand (1899-1966).

Bakema's contribution to the congress is less clearcut, mainly because it was presented through the Dutch CIAM group. His writings during the war and immediately afterwards, however, disclose the nature of his concerns at the time, many of which would become important themes in CIAM discussions. One was the need for architecture to be specific to its place and time,⁶³ an idea he had expressed in an article he had written during the war and published in the avant-garde magazine *De 8 en Opbouw* about a house designed by de Stijl architect Gerit Rietveld, which combined traditional elements such as a sloped roof constructed in rough timber and thatch commonly used by the local farmers with modern ones

⁶³Bakema, "De Vrije Vorm" *de 8 en Opbouw*, no.8 (1941): 106-107.

such as steel windows. Although it contrasted remarkably with the forms associated with the de Stijl group and with Rietveld's famous Schröder House (1926), Bakema noted that the space definition given to the house contributed positively to the identity of the house as house in a particular situation at a particular time. In his view, "real architecture in our day can only be developed by those who like to construct new societal patterns."⁶⁴ He felt that for the postwar situation the rational attitude of the "new objectivity" was not stimulating because its focus was on things which could be analyzed and because the relationship between men being examined was too narrow; one needed instead to consider the relationship between man and nature.⁶⁵ So far as the practice of architecture was concerned, he argued that architectural form needed to be developed with planners working simultaneously and not hierarchically,⁶⁶ and that modern architecture should be in touch with the people for whom it was being built.⁶⁷ At CIAM 6 Bakema reinforced the social agenda preached by the Dutch CIAM group at a more spiritual level by proposing that it be placed at the service of the democratic aspirations of the population as they were expressed by social justice, cooperation, and liberty.

Younger Dutch CIAM member Aldo van Eyck also countered Giedion's aesthetic concerns by stressing the functional obligations of the architect in society as organizer, technician, and builder. As the first individual contribution by a younger CIAM member to the discussion about new values for modern architecture, van Eyck's report--which he submitted independently from the Dutch CIAM group--identified the problems of their day as owing to the "tyranny of common sense," i.e., excessive Rationalism, not in and of itself, but in its separation from art and imagination. In architecture this was manifested by the "quasi-modern" architects "who put the wrong stress on social and economic functionalism."⁶⁸ Synthesis for van Eyck did not occur, as it did for Giedion, at the level of coordinating painting, sculpture, and architecture, but could only be achieved once each discipline had been mastered individually. Synthesis was the result of a creative attitude. At CIAM 6, van Eyck

⁶⁴Bakema, "De menselijke activiteit als uitdrukking van religieuze bezinning," *De Vrije Kunstenaar* 1 (1945): 2-6.

⁶⁵Bakema, "Naar aanleiding van het artikel 'Na den oorlog,'" *de 8 en Opbouw* no.10 (1942).

⁶⁶Bakema, Lecture cycle on urbanism with Dudok, Merkelbach, van Tijen, for the Poorters Academy of Architecture, Amsterdam (NAi/BAK vd14).

⁶⁷Bakema, "Inleiding van Bakema op de bijeenkomst van studenten Delft-H.B.O. 6 en 7 juni te Doorn," *de 8 en Opbouw* no.9 (1942): 108-9.

⁶⁸Van Eyck, "Interrelation of the Plastic Arts" (CIAM 42-SG-9-87/88).

still considered CIAM to be "first and foremost" an affirmation of this new consciousness.⁶⁹ Maintaining a dialectical position that he would form the basis of this personal theory and projects over the next decades, Van Eyck at once supported Giedion's aesthetically based proposal for synthesis but also urged CIAM to reconsider the rationalist attitude underlying its planning methods.⁷⁰

Van Eyck, then 28 years old, had arrived at the Bridgwater Congress in 1951 as an inexperienced architect with a profoundly anti-rationalist agenda that he had developed in his formative years.⁷¹ He had had an international upbringing, beginning with an anti-authoritarian coeducational alternative school in London, and later at the Senior Secondary Technical School in the Hague, an institution he detested, and the Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule (ETH) in Zurich. His father, P.N. van Eyck, a poet, journalist, critic, and scholar, had introduced him to literature, especially of the nineteenth century. He was influenced by his father's critical thinking which was based on Spinozan philosophy at the point when Spinoza pulled away from Descartes and the supremacy of reason -- a philosophy which emphasized individual experience and rejected any sort of hierarchy. In Zurich, Aldo's refuge during the war, he had the company of many Jewish avant-garde practitioners along with his training in the moderate and regionally tinted modernism of the ETH. After he graduated he worked on competition designs for several modern architects in Zurich, including Haefli, Moser and Steiger, Trachsel and Abbühl, Fischli and Stock, E. Burckhardt, and Alfred Roth. He became acquainted with Sigfried Giedion and was introduced to the artistic avant-garde of Zurich and Paris by Giedion's wife, the art historian Carola Welcker-

⁶⁹Van Eyck, "Statement against Rationalism," in *A New Decade of Architecture*, 37.

⁷⁰Van Eyck's thinking at the time is revealed in three texts he wrote between 1947 and 1951. The first, presented at CIAM 6, was titled, "Report concerning the Interrelation of the Plastic Arts and the Importance of Cooperation [1947]" (CIAM 42-SG-9-85/90), shows his intellectual debt to Carla Welcker and of Giedion's "new consciousness" and his belief in the importance of the "synthesis of the arts." The second essay, "Wij ontdekken stijl," published in *Forum* 2-3 (1949): 115-116, defines what he meant by his concept of style, which he introduced in his CIAM 6 report. It was later published in English under the title "We Discover Style," *Journal of the Royal Architecture Institute of Canada* (July 1950): 216. The last essay, entitled "Statement against Rationalism," is a condensed version of his first report to the CIAM 6 congress which was published in its proceedings, *A Decade of New Architecture* (Zurich: Girsberger, 1951): 37. This essay develops van Eyck's notion of style as being an awareness of the new consciousness and in a manifesto-like tone declared an avant-garde role for CIAM. Van Eyck also shared Giedion's notion of history as expressed in *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941; 1949): "To split past, present, and future [is] heresy, like cleaving the Son from the Father and the Holy Ghost (a heresy far less serious!)" (Aldo van Eyck to Sigfried Giedion, 28 June 1948 [CIAM 43-K-1948-6-28]).

⁷¹For Aldo van Eyck's early life and intellectual formation, see Francis Strauven, *Aldo Van Eyck: The Shape of Relativity* (Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura, 1998), 13-99.

Giedion. Her work found resonance in van Eyck's personal culture which was rooted in the pantheism he had absorbed from his father and in the course of his anti-authoritarian upbringing. Carola Welcker's dominant world view was that everything was the consequence of the schism between subject and object. What was necessary was to demolish facades, knock the subject from its pedestal, and unite subject and object on an equal footing.⁷² Carola Welcker had converted van Eyck to the idea of a "new consciousness" manifest in many disciplines--"several painters and sculptors, several poets and composers, several historians and scientists, several sociologists and individuals in general"⁷³--as well as in the architecture of Nieuwe Bouwen, CIAM, La Nouvelle Realité, and Esprit Nouveau. This new consciousness obliged them to "employ a completely new scale of values,"⁷⁴ shifting from autonomous objects to the relations between things;⁷⁵ the "limited effects" of a particular form to the essential components of reality; from common sense to imagination; from a Rationalist approach to a synthetic one. Shortly after the war ended, van Eyck returned to Holland and, on the recommendation of Giedion, secured a job with van Eesteren at the Amsterdam Urban Development Section. He first worked on the Amsterdam General Extension Plan, but found it difficult to reconcile himself to the additive open-planning methods that he was expected to apply to the planning of housing estates. He preferred a clearer articulation of urban spaces. He was nominated by van Eesteren to membership in the Amsterdam-based De 8. Van Eyck's exposure to the thinking of Sigfried Giedion and Carola Welcker's notion that the artistic avant-garde represented the true expressions of the new world view, combined with his less than satisfying experience with the functional-city approach to planning being practiced under van Eesteren, informed the position he expressed at CIAM 6.

Van Eyck came to CIAM 6 influenced by the non-idealist philosophy of his father and Carola Welcker-Giedion and espousing skepticism toward Rationalism.⁷⁶ His critique of

⁷²On the subject of Carola Welcker's idea of the avant-garde and its role, see Strauven, *Aldo van Eyck*, 76-87.

⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴Ibid., 88-89.

⁷⁵A quotation at the top of van Eyck's report to CIAM 6 by De Stijl painter Piet Mondrian expresses the key idea about the contemporary condition as van Eyck perceived it at the time: "The culture of particular forms is approaching its end. The culture of determined relations has begun" (Ibid., 89).

⁷⁶Van Eyck's response to Giedion's description of humankind achieving a state of "equipoise"-- i.e., an ability to balance forces often regarded as irreconcilable: the rational and the irrational, tradition (the past) and exploration of the unknown (the future)--was that it was "simply fantastic." The concept represented a new position and too little of the essence of *Mechanization Takes Command* had been incorporated into

excessive reason and ultimately of Rationalism at a philosophical level brought into question the pseudo-pragmatic and analytic approach of CIAM's functional planning methodology. He achieved this critique through his theoretical notion of style. "Style" as defined by van Eyck did not refer to the formal articulation of an object, but represented the notion of the consciousness of their day. The new consciousness that had been identified by the avant-garde artists at the beginning of the 20th century was now dormant everywhere. The revelation of style, i.e., of the consciousness of the day, was, van Eyck argued, the primary object of all art, but especially of modern architecture which had the responsibility of expressing this consciousness or style of the epoch. Including a quotation by Gerrit Rietveld in his report, van Eyck saw the consciousness of the day as involving a focus on what held people together rather than on what separated them.⁷⁷ In short, he argued for adopting an attitude that did not favor either pole in a dialectic, but occupied the "in between,"⁷⁸ which explains his simultaneous support and criticism of CIAM's principles and provides the key to the theoretical position that he would develop over the next decade.

The MARS group also raised issues that reflected the new spirit of the day at the first CIAM congress since the war. People were no longer living in a hierarchical social system, and they were striving to achieve an egalitarian social organization.⁷⁹ For the first time in history the real patron of architecture was the common man, and the duty of modern architecture was to provide him with a suitable means of expression. In a questionnaire the group prepared for CIAM 6, MARS raised questions about the degree to which popular opinion should influence the work of the architect, the role of the individual mind versus team work, and the extent to which sociological research was required to set the program of an architect properly. J.M. Richards raised the question of what the architect could do to provide the missing link between his own experiments and the "frustrated wishes" of the public to participate in them, which in turn raised the question of the role of the architect vis-a-vis the man in the street. Richards suggested that historical continuity was a way that they could give the "ordinary man" something in which he could participate. In addition to this

the new CIAM aims (Postcard from Aldo van Eyck to Sigfried Giedion, 28 June 1948 [CIAM 42-K-1948-6-28]).

⁷⁷Gerrit Rietveld: "For the coming styl [*sic*] that which people have in common is more important than their differences" (Van Eyck, "Interrelation of the Plastic Arts," 90).

⁷⁸Van Eyck, "Statement against Rationalism," in *A New Decade of Architecture*, 37.

⁷⁹J.M. Richards, "Architectural Expression," paper given at CIAM 6, Bridgwater, England, September 1947 (CIAM 42-JT-X-3), 25.

decidedly bottom-up approach, Richards thought that the humanization of modern architecture could only be achieved by returning to some kind of regionalism, using local materials and incorporating traditional forms appropriate to climate and custom. He favored preserving and even intensifying local character rather than destroying it. Richards deplored the "dehumanizing techniques" currently in use and wanted to reintroduce into the urban landscape "the human qualities -- the contrasts, variety and individuality -- that were in danger of being lost."⁸⁰ Echoing the sociological and geographically-based thinking of Patrick Geddes, he declared that the "dehumanizing techniques" of modern town planning could be countered by emphasizing the historical continuity of a town by giving the common man a role in its growth over time.⁸¹

A recognition of the need to suspend the desires and needs of the masses was also voiced by Polish CIAM members Helena and Szymon Syrkus, and the German realists Hans Schmidt and Mart Stam. Humanizing architecture for these architects meant reinstating the social agenda, but they understood that this social agenda would be very different from the one conceived before the war in that it had to be based on the needs of the masses. In a statement written by the Syrkuses and co-signed by Schmidt and Stam it was declared that the social responsibility of architects and allied professions was to "coordinate their work with the tasks arising from the material and spiritual needs of the working masses."⁸²

The sentiments of a large contingent of the members at CIAM 6 was that architecture ought to be an activity directed at organizing communities. The Swedish group put forward the idea of the "neighborhood unit," the American group proposed "community development" as being an important aim for modern architecture, and the Polish group suggested that the theme of neighborhood planning should be a possible subject for the next congress. Bakema's soon to be partner J. H. van den Broek (1898-1978) felt that they had not only to provide technical performance in community planning, but also to establish "human values" at every scale from dwelling, building, neighborhood, to town and region.⁸³ Sert also discussed the idea of decentralized neighborhood units as an equivalent expression at the local level of the larger civic center of the city.

⁸⁰J.M. Richards, "Contemporary Architecture and the Common Man," in *A New Decade of Architecture*, 33.

⁸¹J.M. Richards, "Architectural Expression," 25.

⁸²Helena and Szymon Syrkus, "Statement by the CIAM," 16 October 1946; translation 28 December 1946 (CIAM 42-JLS-11-25).

⁸³J.H. van den Broek, "Aims of CIAM. Trial to Precise 4 & 5," handwritten note (CIAM 42-JLS-7-17).

In the course of this first meeting after the war it became clear to some that CIAM needed to break down barriers, broaden membership, and cultivate awareness of the influence of modern architecture outside Europe. Some recognized the need to broaden the agenda of modern architecture. Members were no longer content merely to set standards for the physical needs of their constituency, or discover the formal means to accommodate standardization and the industrial production of housing to architecture; they needed to express the spiritual needs of the masses. These spiritual needs were not in the idealized and abstract realm of Giedion's aesthetic experience, but in meeting real cultural, political, and social conditions of their time. This attitude was merely a reiteration of the modern ethic demanding that they be of their day, which, in the postwar context, some saw as expressing a democratic spirit of individual choice, liberty, and cooperation, and accommodating social relationships in the community.

Other members had a more practical agenda. The executive members of CIAM-- Corbusier, Giedion, Gropius and Sert--realized that they needed to participate in the reconstruction and that effective implementation required the clearest possible representation of what they advocated be made to the authorities concerned.⁸⁴ This required popularizing their principles, establishing contacts with local groups and with the authorities, and promoting useful legislation. Even though planning had been handed the additional role of organizing community life and looking at the social implications of technology,⁸⁵ they still regarded this as falling within the original categories of dwelling, work place, and recreation.⁸⁶ For the old guard, in short, the principles had already been established, the task of CIAM was now to pave the way for the practical application of these principles in each country. They were also convinced that they already had a method for planning. All that was needed was to fight the battle for implementing it, and that the youngre ought to do it.

At this first meeting CIAM founders also had to come to terms with changed personal and institutional circumstances. Before the war, CIAM had been a working organization and a close association of colleagues. The themes or subjects chosen for its congresses were selected by CIRPAC which also organized the congresses, but the projects brought to the congress were represented by the membership at large, which then discussed them in a

⁸⁴"Notes on CIAM Statutes" (CIAM 42-JT-5-683/684).

⁸⁵Commission I, "Reaffirmation of the Aims of CIAM" (CIAM 42-JT-X-3), published in *A New Decade of Architecture*, 16-17.

⁸⁶Ibid.

general forum and published the results. After the war CIAM found itself with a younger, larger, and nationally more diverse membership than before. Outside Europe, modern architecture had been developing even during the war, and with it a growing awareness that needs and means differed with different national contexts. CIAM was receiving requests from its constituent groups to study a broader range of concerns.⁸⁷ But underlying this seeming diversity were consistencies. Although André Wogenscky, a member of the French CIAM group ASCORAL, claimed that he could see no underlying continuity, he also maintained that unity had to exist--it was simply a matter of finding it.⁸⁸ MARS member Mark Hartland Thomas, on the other hand, saw a striking similarity in the views held by the members, even though they came from all over the world; ideas, it seemed, developed along parallel lines in spite of the scarcity of contact.⁸⁹

The CIAM leadership also had to decide what to do with the increasing number of younger members and students now attending their congresses. Before the war, members were certainly aware that a younger generation would someday have to take over if CIAM was to maintain its role as an avant-garde organization.⁹⁰ But now that they were there, they found themselves in an organization where young and old alike were questioning whether CIAM could even be called avant-garde in the new postwar circumstances. In *Plan*, the journal of the Architectural Association in London, two young architects of the London-based Architect's Co-Partnership, Oliver Cox and Leo Desyllas, wrote:

In the quiet eighteenth century air of Bridgwater it was difficult to see Le Corbusier and Gropius as products of our age. . . . The prophets of La Sarraz are still with us; if their stature appeared to be diminished it was only because ten years of our own growth in the accelerated conditions of war have passed. Intellectually they still dominate our professional world, but the post-war period must be a period of total achievement, as well as prophecy.⁹¹

Although the founding members were still in power, the future generation of modern architects doubted their effectiveness. Even the senior members themselves acknowledged

⁸⁷J. L. Sert, Introduction to the Opening Session, in "English Report of CIAM 7, 1949 at Bergamo, Italy" (CIAM 42-JT-4-1/88: 1051-2, 1051-3); "Notes on the CIAM Statutes as Revised by the Sixth Congress at Bridgwater, 1947" (CIAM 42-JT-5-683/684).

⁸⁸André Wogenscky, "Directives for the Agenda," CIRPAC Meeting, May 1947 (RIBA GoE 314/2).

⁸⁹Mark Hartland Thomas, "Report of CIAM 6, Bridgwater, 1947," in *A Decade of New Architecture*, 10.

⁹⁰Eduard Sekler in conversation with author, 11 February 1999, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

⁹¹A. Cox and L. Desyllas, "CIAM Congress, 1947," *Plan* 1 (1948): 13; quoted in Mumford, *CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 179.

that they did not understand the conditions that the younger generation regarded as necessary to pursue, and directed their attention instead to new teaching posts and large commissions. There was also a middle generation, but, with the notable exception of Ernesto Rogers, it appeared to be uninspired and lacking in critical distance from its architectural elders.

These new conditions called for some rearrangements. Those who attended the CIRPAC meeting in Zurich in May 1947 invited young members to the meeting and at CIAM 6 the need to open the doors more widely--especially to its younger members, was reiterated.⁹² Local CIAM groups were to enlist students and young practitioners as members, along with allied technicians and others professionals intimately concerned with architecture and town planning--artists, sociologists, biologists, economists, lawyers, surveyors, and engineers.⁹³ Although the subject of expanding the membership was again brought up at several subsequent congresses, CIRPAC did not seem eager to encourage younger members to come, despite repeated suggestions to do so, especially by the British group MARS and by the Dutch CIAM, represented by the Amsterdam-based group De 8 and the Rotterdam-based group Opbouw. The Dutch CIAM members were so emphatic on the point that at a CIRPAC meeting in Zurich in May 1947 Giedion complained of the "difficulties" they were causing.⁹⁴

Eventually the leadership chose a group of young members to work alongside the older ones, as the Dutch CIAM group had done, which accounts for the presence of the young Dutch architects Jacob B. Bakema and Aldo van Eyck at CIAM 6, the first post-war congress. The MARS group had added William Howell (1922-1974), a Cambridge University graduate trained at the Architectural Association as a young member in 1952, and in 1953 he nominated the by then already famous young architects of the Hunstanton School (designed in 1949) the husband-and-wife team of Alison and Peter Smithson. Le Corbusier chose the Greek architect Georges Candilis, who was working in his office at the time, though not in the collegial relationship adopted by the Dutch group, but as the "youth representative" for ASCORAL. But among the senior members, it was really only Sert who recognized and acknowledged the need to bring the younger generation into the fold so they could have faith

⁹²Arthur Ling, "Summary of Report" (CIAM 42-RV-X-6-18) and "1947, Bridgwater, England" (CIAM 42-JT-2-7).

⁹³"Statutes of the International Congresses for Modern Architecture. Revised in accordance with decision of the Sixth Congress taken at Bridgwater, England, 13 September, 1947" (CIAM 42-JT-5-685/686).

⁹⁴Sigfried Giedion to Le Corbusier, 7 June 1947 (CIAM 43-K-1947-6-7, 6).

in CIAM and draw inspiration from its ideas.⁹⁵

After CIAM 6 it also became increasingly clear that the founding members were no longer in need of an institution to debate and promote modern architecture. They began to hold teaching posts and would use the classroom as their forum; their practices and reputations were well established and busy with large projects of reconstruction; and the battle for modern architecture had been won. Their attention was elsewhere. But the desire to widen the scope of modern architecture expressed at CIAM 6 had set the stage for the themes and issues that would be elaborated and articulated over the next ten years.

⁹⁵J.L. Sert, Introduction to "English Report of CIAM 7, 1949, at Bergamo, Italy" (CIAM 42-JT-4-1/88), 1051-2.

CHAPTER III.

CRITICISM OF CIAM AND ITS PLANNING METHODS, 1949-1951

CIAM 7: Problems with the CIAM 'Grid'

CIAM 7 is often referred to as the "grid" congress by CIAM and scholars alike is understandable given that the published invitation to the congress¹ and the documentation of the proceedings emphasize this aspect of the discussions.² However, although the congress was meant to be devoted to the implementation of the functional approach to city planning, further examination of the archival material about the congress reveal that in fact CIAM 7 turned out to be the occasion for the harshest criticism to date of that approach, particularly by the Italian delegation.

ASCORAL, under the leadership of Le Corbusier, were made responsible for organizing CIAM 7. The grid was an idea developed by Le Corbusier and his group ASCORAL as a method for organizing the information of the congresses and to facilitate comparison between projects.

The CIAM Grid created by ASCORAL has been adopted by this Council of CIAM and will be employed by all participants in the 7th Congress. The CIAM Grid is a modern tool of planning: a tool of *Analysis*, of *Synthesis*, of *Presentation* and of *Reading* of a Theme. . . . Each group designated will do well to accept, in a spirit of friendly and necessary discipline, the role that is assigned to it, and not request its modification, except in a case of absolute

¹*Programme du 7ème Congrès CIAM. Mise en application de la Charte d'Athenes* (Boulogne: L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui, 1948).

²Published records of CIAM: the most comprehensive compilation is *CIAM 7 Documents, Bergamo, 1949* (Nendeln: Krauss Reprint, 1979); "Les acts officiels du VII^e CIAM," *Metron* 33/34 (September/October 1949): 49-72, is an edited version of the Nendeln compilation in which some reports such as those of sub-committee Ib and report B from commission II are not included; *Programme du 7ème Congrès CIAM. Mise en application de la Charte d'Athenes* (Boulogne: L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui, 1948). The important unpublished documents pertaining to the Bergamo Congress are: Italian-CIAM, "CIAM 7 Documents, Bergamo 1949" (CIAM, 42-X-116), hereafter referred to as Italian Report of CIAM 7. This is a "strictly confidential" collection of papers circulated among members after CIAM 7 where many of these documents appear, not in the form that circulated at the congress, but one subsequently altered by the presidents of the commissions. "English Report of CIAM 7, 1949 at Bergamo, Italy" (CIAM, 42-JT-4-1/88), hereafter referred to as "English Report of CIAM 7" is a collection of documents relating to CIAM 7 compiled by Jaqueline Tyrwhitt which includes some papers presented to various commissions that are not in the Nendeln publication. Other accounts of this congress include: "Summary of the VIIth CIAM Conference at Bergamo, Italy: 1949" (CIAM, 42-JT-5-819/823); and Jaqueline Tyrwhitt et al., "CIAM 7" (RIBA, GoE/312).

necessity.³

The ASCORAL organizers intended to use the congress solely to present the grid and to have the CIAM membership ratify it as "a real tool of work" and an epistemological framework for implementing the planning principles of the charter. In this respect Bergamo was the last big celebration of Corbusian urbanism.

The first round of information sent out to the CIAM groups by ASCORAL suggested that the congress would have two main themes: the Le Corbusier-led topic of the "Athens Charter in Practice," and Giedion's favorite theme, the "Synthesis of the Major Arts," which he had raised at the Bridgwater congress.⁴ These official intentions were then narrowed in the invitation to the congress itself issued by ASCORAL, which mentioned only "The Athens Charter in Application," subdivided into two seemingly distinct categories: "Planning" and "Aesthetics."⁵ In the record of its preparations there is no evidence that at its meeting in Paris in March 1948 ASCORAL even considered bringing up the new themes introduced at CIAM 6, such as the concerns of the MARS group over the aspirations of the common man.

The CIAM grid organized town planning projects on 21 x 33 cm panels, each panel dealing with a series of themes, which were expressed vertically, and relating to various functions, which were expressed horizontally. The functions were color coded: green for living, red for work, blue for recreation, yellow for circulation, and white for miscellaneous. The panels could be arranged in different ways to facilitate comparison (fig. 1). The grid was touted as a "thinking tool during inception," as a check list of relevant considerations, as a method of presenting and transmitting information in a graphic manner, and as a time saver. As a method of presentation, therefore, it dictated the way one thought about the city. In its usefulness as a tool for implementing the Charter of Athens, however, it forced a particular structure of thinking about the city because it required planners to organize the city along analytical lines--color coding could not be used if the functions were integrated. They conceived of it as being the logical outcome from the Charter of Athens that had provided CIAM with the principles for modern urbanism: the grid was to provide the tool for its

³*Programme du 7^{me} Congrès CIAM*, 2.

⁴The questionnaire prepared by Giedion and Arp in December 1946 was modified at CIAM 6 at Bridgwater in September 1947, and then condensed by Giedion and Arp in May 1949, just before CIAM 7, at which time they added two questions about the contemporary condition. "Questionnaire on Synthesis of Architecture, Painting and Sculpture," in "Report of Committee II, CIAM 7, July 24-26, 1949" (CIAM, 42-JT-2-468/469); French version (CIAM, 42-JT-7-304) and Italian CIAM Report of CIAM 7.

⁵Mumford, *CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 180.

realization.⁶

CIAM 7 was held at Bergamo, Italy, on 22-31 July 1949. At the congress, use of the grid was presented as a *fait accompli*. As implied by the invitation, the members who attended seem to have convened with the understanding that "the principles of town planning had been established after CIAM 4 and that the task of CIAM 7 was to discuss the application of these principles and to define the essential constituents of a town plan."⁷

To further ensure that the grid would remain the focus of the Bergamo congress, ASCORAL had also assigned two of the total of six commissions at this congress to subjects pertaining to the realization of the doctrines of the Charter of Athens. Commission I, with Le Corbusier as president and José Luis Sert as vice-president, was divided into three subcommissions which considered the application of the Athens Charter from different perspectives: Commission Ia, comprising a large contingent of Italian CIAM members, was to concern itself with a statement on the resolution of present urban problems; commission Ib with the method of presentation by which they could realize the Athens Charter; and commission Ic with how CIAM could disseminate the Athens Charter in other publications.⁸ Corbusian urbanism, conceived of in terms of a unified town-planning scheme to be achieved by putting land into the hands of public authorities, was also promoted at the meeting.⁹ A new Commission V was formed to study whether or not each country had legislative and administrative conditions that would allow the implementation of the imperatives of "modern

⁶The grid was developed by Le Corbusier and the ASCORAL group in France: Alarent, Aujame, Bodiansky, Bouxin, Chereau, Dayre, Duboin, Hyacinthe Dubreuil, Jeanneret, Frederic Joliot-Curie, Le Lionnais, Mazet, André Sive, Dr. Pierre Winter, Wogensky, Candilis, and some students. For a discussion of the grids, see Eric Mumford, *CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 182.

⁷Report of Committee Ia, "Essentials of Town Planning" (CIAM, 42-JT-7-122/125); complete French version in Italian Report of CIAM 7; edited French version of "Resolutions" in "Les actes officiels du VII^e CIAM," 55-56.

⁸Commission Ia: "The Application of the Charter of Athens," Steiger (president); participants included Candilis, Denys Lasdun, and several Italian members--Peressutti, Samonà, F. Albini, Bottoni, and Gardella. Commission Ib: "Other Methods of Presentation of Urban Problems," van Eesteren (president), Steiger (vice-president); commission of newer members, Bakema, Albini, Senn, and Candilis. Commission Ic: "Publication CIAM," J. L. Sert (president), members Enrico Peressutti and Max Bill (Switzerland). CIAM President J.L. Sert reminded the congress that at the last congress, commission Ic had agreed to publish a book directed at students that would "vulgarize" the Charter of Athens, by showing how it had been applied in the past and in the present. J.L. Sert, "Séance plénière de la 1^{ère} Commission," sub-commission Ic, in "Les actes officiels du VII^e CIAM," 55. The book was never published.

⁹Commission Ia, "The Essentials of Town Planning," 2, 4.

urbanism" and its legislative system.¹⁰

The published resolutions of commission I, headed by Le Corbusier, only record the discussion relating to the functional city,¹¹ even though the commission also made recommendations for hierarchically grouping and integrating functions, much as Le Corbusier was doing in his Unité d'Habitation housing project under construction at the time of the congress.¹² The published reports declared that in the new urbanism psychological and physical factors were inseparable. To accommodate both, the sun was to govern the orientation of the dwelling, and settlements would be kept at a readable scale. Le Corbusier proposed unities and the hierarchical grouping and some integration of functions, using his Unité d'Habitation as an example of a development that was equipped with social services and public facilities for administration, shopping, entertainment, meetings, hospitals, and sports. Each quarter would consist of a group of these *unités* with their common services forming a secondary administrative unit.

Although commission I insisted that the principles of the charter were recognized around the world,¹³ many CIAM members were of the opinion that CIAM planning had, in practice, been a failure and that this had to be acknowledged. The methods promoted by the Charter of Athens had had some influence, but as Ignazio Gardella, who supported the validity of the charter's methods, remarked, they had to recognize that after sixteen years few plans using its principles and methods had been realized.¹⁴ Commission II felt that "architectural development in the spirit of CIAM has not been as rapid as one might have hoped. Indeed in certain countries a reaction seems to have set in."¹⁵ Helena Syrkus had concluded from the book, *Ten Years of CIAM: 1937-47* (1951), which CIAM was in the process of preparing at the time, that most of its works were disappointing,¹⁶ and excuses

¹⁰Commission V: "The Industrialisation of Building, Legal and Administrative Changes Needed for the Implementation of the Athens Charter, with Marcel Lods (president) and Ben Merkelbach (vice-president) and including members from the French groups: Menkes, Bodiensky, P. Jeanneret, among others.

¹¹"Résolution de la 1ère Commission," in "Les actes officiels du VIIe CIAM," 55-56.

¹²Commission Ia, "Compte-rendu de la séance de la sous commission Ia," 25 July 1949 (CIAM, 42-JT-14-93).

¹³"Résolution de la 1ère Commission," in "Les actes officiels du VIIe CIAM," 56.

¹⁴Ignazio Gardella, "Séance de clôture," in *ibid.*, 71.

¹⁵"Report B" in "Report of Committee II, The Collaboration of the Architect, Painter and Sculptor," 24-26 July 1949 (CIAM, 42-JT-2-468/469); French version in Italian Report of CIAM 7.

¹⁶Syrkus is probably referring to *CIAM: A Decade of New Architecture*. Syrkus, "Painting, Sculpture and Architecture," open session on the inter-relation of the arts, Commission 2, edited version in "Les actes officiels du VIIe CIAM," 59-60.

were provided for this perceived failure. Commission II blamed the inadequacy of the effort made to explain their method to architects and planners and to authorities who were either too ignorant or too subject to political mandates to satisfy the desires of the common man.¹⁷ Le Corbusier's explanation was that land had not been placed under the control of the authorities, so there was no possibility of disposing of it in the interests of the general public, a highhanded attitude that contrasted with the newly emerging conviction among CIAM members that ineffectiveness should be tackled by first considering how the CIAM plan and CIAM architects and planners could readjust their theories to accommodate the needs of reality and involve the common man in the planning process. The Dutch and British CIAM groups in particular also thought that architects should involve the public in municipal planning.¹⁸

The criticism that CIAM was ineffective was extended to the Charter of Athens itself. Helena Syrkus declared that even though it was time for them "to pass from the Athens Charter into reality," the moment for revising CIAM's work had arrived.¹⁹ Although Gardella agreed with Le Corbusier that in order to implement plans according to the Charter of Athens, land must be placed at their disposal because the plans were inconsistent with the actual division of land, he also thought that the plans were too rigid and did not take into account the values of nature and man, differences between societies, and change over time. He felt that CIAM ought to affirm the need for a flexible urbanism and that an urban plan ought to take into account the "fourth dimension"--that is, time--to give the architect the freedom needed to adhere to all the givens of the social milieu that exist at the time of the project.²⁰

Commission II, which had been assigned the synthesis of the arts, also supported "the legitimate demands for something beyond a purely utilitarian functionalism that can satisfy emotional needs, and give joy and relaxation" to the common man.²¹ Sert understood the

¹⁷Commission II Report, "The Collaboration of the Architect, Painter and Sculptor," 24-26 July 1949 (CIAM, 42-JT-2-468/469).

¹⁸For Arthur Ling, in this century the coordination of the design process had to occur "on more democratic lines" with state and municipal authorities representing the community at large. Arthur Ling, "Satisfying Human Needs at the Core," in *The Heart of the City*, J.L. Sert, Ernesto Rogers, Jaqueline Tyrwhitt (London: Lund Humphries, 1952), 96.

¹⁹Syrkus, "Les actes officiels du VIIe CIAM," 59.

²⁰Gardella and Albini, "Séance de clôture," "Les actes officiels du VIIe CIAM," 71-72.

²¹"Report B" in "Report of Committee II, The Collaboration of the Architect, Painter and Sculptor," 24-26 July 1949 (CIAM, 42-JT-2-468/469); French version in Italian CIAM Report of CIAM 7.

commission's concern with the synthesis of the arts, which had been introduced by Giedion at Bridgewater, as being a response by CIAM members that they were being limited by the "rigid framework of 'functional' architecture."²² His opening speech reflected his commitment to CIAM thinking, but it also showed that he was aware of the limits of the CIAM method in dealing with national and local contexts in using too rigid a framework. In his view the implementation of the Athens Charter in town planning was questioning the international applicability of the work of CIAM 4 (1933) and CIAM 5 (1937); they now had to determine the effectiveness of the system in very different national and local contexts. In his view, Commission I ought to examine, analyze, and compare examples of planning projects that had been implemented using the principles of the Athens Charter in various countries under various local conditions that had required widely different solutions, in order to find out the degree to which it had been possible to apply the principles of the Athens Charter in a variety of situations.²³

Gardella, Albini, and van Eesteren supported the use of the grid as a valid and useful tool or method of presentation, though van Eesteren thought it needed to be modified,²⁴ but what was not reported in the official publication was the sharp criticism of the Corbusian method of town planning that came from sub-commission Ib, led by van Eesteren as president and Swiss CIAM member Rudolf Steiger as vice-president. This sub-commission was composed primarily of Dutch members including Jacob Bakema, Opbouw member and municipal civil servant Dr. Wim van Bodegraven, and town planner for the reconstruction of Rotterdam Lotte Stam-Beese;²⁵ it also had two other Swiss members Otto Senn and Werner Moser; Georges Candilis (ASCORAL), the young Greek protégé of Le Corbusier attending CIAM for the first time, was also a member.

Sub-commission Ib believed that the grid did not function successfully as a working method for clarifying a great number of important problems because a few fundamental questions about the aims of urbanism had still to be addressed before a presentation device could even be developed. They criticized the method as being too abstract and questioned

²²J.L. Sert, "Introduction. Open Session," in "English Report of CIAM 7," 1051-5.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Gardella and Albini, "Séance de clôture," in "Les actes officiels du VIIe CIAM," 72; Van Eesteren, "Séance plénière de la 1ère Commission," sub-commission Ib, in *ibid.*, 54.

²⁵Lotte Stam-Beese (1903-1988) was a member of the De 8 CIAM group in Amsterdam. In 1946, after having worked in the Soviet Union, she began working as planner and architect at the Dienst van Stadsontwikkeling for the reconstruction of Rotterdam. That same year she joined Opbouw, contributing and participating in all the postwar congresses including CIAM'59 in Otterlo.

whether the method of dividing cities by function "ignored realities," was too rigid, and left certain districts in "danger of being sacrificed to an excessive schematization."²⁶ Adding to this criticism was that of the members of sub-commission Ic, in the unpublished version of their report, warned against idealizing the presentation of a project using the CIAM grid.²⁷ They wanted a simpler method which was not so rigid and tiring but "simple, varied, and lively." Instead of classifying a city solely by function, they proposed a classification by integrated communities of increasing scale: quarter, sector, metropolis and region. It was only under these categories that they would be willing to code the city by color. The published version of this report, however, included neither their proposal nor their reservations about the grid, aside from the caution against idealizing a project when this method of presentation was used. It consisted instead of a selection of comments by van Eesteren, Candilis, Kloos, and Albini, all more or less favorably judging the grid's usefulness.

A more synthetic method of work and a more complex image of the city emerged in the reports prepared by sub-commissions Ia and Ib. The attitude developed by these sub-commissions for synthesizing the elements of urban life was accompanied by the argument that modern architecture ought to provide greater differentiation in housing types so it could respond to a greater range of specific physical conditions and changes over time. Sub-commission Ia, in particular, produced a report entitled, "Essentials of Town Planning,"²⁸ whose main theme was the integration of social functions into some sort of unity. The commission expressed this idea architecturally in the "neighborhood unit," which was based on the premise that integrating functions into units would better accommodate social life, and that this social life was to occur at various scales from the "living unit" to the "social unit" to the "neighborhood unit." Planning should provide different types of dwellings for different types of families and be able to accommodate change and to adapt to the natural features of the site. They believed that the social and spiritual needs of the people could be achieved by integrating some of the functions of town planning -- living, work, recreation, and circulation -- into the units, e.g., "the living unit" would have a mixture of horizontal and vertical building types; "the social unit" was to include all the obvious public facilities (shopping;

²⁶Report of Sub-commission Ib (Ahlberg, Bakema, van Bodegraven, Brechbuhler, Hoechel, W. Moser, Quétant, Schmidt, Schütte-Lihotzky, Senn, Stam-Beese), July 1949, in Italian Report of CIAM 7; Report of Sub-commission Ib, 26 July 1949 (CIAM, 42-JT-17-113).

²⁷Schmidt, responding to report of Sub-commission Ib, in "Les actes officiels du VIIe CIAM," 54.

²⁸ Committee 1a, "Essentials of Town Planning," 1053-1, -4.

cultural, recreational and public services); and the neighborhood unit," the secondary unit of administration, consisting of a number of "living units," would have its own common services. They cited Le Corbusier's Unité at Marseilles as an example of living units which made full use of communal services and the Olivetti project in Ivrea by an Italian group, presented by Olivetti architect Luigi Figini (1903-1984) with Gino Pollini (b.1903), for providing housing and communal services for industrial workers connected with the Olivetti typewriter factory that had worked out the problems of site layout in relation to sunshine and open space.²⁹

While many projects presented at Bergamo involved replanning or extending towns, generally using a functional approach, other examples of integrative thinking were presented by the English and Dutch. Town planner Frederick Gibberd presented the Mark I New Town of Harlow, near London, for which he had been an adviser and which was organized into groups of "sub-neighborhoods," each with a school and a few shops; these were in turn grouped into neighborhood units with a community center and town center with open spaces containing administrative buildings, shops, and civic buildings. Dutch CIAM presented one of its plans, the Pendrecht I project, to demonstrate the point (fig. 2). It had been generated from the premise that essential features of social life should be accommodated and both the independence and unity of different religious and political groups provided for. The project developed a range of dwelling types to suit different family compositions with an elasticity of layout that allowed for further development.

The Italians contributed a cultural argument. A project for the island of Elba by the Italian firm Banfi, Beligioso, Peressutti, and Rogers (BBPR) was presented by Enrico Peressutti as an example of developing housing types that would conform to the local scene, which had been ruined by recent constructions³⁰, and accommodate changing needs: the "traditional house plan does not allow for the changed conditions of life that have arisen from our present economic situation, and which lie at the core of current town planning needs." Gardella also concurred that urban plans ought to take time into account and provide the necessary flexibility to adapt to the givens of the particular milieu in the future and not just as it exists at the moment of the project's conception.³¹

²⁹Sub-commission Ia, "Planning Schemes on Exhibition at Bergamo, in the form of CIAM Grid" (CIAM, 42-JT-4-1/88), 1054-1/2.

³⁰"Notes on Exhibition of Plans," in "The English Report of CIAM 7," 1054-9.

³¹Commission Ia, "Draft Resolutions," in "English Report of CIAM 7," 1053-6. Ignazio Gardella (sub-commission Ia), "Statut du terrain," in "CIAM 7 Bergamo 1949 Documents" (CIAM, 42-JT-17-99).

Alfred Roth's contribution to commission II, which had been assigned the synthesis of the plastic arts, supported a more social, realistic basis for architecture as well as one that was more historically aware. According to Roth, the new architecture was based on the new political values of democracy ("Democracy = Art = Architecture = Life")³² and the need for architecture to relate to things beyond itself. Architecture, in Roth's opinion, had to be part of larger social and spatial units such as the village, the neighborhood, and the town: "the architect can no longer maintain the narrow-minded view that a building stands for itself. All architecture together should be considered as the true expression of social order, in a highly differentiated, individual, and collective life."³³ The new method would be sociological, i.e., based on investigations of social background extended from architecture to town planning.³⁴ As he had stated in *The New Architecture* (1940), the purpose of history was to comprehend and interpret the present in order to arrive at a formulation of the "art of our time."³⁵ History, in Roth's view, was the source of revolution, and he cast artists in the role of revolutionaries because they permitted themselves the liberty of interpreting the conditions of their epoch.³⁶ After the congress Roth also criticized the lack of cultural substance in CIAM's planning agenda.³⁷ This attitude directly opposed to the aesthetic approach of the 'synthesis of the arts' argued by Giedion. As Roth pointed out, 'synthesis of the arts' had already been achieved in the work of the work of the de Stijl group, Le Corbusier, and Frank Lloyd Wright, and therefore CIAM members should occupy themselves instead with questions that were more realistic and direct.³⁸

Roth found resonance for his position. Sert supported Roth's views on the role of history, stressing its importance and effect of history as a means of understanding

³²Alfred Roth, "In Search of a Theory of the New Architecture. Some Basic Aspects," meeting in conjunction with the American Institute of Architects, Central States District Regional Convention, School of Architecture, Washington University, St. Louis, 17 November 1949 (NAi/BAK, or90), 5.

³³The MARS group would introduce a similar division of settlements by scale rather than by function as a working method in later congresses, and younger MARS members Alison and Peter Smithson, John Voelcker and William and Gillian Howell promoted the same ideas through their "Scale of Association" diagram in 1954.

³⁴Roth, "In Search of a Theory of New Architecture," 4.

³⁵Alfred Roth, "Séance plénière de la 2ème Commission: Réforme de l'enseignement de l'architecture et de l'urbanism," in "Les actes officiels du VIIe CIAM," 65.

³⁶Roth, "Séance plénière de la 2ème Commission," *ibid.*, 61.

³⁷Roth, "In Search of a Theory of the New Architecture," 4.

³⁸Alfred Roth, "Séance plénière de la 2ème Commission: 'Rapport des arts plastique,'" in "Les actes officiels du VIIe CIAM," 58.

contemporary life.³⁹ Helena Syrkus also spoke out along the lines of Roth, arguing against mere formalism which she believed created an abyss between art and reality: "Artists detached themselves from life and began to make art for art's sake."⁴⁰ Syrkus said the Polish CIAM group was opposing formalism by conserving in "new Warsaw" links with the built past in the form of traces of streets and squares, in their plan for the city.⁴¹ In eastern Europe where the people had reached the positive phase of their development, pre-war functionalism had been surpassed by traditional and regional legacies. Functionalism had made some positive contributions, such as encouraging the orientation of buildings toward the sun, but she believed that the content has been slowly degraded.⁴² Van Eesteren, like Rogers, took a more mediated stance by stating that they needed to deal with the relation of art to reality. Giedion responded that the discussion by Syrkus and Roth about a realistically based architecture had gone off course and they should return to the problem posed for the arts of taking into account the man on the street using the authentic expressive means of their time.⁴³

The conviction emerging at CIAM 6 and CIAM 7 that modern architecture should deal with the realities of a situation was not limited to the material needs of a program or to a particular function, nor were the projects to be determined solely by the authority and expertise of an architect or planner. There was evidence at the congress that members were moving toward a more realistic, less universalizing architecture that expressed the aspirations of a population and culture.

The spirit of realism that was in evidence at the CIAM 6 congress expressed itself at CIAM 7 in commission VI, which had been assigned to define social programs and encourage the development of planning schemes. It was headed by Helena Syrkus (president) and P.-A. Emery (vice-president). For Emery the solution to the grave urban problems of reconstruction could only be found in the context of a real economic, political, and social

³⁹J.L. Sert, "Items from the General Discussion," in "English Report of CIAM 7," 1073-3.

⁴⁰Helena Syrkus, "Séance plénière de la 2ème Commission: 'Rapport des arts plastiques,'" in "Les actes officiels du VIIe CIAM," 60.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²"Le 'formalisme' de CIAM était positif en son temps, il était une révolte. Il se servait de méthodes analytiques, qui sont des méthodes socialistes. Le fonctionnalisme a trouvé de bonnes choses (ensoleillement, etc.). Mais le contenu s'est abaissé de plus en plus. . . nous n'avons rien d'autre à offrir aux temps des débuts du CIAM et alors on a fait un fétiche de la structure" (ibid., 59).

⁴³Giedion, "Séance plénière de la 2ème Commission: 'Rapport des arts plastiques,'" 60.

harmony.⁴⁴ The commission report stated that a social program for cities would not be effective until individuals become aware of their responsibility towards the community and became involved in it. Before realizing a plan the population has to be educated, which requires the architect and urbanist to take on a new social role. Essential also to the realization of the plan are the study of demographic movements, controlling the allocation of land and dwellings, reform of legislation, safeguarding the unique manifestations of the culture, and integrating this culture into the new mode of life the planners envisage. They recommended that CIAM confront the fact that populations had different natures and lived in a variety of climates and proposed that a permanent commission be set up to examine the actual economic, political and geographic conditions so that the minimal social and economic requirements of these populations could be determined.⁴⁵

Commission Ib expressed this realist attitude when it amended the aims of CIAM as they had been stated at La Sarraz and in the Athens Charter:

The duty of architecture is to (a) be based on the concrete, material, and spiritual conditions valid for a population of a country (b) oppose mechanization and uniformity in the city, the free development of human aspirations; (c) find an architectural expression for the material and spiritual needs of man that are the truly progressive forces of our time.⁴⁶

This statement reveals the desire to deal with the idealism of a universalist approach in favor of one that would deal with the realities of regional difference, the prevailing fear of mechanization and the loss of identity, and addressing the spiritual needs of the populations for whom they were building. The statement also reveals a move away from the architect as expert, to a planning process that included the people who would inhabit these new quarters. A more humane architecture, stated the report of Commission Ia, must consider the interests of those that are being served; architects should not impose techniques, no matter how well intentioned. Fashion cannot be conceived only in the head of the designer, where it would be out of touch with the wishes of those who will inhabit what is being built: as Syrkus put it, "The cities for workers ought to be the work of the workers."⁴⁷ Van Eesteren believed that

⁴⁴P.-A. Emery, "Séance de clôture," in "Les actes officiels du VIIe CIAM," 72.

⁴⁵"6ème Commission: 'Réforme des programmes sociaux'" in *ibid.*, 68-69.

⁴⁶"Report of sub-commission Ib" (Ahlberg, Bakema, van Bodegraven, Brechbuhler, Hoechel, Moser, Quéant, Schmidt, Schutte-Lihotzky, Senn, Stam-Beese), 26 July 1949 (CIAM, 42-JT-17-113); Schmidt, "Séance plénière de la 1ère Commission," sub-commission Ib, in "Les actes officiels du VIIe CIAM," 54.

⁴⁷Syrkus, "Séance plénière de la 1ère Commission," sub-commission Ia, in *ibid.*, 53.

the city must be conceived communally.⁴⁸

A less theoretically rigorous approach than that of Roth and Rogers for creating a more humane architecture was also broached at CIAM 7 in a discussion about city centers. The report by Helena Syrkus for sub-commission Ia states that along with taking into account human scale, differences in social conditions such as the age and stage of a family, creating "human unities" for the pedestrian and the quarter had to be dealt with. The planner had to realize a "human urbanism" that would resist a life devoid of all civic centers and "disurbanize" the city centers that existed.⁴⁹ Sert also admitted the failure of civic centers to act as gathering places.⁵⁰

Criticism of CIAM planning methods at the congress had come in particular from Ernesto Rogers and Ignazio Gardella who demanded a more inclusive modern architecture. As hosts of the congress, the Italian CIAM members were more numerous and played a more conspicuous role than they had done in earlier congresses. They also prepared an "auto-critique," which was read by Enrico Peressutti and signed by two members of his group, Albini and Gardella, along with A. Bonet (Argentina), Iriarte (Colombia), and Wogenscky and Candilis (France). Their criticism of the institution was levelled at the danger, they perceived within CIAM, of losing its working character because members were coming to congresses poorly prepared and the program was overloaded. They suggested that in order to maintain its vitality, CIAM ought to help "the new forces" and, perhaps as a veiled critique of closed CIRPAC meetings and pre-determined directives, maintain a "constant liaison" between congresses.⁵¹

Rogers, and to a lesser degree, Gardella were the source of the criticism against the formalist tendencies of modern architecture as it was practiced in the postwar period. They thought that modernism was being practiced along too narrow lines by addressing either form

⁴⁸Van Eesteren, "Séance plénière de la 2ème Commission," in *ibid.*, 59.

⁴⁹In her view, every statement of the Charter of Athens was political, because places had been deliberately degraded by the capitalist system to avoid giving people the possibility of gathering and protesting against the system. "Il nous manque des centre civiques. . . . Mais les places furent dégradées consciemment par le système capitaliste pour ne pas laisser au peuple de possibilité de se réunir contre le système." Syrkus, "Séance plénière de la 1ère Commission," sub-commission Ia, in *ibid.*, 53; "Séance plénière de la 2ème Commission," in *ibid.*, 59.

⁵⁰"Aujourd'hui nous n'avons plus de ces places [de rassemblement comment l'Agora, Palazzo della Ragione, Versailles] le Times Square à New York par exemples est un simple croisement de rues avec beaucoup de trafic et de bruit. . . ." J.L. Sert, "Séance plénière de la 2ème Commission," sub-commission 2, in *ibid.*, 58.

⁵¹"Constatations--Auto-critique," in *ibid.*, 71.

or program, beauty or utility. Gardella submitted a separate contribution to sub-commission Ia, which said that architecture was "a question of ethics and aesthetics: if one fixes the form, not only should it have its purpose in the interior organism, but it must be a synthesis, a unity of architecture where all the elements are present at the moment in which it is created. Otherwise one is only being academic: it is no longer form, but formalism."⁵² Although Gardella found value in the functional approach, he felt that they should not define the form of the volumes in advance.⁵³ He argued for a modern architecture that responded to the social milieu that existed at the time of the project and for projects that were in harmony with their surroundings.

Rogers had spent the summer of 1939 in La Sarraz where he had first been exposed to CIAM ideas through the moderate, regionally tinted version of Swiss CIAM members Alfred Roth and the painter, architect, sculptor, and graphic artist Max Bill (1908-94), as well as the patron of the first CIAM meeting, Madame Mandrot. As editor of *Domus* magazine in 1946-47 he, along with Bruno Zevi at *Metron*, promoted an anti-formalist ideology that was based on his belief in the usefulness of the history of form and the experience of modern architecture in understanding the present condition, a position not dissimilar to the one proposed by Roth in *The New Architecture*, which was published at that time. Like van Eyck at CIAM 6, Rogers's thinking at the time of CIAM 7 reflected a dislike for dialectical oppositions: modern architecture, he wrote in *Domus*, should rid itself of oppositions like form and function, and beauty and utility by which it had so far defined itself.⁵⁴ He also rejected any working method based on "aprioristic schemes." He conceived of every creation of modern architecture as being a law unto itself, which could not be revealed by predetermined schemes, but only by explaining the ratio established between abstract values, inspired by the truth of numbers, and those human truths dictated by the cruelest necessity which we do not disdain to call inspiring.⁵⁵ He had taken on the magazine to have a forum for himself and others who believed "in a style in architecture and in its contribution to a renewal of society, when matter is mixed, or better identifies itself with the spirit, and utility

⁵²"C'est une question d'éthique et d'esthétique: si on fixe la forme, non seulement elle doit avoir sa raison dans l'organisme intérieur, mais elle doit être la synthèse en unité d'architecture de tous les éléments qui sont présents au moment où elle naît. Autrement on fait seulement de l'académie: ce n'est plus de la forme, mais du formalisme" (Gardella, "Statut de Terrain").

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴Rogers, "Farewell" editorial, *Domus* no. 223-225 (October-December 1947).

⁵⁵Rogers, "Conservation of an Architect," *Domus* no. 218 (April 1947): 1.

with beauty."⁵⁶ Born in 1909, Rogers was positioned by age between the modern masters, most of whom were born in the last two decades of the 19th century, and the younger generation, who were born in the 1920s. He had attended CIAM 5 in Paris along with his partners from BBPR, CIAM delegates Gino Pollini and the Milan architect Piero Bottoni (1903-1973), and other Italian CIAM members Luigi Figini and the Milan architect Pietro Lingeri (1894-1968). He had also attended the first postwar congress at Bridgwater as a new member. By the CIAM 7 congress, he had replaced Pollini and Bottoni on the CIAM Council, president of commission III which was assigned the subject of architectural education, and a member of commission II, assigned the task of developing the discussion begun by Giedion at Bridgwater on the synthesis of the arts.⁵⁷ Between 1953 and 1964 he was editor of the magazine *Casabella-continuità* and would insist on design practice as a methodology instead of formal invention. Influenced by the phenomenological philosophy of Enzo Pace, Rogers affirmed architecture as experience, understanding the modern design in context and in continuity with the work of the masters of the Modern Movement.⁵⁸

As a member of commission II, Rogers submitted a report entitled "Painting, Sculpture and Architecture," in which he defined the "new architecture." The "new architecture" for Rogers was not a transient style, and one that had its source in a "profound cultural conviction."⁵⁹ This "cultural conviction" defined the conditions of their day, which he specified as follows:

For now, barriers that had once seemed watertight have been swept away, our very

⁵⁶Rogers, "Farewell" editorial, 1.

⁵⁷Commission III, "Reforme de l'enseignement de l'architecture et de l'urbanisme" was led by Ernesto Rogers as president and MARS members Jane Drew as vice-president; members were Roth and Werner Moser (Switzerland); Kloos (Holland); Roux and Bodiansky (France); Otto Singer (England); Field (USA); Schutte (Austria); Korsmo (Norway); Leon Stynen (Belgium). Pizano and Gardera (Unesco) attended and Bruzeau (France) was an observer. Commission III, "Rapport. Reforme de l'enseignement de l'architecture et de l'urbanisme," in *Italian Report of CIAM 7*.

⁵⁸For a discussion of Rogers's ideas of "continuity," see Luca Molinari, "Between Continuity and Crisis: History and Project in Italian Architectural Culture of the Postwar Period," *2G3*, no.15 (2000): 4-11. The influence of Pace's philosophy of "life world" on Roger's notion of "tradition," and Roger's idea that form is an expression of tradition is discussed by Jorge Otero-Pailos, in "The Real Thing: Invoking Phenomenology in Architectural Discourse, 1945-1980," Ph.D. diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2000. For a discussion of Rogers in this period, see Sara Protesoni, "The Italian Group and the Modern Tradition," in *Rassegna* 52 (1992): 28; Luca Molinari, "Milano-Tucuman-Buenos Aires-New York-Milano, 1947-1949. Circolarità dei saperi e delle relazioni: il carteggio E.N. Rogers-BBPR," in *Tra guerra e pace: società, cultura e architettura nel secondo dopoguerra* ed. Patriaia Bonifazio, Sergio Pace, Michela Rosso, Paolo Scrivano (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1998), 155-164.

⁵⁹Rogers, "Painting, Sculpture and Architecture," open session on Inter-Relations of the Arts, Commission 2, in "English Report of CIAM 7," 1062-3.

culture itself seems to have become fragmented and lost. . . . The line of demarcation between animal and mineral . . . becomes ever less definite, and relativity has given a new significance to our conceptions of time and space. Even the distinction between matter and spirit has become unclear, and the horizon line dividing them -- here essentially empirical -- is the subject of continuous anxious searching.⁶⁰

Roger's perception about the contemporary situation modern architects were working within was antithetical to an analytical approach. Their epoch, he thought, was marked by the beginning of the large task of "disintegrating" the elements with the intention of creating a unity. But in his view, unity did not emerge from chaos, but from the "ordered relationship of entities, each completely individual in all its own particular attributes."⁶¹

Defining the principles along the lines of the "new architecture" laid out by Roth, Rogers emphasized the need for modern architecture to be based on the cultural conditions in which it found itself. The Italian CIAM members defined the term "cultural" very broadly to include the historical, social, political, and economic conditions of the moment.⁶² The role of the architect, they believed, was to interpret the present, synthesize these factors that defined the cultural milieu of the moment and create something of beauty.⁶³ To counteract modern fragmentation, architects needed to create unity, and architecture should attempt to synthesize aesthetic concerns with the contemporary milieu. Like Van Eyck, Rogers and Gardella both rejected the dialectical oppositions of form and function, beauty and utility which had thus far defined the practice of modern architecture. Consistent with his views in his editorial for *Domus* just before CIAM 7, Rogers argued in the commission II report that "architecture needs all her energies to enrich [man's] daily life with her offering of a synthesis of utility and beauty."⁶⁴ An architecture that did not take into account aspects of the country, region, city, and dwelling unit at the moment of execution and urban plans that did not provide the flexibility needed to allow for changes in the social milieu were academic. They were no longer forms, but formalism.⁶⁵ This anti-formalist notion, which repudiated an architecture that was autonomous, ahistorical, and concerned only with form, was also supported by Gardella who thought that architecture was a question of "ethic and aesthetic."

⁶⁰Ibid., 1062-1.

⁶¹Ibid., 1062-2.

⁶²Commission III, Rogers (president), "Education of the Architect," in "CIAM 7 Documents Bergamo 1949;" "Architectural and Town Planning Education. Report and Discussion on Committee III," in English Report of CIAM 7," 1071-1/7.

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴ibid.; idem, "Farewell" editorial, 1.

⁶⁵Gardella, "Statut du Terrain."

He argued that forms and volumes needed to respond to differences in function but that architects should not define the form of the volumes in advance.⁶⁶

Responding to the debates going on in CIAM was the Italian historian Bruno Zevi, who although himself not a member, joined the chorus of critics. Zevi's criticism of CIAM through his advocacy of a more culturally substantive modern architecture aligned him with Rogers and with the new values for modern architecture argued by Roth in *A New Architecture*. He cited CIAM's ineffectiveness in making connections with international organizations such as Unesco, its lack of "cultural substance" and historical perspective in not including organic architecture along with rationalism as part of its definition of modern architecture. In an article, "Della cultura architettonica: messaggio a Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne," published in the Italian journal *Metron* in 1949,⁶⁷ he attributed CIAM's loss of influence to its inability to integrate itself with other international organizations because, among other things, it was too tied to the architectural mentality of Le Corbusier and Gropius, and consequently underrepresented the anti-rationalist branch--i.e., the "organic" group, the "New Empiricists," and Frank Lloyd Wright's adherents. In addition, he felt that limiting its view to Giedion's "historical perspective" of a classical or biological conception of the history of art had led to a series of other omissions such as the Arts and Crafts movement. Finally he criticized CIAM for its aversion to discussing historical themes; CIAM was threatening to become a "nostalgic monument to the rationalist period."

In preparation for the eighth congress, the predominantly Swiss and Dutch sub-commission Ib issued three reports, all critical of CIAM's urban-planning methods.⁶⁸ They came out against the division of functions, proposing instead integrating and relating functions within neighborhoods and providing differentiated housing types that take demographics into account and reflect the specific cultural character and particular physical features of the city.

Before departing from Bergamo, sub-commissions Ia and b pulled together the ideas for the various plans presented at CIAM 7 and compiled a list of problems for attention at the

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Bruno Zevi, "Della cultura architettonica: messaggio al Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne," *Metron*, 31/32 (1949): 6-11; see Eric Mumford for a discussion of Zevi's critique, *CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 198-200.

⁶⁸Reports prepared by sub-commission Ib, 26 July 1949 (CIAM, 42-JT-17-113); "Rapport définitif de la 1ère Commission. Sous-commission B," 29 July 1949 (CIAM, 42-JT-17-104/105); "Report of Sub-committee Ib," in Italian Report of CIAM 7.

next congress. These included identifying housing types that take into account particularities of the site and variation in social structure; means of integrating new quarters into the existing structure of the city to avoid their isolation; minimizing distance between functions by combining them; accommodating change over time, and providing facilities for "collective life" in a city center.⁶⁹ Both commissions proposed a more organic and complex conception of the city as a single entity with a specific cultural and physical character comprised of differentiated units or elements, a solution that stood in stark contrast to the more aesthetically based ones that had been suggested by ASCORAL in its invitation to the seventh congress: "we must enlarge and enrich the aesthetic language of architecture in order to provide a contemporary means whereby people's emotional needs can find expression in the design of their environment."⁷⁰

It was therefore at Bergamo that members first had to come to terms with the shortcomings of their planning methodology, the state of the postwar world, and the role of the architect in the new reality. As the unpublished documentation reveals, the members spent most of the time, not discussing the grid, but coming to terms with the ineffectiveness of the functional planning methodology in practice. Most of the criticism was aimed at the Charter of Athens and the state of the institution of CIAM itself. The theoretical developments and many of the criticisms of the functional approach that were aired were not included in the publication of the proceedings afterward. Thus, while the published record of the congress makes it seem as if the Corbusian method of town planning had triumphed, the unpublished records show an equal number arguing for a new culturally and historically based architecture and for developing modern planning towards a post-functionalist, post-idealist, anti-formalist conception of the city.

The Dutch members proposed to make the theme of CIAM 8 the "civic core," a proposal which was taken up by MARS, which was given the responsibility for organizing it,⁷¹ much of the preparation of CIAM 8 being done by MARS member Jaqueline Tyrwhitt. The proposal for using the core as the theme also had the immediate approval of Sert, who

⁶⁹Sub-commission Ib, "Rapport définitif de la Ière Commission," 29 July 1949 (CIAM, 42-JT-17-104/105); "Report of Sub-Committee Ib," in Italian Report of CIAM 7.

⁷⁰ASCORAL, "Programme du 7ème Congrès CIAM," back cover.

⁷¹Three drafts of the program were circulated by the MARS group: "MARS Group Proposals for CIAM 8," November 1949 (CIAM, 42-JT-7-76/78), circulated December 1949, received a "wide measure of support," and some amendments made in "Proposals Submitted to the Council of CIAM by the MARS Group," April 1950 (CIAM, 42-JT-7-67/75); the final version, "8th International Congress for Modern Architecture," September 1950 (CIAM, 42-JT-7-126/132).

had had already brought it up at CIAM 7, when he had been the sole supporter of the idea. He did not "remember the British delegation having voted for [the civic center], and I am nearly sure that at the time no other delegation seemed interested in this subject."⁷²

CIAM 8: The Generational Divide around Differing Conceptions of the 'Core'

Looking back, the some CIAM members who met at Hoddesdon, England, in July 1951 recalled that at Bergamo they had become aware of the limits of the *système CIAM*, however, ignoring the criticism of Italian-CIAM, the old-guard began to think about the city center or 'core', with its various meanings and associations, as a means of achieving what seemed to be CIAM's new goal of humanizing modern architecture.⁷³ As stated by the Giedion-led Commission 2 at CIAM 7 contemporary cities should have cores because they were one step in the "humanizing process of today."⁷⁴ Giedion thought that the core "could not be achieved by dotting buildings about with a green space in the center as the present trend shows."⁷⁵ And thus the intention of the topic of "The Heart of the City" for CIAM 8 was for urbanism to be 'returned to the human scale and give the individual a defense against the tyranny of mechanization.'⁷⁶

The discussions aore revealed a shared dissatisfaction, by older and younger members alike, with the functional city and a desire to introduce a less technocratic and more humane direction for modernism. But differing conceptions about the core also marked the beginnings of a division in CIAM along generational lines. Bakema was later to remark that at the congress at Hoddesdon the system of analysis put forth in the Athens Charter and the organic approach confronted each other over the subject of the core.⁷⁷ The older generation

⁷² J.L. Sert to Godfrey Samuel, 5 March 1950 (CIAM, 43-K(DD)-1950-3-5).

⁷³There are three drafts of the program by the MARS group: the first, "MARS Group Proposals for CIAM 8," November 1949 (CIAM, 42-JT-7-76/78) was circulated in December 1949, and received a "wide measure of support"; some amendments were made, resulting in the second draft, "Proposals Submitted to the Council of CIAM by the MARS Group," April 1950 (CIAM, 42-JT-7-67/75); the final version, "8th International Congress for Modern Architecture," was circulated in September 1950 (CIAM, 42-JT-7-126/132).

⁷⁴Commission 2, "Draft Wednesday," dated in handwriting 11 July [1951], and referring to the CIAM 7 congress at Bergamo, Report B of Commission II, paragraph 7 (CIAM, 42-JT-7-296).

⁷⁵Giedion, "Draft," 10 July 1951 (CIAM, 42-JT-7-294).

⁷⁶Untitled typewritten transcript of discussion from CIAM 8 (CIAM, 42-JT-9-370/372).

⁷⁷J.B. Bakema, letter to the editor of the *Architectural Review*, 1 December 1958 (NAi/BAK, or103).

represented by Giedion, Le Corbusier, and Sert used the "new monumentality" to conceive of the core as the expression of collective social and political aspirations:

The core is an artefact, a man-made element of town planning. It is the repository of the collective mind of the community, to intensify the meaning of the city. It is the place where people come together for all kinds of social intercourse. Cores are a new opportunity to establish and express, within the urban area, the human scale, both spiritually and physically. The core is the meeting place of pedestrians, a space for the people to move around and rest, freely and undisturbed The core as an artefact should be a clearly defined space unit integrated into the spatial continuity of the city The new cores, as a physical framework, should be flexible enough to serve all the diverse activities and ever-changing needs of social life. The meaning of the core, as the repository of the collective mind, can be clarified and intensified through an integration of the plastic arts. The humanising process which happens in the cores of the cities cannot be achieved without this integration of the arts, which is an integral and vital part of the planning process.⁷⁸

The documentation of CIAM 8 presents the core as it was discussed along the lines of the New Monumentality by the executive CIAM members, a concept which they felt remedied the loss of collective institutions and the expression of the collective aspirations of a population.⁷⁹ For Le Corbusier, the core conceived of along these lines was a way of dealing with the "dispiriting absence of soul/spirit" from which the mechanized society suffers. It represented a new way to deal with problems faced by postwar cities, especially the suburbanization and decentralization that was resulting in "shapeless growth."⁸⁰ For the Dutch and especially the British members, the amorphous mass was also a sign of ill health that they thought should be replaced by the self-contained community of the neighborhood unit.⁸¹

The older members differed as to what they meant by the New Monumentality and how it would be expressed. For both Le Corbusier and Sert it was the site of "spontaneous

⁷⁸Commission II, "draft Wednesday" handwritten date 11 July [1951] (CIAM, 42-JT-7-296/297).

⁷⁹Sigfried Giedion, "The Need for a New Monumentality," in *New Architecture and City Planning*, ed. Paul Zucker (New York, 1944), 549-68; J.L. Sert, "The Human Scale in City Planning" in *ibid.*, 392-413. Modern monumentality was also being debated in Switzerland, inspired by a series of articles by Peter Meyer, editor of *Das Werk*. For the background and details of this discussion relative to the concerns of CIAM, see Eric Mumford, *CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 150-52.

⁸⁰J.L. Sert, "Centres of Community Life," in *The Heart of the City: towards the humanisation of urban life* (New York: Pellegrini and Cudhay, 1952), 4, 11.

⁸¹CIAM 8, "Open Session. Background of the Core," 9 July 1951 (CIAM, 42-JT-9-373).

theater,"⁸² but for Le Corbusier it was the site of social life, whereas for Sert it was the center of civic life. Le Corbusier described it as the "physical synthesis of social life,"⁸³ a shopping center with a pedestrian precinct or a square for public celebrations with the spontaneous interactions that would transform the socially inert into "social actor." Sert saw it as providing opportunities for spontaneous manifestations of social life and allowing social contacts and an exchange of ideas that would "stimulate free discussion,"⁸⁴ which was the source of civic spirit and the political aspirations of a free society, a framework in which a new civic life and a healthy civic spirit could develop. Cores should therefore be publicly financed, built by the government, and reflect the political, social and economic structure illustrating "a free and democratic exchange of ideas leading towards the government of the majority."⁸⁵ Sert's idea of the core as a "civic landscape" was represented by the agora or the Italian piazza, the place where a free citizenry expressed itself. The plaza in Renaissance Europe, made by free citizens of a free city was his prototype for the "core."⁸⁶ Giedion saw the core as a site for the synthesis of the arts, which would provide the setting which would satisfy and stimulate the emotional needs of people⁸⁷ by mass spectacles.⁸⁸ The conception of the core held by the executive CIAM members, especially Sert, Gropius, and Giedion, was more traditional. The main core of a city should be a place without traffic, where the pedestrian can move about freely and commercial advertising would be controlled; it would retain the human scale, provide opportunities for spontaneity, and be a site for the synthesis of the arts.

The organic conception of the core, promoted primarily by Dutch CIAM members Bakema and van Eesteren, the English CIAM group, Ernesto Rogers, and to some extent even Sert, took the position that the spiritual needs of people would be met by the experience of "community." Bakema went so far as to say that the core was what was needed to be really "free and happy," and Van Eesteren followed more or less the same line.⁸⁹ This more

⁸²Le Corbusier, "The Core as a Meeting Place of the Arts" (CIAM, 42-JT-8-456); J.L. Sert to Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, 1 August 1951 (CIAM, 42-JT-9-283).

⁸³Le Corbusier, "Conversation at CIAM 8," in *Heart of the City*, 39.

⁸⁴Sert, "Centres of Community Life," 6; idem, "Conversation at CIAM 8," in *The Heart of the City*, 36.

⁸⁵Sert, "Centres of Community Life," in *ibid.*, 3, 8, 11.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, 3.

⁸⁷Giedion (Commission 2), "Draft" 10 July 1951 (CIAM, 42-JT-7-292).

⁸⁸Giedion, "Need for a New Monumentality," 568.

⁸⁹Bakema, "Relationships between Men and Things" in *Heart of the City*, 68; originally titled "The Core as an Expression of life" (CIAM, NAI/BAK, or90); van Eesteren, "Conversation at CIAM 8," in *The Heart of the City*, 37.

organic conception of the core, promoted primarily by the English and Dutch members, conceived of the city as embodying new values of relationship, wholeness, differentiation of parts and change over time. The core was the physical expression of community at every scale and town planning was to be directly concerned with the social life of the community.⁹⁰ But whereas for some members this had a civic expression, for others it was based on new values of relationship and synthesis, a definition lending it emotional and organic qualities, like the heart in a body.⁹¹ The MARS group, like Rogers, appears to have made a conceptual leap from conceiving of the city as an inert and static object, an aggregate of individuals, to regarding it as an organism with a heart. Like an organism, its members are dependent upon one another, producing a sense of community that is expressed with varying degrees of intensity at different scales.⁹² The core is a "vital city center to which all parts of the constellation have access."⁹³ The MARS group proposals added another function -- "community life" -- to work, dwelling, recreation and circulation.

The turn to biological analogies and evolutionary processes was not exclusive to CIAM, but formed part of the intellectual culture at the time. This use of a biological analogy reflected only one aspect of a larger trend of the time--examining the development of form in nature. CIAM members, and MARS members in particular would have been familiar with the exhibition, "Growth and Form: The Development of Natural Shapes and Structures," held at the Institute of Contemporary Art in London from 4 July to 31 August which coincided with the congress, and was the site for a party in its honor.⁹⁴ The basis of the exhibition was D'Arcy Thompson's book *Growth and Form* (1917), which illustrated various aspects of the structure of growth and natural forms in a range of scales from atomic particles to constellations. The exhibition included microphotographs and X-rays on screens, films showing crystal growth and the development of sea urchins. The exhibition was supported by a book of essays, *Aspects of Form: A Symposium on Form in Nature and Art*, to which art historian Ernst Gombrich contributed an essay. In it he argued, along the lines of Thompson, that the development of form was not universal but specific to its immediate surroundings and

⁹⁰Commission 6, "Social Aspects at the Core," CIAM 8, 9 July 1951 (CIAM, 42-JT-7-264); Commission 6 (Emery, Bottoni, Paulsson, Hovens-Greve, Yoshizaka, Tange, Neumann, Wynants, van Bodegraven), "CIAM 8 July 10th, [1951]" (CIAM, 42-JT-7-265); Giedion, "Historical Background to the Core," in *The Heart of the City*, 25

⁹¹Rogers, "The Heart: Human Problem of Cities," in *The Heart of the City*, 69.

⁹²MARS Group, "8th International Congress for Modern Architecture" (CIAM, 42-JT-7-126/132), 3.

⁹³CIAM 8, "Open Session. Background of the Core," 9 July 1951 (CIAM, 42-JT-9-373).

⁹⁴Le Corbusier, "Impressions of London" Third programme, 10 July 1951 (ICA/DM25).

circumstances.⁹⁵ An announcement for the book was circulated at the CIAM 8 congress,⁹⁶ and the significance attributed to it by Bakema is evidenced by his inclusion of the book in the bibliography he attached to the last of a series of three lectures at the Technische Hogeschool in Delft.⁹⁷

In an intellectual climate that was looking for a principle underlying the biological analogy--"Nature's tendency to Wholeness"⁹⁸--functional planning began to change its meaning. Instead of being based on a functional analysis of the city, planning would be based on the functional relationship inherent in organic patterns, the principle that Sert believed would counteract "shapeless growth."⁹⁹ Inherent in the organic conception of the core was the idea that the city was brought together by relationships and syntheses that change over time, an attitude which was favored particularly by the Dutch who tended to emphasize the importance of the relation between things. Van Eyck's plea for synthesis at CIAM 6 was reintroduced by Bakema at CIAM 8 as an argument in favor of "relationships." In what was perhaps the most interesting paper presented at Hoddesdon, Bakema argued that the relations between things and within things have to be of greater importance than the things themselves. He describes the mystical moments in life when the isolation between people and things disappears and "we discover the wonder of the relationship between man and things and between men and men."¹⁰⁰ For Bakema, the "core moment" of life was the point at which isolated things were seen to be related,¹⁰¹ and the fullness of life was experienced through cooperative action.¹⁰² In the same spirit, Rogers thought the core ought to be the site where all activities were synthesized:

⁹⁵Ernst Gombrich, "Meditations on a Hobby Horse or the Roots of Artistic Form," in *Aspects of Form: A Symposium on Form in Nature and Art*, ed. L.L. Whyte (London: Lund Humphries, 1951). A similar exhibition had been held on the other side of the Atlantic by Hungarian-born artist, architect and educator Gyorgy Kepes. Titled "The New Landscape," it included photographs of plant cells, air photographs of whirlpools, deserts, mud flats; inorganic crystalline formations, constellations; organic and inorganic material at every scale from microscopic to astronomical. The compilation of visual materials began in 1947 and was almost complete by 1952. The publication of the book based on the exhibition was delayed by contractual technicalities; Gyorgy Kepes, *The New Landscape in Art and Science* (Chicago: Paul Theobald, 1956).

⁹⁶Publishers announcement for *Aspects of Form* by Lancelot Law Whyte (CIAM, 42-JT-7-159).

⁹⁷ Bakema, "Het Moderne Bouwen (3)," November 18 in *Syllabus Stichting Studium Generale aan de Technische Hogeschool te Delft, 1958* (NAi/BAK, a30).

⁹⁸G. Scott Williamson (London), "The Individual and the Community," in *The Heart of the City*, 30.

⁹⁹J.L. Sert, "Centres of Community Life," in *ibid.*, 11.

¹⁰⁰Jacob Bakema, "Relationships between Men and Things," in *ibid.*, 68.

¹⁰¹Bakema (commission 2), "Draft" 10 July 1951 (CIAM, 42-JT-7-293).

¹⁰²Bakema, "Relationship between Men and Things," in *The Heart of the City*, 67, 68.

I worked with some students in London who had to design the core of a small village. It was a shock to me to see how all these students had a different idea of the core. Some thought the centre of the core was a church; others thought it was the cricket ground; many thought it was the school and some that the pub could be the core. Some put the core near the factory. To do this seems to me to show that these people don't understand what the core is and don't understand what work is. The problem is of course to put all in the core. This we do in Italy. We have sport, the church, arts - a synthesis of all activities.¹⁰³

For Rogers, the functional center was where living connections between the individuals of a community were developed.¹⁰⁴ The functional center was the "convergent point of a community," a symbolic center, and a heart, in the sense that it allowed the expression of quality of free living men capable of being different. Sert also conceived of the community center as a whole where all the parts are subject to it, and the "centres of community life could be constantly transformed."¹⁰⁵ MARS member agreed with Roger's principle of synthesis: according to Tyrwhitt, "There should be no distinct zones of separation between, for instance, the shopping centre, the cultural centre, the administrative centre. The Core should be filled with a great diversity of people."¹⁰⁶ Arthur Ling, a planner at the Town Planning Department of the LCC, also stated that the core "should provide for the interweaving function of work, trade, culture, education, recreation, government, and transport."¹⁰⁷

Although the various MARS members concurred with the overriding sentiment of CIAM 8 that the functions should be integrated into the core, they distinguished themselves from the others on how they should be integrated. Some members argued that cores differed according to the scale of the settlement of which they were part and proposed that the projects presented by the various national groups at CIAM 8 be categorized according to the scale of the settlement involved, viz. (1) village; (2) small market center (rural) or residential neighborhood (urban); (3) the town (rural) and the city sector (urban); (4) the large town or city; (5) the metropolis.¹⁰⁸ This would provide them with a comparative tool that could be used to examine settlements of equal scale. Bridgwater and Hoddesdon brought British town

¹⁰³Rogers, "Talks given by E. Rogers at CIAM 8" (CIAM, 42-JT-9-408).

¹⁰⁴Ernesto Rogers, "The Heart: Human Problem of Cities," in *The Heart of the City*, 67-73.

¹⁰⁵J.L. Sert, "Centres of Community Life," in *The Heart of the City*, 14.

¹⁰⁶Tyrwhitt, "Conversation at CIAM 8," in *The Heart of the City*, 39

¹⁰⁷Arthur Ling, "Satisfying Human Needs at the Core," in *The Heart of the City*, 94.

¹⁰⁸MARS Group, "8th International Congress for Modern Architecture," September 1950 (CIAM, 42-JT-7-126/132, 3-4).

planning to CIAM in the form of delegates like Ling who were active in the new British planning programs. To the argument on differences in scale he added some comments about how cores expressed cultural differences: the core is something more than a machine for collective activity: it should express in appropriate architectural form the character, traditions and aspiration of the people whom it serves:

The Core of an English town may have the same functional requirements as that of an Italian or Indian town, but I hope we shall never be so falsely international in outlook that we give them the same architectural expression. During the last ten years or so there has been a reassessment of the value of national and regional character as expressed by local traditions and materials. ¹⁰⁹

With echoes of Patrick Geddes, the British CIAM members argued that a sense of community was expressed with varying degrees of intensity at different scales, and that each scale required the creation of a "special physical environment."¹¹⁰ This division by scale would provide CIAM with a tool for comparing ideas from different countries at the various "scale levels."¹¹¹ MARS did not propose that the scale-of-settlement method replace the four functions, but that the four functions take a subsidiary role and be applied to each level or different scales. They were arguing, in effect, for another level of complexity for the functional city by adding criteria or method of differentiating settlement types. More importantly, they were also arguing that the civic center not longer be the imposed vision of the architect but a more bottom-up expression of the kind of structure that the existing community wanted.¹¹²

Various kinds of cores were also suggested by other CIAM members. The Swiss architect J.J. Honnegger suggested political, artistic, and theatrical cores, some of which would be for large crowds, others for small gatherings.¹¹³ Le Corbusier used Chandigarh as his example, where he had provided many cores--a civic center, a museum of knowledge, a club for engineers, a stadium, theaters, shopping, business and finance centers, and a university.¹¹⁴ Roth argued for a hierarchy of cores -- a central core and local cores that

¹⁰⁹Arthur Ling, "Satisfying Human Needs at the Core," in *The Heart of the City*: 96.

¹¹⁰Ibid., 3.

¹¹¹MARS Group, "MARS Group Proposals for CIAM 8."

¹¹²Ling, "Satisfying Human Needs at the Core," in *The Heart of the City*, 96.

¹¹³Honnegger (Geneva), "Conversation at CIAM 8," in *The Heart of the City*, 38.

¹¹⁴Le Corbusier, "The Core as a Meeting Place of the Arts. The Relationship of the Plastic Arts at the Core" (CIAM, 42-JT-8-456).

"carried their own tune."¹¹⁵ Sert felt that each sector should have its own center and that "the system as a whole results in a network or constellation of community centres, classified from small to large, one main centre being the expression of the city or metropolis as a whole, the heart of the city."¹¹⁶ He suggested that CIAM add a special committee to deal with a "hitherto much neglected and isolated subject," the "historical aspect," since a comparison between historical and contemporary solutions would stimulate creative discussion.¹¹⁷

The architectural expression of the organic core, as a conceptual idea and not as an idea with formal implications was expressed in the Pendrecht project presented at CIAM 8 by the Dutch CIAM group. Their proposal provided various forms of housing, and groupings of units into neighborhoods, groupings of neighborhoods around a common space zoned to provide for social and cultural amenities.¹¹⁸ They conceived of a hierarchy of "core forming importance" ranging from the central square which was assigned prime importance, to the secondary cores such as churches, schools, kindergartens, playgrounds, to residential cores in subdivisions which expressed the locality. Their contribution was to find patterns for multiplying horizontal units, which themselves comprised different types of housing.¹¹⁹ Paramount to their project were organic values: relationship, functional integration, differentiation, and a core or heart.¹²⁰

Like the idea of the core, notions about the role of the architect also fell into two camps, one following roughly the lines of Giedion, Gropius and Le Corbusier; the other, consisting of most CIAM members, following the Dutch and English view. For the executive old guard, the city plan remained the product of a top-down approach according to which the expert architect provided a space for satisfying popular social (Le Corbusier), spiritual (Giedion), and civic (Sert) needs. For the younger Dutch and English members, the role of the architect was to satisfy the needs of a socially responsible, politically engaged citizenry. However the generational lines were not strictly drawn. Bakema stressed the obligation of the planners to take an active part in government as a way of moving society towards "real

¹¹⁵Roth, "Conversation at CIAM 8," in *The Heart of the City*, 40.

¹¹⁶Sert, "Centre of Community Life," 11.

¹¹⁷MARS Group, "MARS Group Proposals for CIAM 8."

¹¹⁸Opbouw, "Short Exposé concerning Work, Plans and Problems," CIAM 6 (NAi/BAK, or90), 1.

¹¹⁹Bakema letter to the editor of the *Architectural Review*, 1 December 1958 (NAi/BAK, or103), 2.

¹²⁰Bakema, "The Relationship between Men and Things," 11 July 1951 (NAi/BAK, or90).

democracy,"¹²¹ and to avoid drawing up town plans that were economically unfeasible.

Most Opbouw members generally agreed that it seemed

to be insufficient to consider only legal and financial aspects, as laid down in the programme for discussion. To realize a "core" is not, or should not be, only an administrative, technical, financial and legislative activity. In the process of realization, the relation between planning authorities and the people is of utmost significance and as such mostly not sufficiently recognized.¹²²

Sert, although politically aligned with the elders, was theoretically posited between the two generations. He believed that, although the location of the core should be chosen by the people themselves, the form that would fulfill the needs of that particular population should be interpreted by architects.¹²³ For van Eesteren and the other senior Dutch members, were aligned with the view proposed by the younger Dutch members that architectural elements be "in accord with the actual habits and desires of the people of the town."¹²⁴ And MARS members Arthur Ling thought it was a matter of discussion among architects and between architects and the people:

This may sound obvious, and yet how often do we still see the master plan for city and town reconstruction which superimposes an abstract conception originating in the mind of the architect or planner as something which is good for the people whether they like it or not. . . . There can be no doubt that the best way to ensure that the human aspects of the Core are given full consideration from the outset is to create the opportunity for people to say what kind of town or town centre they would like to have. Embarrassing for technocrats, perhaps, but exciting for architects with a social conscience.¹²⁵

The attitude of the older generation remained analytical. Gropius, Giedion, and Sert continued to maintain that the "nucleus of the community, the civic center, should come first and habitation later." They believed that CIAM had progressed sufficiently to venture some suggestions as to the proper procedure in planning and rehabilitation. Planning should begin with small administrative units to be followed by a nucleus for a civic center; after that people could make their own decisions and organically fill in housing wherever necessary.¹²⁶

That a shift in attitude was occurring in CIAM was recognized by the older generation

¹²¹Bakema, "Architecture and Public Opinion. Social Architecture - New Architecture," CIAM 6 (NAi/BAK, a30).

¹²²Opbouw (commission 1), "Some Remarks on the Realization of the core," CIAM 6 (NAi, BAK: or90).

¹²³Sert, "Conversation at CIAM 8," in *The Heart of the City*, 36.

¹²⁴Van Eesteren, "Conversation at CIAM 8," in *ibid.*, 38.

¹²⁵Ling, "Satisfying Human Needs at the Core," in *ibid.*, 96.

¹²⁶Walter Gropius to Sigfried Giedion, 12 October 1949 (CIAM, 42-K-1949-10-12).

even if its nature was not fully understood. Giedion recognized that the coming generation was rejecting rationalism and specialization, but he did not realize that these dissatisfactions were represented in CIAM. Rogers was also aware that the younger members in Italy, England, Scandinavia, America--everywhere-- were discontented, but he thought they were "on the right road."¹²⁷ The senior members were no longer doing the real work of CIAM¹²⁸--even Le Corbusier now preferred to occupy himself with painting and sculpture--and the council, which "had become somewhat abstract," did not take part in the decisions and was often not even informed. The older member found it impossible to recruit young people to work on the CIAM Council since there was no guarantee that a newly constituted body would address the problems that the organization faced.¹²⁹ Sert's solution was to suggest that the next congress, which would mark the 25th anniversary of CIAM, should be put into the hands of the youngers.¹³⁰

In addition to a changed attitude within CIAM, there were new constituencies that were demanding institutional recognition. At CIAM 7 for the first time at a CIAM congress, observers and students from many different countries, who equaled or even outnumbered the hundred "official" members,¹³¹ were also a vocal contingent. They prepared a resolution which was read by a senior CIAM Council member, Swiss architect Pierre-André Emery (1903-1982), stating their belief that the successful implementation of the fundamental principles of CIAM as represented by the Athens Charter was dependent on their disseminating them and making them more concrete and on greater and more direct participation by young architects.¹³² They suggested that this greater involvement could be achieved by establishing a working organization for the young comparable to the national groups already constituted, by issuing a bulletin keeping members up to date with the work of the commissions, and by more educational activities such as a summer school. Aside from

¹²⁷Rogers, "Architectural Education," first session (CIAM, 42-JT-7-475).

¹²⁸For the CIAM 8 congress, the MARS group included a project by students of the Architectural Association for the new town of Stevenage which was guided by MARS members, "but the members themselves [had] no time to do the real work at the moment, and anyway we rather want to let the younger ones in." Wells Coates to J.L. Sert, 13 December 1950 (HAR/JLS, C7).

¹²⁹Lindgren Forbat (Swedish group), "Message to the Council from the Swedish Group," 11 July 1951 (CIAM, 42-JT-7-209).

¹³⁰Sert's response to this criticism by the Swedish group was that the council was "not a secret body. The minutes are circulated. It exists to deal with urgent matters." Sert, handwritten record of CIAM Council meeting, 13 July 1951 (CIAM, 42-JT-7-213).

¹³¹Tyrwhitt, "CIAM 7" (RIBA, GoE/312).

¹³²"Résolution des jeunes Architectes," in "Les actes officiels du VIIe CIAM," 72.

this document, the contribution of the younger members was not so evident in the more formal full sessions of the congress and the CIAM publications did not even acknowledge their presence. But as Tyrwhitt notes, "The awareness of the younger members of the problems of the moment always dispelled the heavy wordiness of some of the less clear-headed 'middle-aged' members."¹³³

The trend of new membership continued at CIAM 8 where an unprecedented number of students attended. There were several responses to this demand to be allowed to participate. The MARS group discussed setting up a junior membership for students.¹³⁴ The CIAM Council proposed a plan for accepting the younger members as council members and voted Candilis and MARS member William Howell onto the Council to represent the younger generation. And Le Corbusier nominated Georges Candilis as representative of the younger members. But Le Corbusier did not consider him an equal reprimanding him when Candilis had asked his secretary for the addresses of the ASCORAL and CIAM members making it clear that Candilis was not to deal with the elder members; his job consisted exclusively in recruiting young people for CIAM, who might be of some use in the future.¹³⁵

Ernesto Rogers took a non-dualistic stance, and with Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, was the only other member to conceive of the struggle taking place within CIAM as not being related to age. He declared that the adjectives of 'young' and 'old' and the "material difference in years" could not be applied to modern architects, that there was not dividing line between the generations.¹³⁶ The crux of his argument lay in his definition of modern architecture which he conceived of as a "Continuing Revolution," one which he considered to be "extremely dramatic." Based in a personal theoretical position in which he conceived of history as a continuously evolving present, he argued at CIAM 8 that a historical sense enabled the younger generation to move forward and that they would gain strength if instead of opposing the work of their elder, would, "in full conscience of their own strength, fall into place, alongside, and travel the same road together."¹³⁷ But progress could only be made if a critical attitude was adopted, if the younger generations were endowed with a "spirit of

¹³³Tyrwhitt, "CIAM 7," 2.

¹³⁴"MARS Junior Membership," 11 October 1950 (CIAM, 42-JT-9-141).

¹³⁵"Votre mandate n'atant pas de vous occuper des 'vieux', mais exclusivement de chercher á côté de vous, hors de l'organisation existante qui n'a pas besoin de vous, les jeunes que vous pourriez rassembler pour le future et préparer á une tâche utile. Ne vous croyer pas obligé de vous occuper de nous, 'les aínés'. Le Corbusier to Georges Candilis 19 July 1951 (LeC, D2-18-188).

¹³⁶Ernesto Rogers, "Architectural Education, First Session" CIAM 8 (CIAM, 42-JT-7-473).

¹³⁷Ibid., 475.

liberty" while at the same time "adhering faithfully to an established method."¹³⁸

The perspective of the older generation was the one expressed in the *The Heart of the City* (1952) published after the congress. Edited by Tyrwhitt, Sert, and Rogers, the book was supposed to represent the discussions that had occurred at CIAM 8. Although there were hints of the new thinking about the core, the editorial stance emphasized Giedion's "new monumentality," making the core a site for social and political spectacle¹³⁹ which was far from the conception of the core as the site of social, cooperative, and daily life as it was perceived by many of the CIAM members. The discussions that were included dealt only with this classical model of urbanism represented by the Italian piazza and favored by Sert, Giedion, Gropius and Le Corbusier¹⁴⁰ -- those that were about the historical models for the Italian piazza, values of "human scale,"¹⁴¹ the elimination of cars,¹⁴² synthesis of the arts, and the need to provide greenery, water and shade to harmonize with buildings. The discussion completely ignored the organic model for modern planning that had also been discussed at the congress. Also absent were the questions of cultural difference raised by Syrkus, Rogers, Zevi and Roth at and after CIAM 7. The view of the founding members about the role of the architect was also emphasized. The architect was conceived of as interpreter of the needs of the masses who would present the solution to the authorities.¹⁴³ and the inhabitants were not so much active agents participating in a democratic process as a participant in the spectacle of social life.¹⁴⁴ Even Sert felt that the book overemphasized the aspect of the core as a place for spontaneous social encounters conceived in terms of Le Corbusier and Giedion's notion of the "new monumentality" and that the civic character and social importance of the main core was not sufficiently stressed.¹⁴⁵

Their understanding of the contemporary condition echoed Giedion's fear of the effects of the "machinist society" described in *Mechanization Takes Command*: "CIAM maintains itself firmly in the midst of conjuncture, working to reconcile man with his

¹³⁸Ibid., 474,

¹³⁹In the report of the commission II led by Giedion, the core was described as a place "where people come together for all kinds of social intercourse ("Commission 2, "Draft Wednesday," 296).

¹⁴⁰Walter Gropius, J.L. Sert, Gregor Paulsson and Philip Johnson about the Italian piazza; CIAM 8, "Discussion on Italian Piazzas," in *The Heart of the City*, 74-80.

¹⁴¹Le Corbusier, "The Core as a Meeting Place of the Arts" (CIAM, 42-JT-8-456).

¹⁴²Sert, "Centres of Community Life," in *The Heart of the City*, 11.

¹⁴³"A Short Outline of the Core. Extracts from statement prepared during the 8th Congress of CIAM," in *The Heart of the City*, 168.

¹⁴⁴"Conclusions," in *ibid.*, 168.

¹⁴⁵J.L. Sert to Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, 1 August 1951 (CIAM, 42-JT-9-283).

surroundings so deeply disturbed to-day by the wake of the first era of mechanization."¹⁴⁶ But they were unable to deal with the reality that the major social consequence of the *civilisation machiniste* for a great majority of the population around the globe was that they were only able to exercise one of the four functions--work; the others were not even part of their experience.¹⁴⁷ They seemed oblivious to contemporary innovations, even those that were rapidly generated problems, such as the change in consciousness created by speed¹⁴⁸ and the impact of the automobile and the resulting decentralized cities and "shapeless growth."¹⁴⁹ Even with the range of international projects presented at the congress, from the Gold Coast, Chimbote, Peru, Colombia, India, and Japan, CIAM executive members failed to address the issue of cultural pluralism and globalization. While the older generation looked for ways to patch up the inadequacies of their planning methods and remedy the inadequacies of their methodology, they were not prepared to rethink the assumptions on which their doctrine was based. Although the limitations of the functional and analytical approach of CIAM planning were made clear at the meeting, the solutions suggested did little more than reveal the differences in understanding of the contemporary condition between their established views and those of the younger. Nevertheless, the values embedded in the suppressed discourse about the organic conception of the core would provide the conceptual seeds for the concept of habitat and a new planning methodology which the younger members would propose at the next meeting in Sigtuna, Sweden.

¹⁴⁶*Programme du 7ème Congrès*, 5.

¹⁴⁷"6ème Commission: 'Réforme des programmes sociaux'" in "Les actes officiels du VIIe CIAM," 68.

¹⁴⁸"The entire world is in movement; the state of its conscience is changed . . . mechanical speeds and their indescribable consequences have opened a new era. It is an era of solidarity." *Programme du 7ème Congrès*, 24.

¹⁴⁹Sert, "Centres of Community Life," in *The Heart of the City*, 4, 11.

CHAPTER IV.

THE BEGINNING OF THE TEAM 10 ERA, 1952

The Sigtuna Meeting: 'Habitat' as an Alternative to CIAM Planning

Between June 25-30, 1952 a CIAM meeting was held at Sigtuna, near Stockholm, Sweden. Although it was not considered to be on the roster of official CIAM congresses, the meeting was regarded as at least important enough to have a report of its proceedings circulated,¹ and that report reflected the highly theoretical level of the discussion. At least for one member who attended, the discussions were "very philosophical" and difficult to follow.² Nevertheless this meeting was a turning point for the theoretical direction of the organization.

Sigtuna was notable for the large proportion of young members who attended. Among them were Jacob Bakema, Aldo van Eyck, and Georges Candilis who would be associated with the splinter CIAM group Team 10 formed two years later, and others like Ernesto Rogers, and young Swiss members Rolf Gutmann and Theo Manz who though not officially associated with Team 10, would make important contributions to its early thinking. The younger members, some of whom were not even listed as having attended, like Theo Manz and Rolf Gutmann from Switzerland, wrote most of the reports on behalf of their national groups.

Attendance had been limited to maintain the working nature of the meeting and to encourage free discussion.³ Fifty-nine members were listed as having attended.⁴ The MARS group, partly in protest against the format of the gathering as a "little congress," did not send a delegation, but they did submit a report summarizing the group's ideas about the subjects covered.⁵ Of the sixteen CIAM council members only six attended Sigtuna including Georges Candilis and Ernesto Rogers who representing the new and emerging agenda within CIAM. The unofficial CIAM "executive" -- Le Corbusier, Giedion, Sert, and Gropius--all

¹CIAM, "Les Documents de Sigtuna 1952" (CIAM 42-AR-X-4). An unpaginated compilation of typewritten reports by commissions, national groups and junior groups.

²Werner Hebebrand (Germany), "Cinquième reunion du congrès de travail, dimanche le 29 juin, 9.00. Rapports sur la vie et la position des Groupes CIAM," in *ibid.*, 13.

³Minutes of the "Extraordinary CIAM Council Meeting," Paris, 9 May 1952, handwritten notes (CIAM 42-JLS-25-108/136; 42-JT-12-112/116), 128-129.

⁴"Attendants of Council Meeting and Working Congress at Sigtuna," in "Les Documents de Sigtuna."

⁵Wells Coates, "MARS Group and the Stockholm Meeting," 19 June 1952 (CIAM 42-JLS-35).

stayed away.

Due to the increased participation by younger members attending the CIAM 7 and CIAM 8 congresses, and an increasing number of junior and student groups were being formed in various countries there was pressure for CIAM to formalize the participation of younger members. The topic had been raised at a meeting in Paris at which Giedion had suggested that Georges Candilis, William Howell, and a delegate from the student groups, the Norwegian architect Christian Norberg-Schultz, ascertain how CIAM groups could be established in universities.⁶ Two reports about the topic were submitted to the congress. One was by a pair of French students, Claude Parent and Ionel Schein, who submitted a report asking CIAM to involve students in their activities, keep them informed about what they were doing, and provide educational opportunities for them. They suggested three ways by which CIAM could capture the enthusiasm of students in architecture school: (1) it could devise an administrative means for students to participate; (2) it could see to it that students could have a way of keeping abreast of CIAM's work so that they could avoid falling into the trap of academicizing modernism through the influence of what was appearing in journals; and (3) it could establish a *centre d'études* in France to teach architecture and urbanism that was in contact with "the realities."⁷ The other student report was submitted by Norwegian architect Christian Norberg-Schultz in which he outlined the current status of youth groups in various countries and blaming CIAM for their limited success. He reported having sent several letters to more than forty schools, but had had little success in coordinating the younger CIAM members and the CIAM junior groups. He attributed his failure to generate the formation of independent CIAM junior groups to their rather vague ideas about the aims and work of CIAM, as well as confusion among them resulting from a weakened sense of the "common basis" for work and research since the war.⁸

The student group called "le Groupe PARIS," established in France immediately after CIAM 8 by Georges Candilis, was conceived of as a model for other student organizations; it would remain independent of the other French CIAM groups, which consisted of the Corbusian-led ASCORAL and the Marcel Lods-led Bâtir. Presented at the Sigtuna meeting as "Paris-Jeune," the group was composed entirely of young French architects working in Paris and who Candilis thought represented all the best there was from the point of view of quality

⁶Minutes of "Extraordinary CIAM Council Meeting" (CIAM 42-JLS-25-133).

⁷Claude Parent and Ionel Schein, "Présences," in "Les Documents de Sigtuna."

⁸Christian Norberg-Schultz, "On the Creation of Junior Groups," 26 June 1952, in *ibid.*

and spirit.⁹ In his view, their influence on other students was "enormous". Their first success was reflected in the *Annales des Beaux-Arts* (1952) in which the diploma-year students presented a "new conception" and the high quality of whose presentations "stupified" the members of the École des Beaux Arts. Their projects combined use of the CIAM grids and the principles of CIAM with "real analysis, about real problems, and on real subjects, with social, economic, physical and psychological research."¹⁰

Although Norberg Schultz had been designated as the official delegate of the student groups, Candilis became the champion of the younger generation; he thought of himself as understanding their "hopes, perspectives, difficulties, hesitations, and uncertainties,"¹¹ having come to Sigtuna with experience in organizing them. By his own account, he had been asked by Le Corbusier to organize the ASCORAL-Jeunes, and in response had collected about twenty enthusiastic young architects, which disbanded after Candilis left Paris to work on Le Corbusier's Unité project in Marseilles (1948-1950).¹² Candilis found another culture of young architects when he left Le Corbusier's office--not without some criticism from his employer--for Morocco, where he was followed by Shadrach Woods (1923-1973) who was working in Le Corbusier's atelier at the time and where he practiced until 1954. Together with Woods and Ukrainian-born Vladimir Bodiensky (1894-1966), he led the multi-professional CIAM group established by Bodiensky called ATBAT-Afrique (1949-1966).¹³ By the time he turned up at the Sigtuna meeting, he had been the director of ATBAT-Afrique for two years.

Candilis had contributed a great deal to the spirit of CIAM in Greece and Crete. As a student he had been involved in the preparations and organization of CIAM 4 in Athens, the starting point for the congress. Born of Greek parents in Baku, Azerbaijan, Candilis had studied at the Athens Polytechnic where he received his architecture diploma in 1936. John

⁹Candilis, "Sixième reunion du congrès de travail, dimanche le 29 juin, 14.30. La place de la jeune generation dans les groupes CIAM," in "Les Documents de Sigtuna," 16; Georges Candilis, Casablanca, to J.L. Sert, New York, 31 December 1952 (CIAM 42-JT-12-44).

¹⁰Georges Candilis, Casablanca, to J.L. Sert, New York, 31 December 1952 (CIAM 42-JT-12-44).

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid.

¹³ATBAT was established in France in 1947 by members of Le Corbusier's Unité d'Habitation team in Marseilles André Wogensky and Vladimir Bodiensky as an interdisciplinary group for building research and the preparation of construction documents. ATBAT-Afrique was subsequently established in 1949 by Bodiensky and directed by Georges Candilis, Shadrach Woods, and Henri Piot under Bodiensky. Eric Mumford, *CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 158; J.-L. Cohen, "The Moroccan Group and the Theme of Habitat," *Rassegna* 52 (1992): 58-59.

Despotopoulos, a professor at the Polytechnic in Athens, was influential in instituting CIAM ideas in a country without a strong tradition in modern architecture. A number of younger members had joined CIAM during the occupation. They had a combative spirit and were associated with a popular movement that passionately discussed the reconstruction of the country, but they were still attached to the approach of the four functions and their radical spirit was soon stifled by the occupation which deeply affected the country. There was a mass exodus of architects, and the Greek CIAM group ceased to exist. Candilis went to work in Le Corbusier's office in Paris (1945-1948), where he worked on the project at St.-Die, which dealt in an abstract way with the core, before leaving Paris to act as project manager on Le Corbusier's Unité d'Habitation in Marseilles (1948-1950), a conspicuous and influential project for the up and coming generation of CIAM architects at the time. During this period he had made the acquaintance of other CIAM members: ASCORAL member André Wogenscky, Bâtir member Vladimir Bodiansky, and his future partner and future Team 10 member, the young American Shadrach Woods. Le Corbusier had made Candilis responsible for organizing "ASCORAL-jeunes," a group of about twenty young architects which, for the most part dispersed upon Candilis's departure to Marseilles.¹⁴

The student group called "le Groupe PARIS," established in France immediately after CIAM 8 by Georges Candilis, was conceived of as a model for other student organizations; it would remain independent of the other French CIAM groups, which consisted of the Corbusian-led ASCORAL and the Marcel Lods-led Bâtir. Presented at the Sigtuna meeting as "Paris-Jeune," the group was composed entirely of young French architects working in Paris and who Candilis thought represented all the best there was from the point of view of quality and spirit.¹⁵ In his view, their influence on other students was "enormous". Their first success was reflected in the *Annales des Beaux-Arts* (1952) in which the diploma-year students presented a "new conception" and the high quality of whose presentations "stupified" the members of the École des Beaux Arts. Their projects combined use of the CIAM grids and the principles of CIAM with "real analysis, about real problems, and on real subjects, with social, economic, physical and psychological research."¹⁶

¹⁴"Participation du groupe des Jeunes de l'Ascoral" 16 July 1949 (CIAM, 42-JT-5-537/538); Georges Candilis, Casablanca, to J.L. Sert, New York, 31 December 1952 (CIAM, 42-JT-12-45).

¹⁵Candilis, "Sixième reunion du congrès de travail, dimanche le 29 juin, 14.30. La place de la jeune generation dans les groupes CIAM," in "Les Documents de Sigtuna," 16; Georges Candilis, Casablanca, to J.L. Sert, New York, 31 December 1952 (CIAM 42-JT-12-44).

¹⁶Georges Candilis, Casablanca, to J.L. Sert, New York, 31 December 1952 (CIAM 42-JT-12-44).

A junior group had also been formed in Basel. Roth, speaking on behalf of the Basel-based CIAM group, BBZ-Suisse, claimed that they were not an orthodox CIAM group, though they followed the spirit of CIAM in that they practiced a severe and strict critique among themselves.¹⁷ They were looking into architectural education, had organized an exhibition on how to protect the beautiful sites of their country, and were sponsoring a traveling exhibition for underdeveloped nations. Another junior group could be found in Zagreb, Yugoslavia.

In Holland and Norway no separate youth groups were formed, since young Dutch architects were allowed to join Dutch CIAM directly at the invitation of architect, planner, and De 8 member Ben Merkelbach (1901-1961).¹⁸ For the Dutch CIAM groups, their membership was the natural result of the spontaneous collaborations that they had had both during the war, in the study groups for housing, and immediately after the war with Dutch CIAM work.¹⁹ The Norwegian CIAM group, Pagon-Norway, supported a young and active group, according to one of its members Arne Korsmo, in spite of Norway's small population;²⁰ it had sent Norberg Schultz, who edited their newsletter *TEAM*, as their delegate to CIAM 8 at Hoddesdon. Austria had two youth groups, one in Vienna, the other in Graz; they mainly collected documentary material on various places in collaboration with statisticians and sociologists, which was meant to form the basis for planning.²¹ Denmark and Algeria both had informal groups; in the latter students were allowed to take part in meetings.²²

At the opening Sigtuna session the assembled delegates expressed a commonly held sentiment that CIAM suffered from a lack of direction. However, this was expressed differently in different countries. The Swiss/Romande group was described as "tired," consisting mainly of professors in architecture schools.²³ Austria was "suffering from inactivity"; its 22 members organized only a single event a year.²⁴ In France ASCORAL

¹⁷Roth, "Cinquième réunion," 14.

¹⁸Ben Rebel, Indira van't Klooster, Maarten Kloos, Birgitte de Maar, *Ben Merkelbach: Architect en Stadsbouwmeester* (Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura, 1994).

¹⁹J.B. Bakema, "Discussion on Organizational Matters," Doorn, Holland, 29 January 1954 (evening) (NAi/BAK or97).

²⁰Korsmo, "Cinquième reunion," 14.

²¹Schütte (CIAM-Austria), "Cinquième reunion," 12.

²²Lauritzen (Denmark), *ibid.*, 13. Pierre-André Emery (Djezirat-Algiers), *ibid.*, 12; P.-A. Emery, "CIAM ALGER" 24 May 1954 (CIAM 42-SG-41-47).

²³J.J. Honegger (Swiss Romande), "Cinquième réunion," 14.

²⁴Schütte (Austria), *ibid.*, 12.

suffered from incorrigible individualism; their senior members worked on their own projects and waited for the youngers to improve.²⁵ The Italians were not "serious" and faced opposition from Bruno Zevi's group which was critical of CIAM, though Rogers claimed that they were at least trying to have some influence on architectural education and to organize a CIAM summer school.²⁶ In Belgium and the United States CIAM was making little headway,²⁷ and even in France it remained largely unknown.²⁸ There was more optimism about CIAM in Sweden where Professor Uno Åhrén reported that their twenty-two members were becoming more active.²⁹ Only the English reported a more positive outcome. MARS had remained active during the war and by now a number of them held official positions. The question they were dealing with was how to maintain high standards for membership.³⁰

Candilis ended this discussion by saying that there was still a strong reaction against the spirit of CIAM and the public and official milieus were still far from being conquered. CIAM no longer had problems to solve or difficulties to surmount other than organizing the great numbers of architects dispersed around the world. He believed that the first, the "revolutionary" period of modern architecture would end with the next congress (CIAM 9) and then the old guard would disappear. "Like any organism that wanted to remain alive, it needed new blood and always to be in contact with reality," he said, implying that CIAM had failed to do both.³¹

The most important discussions theoretically revolved around the concept of "habitat." This term that they used at the Sigtuna meeting had been introduced to CIAM by Le Corbusier at CIAM 7 who had suggested--even though it was not on the program--that the work of that congress should be to draft a "Charter of Habitat." Although he did not define what he meant by the term, this unofficial mandate seemed to set the course of the Sigtuna meeting. As it was used at Sigtuna, Habitat became the term that embodied the organic values that had become associated with a vision of the "more human approach" to modern

²⁵Wogenscky (ASCORAL), *ibid.*, 13.

²⁶Rogers, *ibid.*, 14.

²⁷Michel (Bruxelles-Anver) and James (USA), *ibid.*, 13, 15.

²⁸Marcel Lods (Bâtir, France), *ibid.*, 13.

²⁹Uno Åhrén, *ibid.*, 12.

³⁰Tyrwhitt, *ibid.*, 15.

³¹Georges Candilis to J.L. Sert, 31 December 1952.

architecture that CIAM had been discussing since the congress at Bridgwater.³² There was much discussion about the associations of the word for the various members, and even though they were unable to precisely define what they meant by it, the concept became the vehicle by which the organic version of the core, discussed at CIAM 8, could now be theorized.

It became evident at Sigtuna that this organic attitude was not a theoretical notion confined to any particular national group, but a sentiment expressed by members from very different contexts who began for the first time collectively to express their dissatisfaction with cities as they were being developed using CIAM's functional method. For some, habitat was the vehicle chosen to represent their goal of accommodating the spiritual and emotional needs of the masses of people for whom they were building. Habitat for the Bâtir members were dwellings that allowed for the unhindered development of spiritual and emotional life.³³ But even the terms spiritual carried different meanings. In the opinion of ASCORAL, the physical factors, i.e., "the life of the body," had already been studied, and CIAM ought to now turn its attention to including the life of the spirit, by which they meant that life ought to allow contemplation. Bâtir-France conceived of "spiritual" in collective terms, which included the education of children as well as an undefined notion of individual and family spiritual life. For the Norwegians, spiritual and social needs were synonymous. They felt that in addition to the need for shelter the spiritual needs of individuals and families must be met at the level of the residential unit, neighborhood, and town/city district. The relation between the dwelling and its surroundings should be thought of in terms of "all age groups and in all spheres of bodily and mental existence." The most important spiritual fact was "that man lives in society, in larger or smaller groups, where he collaborates with, influences and is influenced by, other people."³⁴ At the next congress at Aix-en-Provence, "spiritual" would be assigned a range of meanings from from happiness and "visual satisfaction" to the emotional

³²What constituted a "more human approach" differed from country to country, though in general, the younger members took it for granted that architecture had to provide for the physical needs and requirements of daily life of the nuclear family and add "human factors" to them, while MARS and Bâtir agreed, with slight variations, that modern architecture should construct a framework that would allow social and spiritual activities to develop. The MARS group argued that these extra amenities were "just as essential as floor space or bathrooms." For Bâtir, builders needed to satisfy material needs through standardization and to create a framework in which the spiritual and emotional life could develop unhindered (Bâtir, "A Note on the Proposed Habitat Charter").

³³Bâtir, "A Note on the Proposed Habitat Charter."

³⁴ASCORAL, "Projet de Programme pour le IXe congrès CIAM 1953" 10 janvier 1952, in "Les Documents de Sigtuna." Bâtir, "Project of Grid for the Habitat" (CIAM 42-JT-10-91); French version "Projet de la Grid pour l'Habitat," in "Les Documents de Sigtuna." E.R. (for the Norwegian group), "The Dwelling Charter. Some Remarks," in *ibid.*

satisfaction of the individual in feeling a sense of identity of belonging through social contacts of family and community.³⁵

To discuss and define the concept of "habitat," two commissions were formed. Commission I, led by ASCORAL member André Wogenscky and including J. Alarent (ASCORAL), P.-A. Emery, (Algeria), V. Lauritzen (Denmark), U. Åhren (Sweden), A. Roth (Switzerland), Aldo van Eyck and Cornelius van Eesteren ("de 8", Holland), was charged with finding a suitable definition. Commission II, with Bodiansky as secretary and including Ecochard (GAMMA, Morocco), Forbat (Sweden) Viana de Lima (Portugal), Hovens Greve (Opbouw, Holland), and Tyrwhitt (MARS), was appointed the task of determining the method of presentation to be used for the CIAM 9 congress. Both of these commissions produced a report which they presented at the third working session of the meeting.

Defining "habitat" was complicated by the fact that different associations were attached to the words *logis*, dwelling, and habitat. Tyrwhitt argued that in English "habitation" is associated with the more limited sense of "dwelling" as a house or the place where one lives and suggested that they use the term "habitat" in the English documents. The Swedish members also found the French word *logis* "too limited,"³⁶ but ASCORAL member Wogenscky preferred it to habitat, because it did not bring with it theories from sociology, "human geography," and political economy that were attached to the other term. He argued that "habitation" was closer in meaning to *logis*, or dwelling, i.e., "the quotidien place where the family lives," but suggested that it also includes the individual and the collective, and all the extensions of the dwelling: commercial, sanitary, educational, social and administrative services.³⁷ The definition of habitat favored by ASCORAL remained attached to the more limited concept of dwelling or *logis*. By their definition the dwelling was simply a place to house everyday activities -- to prepare and eat meals, to wash, to meet, and to insulate first the couple and later the family from the outside world -- the place where one lives in body

³⁵Sub-commission Ia, "Commission I: Urbanisme," in "CIAM 9 Report," 12; Gropius, "Speech. Not delivered" (CIAM 42-JT-12-302/303); Sub-commission Ia, "CIAM 9, 21 juillet 1953" in CIAM 9 Compilation; Sub-commission Ib, "Le logis dans l'unité d'habitation, le quartier, la ville, la région," 21 July 1953, in CIAM 9 Compilation and (NAi/BAK a12[21], a14[17], or85); French version in "CIAM 9 Report," 13-14.

³⁶Gregor Paulsson, "Deuxième réunion du congrès de travail, jeudi le 26 juin, 9.00. La Charte de l'Habitat," in "Les documents de Sigtuna," 7.

³⁷André Wogenscky, "Première Réunion du congrès de travail, jeudi le 26 juin, 9.00. La Charte de l'Habitat," in "Les Documents de Sigtuna," 1-2.

and spirit.³⁸ The term Habitat found its manifestation for some in the traditional housing settlements in non-Western cultures of which there was a growing awareness and interest.³⁹

The concept of habitat emerged as a response to the contemporary problem of the mass, or "great number." According to the Bâtir group there seemed to be a consensus that the central issue was how best to house whole populations, especially the great numbers of rural people around the world who, because of rapid industrialization, had migrated to cities to settle in slums or build shantytowns.⁴⁰ The Belgian group brought up the allied question of redistributing populations and organizing the functions of cities, "to meet the urgent housing needs of the country."⁴¹ But the solutions proposed for the problem revealed the division in thinking that was growing within CIAM. For the Bâtir members habitat was the architecture of the masses, by which they meant "mass production, standard elements, similarity of finished products."⁴² For MARS members, Bâtir's solution was part of the problem: they felt the need to respond to the condition of "excess of technique, standardization and the production of unessential luxuries."⁴³

In the end, Commission I was unable to come up with a term they could agree on, but the members decided they preferred expanding the meaning of the word "habitation" over limiting the discussion to "habitat."⁴⁴ The commission, although it could not come up with a definition of habitat, seemed to agree that it referred to the "natural or created environment established with the view to [man's] total and harmonious spiritual, intellectual and physical fulfillment." Although they were unable to specify an exact definition, they did succeed in assigning certain qualities to the concept. They restricted the use of habitat a biological

³⁸Groupe ASCORAL, "Projet de Programme pour le IXe Congrès CIAM 1953," in "Les Documents de Sigtuna."

³⁹Van Eyck traveled to North Africa in 1951 and again in 1952 with, among others, Dutch architects Jan Rietveld and Herman Haan. He published his impressions of these two journeys with photographs in an article titled "Bouwen in de Zuidelijke Oasen," in the Dutch architectural journal *Forum* no.1 (1953): 28-38.

⁴⁰Vladimir Bodiansky, "Housing for the Greatest Number," September 4, 1951 (CIAM 42-JT-10-125/133) and Michel Ecochard, "Habitation pour le plus grand nombre. Position du problème par rapport à l'Habitat normal" (CIAM 42-JT-10-137/140). Ecochard's comments were not included in the Sigtuna report.

⁴¹Gaston Brunfaut (for Groupe Bruxelles), "Rapport de Groupe Bruxelles, Belge," in "Les Documents de Sigtuna."

⁴²Bâtir (with the approval of the Moroccan group), "A Note on the Proposed Habitat Charter" (CIAM 42-JT-10-54/66); French version, "Note sur le projet de Charte de l'Habitat," in "Les Documents de Sigtuna 1952"; Bâtir, "Project of Grid for the Habitat."

⁴³MARS Group, "MARS Group Proposal for CIAM 9" June 1952 in "Les documents de Sigtuna."

⁴⁴André Wogensky, "Quatrième réunion du congrès de travail, samedi le 28 juin, 19.00. Séance finale traitant la Charte de l'Habitat," in "Les Documents de Sigtuna 1952."

definition which embraced every aspect of taking possession of soil and space in order to organize them for the biological, sociological and spiritual life of its inhabitants.⁴⁵ They specified that it was more than an aggregation of distinct parcels, but an organized structure in which modifying a part modified the whole. Habitat was not static, but in a perpetual state of movement emulating the mobility of society, and its organization was always being renewed. Habitat as the commission conceived it was also not passive; there was a "perpetual game of action and reaction" between it and man.⁴⁶

Candilis, who played a particularly conspicuous role at Sigtuna, astutely recognized that the very use of the term represented an important change in thinking. In his view, habitation had been the topic of earlier CIAM congresses in Frankfurt, Brussels, and Paris; at Sigtuna they needed to recognize that "habitat" was an "extremely important new concept" for CIAM to establish.⁴⁷ He felt that what was now needed was something analogous to the Athens Charter for the development of modern urbanism.⁴⁸ He then graphically demonstrated the difference between habitat, on the one hand, and dwelling/*logis*, on the other, with a drawing he made at the first session (fig. 7). In this diagram dwelling/*logis* was no longer represented as an isolated function, but was identified as being part of a greater sphere -- both as the center of its immediate surroundings and its more general urban environment. Changing the object of study from dwelling to habitat represented a breakdown of the boundaries of autonomous living units implicit in the notion of dwelling to emphasize the relations of the dwelling to its environment.

The concept of habitat as the youngsters understood it represented a subtle but significant shift in CIAM's agenda for modern architecture. For the Dutch, providing habitat meant providing new settings for daily life.⁴⁹ These settings, they argued, differ from place to place because daily habits varied from place to place, depending on influences such as climate and social, economic and political factors. Providing a setting for daily life required them to know the elements that constituted it, an understanding they would reach by investigating existing towns or parts of towns and analyzing elements of daily life in several

⁴⁵"Rapport de la Commission sur la thème du CIAM 9," 28 June 1952, in "Les Documents de Sigtuna."

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Candilis, "Première Réunion," 3.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Dutch CIAM Group, "Remarks of the Dutch Group concerning theme CIAM 9," in "Les Documents de Sigtuna."

countries.⁵⁰

The idea that urbanism ought to respond to the particularities of a place had already been proposed by the MARS group at CIAM 6 and taken up by Dutch CIAM at CIAM 8. MARS restated its position in their written contribution to the Sigtuna meeting that the spiritual and emotional life of people could be accommodated by taking into account the particular social circumstances of the inhabitants and creating conditions under which social contacts and individual creativity could arise.⁵¹ The requirement that modern architecture be made more responsive to specific conditions challenged the universalizing approach of the Athens Charter and Le Corbusier's proposal at CIAM 7 that they draft a "Charter of Habitat." Their opposition to a new charter was philosophically grounded. To their way of thinking there could not be a universal Charter of Habitat that could be valid for every kind of society since countries, such as "primitive" Africa and Asia, that were at different stages of material advancement and had a different climate and habits, required different solutions.⁵² This view was shared in principle by the Scandinavian groups -- Sweden, Norway and Denmark -- who also proposed looking for methods that could be applied to various countries.⁵³ Generally valid principles for shaping the dwelling and its surroundings were available, but form and composition had to be found to accommodate different regional and community cultural patterns as well as "essential deviations" in climate, ways of living, habits, etc.⁵⁴

In the context of mass production, mass migration, mass housing, urban conglomerates, and burgeoning bureaucracies, many at the Sigtuna meeting felt that habitation had to be studied from the point of view of the differentiated individual and their need to be in society. Society was, in their view, the main way that individuals related to their environment, and the individual should be free to be alone or to interact with society. To achieve the perfect habitat, the Norwegian group believed that they had to create dwellings in which children and adults could "live at ease, both together and by themselves, and where a lack of space at home could be compensated for by community institutions."⁵⁵ Bâtir agreed

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹MARS, "MARS Group Proposal for CIAM 9."

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Swedish Group, "La Charte de l'Habitat, Propositions du Groupe Suedois pour le programme du 9e Congrès du CIAM 1953," in "Les Documents de CIAM."

⁵⁴E.R. (Norwegian Group), "The Dwelling Charter, Some Remarks."

⁵⁵E.R. (Norwegian Group), "The Dwelling Charter. Some Remarks."

that the essential aspect to be dealt with in the "Charter of Habitat" was to allow people to lead an individual life and still fulfill their duty to society.⁵⁶ Only the Socialist Belgians struck a somewhat different note. Wrote Gaston Brunfaut in the report for Groupe Bruxelles, "This period, the scale of this time, forces one to choose a social view in opposition to the individualistic view which marked another time. . . . the time has come where "logis" must be considered as a public service and be municipalized."⁵⁷

Arguing from another perspective were the French groups, ASCORAL and Bâtir, which supported Le Corbusier's idea of drawing up a Charter of Habitat to complement the Athens Charter. They submitted a total of four reports on the topic.⁵⁸ As could be expected ASCORAL defended the idea of a new charter by saying that it was not intended to be a collection of rules and rigid immutable solutions, but a collection of "guiding principles."⁵⁹ Bâtir supported that aspect of the "Charte de l'Habitat" as a formal manifesto and universal tool that would define simple, indisputable principles that would eventually be "reality for the whole world."⁶⁰ It is also not surprising that Wogenscky, as an ASCORAL member and senior associate in Le Corbusier's atelier, dismissed out of hand the critique of the functional city's analytical method, stating that CIAM was already treating habitation as an indivisible whole. The value of analysis lay in defining its components.⁶¹

The idea of habitat lent itself well to a wider and more inter-disciplinary approach to city planning favored by the younger members. MARS felt that architects should study sociology and even philosophy.⁶² The Dutch favored consulting specialists in biology, sociology, psychology, and education.⁶³ The Danes added that standards involved economic, sociological, and especially political considerations.⁶⁴ The Swedes were already making

⁵⁶Bâtir, "A Note on the Proposed Habitat Charter."

⁵⁷Gaston Brunfaut, "Rapport de Groupe Bruxelles, Belge."

⁵⁸ASCORAL, "Projet de Programme"; Bâtir, "Note sur le projet de Charte de l'Habitat,"; Project de la Grille pour l'Habitat,"; "Esquisse des premières mesures à envisager pour l'application des points de doctrine exposés dans la note concernant la Charte de l'Habitat," all in "Les Documents de Sigturna."

⁵⁹ASCORAL, "Projet de Programme."

⁶⁰Bâtir, "A Note on the Proposed Habitat Charter," 57.

⁶¹"Mais CIAM participe à une tendance qui considère l'habitation comme un tout indivisible; l'analyse doit servir à définir les composants de ce tout Dans la réalité tous les éléments de l'habitation sont intimement liés. André Wogenscky, "Première réunion."

⁶²MARS, "MARS Group Proposal for CIAM 9."

⁶³Dutch Group, "Remarks of the Dutch Group."

⁶⁴Danish Group, "Comments from the Danish Group of CIAM on the Programme for CIAM 9 and the Writing of the Charte de l'Habitat," in "Les Documents de Sigturna."

contact with experts in these fields and were organizing seminars to discuss actual problems.⁶⁵ Paris-Jeune was studying questions of finance and social legislation that pertained to the construction of habitat. The Gamma-Maroc group was a model in that it already included members from various disciplines including geographers and sociologists.⁶⁶

The idea of organic completeness inherent in the notion of habitat as it was discussed at Sigtuna challenged the idea of separating the functions of a city into autonomous sectors as called for in the Athens Charter. Habitat can not be divided into distinct parts, the Swedes declared; it was "an organized structure where the modification of each part modifies the whole."⁶⁷ Bâtir, using the organic metaphor of the cell, argued that habitat was dependent on the social body of which it formed an integral part.⁶⁸ Dutch CIAM restated what they had already said at Bergamo, namely, that it was no longer acceptable to consider housing as a separate planning problem; functions should be considered in their totality and new villages, towns, and neighborhoods should be planned as complete and seen as a new setting for daily human life.⁶⁹

These views were echoed by Rolf Gutmann and Theo Manz, two members of the Schweizergruppe/Arbeitsgemeinschaft Basel, another affiliate of Swiss CIAM. Gutmann had been a friend of van Eyck's during his Zurich years. An overlooked figure in Team 10 histories, Gutmann, according to Van Eyck, "contributed quietly though considerably to the formative discussions in CIAM between the Sigtuna meeting in 1952 and the one in Dubrovnik four years later."⁷⁰ Gutmann and Manz were, along with Dutch youngsters Wim van Bodegraven, among the first to explicitly state at a CIAM meeting that CIAM ought to replace its prewar analytical approach with a more holistic one that would consider towns, or parts of towns, as entities.⁷¹ They thought that isolating a problem had no value, since the

⁶⁵Uno Åhren (Swedish Group), "Cinquième réunion," 12.

⁶⁶Michel Ecochard, "Cinquième réunion," 14.

⁶⁷"Rapport de la Commission sur la thème du CIAM 9."

⁶⁸Bâtir, "A Note on the Proposed Habitat Charter."

⁶⁹Dutch Group, "Remarks of the Dutch Group."

⁷⁰Once Team 10 had been established, van Eyck claimed that Gutmann had elaborated extensively on the part-whole identification during one of their meetings in 1962 to "ears deaf as doorposts." Aldo van Eyck, "Ex Turico A Liquid Novum," 38.

⁷¹Untitled draft, April 1952 (NAi/BAK a12[15]). There are two versions of the text by Rolf Gutmann and Theo Manz; the second is "'La Charte de l'Habitat' Ueberlegungen über das Wesen Themas," in "Les Documents de Sigtuna."

sum of the parts did not necessarily make a whole.⁷² The cohesion of a settlement lay in its relations both between its constituent parts and between the parts and the whole.⁷³ They concluded that CIAM could no longer continue to regard the dwelling as a separate function; it had to be integrated into the rest of the settlement. Every time a problem is isolated, they claimed, a mistake is made at the level of the overall situation.⁷⁴ Once the problem is identified as a lack of relation between the center and the periphery of the city, that city has become a conglomeration and can no longer be experienced in its entirety as an organism; in such a case methods such as the separation of functions in the Athens Charter are useless. Given van Eyck's developing personal theoretical position, which argued for an attitude that simultaneously entertained the two ends of any dualism, it is not surprising that he found the contribution by Gutmann and Manz to be a "probing exposé" of habitat "in the light of the part-whole dichotomy -- or non-dichotomy."

The Dutch group had been particularly vocal on this point of clearly defined categories in CIAM meetings in Holland in the months leading up to Sigtuna. Expressing their doubts about the usefulness of the Athens Charter more freely at home than they were doing at CIAM congresses, they openly criticized the four-function classification of dwelling, work, traffic, and recreation as too coarse and favored planning in greater detail.⁷⁵ Towards this end, one of the youngest members, Wim van Bodengraven, told the Sigtuna congress that the analytical method of the functional city had produced a "clear picture of the component elements and their relationships" in preindustrial cities,⁷⁶ but as an approach to contemporary realities, for town planning for postindustrial cities, it was inadequate. In spite of this vehement attack on the functional approach, Van Bodengraven saw some value in the analytical methods of the Athens Charter, however, solving the problem of the separation of the core from new extensions if the analysis produced by the method of the Athens Charter was followed by synthesis.⁷⁷

The Belgian members, represented by professors Bourgeois and Michel, were also reluctant to discard the Athens Charter, though they admitted that to date it had provided no

⁷²In the draft version, the following sentence was underlined: "Die menschliche Siedlung muss in synthetischer Schau als Ganzheit und Einheit, als Formung unseres gesamten Lebensraumes, erfasst werden" (ibid).

⁷³Strauven, *Aldo van Eyck*, 242-43.

⁷⁴Gutmann and Manz, "Ueberlegungen."

⁷⁵Hans Hovens Greve, Minutes of Opbouw Meeting, Rotterdam, 2 April 1952 (CIAM 42-RV-X-16-23).

⁷⁶Van Bodengraven, "Time as an Essential Factor in Planning (Habitat)," in "Les Documents de Sigtuna."

⁷⁷Ibid.

solution for the problems of the postwar world. Before considering an approach to a special problem like habitat, however, they thought they should be looking for solutions to the problem of the redistribution of large numbers of people and the technical and organizational problems of a city that result from these migrations.⁷⁸

The whole idea of habitat hinged on the assumption that the city was not divided into distinct parts, but was conceived as an organic structure where the modification of any one part changes the whole and which was not static but whose organization was always renewed. This led to some speculation about what its structure or framework should be that would allow this conception to be realized.⁷⁹ Van Bodengraven felt the need for a clearly planned structure that was cohesive, so that from its inception through its further development, it could maintain the same relationships between its component parts.⁸⁰ The MARS group maintained that modern architecture should construct a framework that would encourage the development of social activities,⁸¹ but they did not define what they meant by "framework."

Moreover, like any organic structure, a habitable city must be able to accommodate "change over time," a concept which had the notion of history embedded within it. The idea was not new to CIAM, but it became a favorite theme at Sigstuna: time was not only a creative but an essential factor in planning habitat, and towns should be judged by their ability to adjust to changing habits of daily life.⁸² To avoid self-destruction, architects needed to develop a structure that maintain urban coherence from inception through its growth and development. This would introduce historical values that was the shortcoming of contemporary town planning as he perceived it. As argued by the Italian CIAM members at CIAM 7, he thought it was important for designers to think in terms of a future that could only be successfully accomplished if they were "historically evolved."⁸³ Even the French group Bâtir agreed that building needs could only be well served if they were capable of supporting a state of continual change.⁸⁴

The reaction of the older generation to the notion of habitat followed national lines. Dutch member Van Eesteren supported the definition of habitat as a setting for daily life,

⁷⁸Groupe Bruxelles, "Rapport du groupe Bruxelles, Belge," 29 June 1952, in "Les Documents de Sigstuna."

⁷⁹"Rapport de la Commission sur la thème du CIAM 9."

⁸⁰Van Bodengraven (Dutch CIAM), "Time as an Essential Factor in Planning (Habitat)."

⁸¹MARS, "MARS Group Proposal for CIAM 9."

⁸²Van Bodegraven, "Time as an Essential Factor in Planning (Habitat)."

⁸³Ibid.

⁸⁴Bâtir, "A Note on the Proposed Habitat Charter."

adding that through scale they could achieve its most complete and humane realization. Alfred Roth took a position in between supporting the emphasis on relations and the interaction of aspects and connections between factors, without abandoning the four divisions of the Athens Charter.⁸⁵ FIAM member Marcel Lods reminded the congress of the positive influence exerted by the Athens Charter on a whole generation,⁸⁶ and reminded the participants that they were architects, and it was in practical work and not philosophical discussion that they would discover new solutions.⁸⁷ Other old guard member Sigfried Giedion thought that the word "habitat" had been "brought into disorder by our wise-crackers of the younger and the older generation," which for him included Wogenscky, Rogers, and the very nice and helpless chairman Vilhelm Lauritzen.⁸⁸

The Dutch-CIAM members had raised some provocative questions at Sigtuna, but none of them were discussed further. Van Eyck again restated his non-classical view of the world that he had introduced at CIAM 6, in which he argued that the classical view, in which fundamental elements such as individual and collective were conceived as opposites, was an erroneous interpretation of a dynamic Greek conception and contradicted the spirit of CIAM. Van Eyck and van Bodengraven had also raised the question of what impact the new philosophy of Henri Bergson was having on town planning.⁸⁹ Van Eyck thought that CIAM's ideas affirmed Bergson's notion of "simultanéité et de la durée," since it was in harmony with the premise that modern architecture needed to accommodate "change over time," though van Eyck argued that it was more important to achieve "constancy within change."⁹⁰ Although he had introduced his ideas about time at CIAM 6 and again at Sigtuna, they did not take hold until later, when they reappeared under other auspices and with a new vocabulary in early Team 10 thinking and in Peter and Alison Smithson's theory of town planning.⁹¹

Van Bodengraven was alone in raising the question of what effect speed was having

⁸⁵Alfred Roth, "Deuxième réunion," 8.

⁸⁶Ibid.

⁸⁷Marcel Lods, "Première réunion," 4.

⁸⁸Sigfried Giedion to Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, Toronto, Canada, 12 December 1952 (CIAM 42-SG-40-45; 42-K-1952-12-12[6]).

⁸⁹Van Eyck, "Première réunion"; Van Bodegraven, "Time as an Essential Factor."

⁹⁰For a summary of Bergson's philosophy on time as it relates to van Eyck's theory, see Strauven, *Aldo van Eyck*, 211, 432 ff.

⁹¹Alison and Peter Smithson, "Preliminary: An Alternative to the Idea of the Garden City," 1954; final version, 30 March 1956. Photocopy from the Alison and Peter Smithson Office, in Francis Strauven Papers.

on the experience and planning of cities, an insightful question, considering the unprecedented changes wrought by the automobile in postwar cities. Van Bodengraven laid the problems of the contemporary city to "accelerated speed, intensity and spread of traffic, and the increased density and spread" that had resulting in wider highways and larger squares, and the dissolution, or separation of the center from its adjacent districts.⁹² He had observed that the perception of a city changed with speed. For example, roads and walls were experienced as one-dimensional as soon as the movement in one direction exceeds the scale of the pedestrian. They stretch out into the distance more or less infinitely and cease to be conceivable or measurable. The whole scarcely becomes a conception in space. The resulting comparative lack of measure perception causes relations to be lost. Without doubt, he argued, there are other possibilities in the field of city planning--the projection of elementary rhythmic movements might provide the means to indicate expression of time-space.⁹³

Although the grid as a method of presentation at CIAM congresses was not a major concern at Sigtuna, it did not disappear. Le Corbusier and ASCORAL's insistence on the use of grid at Bergamo had at its foundation an epistemological framework for the rational and analytical organization and planning of a city. Faced with the less categorical attitude latent in the notion of habitat, the youngsters at Sigtuna called into question the grid as a viable method of presentation. The Portuguese group were more moderate, regarding the Athens Charter as a universal instrument, but agreed that it would have to be modified to accommodate "particular manifestations," since problems of habitat would always be accompanied by differences in circumstance and conditions.⁹⁴ The Swedish architect Gregor Paulsson claimed that the specific conditions he was dealing with were very different from those involved in the grid system and inadequately represented by it.⁹⁵

Four proposals for presentation grids were introduced at Sigtuna with differences in approach that were divided along generational, national, and ultimately philosophical lines. One was made by Bâtir; it represented the Corbusian approach and was presented by French delegates Marcel Lods and Vladimir Bodiansky (fig. 6). Supporting the work of their compatriots ASCORAL called for a *grid de l'habitation* comparable to the grid proposed at Bergamo. Another method was represented in the collective effort of commission II, whose

⁹²Ibid.

⁹³Van Bodengraven, "Time as an Essential Factor."

⁹⁴Portuguese Group, "Remarques du Groupe Portugais," in "Les Documents de Sigtuna."

⁹⁵Gregor Paulsson, "Deuxième réunion," 7.

membership was made up of an international group of younger members, including Viana de Lima (Portugal) and Jaqueline Tyrwhitt (MARS). Both submissions were based on a Cartesian grid and incorporated some of the new values represented by the concept of habitat, but the grid proposed by commission II was less clearly defined. The most pragmatic proposals, which utilized methods that would be more responsive to varying circumstances, came from the Portuguese and the English.

Bâtir continued to argue for a universalizing scheme with predetermined categories using rows and columns demonstrating the supremacy of a Cartesian, overall top-down approach. They insisted upon keeping the term "grid," but proposed new headings for other criteria, including the ability for a building to accommodate continual change over time and new standards of living, size and age of families, technical progress, and longevity of forms, and what they called the "great number" which referred to standardization of forms, dimensions, and proportions. Bâtir labeled the horizontal rows "natural milieu," "social milieu," "forms," and "techniques" and the vertical columns in two major headings of "fundamental needs"--which included space, biology, spirit and emotion--and "universal constraints"--validity, the great number and economy.⁹⁶

Commission II's recommendation was aimed at developing a form of presentation that was as "simple and supple as possible" in order that each group could bring out what they considered to be of greatest importance in their schemes and allow them to discover what aspects were essential to creating a good habitat.⁹⁷ Although their method of presentation was structured like the CIAM grid, they changed the categories to those they felt were more directly connected to habitat, such as the "spiritual" and the "natural and social environment." Instead of the four functions along the horizontal, they left these categories undefined, recommending in the accompanying text that the "natural environment" and "social environment" could replace the categories of "form" and "technique" that had been proposed in the Bâtir proposal for a new grid.⁹⁸ The proposal of the commission mediated between the Cartesian and deductive approach of the Bâtir proposal and the more pragmatic and inductive method of presentation used by the Portuguese and English.

The Portuguese thought that a universal method of analysis ought to be applied to the

⁹⁶Bâtir, "Project of Grid for the Habitat."

⁹⁷"Preliminary Report from Commission on the Method of Presentation of Work for CIAM 9," 28 June 1952 (CIAM 42-AR-6-38).

⁹⁸"Report from the Commission on the Method of Presentation of Work for CIAM 9" in "Les Documents de Sigtuna."

particular cases of the national groups. After considering all the cases, they could identify their collective objectives in a "Charter of Habitat."⁹⁹ This inductive approach was also supported by the Swedish and Danish groups as an alternative to the traditionally deductive methods of predetermined categories used by CIAM.

The MARS group sent along their proposal in the form of a two-page text, in which they described a simpler more pragmatic system than the grid. In their view it was "no good trying to force all material into an arbitrary grid where each (horizontal) subject is treated from the same number of (vertical) angle. This kind of logistical tour-de-force is not likely to add to the understanding of the individual schemes." They proposed that the grid or schedule they design be "flexible in some parts and rigidly standardised in others."¹⁰⁰

The reaction to the proposal of commission II about the method of presentation also fell along national and philosophical lines. Jacqueline Tyrwhitt, representing MARS, called the very concept of the grid into question as being too limiting for what the charter had to contain, and she proposed a model in which groups would "be given the full liberty of emphasizing diverse problems depending on their own ideas."¹⁰¹ J.J. Honegger and the Swedish and Danish groups were all in agreement that CIAM's deductive methods ought to give way to a more inductive one.¹⁰² The Paris-Jeune wanted to depart from the notion of a grid entirely and express their ideas in a framework that would be less rigid.¹⁰³ On the other side were older members, Emery, Roth and Ecochard, all expressed their desire for something more definitive than the proposal of commission II: Emery in order to facilitate comparison; Roth for the same reason and also to make it more legible and easy to reproduce and furnish the raw materials at the congress for the "Charte de l'Habitat"; and Ecochard because the grid was "an instrument of the first order." The session ended with an agreement to use the grid presented by commission II, but with the qualifications that the remarks by Roth and Ecochard be taken into consideration, and Wogenscky (ASCORAL) accepted responsibility for organizing the next congress based on the ideas agreed on at this meeting.

No formal commissions were set up to discuss the place of the younger members in CIAM, but it was discussed in one of the six plenary sessions led by Candilis, who, for

⁹⁹Portuguese Group, "Rémarques du Groupe Portugais."

¹⁰⁰MARS, "MARS Group Proposal for CIAM 9."

¹⁰¹Tyrwhitt, "Quatrième réunion," 11.

¹⁰²J.J. Honegger and Gregor Paulsson, "Deuxième réunion," 7; Danish Group, "Comments from the Danish Group."

¹⁰³Thurnauer (Group "Paris-Jeune"), "Cinquième reunion," 13.

unknown reasons, had replaced the delegate from the student groups, Christian Norberg-Schultz, as chairman. A proposal that the younger generation take over CIAM altogether had been made at an extraordinary CIAM council meeting held in Paris in May of 1952, at which younger members Bill Howell (MARS) and Candilis (then still representing ATBAT), who had been elected to the council at CIAM 8, had been invited.¹⁰⁴ Some of the older generation had begun to recognize that CIAM was at a turning point. Gropius remarked on the new attitudes in CIAM; Le Corbusier complained that his contemporaries had been too rigid at CIAM 8; he felt they had finished their job and suggested it was time to give the younger members a chance. Both Gropius and Corbusier thought the youngers should organize the next congress, and Giedion concurred. But both generations also wanted to maintain continuity by finding a link between old and young.

There were also dissenters: Rogers argued that no distinction should be made between young and old; Howell, on the other side, maintained that the younger generation was not yet ready to take up the torch. For the moment, even Candilis agreed with the older members that "evolution must be natural" and not too abrupt: continuity could be better achieved by taking in a few youngers each time.¹⁰⁵

By the Sigtuna meeting however, Candilis's solution was just the opposite of the one he had expressed at the council meeting in Paris a few months earlier. Perhaps emboldened by the absence of Gropius, Le Corbusier, and Giedion, he expressed disappointment with the architects of the inter-war years and with the present state of CIAM. In his opinion, the old guard had founded modern architecture and fought for it for 25 years through its "constructive" and "destructive" phases, but the character and content of this movement had been governed by a closed team. Since the congress at Bergamo three years ago a break had occurred between the old guard and those architects who had entered CIAM hoping to "faire du neuf dans l'esprit de CIAM." CIAM now consisted of two "families": the founders and those who had built on their foundation, and the latter had either to work under conditions imposed by the founders or not work at all. He reminded them that the younger generation had been demanding a more active role since CIAM 8. Candilis now proposed a radical restructuring of the institution that would give the *groupes de jeunes* independence from the

¹⁰⁴Sigfried Giedion to Georges Candilis, Sigfried Giedion to Bill Howell, 18 March 1952 (CIAM 42-SG-37-50); "Conseil CIAM May 1952" (CIAM 42-JT-14-98/104); Le Corbusier, Giedion, Tyrwhitt circular letter to CIAM Delegates, 14 May 1952 (CIAM 42-JT-12-119).

¹⁰⁵ "Extraordinary Council Meeting," 9 May 1952, Paris.

older generation. His proposal rejected the practice of the Dutch and Norwegian CIAM groups of having the youngers work alongside established members. Speaking on behalf of the younger members, Candilis then agreed to contribute to the future direction of CIAM by taking on the responsibility of organizing CIAM 9: "We spoke at the council meeting in Paris of a congress organized uniquely by 'les jeunes.' If asked to do it, we will accept."¹⁰⁶ After the Sigtuna meeting, Candilis followed up his proposal with letters to the CIAM executive about the future of CIAM and the importance of the younger groups to its survival.¹⁰⁷ He recommended that two or three adjunct secretaries from among the youngers be added to the executive council.

The lack of consensus in the responses to Candilis's proposals again fell roughly along generational lines. John Despotopoulos, the Athenian professor of architecture, supported Candilis's diagnosis, but not his remedy. In his opinion it was not up to the youngers to create distance between themselves and the older generation, though he admitted the older generation should change with the times so that a fruitful collaboration could exist between the young and old. In his opinion the dominating personalities of CIAM were exercising a paralyzing power and "les jeunes" were right to oppose "les vieux."¹⁰⁸ Tyrwhitt divided CIAM members into creators and non-creators, and these categories too turned out to run along generational lines. Because the middle generation were all "noncreators," she thought its members should be passed over in favor of the youngers.

Responses from the older generation ranged from moderate to reactionary. Alfred Roth, in his characteristically conciliatory way, spoke of the need for the new talent that would come to CIAM if CIAM offered the young something to do; they should also search the young out, but it was "not necessary to dramatize the situation."¹⁰⁹ Honorary President Cornelius van Eesteren, consistent with the experience in The Netherlands of accepting the simultaneity of continuity and change, argued for maintaining continuity and working together because it had been the characteristic feature of CIAM. In their words, within CIAM one person had an idea and others would elaborate it. It was in this sense that for van Eesteren

¹⁰⁶Candilis, "Sixième reunion," 16-17.

¹⁰⁷Georges Candilis, Casablanca, to Jose Luis Sert, New York, 31 December 1952 (CIAM 42-JT-12-44/48).

¹⁰⁸"Ce n'est pas aux jeunes à mettre de la distance entre eux et les vieux. C'est aux vieux de se transformer. Il peut exister une collaboration féconde entre les jeunes et vieux" (John Despotopoulos, "Sixième réunion," 17).

¹⁰⁹Roth, "Sixième réunion," 17.

"les jeunes" no longer existed.¹¹⁰ André Wogensky, still an employee and close collaborator of Le Corbusier, dismissed the question of old and young as irrelevant: CIAM 9 was already being organized by "les éléments nouveaux." He also dismissed the complaints that the younger members felt crushed since they had "rien dans le ventre," and he advised them to "help CIAM and CIAM will help you."¹¹¹

Even among the youngers themselves there was no consensus. Van Eyck was critical of the organization, but he also considered it to be the voice of the avant-garde in contemporary society, working to see to it that the new conceptions of time and of the world filter down to the general culture. He still thought of CIAM as a dynamic force leading people to a new form of society.¹¹² Candilis closed the session by saying that a spirit had emerged from the discussion in which there were no young or old, but, as stated by Tyrwhitt, only creators and non-creators. The success of CIAM depended less on the content than on the number of members who were creators.

The Dutch, Swiss, and in their report the MARS members made the most important theoretical contributions to the Sigtuna meeting. Of the six Dutch CIAM members that attended Sigtuna, four were from the younger generation. Opbouw member Hans Hovens Greve sat on the committee that discussed methods of presentation, and van Eyck's friend Wim van Bodengraven made important intellectual contributions in the report he submitted to the meeting.¹¹³ Van Eesteren and Aldo van Eyck participated on the important committee that was to define the idea of habitat. The Dutch and Swiss members were the first to promote the idea that emerged at Sigtuna that cities should be dealt with as whole entities that provided theoretical foundation for an alternative approach to the functional city. To this position MARS and the Dutch added the requirement that the new planning methodology take into account particular conditions across different scales and circumstances. They criticized static conceptions of town planning, favoring instead creating structures and forms that could develop over time to keep pace with the expanding functions of the growing city. The planner, so far as this Dutch group was concerned, was to provide a structure that could be experienced as an entity and at the same time be able to accommodate change over time--

¹¹⁰Van Eesteren, "Sixième réunion," 18.

¹¹¹Wogensky, *ibid.*, 17.

¹¹²"CIAM est l'expression dynamique conduisant à une nouvelle forme de société" (van Eyck, "Première réunion," 5).

¹¹³Van Bodengraven, "Time as an Essential Factor"; see also Strauven, *Aldo van Eyck*, 213.

"failure to do so will lead to self-destruction."¹¹⁴ The contributions of Dutch CIAM members at Sigtuna represented a powerful critique of CIAM methodology and a reminder of the responsibilities of modern architecture. They also raised questions that would reappear, including the need for the cooperation of specialists in the sciences in understanding and planning communities.¹¹⁵ Many of the issues they raised were not exclusive to Dutch CIAM--many individuals and groups expressed similar notions--but the Dutch had developed them over a longer period of time than any other national group.

Another important contribution to the Sigtuna meeting was again made by Ernest Rogers, who, as at CIAM 8, summarized the state of modern architecture. In his view, the aims of modern architecture had not changed, but their methods had:

There has been a heroic time, a time of masters. After the war we were part of a constructive phase. It feared the term reality because it sometimes signified abandoning the ideal. However, we must hold onto the ideas that have a reality for us. We cannot establish laws. But we should find a problematic, a method for solving our problems. And it is significant for CIAM that we work to respect our differences in views/opinions and temperaments. It is by insisting on our individual and national differences that we can construct a free and democratic society.¹¹⁶

Rogers's statement did not question that the aim of modern architecture was to solve "our problems," but those problems he identified as acknowledging individual and national differences in society and they they had yet to find a method for doing this. Rogers also restated the need to accommodate continuity and change, which he conceived of as a continuity of aim and ideals and a change in method. It is precisely here that he stated what would become the intellectual basis and agenda of the younger generation who would, after the next congress, become known as Team 10.

Le Corbusier pronounced the Sigtuna meeting a disaster, and the executive members of CIAM realized that they would have to accommodate the youngsters somehow. Given the

¹¹⁴Van Bodengraven, "Time as an Essential Factor."

¹¹⁵Dutch Group, "Remarks of the Dutch Group."

¹¹⁶"... une société doit avoir un symbole d'appel et d'unité: c'est pour nous le combat pour l'architecture moderne. Notre but n'a pas changé mes nos méthodes. Il y a eu un temps héroïque, le temps des maîtres. Après la guerre nous avons assisté à une phase constructive. Il craint le terme réalité par ce qu'ils signifie parfois abandon de l'idéal. Mais il faut nous attacher à des idées qui ont une réalité pour nous. Nous ne pouvons établir des lois. Mais nous devons trouver une problématique, une méthode pour la solution de nos problèmes. Et c'est significatif pour CIAM de faire notre oeuvre en respectant les différences dans nos vus et nos temperaments. C'est en insistant sur ces différences individuelles et nationales que nous pouvons construire une société libre et démocratique." Rogers, "Reunion de cloture du congres de travail, dimanche le 29 juin, 17.15," in "Les Documents de CIAM."

considerable number of requests that CIAM had received from young groups eager to participate, Sert thought that it would be "advisable to transfer matters immediately to the young people," but added that the CIAM Council would have to decide what action to take, if the young people did not react as expected. Sert exhibited more willingness to hand over power to the youngsters than the other members of the old guard did, apparently proposing a reorganization which he sent with the letter.¹¹⁷ Giedion believed that "patronizing the youngsters" was ridiculous nonsense; he was not sure to what extent they were able to assume an active role; he was in close contact with some of the best, but still did not know "what lives in them." He suggested letting them act independently insofar as possible, and then if their activities ran parallel in spirit to that of the CIAM elders, in two years time they could decide how to proceed.¹¹⁸ The discussion about habitat at Sigtuna consolidated a whole new series of values for modern architecture and planning. These included favoring environment over autonomy, wholeness over an equal distribution of elements, differentiated parts over repetition of standardized elements, places over placelessness, a balance between the collective and the individual, change through time over static and unchangeable conditions, and looking to history as a guide to their future course. In the notion of habitat was a sociologically based urbanism and the idea of using a "framework" as a method.

Although the idea of habitat was still in its formative stage at Sigtuna, the fact that similar notions were being expressed by such a large number of individuals suggests that this kind of thinking had already been developing before the Sigtuna meeting. Delegates left the meeting unaware that these individual positions reflected a more general cultural change within Europe, but the theoretical change that was gaining momentum at Sigtuna would be expressed in formal terms in the projects the younger members would present at CIAM 9.

The Sigtuna report revealed for the first time in an official CIAM document some of the new attitudes, ideas, and priorities the younger members had been proposing for modern architecture since the first postwar congress in Bridgwater. Many of the ideas -- acknowledging the usefulness of the Athens Charter to remedy the conditions of 19th-century cities, but rejecting the four-functions approach to town planning and proposing alternatives; approaching towns, or parts of towns, as "totalities"; addressing the plurality created by varying physical and sociological conditions, and acknowledging the need to accommodate

¹¹⁷The memorandum with Sert's suggestions for the reorganization of CIAM were not attached; J.L. Sert, New York, to Georges Candilis, Casablanca, 26 November 1952 (CIAM 42-JLS-27-96).

¹¹⁸Sigfried Giedion to Jacqueline Tyrwhitt, Toronto, Canada, 12 December 1952 (CIAM 42-SG-40-45).

change over time -- later would be summarized in the "Statement of Habitat"/"Doorn Manifesto" the youngers would author a year and a half later. The confusing, but searching, character of the discussions at this meeting gave impetus to the planning agenda of CIAM as it would develop over the next few years. As the younger members' understanding of a more organic and integrative attitude developed so did their criticisms of CIAM's analytical methods.

CHAPTER V.

CIAM AT A TURNING POINT

CIAM 9: Architectural Expressions of Habitat

The CIAM 9 congress stood in sharp contrast to the small, personal and contributive atmosphere of the Sigtuna meeting. It was the largest congress in CIAM's history,¹ with 3,000 delegates, members, and observers attending. The hierarchical organization and controlled atmosphere that characterized it² stood in stark contrast to the informality and intimacy of the Sigtuna meeting with its small groups and open discussion. For young MARS member Alison, who, with her husband Peter Smithson were attending their first CIAM meeting in an official capacity, the atmosphere was less than convivial.³ The older generation, she recounted, were not housed at the site of the congress, but "elsewhere, in one or more hotels; quite aloof, for they were the 'old family' . . . the aloofness engulfed certain middle generation also" that despite the fact that other young British architect John Voelcker had worked in the office of BBPR in 1950 and with William and Gillian Howell, had been taught by Ernesto Rogers at the Architectural Association, "BBPR were only persuaded to eat one evening meal with the young English . . . not very communicative and offering less comradery than complete stranger . . . this lack of connective will was to prove the rotten core of CIAM."⁴ But there was, as Alison Smithson recalled, "a spontaneous recognition by several younger groups of a shared way of thinking."⁵

This lack of connection with the younger generation was reinforced with their reluctance to include them in the decisions surrounding the future of CIAM. Consistent with their past actions, decisions about the intellectual direction, program, and proceedings of the

¹No book was published after the CIAM 9 Congress. The most comprehensive and unedited documentation for this congress is the compilation by Jaqueline Tyrwhitt "CIAM 9. Aix-en-Provence. 19-26 juillet 1953, Rapports des Commissions," unpaginated (CIAM JT-X-1), hereafter referred to as CIAM 9 Compilation. The CIAM report of the congress was "Report of CIAM Conference 1953" (AA, R(L/O) 061.32: 72 CIAM), hereafter referred to as "CIAM 9 Report." The congress is represented differently in these two documents.

²"The 10th Congress of CIAM, Dubrovnik" (RIBA GoE 312/5).

³Peter Smithson had attended the CIAM 8 meeting as a student to hear Le Corbusier speak.

⁴Alison Smithson, *Team 10 Meetings*, (Delft: Publikatieburo Bouwkunde, 1991), 18.

⁵Alison and Peter Smithson, "Draft Framework 4," n.d. (Alison and Peter Smithson Office, "Team 10" box).

congress had been determined before the meeting by the self-appointed executive group within the CIAM Council, who gathered at Locust Valley, Long Island, three months before the congress. At this meeting Sert, Giedion, and Tyrwhitt developed an "Outline for Discussion at CIAM 9" which incorporated some of the environmental aspects of habitat as they had been discussed at the Sigtuna meeting. They redefined habitat as the area delimited by the walking radius within which people lived. Conceptually habitat expressed the interaction between a living unit and its environment, and between these and the core of the city. Its formal expression displayed the advantages of compact planning over continuous scatter, and as the Italians had suggested at Bergamo and the Dutch at Sigtuna, it provided a means for expressing continuity with the past and opportunities for future variations. The group also prepared a list of people they wanted to present papers. It included Sert, who was then president, Giedion, who was secretary-general, Walter Gropius, Le Corbusier, Cornelius van Eesteren, then honorary president, Ernesto Rogers, a CIAM council member, an unspecified representative from the MARS group, and Georges Candilis, another CIAM council member and the only representative of the younger generation to be included on the list.⁶ They planned to collect the presentations into a book along the lines of *The Heart of the City*, the product of CIAM 8, to be called "The Human Habitat." In addition to the papers, it would include a series of general statements, reproduction of interesting projects shown at the congress, and the Habitat Charter which would be written based on the conclusions the congress reached. This executive committee also listed seven points to be discussed at CIAM 9, a list that shows the degree to which the idea of environment inherent in the concept of habitat as defined by the youngsters at the Sigtuna meeting had infiltrated the thinking of the old guard, but also the degree to which other aspects of the conception of habitat escaped them.⁷ They still did not conceive of the city as an organic whole; for them it remained divided along functional lines, though now with a central core to provide for the additional function of habitat.

⁶"Notes on Meeting at Locust Valley, 3 May 1953," in CIAM 9 Compilation.

⁷The topics they listed as an "Outline for Discussions at CIAM 9 'The Habitat'" were: The Habitat (the walking radius within which man grows and lives) as a universal problem: occurs in every country; Means of expressing the connection and inter-action between Cell and the Environment (which together for the Habitat); The degrees of isolation necessary (areas of privacy); The value of a vertical integration of age-groups: How far are their needs complementary, how far conflicting?; the advantages of compact planning versus continuous scatter; The relation of the Habitat to the Core; Means of expressing continuity with the past and leaving opportunities for future variations; The need for gaiety in the Habitat (Sert, Giedion, Tyrwhitt, "Notes on Meeting at Locust Valley, May 3rd, 1953," CIAM 9 Compilation).

CIAM 9 was held at Aix-en-Provence, 19-26 July 1953. Sert, Giedion, and Gropius arrived at the delegates' meeting, the first scheduled meeting of the congress, armed with the topics that would be assigned to the various commissions and a list of those chosen to head them, another decision made by the council members -- Sert, Giedion, Tyrwhitt, Gropius, Honegger, Rogers, Coates, Godfrey Samuel, Emery, and Candilis -- at an informal meeting held just before the first session. The topics they chose were, for commission I, urbanism; for II, the arts; for III, education; for IV, building techniques; for V, legislation; and for VI, social questions. In addition to selecting the commission heads, they had chosen the commission secretaries,⁸ and had figured out a way to control the degree to which members could participate in the commissions by color coding them according to their status. Members of CIRPAC were given red labels; members and junior members were assigned blue labels, if they had been recommended by group delegates or council members, and all the rest were given the green labels that designated an observer. Only those with red or blue labels were allowed to join a commission or attend its meetings. The choice of commissions and the organization of those attending were ratified at the delegates meeting that immediately followed.⁹

With the exception of the new commission VI, the commissions were again led by the old guard: commission I was headed by Sert; commission II by Giedion and Aldo van Eyck; commission III by Gropius and Rogers; commission IV by MARS founder Wells Coates (1895-1958) and Vladimir Bodiensky (Bâtir), and commission V by Marcel Lods (Bâtir). Commission VI was headed by Pierre-André Emery, who worked in Le Corbusier's atelier and could therefore be counted on to support CIAM ideology. Georges Candilis was given

⁸A handwritten note on the minutes of the informal meeting on 19 July 1953 lists the names of the commission heads; the same names reappear on the minutes of the scheduled delegates meeting later that same day, suggesting that they were chosen by the CIAM Council, before being put to a vote by the delegates at large, "Minutes for Informal Meeting," in CIAM 9 Compilation.

⁹A number of younger members participated in the first scheduled delegates meeting of 19 July 1953, including Bakema, van Eyck, and Candilis. The others -- Wogenscky, Thurnauer and Aujame (CIAM-Paris) -- likely had allegiances with the Corbusian ideology or were from more recently formed CIAM groups, viz. Emery and Miquel (Algiers), Chemineau (Morocco), de Silva (MARG, Ceylon), Korsmo (Norway), Viana de Lima (Portugal), Fitschy and Braem (Belgium), Paulsson (Sweden) -- and thus either did not have the political clout of other more established groups or, like the Netherlands, had younger members who had been participating in CIAM since the first postwar meeting at Bridgewater. Two sets of minutes document the first scheduled CIRPAC meeting: "Minutes of Organisation Meeting, held on July 19th," in "Minutes of Meetings of CIRPAC," which also includes minutes for two other CIRPAC meetings held 23-24 July 1953 (CIAM 42-JT-12-125/131); and "Delegates' Meeting July 19th 1953," in CIAM 9 Compilation.

some role, but it is unclear what it was.¹⁰ However, newer members were asked to lead sub-commissions: sub-commission Ia was headed by Italian CIAM member Enrico Peressutti (b. 1908); sub-commission Ib by Jacob Bakema; and sub-commission Ic by CIAM Algiers member Louis Miquel (1913-1987).¹¹ Students and wives of the delegates were appointed as secretaries.

While some younger members were contributors to commissions I and II, the largest number, including MARS members William Howell, Alison and Peter Smithson, and ATBAT member Shadrach Woods, were appointed to commission VI to discuss the new topic of "social questions."¹² Commission I on urbanism, which was the largest, attracted several of the new thinkers from Group Bâle, including Theo Manz and Rolf Gutmann (sub-commission 1a). Van Eyck played some leadership role in commission II, to which a young MARS member named John Voelcker also contributed. The other three commissions, which tackled the more established CIAM themes of building technique, legislation, and education mainly involved the older CIAM members.

The first three days of the congress were devoted to meetings of the six permanent commissions and the presentation of about 40 grids by both national groups and individuals. Then the six commissions were given the task of studying the grids presented from the particular angle assigned, analyzing their commonalities and differences and making recommendations with a view to contributing a chapter to the Habitat Charter. After a one-day pause the public portion of the congress began with invited guests and journalists. The commissions then met again briefly and finally presented their conclusions before a session open to the public. On the final day they moved to the Unité d'Habitation at Marseilles for a two-hour tour, a meeting with the inhabitants of the Unité and a reception of invited guests on

¹⁰"Minutes of Organisation Meeting" (CIAM 42-JT-12-127). The names of the commission heads in the various minutes differ: in "Delegates Meeting July 19th, 1953," they are given as: Commission I, Sert; commission II, Giedion (van Eyck); commission III, Wells Coats (Bodiansky); commission IV, Lods, (Ecochard); and commission V, Emery (Candilis); commission VI is not listed. No explanation is given for the names in parenthesis. In the minutes of the informal meeting handwritten annotations next to the commissions give the assignments as follow: commission I, Sert, Senn, Bakema, Fitschy; commission II, Giedion; commission IV, Coates; commission V, Lods; and commission VI, Emery ("Informal Meeting," in CIAM 9 Compilation).

¹¹"Minutes of Organisation Meeting held on July 19th" (CIAM 42-JT-12-127).

¹²Other members of commission VI include M. Mauri, Simounet, (CIAM Algiers); Kennedy (GAMMA, Morocco); Havemuth, Brunfaut (CIAM Belgium); Wissing, Stam-Beese, (Opbouw, Holland); Tavora, Veloso (CIAM Portugal); Perrottet, Chenu, A. Sive, G. Pison (ASCORAL); Escorba, Thurnauer, Mme. Chatzidakis, Kadjar (CIAM Paris). "CIAM IX. Aix en Provence. Commission no. VI. Questions Sociales," in CIAM 9 Compilation.

the roof of the Unité building in celebration of the 25th anniversary of CIAM, where "several personalities" invited by ASCORAL (read Le Corbusier) spoke. Then followed a "fete de nuit" in the park which featured a spontaneous striptease on the roof of the Unité.¹³

CIAM 9 was also characterized by a degree of internationalism unknown to previous CIAM congresses, which added to the awareness of new realities among the members of this hitherto Western-European-based organization. New member groups attending included, in addition to Ireland, Finland, and Portugal still listed as a groups in formation, Canada (under the auspices of former MARS member Welles Coates), Brazil, Colombia, Venezuela, India, and Israel. A large proportion of the forty grids presented were designed for developing countries--Cameroon, Gold Coast, Algeria, Morocco, India, and Jamaica--though some of the designers were still European.¹⁴

This diversity, coupled with the large numbers who attended CIAM 9 contributed to a confusing diversity of opinions: Emery described it as "a sort of intellectual drugstore, where each person finds what he has come to seek."¹⁵ On the other hand, according to John Voelcker, despite the diverse contexts for which these projects were designed and the range of their plastic expression, certain projects "illustrated a strong affinity of mind and similarity of action among a number of members who had previously never met or had any precise knowledge of each other's work. Each was concerned with identical problems and the solutions to these problems; even the jargon used to describe them was in many respects identical."¹⁶

Although the older generation had organized and determined the direction of the congress behind the scenes, the younger members still managed to contribute to it to an

¹³"Programme Général de Travail: Répartition du Travail entre les Commissions Permanentes," in CIAM 9 Compilation.

¹⁴Projects from these countries were "Volta River, Gold Coast" by Glower and Garrett; "Bidonville Mahieddine" by CIAM-Alger (presented by Emery), "Nomad Housing" by CIAM-Algiers/Oran (presented by Mauri); "L'Habitat au Cameroun," by CIAM France (presented by representatives of the École des Beaux Arts); "L'Habitat marocain, ou l'Habitat pour le plus grand nombre au Maroc" by Bodiansky, Candilis, Kennedy, Piot, Woods, Ecochard, Godefroy, Beraud (presented by Ecochard and Candilis); India, "Study of Low Cost Housing [Chandigarh]" by N.S. Lhamba; Jamaica, "Approach for a Development Plan for Jamaica" by John Holness; Portugal, (project not listed and author unknown; presented by Andersen). "Annexe: Liste des grilles présentées au CIAM 9," in "CIAM 9 Report"; "Présentation des Grilles aux Participants de CIAM-Neuf" (CIAM 42-JT-12-233/234); "Presentation of the Grids. Continued" (CIAM 42-JT-12-269).

¹⁵Pierre-André Emery, "Les CIAM et la Charte d'Athènes," *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 43 (October-November 1971): clx.

¹⁶John Voelcker (commission II), "Aesthetics. Report given to MARS Group after the Congress," July 1953 (NAi/BAK a12[5]).

unprecedented degree, attending council meetings, writing commission reports, and presenting grids. The only contribution from the older generation was Gropius's presentation of a project in Lexington, Massachusetts, which did not attract much attention. Le Corbusier hosted a party on the roof of his Unité d'Habitation on the last night of the Congress, but in the written reports the Unité did not receive much attention either.¹⁷

The younger members had come to CIAM 9 prepared to discuss the skeleton outline of the Habitat Charter and to present their solutions for a "really human habitat" which had an impact on the appropriateness of the grid as a method of presentation. Their architectural solutions displayed a range of formal articulation based on a variety of theoretical and critical frameworks, but all showing the same desire to create a habitat that would encourage establishing relations between a building and its environment, and that social relationships should form the basis for design. Moreover, the recognition that social relationships changed with changes in the scale of human settlements was an attitude that popular among the younger Dutch, English, and Swiss even though they used different terms and emphasized different aspects of the idea.

Dutch CIAM members Stam-Beese and E. F. Groosman agreed that human relations and the differentiation of these relations as expressed in a hierarchy form the basis for town planning.¹⁸ Areas of concentration, as in cities, permitted a variety of unlimited contacts to occur which were essential to society. The task of the town planner was to identify these various types of relations and develop a new hierarchy of contacts that would include them, an idea that Stam-Beese traced to the proposal by Wissing and Hovens-Greve at CIAM 8 in Hoddesdon that the starting point should be the individual in society.¹⁹

CIAM 9 was the congress at which the recent MARS recruits Alison and Peter Smithson made their debut on the international stage. Those architects and writers who came to modernism fresh from war-time experiences extracted a different meaning from it than did the British pre-war Surrealists or the advocates of the postwar welfare state.²⁰ For Peter Smithson, the "energy of the time" and the "will of the nation" were important in the formulation of their position. The temper of the times was a combination of left-leaning

¹⁷Gropius, in his undelivered speech, pays homage to the Unité d'Habitation as a "grand blend of art and nature" (CIAM 42-JT-12-302/303).

¹⁸Lotte Stam-Beese and E.F. Groosman, "Contribution to the Charte de l'Habitat by the Dutch Group," in CIAM 9 Compilation.

¹⁹Stam-Beese and Groosman, "Contribution by the Dutch Group," in CIAM 9 Compilation.

²⁰Massey, *The Independent Group* (1995), 33.

politics, wartime contacts, national differences, and the heady belief that they would be able to create a new world.²¹ The Smithsons arrived at CIAM 9, already famous for their winning the competition entry for their Mies-inspired Hunstanton School design (1949-1954). The project's honest and direct expression of materials was a deliberate critique of the aestheticization of modernism. The rigorous formal and material attitude of this project marked the beginning of the New Brutalism, which was in itself a critique of the picturesque qualities of the New Empiricism.

The climate of critical inquiry within which the Smithsons were active before attending CIAM 9 extended to the beginning of their professional careers at the LCC Housing Division where, under the direction of Robert Mathews, there was a playing out of a confrontation between the Swedish-inspired Empiricists and Le Corbusian Formalists. Along with John Voelcker and William Howell, they allied themselves with the then recently graduated architects who were taking a stand against what they perceived to be the "half-thinking" of New Empiricism and the banality of modern architecture in Britain in the postwar period.²²

They paralleled the practice of architecture of simultaneously criticizing modernist practices and reaffirmed its principles, with a critical engagement towards contemporary culture as members of the ICA and its splinter group, the Independent Group. The Smithsons were active in the Institute of Contemporary Arts (ICA) in London, where they organized lectures and exhibitions, including the exhibition "Growth and Form" visited by CIAM members attending CIAM 8 in Hoddesdon.²³ They contributed to the *Parallel of Life and Art* (1953) exhibition in collaboration with artist Eduardo Paolozzi and documentary photographer Nigel Henderson. The Independent Group and these events broke down the

²¹Peter Smithson in conversation with the author. On the subject of the philosophical and intellectual context of postwar architecture, see Royston Landau, "The History of Modern Architecture that Still Needs to Be Written," *AA Files* no.21 (Spring 1991): 49-54.

²²Ibid.

²³The "Growth and Form" exhibition, based on the book by the same name by D'Arcy Thompson, represented a rejection of teleological, Aristotelian, and universal explanations in favor of understanding the construction and growth of living structures in terms of a causal relationship between growth and form. Anne Massey, *The Independent Group: Modernism and Mass Culture in Britain, 1945-59* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), 43-44. On the subject of the Independent Group, see David Robbins, *The Independent Group: Postwar Britain and the Aesthetics of Plenty* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990); Anne Massey and Penny Sparke, "The Myth of the Independent Group" *Block 10* (1985): 48-56; Anne Massey, "The Independent Group and Modernism in Britain 1951-56," *Association of Art Historians Bulletin* (July 1984): 23-24; Lawrence Alloway et al., *Modern Dreams: The Rise and Fall and Rise of Pop* (New York and Cambridge: The Institute for Contemporary Art and MIT Press, 1988).

boundaries between what did and did not constitute art, while at the same time criticizing the promotion of the metaphysical, elitist, and purist European modernism of ICA founder Herbert Read. Inspired by the philosophy of logical positivism and existentialism, the Independent Group arrived at a new understanding of modernism which, among other things, gloried in the disorder of human existence as opposed to the preciousness of metaphysical art. The Independent Group recognized that mass production, mass communication, and advertising had changed the source of aesthetic authority for the working class. Design was no longer being dictated by avant-garde artists and their upper-class clients, but by industry, which was producing culture for mass consumption. Although the precepts of modernism were largely being abandoned by many British artists and critics in the 1950s, the Independent Group reworked modernism by erasing the distinction between high and low culture. Evidence of this kind of thinking had already surfaced at CIAM 7 with a similar sentiment by J. M. Richards who stated that "CIAM could no longer accept class distinctions."²⁴

The Smithsons were committed to both sides of the dialectic. On the one hand being influenced by the work of their photographer friend Nigel Henderson²⁵ whose photographs of life on the street in the working-class neighborhood of Bethnal Green would form part of the Smithsons' grid presented at CIAM 9. Their friendship with Henderson would have brought them in contact with the work of his wife, anthropologist Judith Henderson, whose work consisted of examining the everyday life of a working-class neighborhood in Bethnal Green, London. On the other hand intensely interested in the tradition from which they came. According to Peter Smithson, among the limited number of books that were available to the Smithsons during and immediately after the war were Le Corbusier's *Oeuvre Complète*; a book about the Bauhaus; modernism treated as a style and universalizing tendency in Hitchcock and Johnson's *International Style*, to which they were opposed; and Roth's *New Architecture*, a book that prescribed a new, more culturally specific direction for modern architecture.²⁶

The Smithsons made two contributions to CIAM 9 that would express their at the time and become well-documented in subsequent publications. The first, together with William

²⁴Commission II, "Report B" in "Report of Committee II, The Collaboration of the Architect, Painter and Sculptor," 24-26 July 1949; English version (CIAM 42-JT-2-468/469); French version in "CIAM 7 Documents" (CIAM 42-X-116).

²⁵Victoria Walsh, *Nigel Henderson: Parallel of Life and Art*, London: Thames and Hudson, 2001: 54-55, 89-107.

²⁶Peter Smithson in conversation with the author, London, 8 July 1998.

and Gillian Howell was their "Hierarchy of Associations" diagram (fig. 13). In this diagram they summarized the notion that human relations change depending on the scale. Relations changed from within the dwelling, to the street (the first point of contact outside of the dwelling), to the neighborhood (as a point of contact in a larger sphere of activity), to the city (where the relations of the neighborhood recur but on a larger scale).²⁷ They believed that the social reality presented by such traditional forms as house clusters, streets, squares, and green spaces no longer existed. They charged that the CIAM grids did not reflect "the reality of social organization" but merely the result of political, technical and economic expediency.²⁸ To replace it, they proposed that town planning be based on an identifying social hierarchy, which they conceived as being built from various levels of human association: the house, the street, the district, and the city.²⁹ In their document they argued that the task of the architect was to integrate functions, and the functional hierarchy of the Athens Charter should be replaced by this hierarchy of human associations, and the arbitrary isolation of the so-called communities of the Unité with the neighborhood.³⁰

This notion of the change in social relations across varying scales as discussed in their "Hierarchy of Associations" diagram represented the theoretical underpinnings of their architectural projects that the Smithsons, and MARS member Voelcker presented to CIAM 9. The Smithsons "Urban Re-Identification" grid identified a new set of categories along the vertical axis: house, street, district and city, incorporating along with these the category of relationship, and there were no horizontal categories (fig. 14-16). The entire twenty-four panel grid was conceived of as a whole, with each panel contributing to this totality. The left side was composed primarily of ten photographs by Nigel Henderson of children playing. In the middle was an abstracted human figure drawn over three panels, and on the right side, a series of plans and diagrams representing their notion of "urban-reidentification" as they expressed it in their "Golden Lane" project. They argued that urban reidentification could

²⁷Alison and Peter Smithson, "Urban Re-identification. Grille presented by Alison and Peter Smithson. MARS Group," 24 July 1953 (CIAM 42-JT-12-264).

²⁸To the Smithsons and Howells' way of thinking, these categories were not literal, i.e., they did not represent reality, but an idea whose "task was to find new equivalents for those forms of association for what they called our "new non-demonstrative society." In fact, they never developed or defined what they meant by these new equivalents. Moreover it is not clear what they meant by "non-demonstrative," but given the context of the discussion and problems the younger generation was discussing at Aix, it could have been the lack of individuality that they identified as a characteristic of the masses.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Ibid.

only be achieved with social cohesion, which in turn was only possible if ease of movement was provided. Golden Lane was a formally relaxed and new theoretical approach to the modern city which made social cohesion its first principle. Borrowing heavily, ironically enough, on Le Corbusier's Unité d'Habitation at Marseilles, this building type conceived of as a "multi-level city with streets-in-the-air."³¹ These streets were linked together in a continuous network and connected where necessary to spaces that accommodated the function of "work" (although this was not demonstrated in their scheme), and connected to those "ground elements that are necessary at each level of association."³² The task of the architect to "re-identify man with his environment" was carried out by focusing on human association and conceiving of it as a framework that was different at various scales. This particular project, in terms of their "Hierarch of Associations" was designed for a large city.

Contrary to what the subsequent documentation implies, the Smithsons' "Urban-reidentification" project was not noticed or particularly well received at CIAM 9. It was reviewed by commission VI, of which they were members, and not surprisingly won the support of fellow MARS member John Voelcker in commission II, who thought that its home/street/neighborhood pattern expressed the "beauty of a structured community."³³ The project received only qualified acceptance from sub-commission Ib, however, which faulted it for its lack of consistency between its theoretical underpinnings and its architectural expression. In Bakema's words, "Although this philosophy of scale is very strongly presented in the text and the photographs, it is doubtful whether it found expression in the sketch plans."³⁴ It also met with criticism from ASCORAL member Chenu in the discussions of commission VI for conceptualizing human relations along the traditional lines of the

³¹Golden Lane also shares similarities with Bergpolder Apartments, Rotterdam, 1932-1934, by Van Tijen, Brinkman, and Van der Vlugt which the Smithsons had visited before CIAM 9. The notion of creating "community" by means of streets-in-the-air was not unknown to CIAM members. In Konstantin Melnikov's unbuilt Serpukhov Ulitsa workers' housing competition project (1922) for central Moscow, the minimal housing units were connected to a communal building by second-level passageways. Moisei Ginzburg, editor of the Association of Contemporary Architects (OSA) journal *Sovremennaya Arkhitektura* made a case in the 1927 issue for providing collective functions in the form of exterior walkways which would connect individual minimum housing units as a way of incorporating certain design features in an effort to "stimulate but not dictate" a more "socially superior mode of life" (quoted in Steinmann, *CIAM Dokumente*, 148). For a discussion of the thinking about collective housing in the Soviet Union, initiatives that Gropius and other CIAM members may have been aware of, see Eric Mumford, *CIAM Discourse* (2000), 37-38; van der Woude, "CIAM," in *Het Nieuwe Bouwen*, 62.

³²Ibid.

³³Voelcker, "Aesthetics. Report."

³⁴Sub-commission Ib, "Le logis dans l'unité d'habitation."

neighborhood and not in terms of the new collective spirit that had been generated by technological advances such as television which made society aware of relations that were both near and far. In addition to the traditional forms of street, quarter, and city, they needed other forms to be defined in the future.³⁵ In the explanation of their grid, "Urban Reidentification," the next day, they seem to take Chenu's criticism into account: "It is important to realize that the terms used, Street, District, etc. . . , are not to be taken as the reality but as the idea and that it is our task to find new equivalents for these forms of association for our new non-demonstrative, society." The Smithson's grid was not mentioned in the reports of the other commissions.

The Zone Project by three Architectural Association students, John Voelcker, Pat Crooke, and Andrew Derbyshire, reaffirmed the intention of the MARS group youngsters to foster a sense of identity within the framework of a "hierarchy of association," consisting of the habitation and its surroundings, the street, the neighborhood, and the city (fig. 17). The Zone Project was designed for a new town on a 72-square-mile tract of agricultural land. It was divided into farmland and city regions, within each of which a "Scale of Association" was developed which extended from the individual dwelling outward to the rest of the "zone" i.e., the inhabitant's community and city. The farmland (12,000 people) was composed of "agricultural sectors" (2,000 people each) which in turn contained "settlements" (400 people), "settlement centers" (300 people), and "farming units" (15 people). The city (60,000 people) was divided into "quarters" (10,000 people) which contained a "hierarchy of associations" in towers of various sizes (1,000, 120, 30 people). The scale of the association provided the framework for the organization of services -- water supply, heat, waste disposal, etc.-- and communication, viz. corridors, lifts, pedestrian routes, access roads, and elevated roads for rapid transit. Each association had its place on the scale, and the points where they intersected were defined. Each association was expressed by a built volume which in turn provided the opportunity for social intercourse at every level of the community."³⁶ The project was not widely discussed, but van Eyck considered it to be among the few projects that illustrated the essential material considered by commission II.³⁷

Like the English, the Swiss groups emphasized social structure and its possible role as

³⁵Chenu, "Critique à propos du travail anglais," July 23, 1953, in CIAM 9 Compilation.

³⁶Pat Crooke, Andrew Derbyshire, John Voelcker, "Zone Project" 24 July 1953 (LeC, F1-06-70/71).

³⁷Voelcker, "Aesthetics. Report."

a new basis for urbanism.³⁸ The Basel-based group (Groupe Bâle) which were represented at CIAM 9 by Äbli, Manz, and Gieselmann, expressed the idea of using social hierarchy as the basis for town planning in a theoretical presentation titled, "Étude de Principes."³⁹ They claimed that social structure served "as the foundation of urbanism,"⁴⁰ stating that due to the effects of industrialization had shifted the problem of human habitation to a quantitative and rational one. Human society, they theorized, was not formed merely by adding individuals to a mass, but by developing coherent "staged groups." Similar to the "hierarchy of associations" proposed by the Smithsons and Howells, the essence of each "staged group" was a core of everyday relations--the relation of the individual to other individuals and of the individual to the community--which they called "core forming." This structure which functioned at every scale--the individual, the family, the neighborhood, the quarter--at the same time contained necessary parts of the next higher stage. Staged groups required surveying the internal relations of the sociological structure, where each sociological unit had its own value, form, and quality and, unlike a merely additive structure, was part of a totality. Staged groups were considered by Groupe Bâle to be at the foundation of architectural expression because of their ability to generate a type of permanence by providing its opposite--flexibility.⁴¹ It was not the type of building (low, medium, or high rise) or the arrangement of the various units that made up the principle elements of form, as was proposed by the English group for commission VI, but rather human relations at successive scales. The idea of "core-forming staged groups" was given architectural shape in the project, "Deux quartiers résidentiels," presented by Groupe Bâle members Otto Senn, Rolf Gutmann, and K. Wicker. The images and plans on their grid showed a progression of solutions for various categories of living, including the "isolated man," the student, and the family, each having places of various sizes in their dwellings, neighborhood, and quarter in which to meet.⁴² This presentation, too, was largely ignored in the commission discussions, but it was nonetheless important in providing depth to the new intellectual position the youngsters were developing.

³⁸Äbli, Manz, Gieselmann, (Group Bâle/Suisse) "La Charte de l'Habitat. Fundamental Principles." Report to Commission I (Urbanism), in CIAM 9 Compilation.

³⁹Äbli, Manz, and Gieselmann (Group Bâle), "Fundamental Principles."

⁴⁰Groupe Bâle, Report for 23 July 1953, in CIAM 9 Compilation.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²This project was referred to in a list of projects presented at CIAM 9. "Photos to be made from index of grids from CIAM 9," in CIAM 9 Compilation.

The issue of relations was not limited at CIAM 9 to social relations focussed on by the English and Swiss groups. Commission II was concerned with the issue in aesthetic terms.

According to commission II, real contemporary planning was not imaginable without mastering relationships. In their view, before facing the development of a new human habitat, it was "indispensable to engage in plastic [spatial] research."⁴³ The new freedom and possibilities they were experiencing in territorial and social conditions demanded, they stated, "a new plastic sensitivity, a development of a sense of rhythm and the play of volumes in space."⁴⁴ However, far from proposing a type of aesthetic formalism, the key to the attitude they proposed was to mix social and aesthetic imagination to produce a new aesthetic language of "vital harmony" as opposed to "classical harmony."⁴⁵ In this new spatial order, each function was expressed by unavoidable differences in size, shape, and color, providing diversity for each district and unity to the whole town. Plastic expression aimed at achieving "well defined quarters, differentiated but integrated into a coordinated pattern."⁴⁶

The unifying principle behind these diverse projects was their concept of habitat, which involved a shift to a more environmentally oriented attitude and an even more fundamental shift in values from individual to collective, analytical to synthetic, isolated object to relation of parts to a whole ("organic equilibrium"), static to dynamic, and from overall planning schemes to pragmatic and particular responses. This shift recast the role of architects from coordinators of specialists to gatherers of information, in particular information pertaining to the aspirations and spiritual needs of the people for whom they were building.

Another premise underlying the great diversity of plastic solutions represented in the grids presented at CIAM 9 was that modern architecture should be "of its time." In the opinion of commission III, the role of the architect was to "be able to create for society the symbol of its time through the analysis and synthesis of its needs and aspirations," and to see themselves in relation to the zeitgeist and in the context of society's problems.⁴⁷ The younger generation had expressed, that they were dealing with the effects of mechanization on

⁴³Commission II, "Aesthetics and Primitive Culture."

⁴⁴Commission II (Synthesis of the Plastic Arts), "The Role of Aesthetic[s] in the Habitat" (CIAM SG-37-85); French version, "Rôle de l'Esthétique dans l'Habitat," in "CIAM 9 Report," 17-21.

⁴⁵Commission II, "Role of Aesthetic[s]."

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Commission III, "Architectural Education," 21 July 1953, in CIAM 9 Compilation.

cities, human relations, individual identity, and the aesthetics of architectural form. But the real problems that the architects at CIAM 9 were responding to was stated most concisely and insightful by Aldo van Eyck: in his view they were deal with the issues raised by "multiplicity" and "quantity" with all their material and spiritual implications.⁴⁸

One such implication was the preservation of human scale in the face of mechanization.⁴⁹ Another was how to integrate new quarters with old quarters⁵⁰ changes in human relations,⁵¹ uniformity, the impact of the vast productive means at man's disposal, and the new economic and political problems they incurred.⁵² Housing great numbers raised the risk of annihilating the individual and brought up the question of how to maintain identity.⁵³ According to sub-commission Ib, "identity" -- a term that was synonymous with "belonging" -- was a basic emotional need that emerged from neighborliness, which existed at every level from the dwelling, to the district, to the city, to the region.⁵⁴ In more concrete terms, Group Bâle stated that architects had to accept the challenge and provide dwellings for millions of people as their first priority,⁵⁵ and according to ATBAT-Afrique, the problem of multiplicity ad been addressed in their project for the Arab residential neighborhood in the Carrières Central quarter of Casablanca, Morocco.⁵⁶

In the view of commission II, civilization was no longer confined to a few centers in the Western hemisphere, but was expanding all over the earth.⁵⁷ Habitats had therefore to be able to adapt to a wide range of conditions, including the different ages of family members, variations in local conditions, spiritual traditions, race, religion, and climate. The commission on urbanism (Ib) also believed that their task in providing dwellings for millions was to meet specific sociological, economic, geographical, political, and formal conditions.⁵⁸ The Smithsons and Bill and Gillian Howell were of the opinion that dwelling considered from

⁴⁸Commission II, "Synthesis des arts plastiques."

⁴⁹Commission II, "The Role of Aesthetic[s]."

⁵⁰Commission II, "Synthesis des Arts Plastiques."

⁵¹Sub-commission Ia, Minutes "CIAM 9, Aix-en-Provence, 23 juillet 1953," in CIAM 9 Compilation.

⁵²Commission IV, "Report of Commission IV," 23 July 1953, in CIAM 9 Compilation.

⁵³Commission II, "Role of Aesthetic[s]."

⁵⁴Sub-commission Ib, "Le logis et l'habitation."

⁵⁵Äbli, Manz, Gieselmann (Group Bâle), "Fundamental Principles"; Sub-commission Ib, "Le logis and l'unité d'habitation."

⁵⁶Bodiansky, Candilis, Kennedy, Piot, Woods, Mas (ATBAT-Afrique), "Habitat for the Greatest Number," *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 24, no.50-51 (December 1953), supplement.

⁵⁷Commission II, "Aesthetics and Primitive Culture."

⁵⁸Sub-commission Ib, "Le logis dans l'unité d'habitation."

the point of view of human relations ought to take into account not only the "so-called" family, but other responsibilities that vary from country to country and from family to family; this is what gives specificity to dwelling or "habitation."⁵⁹

Sub-commission Ia argued that the task of the architect was to find the tools for life in fulfilling the needs of people in the milieu in which they found themselves. Their conception of architecture was not that it should be nationally bound but that it should be adapted to the variety of the conditions imposed upon it by the natural milieu.⁶⁰ To that end contemporary architecture had to study the specifics of the natural environment,⁶¹ the society, and the historic setting (fig. 8). Their premise was that human engagement with the climatic and physical particularities of a site over time resulted in the historical specificity of the man-made environment.⁶² For this commission, existing buildings were the expression of the dictates of ancestral traditions that had been developed to respond to climatic conditions.⁶³ Architects had to know what these traditions were⁶⁴ so they would know which elements were variable and what new materials they could add to the traditional ones to help resolve a given problem.⁶⁵

Commission II looked to "primitive" cultures to discover new possibilities for broadening and deepening the approach of modern architecture. "Primitive" architecture expressed a life that was anchored in human and cosmic conditions, and these cultures represented a balanced life, aesthetic dignity, and the most direct means of expression of life that could be found.⁶⁶ Van Eyck in particular thought that they could learn the quality of "vital harmony" from the balanced life of "primitive" civilizations.⁶⁷ They considered these cultures to be models for integrated, culturally based, environmentally responsive habitats.

⁵⁹"Nous sommes de l'opinion que les habitations considérées à partir des relations humaines doivent tenir compte non seulement de la soit-disant famille, mais aussi de ses reponsabilités additionnelles qui varient dans chaque pays et surtout avec chaque famille; cette activité additonnelle donne sa spécification à l'habitation (Alison and Peter Smithson, Jill and Bill Howell, "Communication du groupe anglais," in CIAM 9 Compilation).

⁶⁰Sub-commission Ia, Report "Commission I: Urbanisme," in "CIAM 9 Report," 10-12.

⁶¹Sub-commission Ia, Report for 23 July 1953, in CIAM 9 Compilation.

⁶²Sub-commission Ia, Report for 21 July 1953, in CIAM 9 Compilation.

⁶³"Les frontieres de l'architecture moderne ne sont pas déterminées par les frontières nationales mais par les limites des climats. Les caractéristiques de chaque domaine bâti sont étroitement liées aux conditions climatologique dont il dépend" (sub-commission Ia, Report for 22 July 1953, in CIAM 9 Compilation).

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Sub-commission Ia, Report "Commission I: Urbanisme," 10.

⁶⁶Commission II, "Aesthetics and Primitive Culture."

⁶⁷Commission II, "Rôle Esthétique," in "CIAM 9 Report," 19.

ATBAT-Afrique's "L'Habitat marocain, ou l'Habitat pour le plus grand nombre au Maroc" by Candilis and Ecochard; CIAM-Alger's, "Bidonville Mahieddine (fig. 12), Housing for a Shantytown" presented by P.-A. Emery; and N. S. Lamba's housing for Chandigarh with drawings by MARS member Jane Drew, were singled out as expressions of habitat that responded to the totality of existing conditions and particularly to the local culture. Grids from Sardinia and Jamaica were also singled out for the manner in which they addressed local conditions and spiritual traditions to create a habitat adapted to the place, the race, the climate, and the religion.⁶⁸ Of all those, however, the Moroccan project by ATBAT-Afrique has become the best known, since it had been published before CIAM 9 by Candilis and was published again after the congress by Alison and Peter Smithson who thought that it was the project that best represented the new direction of modernism (figs 10 and 11).⁶⁹

ATBAT-Afrique, which included in addition to Candilis and Ecochard, Elie Azagury, Pierre Mas, and Gaston Jaubert, presented a series of projects from the Town Planning Department under the collective title, "Housing for the Greatest Number."⁷⁰ Their projects were a response to the large shantytowns that extended seemingly infinitely around Moroccan cities as a result of the industrialization.⁷¹ Their presentation compared the existing city of Casablanca with its new districts, with special attention being devoted to the project for the Carrières Centrales neighborhood by Candilis and Woods, who designed the Sémiramis and Nid d'Abeille projects, and the engineer Vladimir Bodiensky, who designed the third (figs. 9-11). In the Moroccan projects they compared old and new housing types and analyzed the social and economic reasons for urban growth, as well as the climatic conditions and patterns of settlement.⁷²

⁶⁸Commission II, Report for 23 July 1953.

⁶⁹Georges Candilis and Shadrach Woods, "Habitat Collectif," *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 23, no. 46 (February-March 1953): 87-91, 97-99; Alison and Peter Smithson, "Collective Housing in Morocco" in *Architectural Design* 25 (January 1955): 2-7.

⁷⁰For the idea of "le plus grand nombre" and the planning theory of Michel Ecochard, see Jean-Louis Cohen, "The Moroccan Group and the Theme of Habitat," in "The Last CIAMs," *Rassegna* 52 (1992): 58-67; see also Monique Eleb, "An Alternative to Functional Universalism: Écochard, Candilis, and ATBAT-Afrique," in *Anxious Modernisms*, edited by Sarah William Goldhagen and Régean Legault (Montreal: Canadian Centre for Architecture; Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press) 2000: 55-73.

⁷¹Bodiensky et al., "Habitat for the Greatest Number."

⁷²No text describing this project was found in the CIAM archives. Discussion of the intentions of the Moroccan project is based on a list of captions for the project in the CIAM 9 Compilation, the article by Candilis and Woods in *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* (cited above n.73); and the article by Jean-Louis Cohen, in *Rassegna* 52 (cited above n.74), where reproductions of the habitat panels presented by the

The spirit underlying the Carrières Centrales project was that creating habitat required studying the milieu, including climate, social structure of tribes, religious fraternities, the "collective spirit" built up over centuries, the need for privacy within this collective arrangement, available materials, the level of workmanship, and economic structure. This approach was familiar to these architects since in Morocco, architects and planners had begun to study the characteristics of the traditional casbahs of the region from the research conducted by Service de l'Urbanisme -- headed by Michel Écochard between 1946-1952. These studies indicated that 70% percent of immigrants in the large cities came from the Atlas Mountains. The habitat of origin of these people, as interpreted by Candilis and Woods was that these populations required a collective habitat. And this research done by ATBAT-Afrique revealed the nature of the "housing of origin" of the dwellers from the countryside who had migrated to the urban centers:

The casbahs of the Sahara, the *ksours*, fortified villages in the Atlas mountains, and the collective granaries-citadels all reflect a tendency according to which the persons live close to one another, respecting the privacy of the families, but nevertheless always managing affairs of collective interest by common consent.⁷³

In an article in *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* published before the congress, they paired images of formal and functional elements of the casbah with comparable elements in their Sémiramis and Nid d'Abeille buildings⁷⁴ showing how the simple, economic solutions they provided were in harmony with the natural, social, economic, and ethical culture of the country. These formal arrangements corresponded with the spirit of their observations of the architecture of the casbah.⁷⁵

In addition to accommodating formal and social arrangement, the designers explained that their intention had been to provide a collective habitat for families while also providing sun and ventilation through orientation.⁷⁶ The Carrières Centrales project they presented at CIAM 9 followed the "ethic and the climatic conditions," providing these Moroccan families the capacity for privacy and bringing people together by means of an interior patio that was

Service de l'urbanisme at CIAM 9 are also reproduced.

⁷³The captions for the panels of the exhibition, "La Cité Verticale," as quoted in Cohen, "The Moroccan Group," 63-64.

⁷⁴Candilis and Woods, "Habitat Collectif Marocain," 87-91, 97-99.

⁷⁵Eleb, *Anxious Modernisms*, 61.

⁷⁶Bodiansky et al., "Habitat for the Greatest Number."

"inundated" with sun.⁷⁷ The Sémiramis building faced east-west and was divided into two stories to allow for the sloping ground. Apartments were entered through private double-height patios which were reached by passageways on every other floor. The Nid d'abeille building faced north-south; it had passageways on its north side, and a façade formed by solids and voids which allowed light into the patios on its south. For Candilis, the Sémiramis building with its "double height enclosed courtyard" was, as he stated, explicitly "designed for that segment of the population that has remained close to the Muslim way of life."⁷⁸ In the Nid d'Abeille (Beehive) building, which is orthogonal to the first one, the south facade has a geometric pattern of large openings indirectly lighting the courtyards and their blind walls. Candilis and Woods demonstrated how various plans could create patios with sun and ventilation by simplifying those elements they identified as creating a Moroccan habitat.

Candilis and Wood's Carrières Centrales housing project gained notoriety in large part because of the attention it received from Alison and Peter Smithson who had it published in *Architectural Design* two years after CIAM 9 (January 1955). For them the project manifest a new way of thinking which had at its source the local habitat and the climatic and cultural conditions in which a Moroccan family lived. The semi-detached, equally lit units of the Sémiramis project were for them "an aspect of true Humanism, based on reality and not on Romanticism" which they felt was a constant in the work of the group.⁷⁹ They equated the project as the greatest achievement since Le Corbusier's Unité in Marseilles. In their mind the importance of the Moroccan project was that it was the "first manifestation of a new way of thinking" as an idea, but also a built form that convinced them that there was a new universal.⁸⁰ The Smithsons would later note that this Moroccan project was not much larger than their own Golden Lane; what caught their attention was its response to climate, especially the sun, and its new language of architecture that had been generated by patterns of habitation.⁸¹

The project was well received at CIAM 9. Commissions II and VI praised the Moroccan project for its attempt to accommodate the specifics of Arabic culture. According to John Voelcker (Commission II), this grid "was of considerable importance because of the

⁷⁷Candilis, *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 23, no. 46 (Feb/Mar 1953):

⁷⁸"Recherche pour des logements économiques, par ATBAT-Afrique," *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui* 60 (June 1955), 41, quoted in Eleb, 72, n.24.

⁷⁹Described by Alison and Peter Smithson in "Collective Housing in Morocco," 3.

⁸⁰Alison and Peter Smithson, *Architectural Design* 25 (January 1955).

⁸¹Alison Smithson, *Team 10 Meetings*, 19-20; Cohen, "The Moroccan Group," 64.

way it regulated a very strong traditional way of life, in particular through the way that materials and structures were used." He noted the use of a "crude form," a structural frame that contained a number of dwelling units and accommodated "considerable variation of occupation" for about 500 people. A "number of locally available materials [could be used] and construction could be erected expressing the smaller associations of Moroccan life, their relationship with the sun and with the sand."⁸² However, the positive reception the Sémiramis project received when Candilis and Woods presented it at CIAM 9, was, according to Peter Smithson, attributable in part to the appeal of the exotic Greek Candilis.⁸³

The qualities of social and cultural specificity exhibited by the Moroccan housing project embodied the values that the younger generation felt validated modern architecture in postwar Europe. Candilis explained how ATBAT had studied the problems of habitat for large numbers in all its aspects, but "had not arrived at an all-round solution, but one solution for each case."⁸⁴ This project manifested the principles that the younger generation would express in their "Statement on Habitat" six months later. "Specificity" in this project referred to cultural specificity, as opposed to the historical specificity soon to be championed by the Italian CIAM members, or the social/physical specificity championed by the English Team 10. Whether the project actually achieved what it set out to do is questionable. The formal purity of the model proved resistant to the changing needs of the inhabitants. By comparison, the adjacent project by André Studer, who made similar claims of responding to cultural specificity, enjoyed greater longevity, though it remains uncelebrated. Published photographs of the Sémiramis project fail to show the physical context of this squatters' settlement, which is best seen in photographs taken by the British architect Brian Richards who was practicing in Morocco at the time.⁸⁵ Except for the accommodation of the building to the sloping site, the adaptation of the building to its physical milieu was not an important factor in generating the design.

A similar approach of exploring the totality of the shantytown was adopted by CIAM-Alger in their grid for Bidonville Mahieddine. The group had first observed and analyzed a particular shantytown in its "entire reality"⁸⁶ in an effort to get a sense of the people and the

⁸²Voelcker, "Aesthetics. Report."

⁸³Peter Smithson in conversation with author.

⁸⁴Alison and Peter Smithson, "Collective Housing in Morocco," 3.

⁸⁵Personal papers of Brian Richards (MARS), London.

⁸⁶CIAM-Alger, "CIAM 9. Aix en Provence. Groupe CIAM-Alger. Bidonville Mahieddine," 20 July 1953 (CIAM 42-JT-12-244).

culture of Islam. The project responded to climate, topography, population origin and vital statistics, religion, and ethical and aesthetic manifestations. CIAM-Alger's study also examined a range of factors such as the presence of trees, manner of living, various housing types including the typical hut and dormitories, family and children, protection, forms of resting inside and out, nourishment and cooking methods, shopping, collective life in buildings in an oasis in southern Algeria, and the history of Bidonville Mahieddine from its existence as a park in 1928 to an organized shantytown in 1953. Technical and economic factors were also accounted for in the form of local building traditions, daily living costs, costs of land, and ownership of property.

Based on their study the Algerian group proposed a program which included schools, a new row of houses, and provisions for hygiene. This knowledge of the civilization for which they were designing allowed them to mediate the universalizing effect of modern architecture by making it specific to its social and cultural site. In their research they tried to accommodate contemporary life with its technical implications guided by economics and standardization of structures based on a Western scale of life while saving the *fraicheur primordiale* of "Oriental man." The responses of the various commissions to the Bidonville Mahieddine project included praise from commission II, which had made a statement about the value of "primitive" cultures as a model for a new balanced urbanism, who found the Bidonville project to be a satisfying solution to achieving human scale, as well as for dealing with the particular social and physical conditions.⁸⁷

The attention given to the North African bidonville projects was not for their success as architectural solutions, but as demonstrations of what was called the "right approach." This approach did not regard "primitive" culture as technologically undeveloped, but as a source of knowledge for dealing with specific "social, territorial and cosmic conditions."⁸⁸ They praised the architects for insisting on an approach in which aesthetic and social imagination becomes one.⁸⁹ This thinking was not limited to the younger generation; Gropius, in his undelivered speech, also explained how the cultures of "underdeveloped countries" had often given him "a clearer insight into the deepest motives of human living

⁸⁷Commission II, "Aesthetics and Primitive Cultures" (CIAM SG-37-87/88); French version, "Le rôle de l'esthétique et des cultures primitives," in "CIAM 9 Report," 19-21.

⁸⁸In the words of Commission II, the Bidonville Mahieddine project was notable "par création d'un cadre souple où l'individu et la famille puissent se développer et s'exprimer en conformité avec ses traditions spirituelles et raciales." Commission II, *ibid.*; English version, "Aesthetics and Primitive Culture."

⁸⁹*Ibid.*

than the complicated structures that we have erected for ourselves."⁹⁰

The Chandigarh housing project by Lamba and Drew rendered in visual terms a study of local conditions and habits of everyday life. Included in the grids were plans for a typical village layout and for the layout of a particular village described by Jane Drew. The disposition of the dwelling units took into consideration the differences in living habits in winter and summer, local construction methods, and traditional decoration and culture. Commission II felt that this project was, along with other bidonvilles of Morocco, Algeria, and the projects for Jamaica, and Sardinia, examples of local conditions and spiritual traditions imposing a solution for habitat adapted to the location, culture, and climate of the region.⁹¹ They admired the fact that one function dominated every district, lending the project an element of diversity and differentiation which they found lacking in the Dutch schemes that provided multiple functions, but lacked heterogeneity.⁹²

At CIAM 9, the young commissions -- I, II, VI -- continued the by now long-standing criticism of the analytic and scientific approach specified in the Athens Charter, proposing instead the more organic and environmentally oriented concept of habitat introduced at Sigtuna. Sub-commission Ia felt that since the time of La Sarraz CIAM had found the tools needed to analyze functions such as work, living, circulation, and recreation and had "mastered the technique for attacking the chaos of the 19th century and problems resulting from it."⁹³ According to van Eyck, the four functions identified in the Athens Charter had been an efficient way of establishing order after the urban and architectural chaos of the nineteenth century by schematically grouping the functions of work, dwelling, recreation and transportation. However, he argued, to realize a truly human environment, one that integrated the individual and the community, architects and planners would have to raise their analytical methods to a creative sensibility in order to reveal the specific character of each part and to group functions according to the gradual structure of habitat, i.e., from the dwelling, the extensions to dwelling, the district and the city.⁹⁴

Contrary to popular perceptions and histories of CIAM, the project that generated the most interest among the commissions at CIAM 9 was the project presented by Bakema for Opbouw for the satellite town of Alexander Polder (fig. 18). According to commission II,

⁹⁰Gropius, "Speech. Not delivered" (CIAM 42-JT-12-302/303).

⁹¹Commission II, "Synthèse des Arts Plastiques," in CIAM 9 Compilation.

⁹²Commission II, Report for 23 July 1953, in CIAM 9 Compilation.

⁹³Sub-commission Ib, "Le logis dans l'habitation," 13.

⁹⁴Commission II, "Role of Aesthetic[s]."

integration, especially the integration of functions, was one aspect of habitat that was evident in the Opbouw projects for this satellite city near Rotterdam, the MARS project for Richmond Park in London, and Lamba and Drew's project for Chandigarh. These projects countered "the conception of zoning that brutally separate[s] urban functions" with "districts to be organised in the image of biological cells that [encompass] all the functions."⁹⁵

Betrayed by its formal character, the idea behind the Alexander Polder project was to integration: formal, functional, and the city as a structure that would tie it to its economic and physical context, and allow it to change over time. Functions, according to the Opbouw group, ought to be integrated in order to encourage the harmonious development of man.⁹⁶ Alexander Polder was divided into nine districts, whose functions were integrated within each district. As a satellite city it was integrated into the region through the provision of regional facilities such as concert halls and sports stadia. Opbouw put light industry, agriculture, and port and highway transport in each of its quarters.⁹⁷ Its designers "insisted that not just the structures for living, working, circulating and recreation were important; the relation between social interaction and the built environment also had a decisive influence on the quality of life in a residential district."⁹⁸

Opbouw was intent on developing new forms and experimenting with the relations between forms. them. In the preface for their grid, Opbouw declared that "the period in which the new forms have been discovered for dwelling, work, traffic, recreation has been consolidated. We are approaching a period now when it will be necessary to investigate by means of experiments the relation between various forms."⁹⁹ The new form in Alexander Polder was the *quartier vertical* which Opbouw believed respected the landscape and integrated, on a new scale, constructions for dwelling, work, recreation, and transportation. This taller building was placed in relation to the other eight secondary districts which were formed by horizontal elements of various unit types, with a mix of functions such as stores,

⁹⁵"La cellule d'habitation contient en état embryonnaire toutes les fonctions de la vie, ces fonctions sont développées et élargies par le groupement social formant la communauté." Commission II, "Rôle Esthétique. Draft," in CIAM 9 Compilation.

⁹⁶Opbouw, "CIAM 9 Groupe Opbouw Rotterdam" (NAi/BAK or85): explanation of Opbouw grid presented at CIAM 9.

⁹⁷Bakema, "Conclusion et contribution" (NAi/BAK or85).

⁹⁸"Le projet insistait notamment sur le point que non seulement les constructions elles-mêmes pour habiter, travailler, circuler et se récréer ont leur importance mais surtout que la relations sociale et architecturale entre elles est d'une influence décisive sur la vie dans un quartier résidentiel." Opbouw, "CIAM 9 Groupe Opbouw Rotterdam."

⁹⁹Ibid.

meeting spaces, and schools located on the tenth floor of two of the buildings. This structure with a vertical district and secondary horizontal districts was believed to allow a certain degree of freedom for the development of horizontal districts over time.

Integrating functions with the particularities of the site was another level of integration. The satellite city was located in an agricultural area containing greenhouses along the highway between Anvers and Amsterdam. It was near a park, an important recreation area for Rotterdam that was six meters below sea level and required the construction of elevated shelters in case of flooding. The urban structure was integrated into a rectangular network of ditches at the water level of the polder. The open space left by the high rises, Opbouw argued, established a relation between the agriculture of the polder greenhouses, the highway, the park, the botanical garden, the sports fields, and the center of the district.¹⁰⁰

The reactions to this project were favorable among the CIAM youngsters. Commission II judged Alexander Polder to be a satisfying solution to the problem of human scale achieved by creating quarters with various types of habitation that allowed for a life removed from, but still integrated with, the city."¹⁰¹ They cited it as an example of an autonomous satellite city surrounded by agricultural land, which limited the city's perimeter but also allowed for its plastic and functional growth in the future. They thought that it had overcome the rigid separation of functions; the Rotterdam project was an example of circulation and quarters organized "in the image of a biological cell encompassing all the functions," with the quarters tied to the larger communal city center.¹⁰²

According to John Voelcker, Alexander Polder had a grid which exhibited the greatest consistency between the theoretical propositions of its creators and their architectural manifestations. He particularly appreciated that each practical step had a theoretical counterpart and admired the systematic organization of the project starting with the "statistical definition" of the basic unit, to the development a range of dwelling types based on a study of the way in which neighbors associated with one another, how these forms were repeated to form composite units which accommodated forms of human association for larger groups of people and how the repetition of these larger units increased until the whole community became a systematically structured organization, but which through the plastic expression of repeated volumes was transformed from an order which was first statistical, then geometrical,

¹⁰⁰Ibid.

¹⁰¹Commission II, Report for 23 July 1953.

¹⁰²Ibid.

but always human. In Voelcker's opinion, this project was of "international importance" because neither pragmatism nor theory dominated.¹⁰³

Underlying the architectural responses to habitat at CIAM 9 was an eagerness shared by the younger Swiss, British, and Dutch members for modern planning and architecture to provide for greater diversity, improved social relations, and a more integrated approach to modern planning. These values required that they examine the projects presented at CIAM 9 using criteria and a critical framework very different from the ones used at CIAM up to that time.

One of the critical frameworks for examining projects was, for commission Ib how well they manifested the "visual group." The "visual group" was a perceptual criteria based on the premise that what the eye could see in a single glance was instantly recognizable as an entity. The visual group was a concept which, according to Bakema, could be used to repeat units and still ensure individual identity and the humanizing of the spatial needs of people in the face of endless expansion and prefabrication.¹⁰⁴ Using it as a standard for organizing settlements Bakema thought architects and planners could provide the essential element of neighborliness, as opposed to the functionally based notion of neighborhood.¹⁰⁵ It would avoid monotony in low-cost housing by integrating different types of housing--single and row houses, walk-up flats and high-rise buildings--in order fully to integrate planning, urbanism, and architecture.¹⁰⁶

Opbouw had already explored the idea of the visual group at CIAM 7 in their Pendrecht I project for a satellite city near Rotterdam. Different housing types with their associated communal functions of education and commerce were organized in groups to form districts which in turn were organized around particular cultural services. The Dutch group developed this idea further on a larger scale at Pendrecht II at CIAM 8, a project that showed a greater degree of plastic and spatial articulation and mixed various types of housing in various environments. These ideas were articulated even further at CIAM 9 when the Alexander Polder project was presented for the first time. Sub-commission Ib recognized the visual group in the plan, and in some cases reinforced by the siting of a playground,¹⁰⁷ as

¹⁰³Voelcker, "Aesthetics. Report."

¹⁰⁴Sub-commission Ib, "Le logis dans l'unité d'habitation."

¹⁰⁵Sub-commission Ib, untitled page attached to "Le Logis dans l'unité d'habitation," 24-25 July 1953 (NAi/BAK a12[21]).

¹⁰⁶Jacob Bakema, "The Development of 'Visual Group' (CIAM-plans)" n.d. (NAi/BAK vd7).

¹⁰⁷Sub-commission Ib, "Le logis dans l'unité d'habitation," in English version only.

well as in other projects. In particular they examined Lhamba's housing for Chandigarh, where they noted that the small scale of the street was contained by an arch which expressed the idea of a "visual group" more forcefully than any other project.¹⁰⁸ Sub-commission Ib also cited the Zone project by Voelcker, Crooke, and Derbyshire; a project presented by Groupe Bâle (most likely the "Deux quartiers résidentiels" by Otto Senn, Rolf Gutmann, and Wicker); and the Moroccan project by Candilis and Ecochard, where the "visual group" was expressed by small clusters of houses around a green space.¹⁰⁹

The younger generation, especially van Eyck, also examined the grids looking for "frameworks" or "evolutive grids" that could accommodate change over time. This "evolutive" or "evolutionary grid" was a module based on the smallest unit, e.g., a room, which was then extended out in a hierarchy of public and social services; it allowed great flexibility in adapting to the needs of life and expressing the spatial evolution of the town.¹¹⁰ The framework also allowed individuals the opportunity to express their own identity and needs.¹¹¹ This framework was the structural, modular grid that formed the basis of the projects presented by the Moroccan and Algerian groups, and which Commission II believed to be a good solution to the problems faced by a country in rapid development.

The framework was both a departure from, and a development of, the presentation grid that Le Corbusier and ASCORAL had promoted at the Bergamo congress. Both were developed to provide structure to city planning, but the younger members were proposing a three-dimensional, structural grid that would accommodate the fourth dimension of change over time to replace the static, two-dimensional graphic device of the CIAM presentation. Not only was this a more dynamic modern architecture that the younger members wished CIAM to promote, but one that was responsive. As the report for Commission II pointed out, "now -- as the grids have confirmed once more-- the Cartesian system can still be employed under certain circumstances, but always in a new sense."¹¹² The new sense, in Van Eyck's terms, would be to use the ordering capacities of the grid to allow and encourage individual diversity.

The prominent role played by the younger generation at CIAM 9 was underplayed in the documentation for the congress. In the unpublished report circulated among the CIAM

¹⁰⁸Ibid.

¹⁰⁹Ibid.

¹¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹¹Ibid.

¹¹²Commission II, "Role of Aesthetic[s]."

groups was comprised of a list of the members of the CIAM Council, followed by a copy of Le Corbusier's introduction, a collection of commission reports, and an appendix listing the grids that had been presented. The report implied yet another event with Le Corbusier at its center. He had opened the congress with a speech and ended it with a party. In his introductory address, he mentioned some of the concerns of the younger generation such as the need for architecture to satisfy the rights, taste and aspirations of individuals, the interdependence of members of a family, and the problems associated with accommodating flexibility, growing and shrinking, being born and dying, changing and modifying relations. He mentioned "habitation," but limited it to the relations between the individual and the family; he did not address relations between them and the larger community or the environment, which were essential to the conception of habitat.¹¹³ The ASCORAL definition of habitat in this report is again more or less limited to contacts between the family and the occasional visitor; to accommodate isolation and gathering; ensure the free development of the child and contact with nature.

The younger members of CIAM 9 faced a founding generation that had a limited understanding of, and perhaps even a resistance to, the new values represented by the notion of habitat. In the report for CIAM 9 Habitat was not defined in its fullest sense, but is defined as a slightly expanded version of the French word *logis*, or dwelling. Echoing the structure of Athens Charter, in the CIAM 9 report *Logis* is defined with four new headings of "rest," "nourishment," "hygiene," and "storage"; "habitat" is divided into the four functions of "work," "shopping," "body-spirit culture," and "relations" that are not radically different from the original four categories.¹¹⁴ In the hands of French-CIAM, *logis*/habitat continued to be conceptualized in terms of Cartesian rationalism by providing an overall system or framework within which to work. No mention is made of the new social diversity discussed at Sigtuna and CIAM 9. Even though other commission members had pointed this out, their comments were not taken into account in the final reports of commission VI.¹¹⁵

Whether due to incomprehension regarding the new shift in CIAM thinking, to a desire to present a united front, or to the wish to maintain the political and intellectual status quo, the CIAM 9 report leaves out most of the innovative thinking of the younger generation,

¹¹³Le Corbusier, "Introduction au Congrès," in "CIAM 9 Report," 6.

¹¹⁴Commission VI, "Contestations," in "CIAM 9 Report," 33-37.

¹¹⁵Potyka (Austria) notes that they were missing a chapter on the "Prolongments du logis," by the Dutch English and Swiss members nor was this subject included in the Contestations. Commission 6, Minutes, 23 July 1953, in CIAM 9 Compilation.

heightening the tension which had already been generated by the perceived aloofness of the older generation toward the younger. The names of some of the younger members were not even included in the minutes. This silence is most noticeable in the part of the report devoted to commission VI, which had the greatest number of younger members. Its shift towards a broader agenda is evident, but expressed only in guarded terms.

Contributions by the Smithsons and Howells, Stam-Beese and Groosman, all of which argued for "human association" and its diversity at varying scales of the city as a new basis for town planning, and the Groupe Bâle presentation, which proposed knowledge of the nature of social structure as the basis of urbanism, were left out of the commission report.¹¹⁶ The final CIAM 9 report also omitted page 3 of the report of sub-commission Ib (Bakema and van Ginkel), where the "visual group" is defined,¹¹⁷ as well as the entire report by sub-commission III, an *information-enquête* that argued for the need to understand a community through communication between user and architect. The CIAM 9 report simply states that "the definitive report of commission III could not be published in this brochure."¹¹⁸ The only report by younger members included in its entirety was the one submitted by commission II, headed by Giedion and with van Eyck as vice-president.

The reports and documentation of the congress make it clear that an intellectual shift had already occurred among many of the younger members, and this shift was part of a larger shift occurring in the culture generally. The "world was in transformation," and, according to Belgian CIAM member Brunfaut, a "revolution has been accomplished whether one wanted it or not."¹¹⁹ This revolution in society required a widening and deepening of the scope of architecture expressed in the shift from the concept of "dwelling" to the more inclusive concept of "habitat."

The CIAM 9 congress had left everyone dissatisfied. Most delegates, and especially

¹¹⁶Alison and Peter Smithson, William and Gillian Howell, "Communication du groupe anglais"; Lotte Stam-Beese, E.F. Groosman, "Contribution to the Charte de l'Habitat by the Dutch Group"; Manz, Gutmann, Senn, Wicker (Groupe Bâle), "Urbanisme," all in the CIAM 9 Compilation.

¹¹⁷Sub-commission Ib, "Le logis, dan l'Unité d'Habitation."

¹¹⁸Commission III (Education of the Architect), "CIAM 9 Report," 22.

¹¹⁹Brunfaut (Belgium), "Deuxième jour commission sociologique," Minutes of Commission 6, 21 July 1953, in CIAM 9 Compilation.

the youngsters, judged the congress a failure.¹²⁰ Candilis described it as plagued by dilettantism, repetition, platitudes, incomprehension, and lack of spirit and imagination.¹²¹ Romke de Vries thought that the scope of the commissions were too narrow and that the president J.L. Sert had pushed for "too narrow a conformity with the Hoddesdon definition of the commissions' aims."¹²² Dutch-CIAM felt that the commissions as they existed were "ill-adapted" for studying the problems of habitat.¹²³ The MARS members thought that there had been a "profusion of opinion" as to what habitat was¹²⁴ and that the subject had been buried in a mass of material in which each national group waved its own flag.¹²⁵

The younger members were equally critical of the report produced by the congress. Candilis found it mediocre from every point of view.¹²⁶ The reports were too general and too lightweight, partly because of the method used to produce them. Romke de Vries pointed out that many important subjects discussed were not included; the commission reports suffered from "charming generality" with conclusions that were either "light-minded" or "subjective,"¹²⁷ the result, he thought, of the centralized structure of CIAM which involved people in the preparation of the report who were uninformed about the commission's work. The English members described them as "hammered out on the type-writers of the heads of the commissions or their lieutenants in the seclusion of their own rooms,"¹²⁸ conditions that inevitably led to the "formation of splinter groups, who were at variance with the 'line' adopted by the dominant group." This divergent view was then either ignored or

¹²⁰Candilis, in minutes of meeting of CIAM, London, 28-29 August 1954, by J. Voelcker, (NAi/BAK a30), 1.

¹²¹Candilis, "CIAM X," (NAi/BAK a30); in preparation for Paris meeting, 14 September 1954.

¹²²Romke de Vries, with the support of De 8 and Opbouw, "Summary of Bad Conditions, Hampering the Work of Commission IV, appendix to the Dutch groups' reply on questionnaire (Giedion)" [c. June 1954] (NAi/BAK or97): 1. Dutch-CIAM supported de Vries' s critical remarks concerning the aims, working methods, and results of the CIAM 9 Congress, including the preparation for the meeting (Dutch-CIAM, "Some Remarks Concerning 4 Questions to Be Discussed during Council Meeting on June 30, 1954" (NAi/BAK, or97; CIAM, 41-RV-X-15-21). The role of de Vries in the development of Dutch CIAM's theoretical position requires further investigation. His papers are in the CIAM archives at the ETH, Zurich.

¹²³William and Gillian Howell, Alison and Peter Smithson, Voelcker, "Report on l'Habitat," June 18, 1954 (NAi/BAK or97): 1.

¹²⁴Ibid.

¹²⁵Ibid.

¹²⁶Candilis, "CIAM X."

¹²⁷Romke de Vries, "Summary of Bad Conditions," 1. Gutmann shared de Vries' opinion in part, noting that the resolutions of the 9th Congress remained in the domain of generalities. Gutmann (Swiss group), "CIAM 10. Propositions."

¹²⁸Howells, Smithson, Voelcker, "Report on l'Habitat," 2.

compromised.¹²⁹ De Vries accused Sert of trying to force predetermined conclusions on the commissions' work. One could not rid oneself of the idea he had the final redaction in his mind from the first hour of the congress,¹³⁰ and Gutmann thought that the grid prejudiced the results because of its "thematic rigidity."¹³¹ Gutmann thought that the grids did not deal with the complex problems of habitat,¹³² and that the Smithsons, the Howells and Voelcker did not present the basic idea in clear architectural terms.¹³³

Giedion was also disappointed with the work of the commissions. He had hoped CIAM 9 would produce a Habitat Charter: CIAM had not published anything dealing with principles since *Can Our Cities Survive?* in 1944. There had also been demands from several sides, especially from the "English youngsters," that such a charter be drawn up and that it be prepared as far in advance of the next congress as possible, an opinion he shared.¹³⁴ Unfortunately, the reports were "full of banalities."¹³⁵

Giedion adduced several reasons for the failure of the congress. The most decisive were, first, "too many people, especially young ones, who had no training and no idea about what CIAM had done," forcing them to lower the level of the discussion and/or research in an unaccustomed way "just because we were too liberal"; in addition, time had been too short to produce a Habitat Charter,¹³⁶ a consequence of the decision the council had made to change their initial plan of having the meetings while on a three-week-long cruise through the Mediterranean to reduce the costs of the congress and encourage attendance by the younger generation.¹³⁷

In the period following CIAM 9 the comments about the failure of CIAM 9 abounded among the younger generation to which they added a general criticism of CIAM as an institution. According to Candilis, CIAM had become "sterile"¹³⁸ and the congresses were mutual admiration societies like a friendly meeting of old veterans.¹³⁹ De Vries faulted

¹²⁹Ibid.

¹³⁰Romke de Vries, "Summary of Bad Conditions," 1.

¹³¹Gutmann, "CIAM 10. Propositions."

¹³²Gutmann (Swiss group), "CIAM 10. Propositions pour les conférences à Londres, le 28/29 août 54" (NAi/BAK or97).

¹³³Ibid.; Smithson, Howells and Voelcker, "Report on l'Habitat," 3.

¹³⁴Ibid.

¹³⁵Sigfried Giedion to J.L. Sert, 13 January 1954 (CIAM 42-JT-18-17).

¹³⁶Sigfried Giedion to John Voelcker, 13 January 1954 (CIAM 42-JT-18-15).

¹³⁷Ibid.

¹³⁸Candilis, in minutes of meeting, London, 28-29 August 1954, 1.

¹³⁹Candilis, "CIAM X," 1.

CIAM for its lack of solidarity and direction since CIAM 8,¹⁴⁰ faulting CIAM for the lack of contact between commissions between CIAM 8 at Hoddesdon and CIAM 9 at Aix-en-Provence. In the months following the CIAM 9 congress, the younger Dutch and English committee members in particular would become increasingly critical of the didactic nature of CIAM's work.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰Romke de Vries, "Summary of Bad Conditions," 2.

¹⁴¹Minutes of meeting, London, 28-29 August 1954, 2. Criticisms of CIAM found in the following documents: Howells, Smithsons, Voelcker "Report on l'Habitat"; Candilis, "CIAM X"; Gutmann, "CIAM 10 Propositions"; Gutmann to Bakema, 18 August 1954 (NAi/BAK or97); Romke de Vries, "Summary of Bad Conditions."

CHAPTER VI.

THE ADVENT OF TEAM 10, 1954-1955

The dissatisfaction with the proceedings and results of CIAM 9 and of CIAM as an institution by younger generation gave them the impetus to begin to define a new direction for CIAM. According to Bakema even Giedion had commented that CIAM could "not go on like this" and had encouraged the youngers to figure out what should be done. In the eighteen months following the congress they took the initiative of meeting among themselves and in their national groups to pursue the ideas that had been slowly emerging from the discussions within CIAM since CIAM 6 (appendix 1). Bound together by their shared conviction that as a tool, CIAM's four functions were inadequate for dealing with problems which no longer seemed important,¹ and encouraged by the new directions manifest in the projects presented by the younger members at CIAM 9, they began in these inter-congressional meetings to articulate a new theoretical agenda for the future of modern architecture, which would lead, unbeknownst to them at the time, to the reorganization and eventual dissolution of CIAM. At the forefront of this movement were the Dutch and English CIAM groups, however Ignazio Gardella and Franco Albini of the Italian CIAM make important contributions in formulating a new working method, and George Candilis contributed suggestions for a new organizational structure for the next congress, CIAM 10.

The initiative displayed by the British and Dutch CIAM members in organizing themselves in a series of inter-congressional meetings was unprecedented within CIAM. In the month following CIAM 9, Welles Coates of MARS had proposed in a letter to Jacob Bakema that the most active groups remain in contact between congresses to allow the closer study that would lead to the presentation of some material of real value at the CIAM 10 congress and help it reach some conclusions.² Dutch CIAM had also thought of the idea,³ and organized the first of these inter-congressional meetings as a "study weekend" for the Dutch CIAM members at Oostvoorne, on 7-8 November 1953. With representatives from both generations the twenty De 8 and Opbouw members and twelve *jongeren* (youngers) from Amsterdam and

¹Peter Smithson, response to Giedion's letter May 12, 1954" (RIBA GoE 315/2), vi; Bakema, in minutes of meeting, London, 28-29 August 1954.

²Wells Coates to Jacob Bakema, 19 October 1953 (NAi/BAK, or91).

³Jacob Bakema to André Wogenscky, 8 January 1954 (NAi/BAK, or97).

Rotterdam met to discuss what CIAM should do and who should be involved in further discussions about the future direction of CIAM.⁴ The senior members thought it was time for the youngsters to assume responsibility for the next congress, decide where it should be held, what the agenda should be, and how it was to proceed. Taking up a suggestion Ernesto Rogers had made at the Sigtuna meeting, they proposed that the central topic of discussion should be a new working method for habitat.⁵

Following this meeting, the Dutch organized another -- this time an international meeting of the "like minded."⁶ Bakema asked the then secretary of De 8 and Opbouw, H.P. Daniel [Sandy] van Ginkel (1920-),⁷ to organize the event. Van Ginkel understood his task as being to arrange a forum whereby Dutch CIAM could discuss the responsibility of the modern architect.⁸ He invited Denys Lasdun and John Voelcker of MARS, André Wogenscky of ASCORAL, Georges Candilis, who that year moved from Morocco back to France, and Rolf Gutmann of BBZ-Swiss to meet with himself, Jacob Bakema, Hans Hovens Greve, Aldo van Eyck and Mart Stam⁹ for two days of work at Doorn on 29-31 January 1954. They were to decide on the subject for CIAM 10, the method of work for the congress -- particularly for the commissions¹⁰ -- and a program for the immediate future. A third day was set aside to present their results to the Dutch CIAM group.¹¹ To prepare for the

⁴Participants included De 8 members van Bodegraven, van Eyck, van Eesteren (for one day only); Opbouw members Bakema and Hovens Greve, van Tijen, and Amsterdam *jonger* Sandy van Ginkel. Hovens Greve, "Notitie inzake inhoud en voorbereiding CIAM 10," 7-8 November 1953 (NAi/BAK, or97).

⁵"Malaise sûr les Resultats du CIAM 9/Aix" [1953] handwritten (CIAM, 42-SG-47-7); Jacob Bakema to Mart Stam, Aldo van Eyck, Hans Hovens Greve, Sandy van Ginkel, 29 December 1953 (NAi/BAK, or97).

⁶Hovens Greve, "Notitie inzake inhoud en voorbereiding CIAM 10."

⁷In conversation with Sandy van Ginkel, 9 October 1998, Toronto, Canada. Van Ginkel studied architecture at the Academy of Architecture and Applied Art, Elkerlyc, Netherlands and sociology at the University of Utrecht. He worked in private offices in the Netherlands until 1946, when he moved to Sweden. There he worked at the County of Stockholm where he developed a demographically based comprehensive regional plan for an area south of the Stockholm Municipality. He was a consultant for a year in Ireland for the Land Reclamation and Authority of the Republic of Ireland. Between 1951 and 1953 he was an assistant to van Eesteren at the Department of City Planning, Amsterdam. In 1953-1956 he had his own practice until he moved to Canada in 1957.

⁸Sandy van Ginkel in conversation with the author.

⁹Jacob Bakema to Mart Stam et al., 29 December 1953.

¹⁰"Om na te gaan of wij het congres 1955 in Nederland kunnen organiseren zal het nodig zijn onze ideeën te omschrijven over hetgeen op dit congres moet gebeuren en how" Jacob Bakema to Mart Stam et al., 29 December 1953.

¹¹Author unknown [Sandy van Ginkel] to De 8 and Opbouw, Rolf Gutmann, William Howell, Danys Lasdun, John Voelcker and André Wogenscky, 5 January 1954 (NAi/BAK, or97); Jacob Bakema to Mart Stam et al., 29 December 1953.

meeting, a summary of the Athens Charter was distributed.¹²

Everyone they had invited agreed to come except Wogenscky who, although partial to small meetings such as this one, said he was too busy and too tired to attend, adding that he thought the Athens Charter provided a "magnificent" model for efficiently analyzing what he still conceived of as the "function of habitat."¹³ In the end Candilis, Gutmann, and Lasdun had to bow out as well. Although no one formally invited them, Peter Smithson and Bill Howell came in Lasdun's place.¹⁴

It soon became clear at the Doorn meeting that it had not been assembled just to prepare for the CIAM 10 congress. The participants quickly discovered that they had all been equally dissatisfied with the CIAM 9 congress and with CIAM generally, though there was less agreement as to what should be done about it. Differences fell roughly along national lines: except for van Eesteren, who thought that CIAM should be disbanded and the youngsters "should make a new start,"¹⁵ Dutch CIAM wanted to continue in CIAM--Van Eyck argued that there was continuity in the character of its work; Bakema found continuing the organization important for the morale and financial support it provided. In Holland, he noted, the work on the polder town of Nagele, the plans for the Alexander Polder project for 37,000 inhabitants along a highway outside of Rotterdam presented at CIAM 9, and the Pendrecht project presented at CIAM 7 and 8, "would not have been possible without this support."¹⁶ He also felt that "old CIAM" was important to them;¹⁷ Hovens Greve agreed that they should not terminate CIAM but try to figure out how to revive it.¹⁸ The English visitors, in contrast, came prepared to make a clean break. Peter Smithson could not imagine

¹²This summary of the Athens Charter was sent to Lasdun, Voelcker, Howell, Gutmann, van Eyck, Hovens Greve, van Ginkel and Wogenscky. Jacob Bakema to André Wogenscky, 22 January 1954 (NAi/BAK, or97).

¹³"Mon opinion à propos de la Charte de l'Habitat est la suivante: on se noie beaucoup trop dans des questions générales et brumeuses. Nous avons un magnifique modèle, c'est le modèle de la Charte d'Athènes. Elle sera une rapide analyse de la fonction Habiter et aboutir à des propositions sous forme de phrases lapidaires, comme dans la Charte d'Athènes il y a les phrases qui commencent par: IL FAUT EXIGER QUE . . ." André Wogenscky to Jacob Bakema, 15 January 1954 (NAi/BAK, or97; LeC, D2-8-9).

¹⁴Jacob Bakema to Mart Stam et al., 29 December 1953.

¹⁵Minutes of Doorn Meeting, "Discussion on organisational matters," (evening) 29 January 1954 (NAi/BAK, or97); Alison Smithson, *Emergence of Team 10*, 17-27.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Bakema, minutes of Doorn meeting, "Notes from First Meeting" (morning), 29 January 1954 (NAi/BAK, or97).

¹⁸Hovens Greve, "Discussion on organisational matters," 1; Alison Smithson, *Emergence of Team 10*, 17-27.

what action could be taken that would guarantee the renewal sought by Hovens Greve and was skeptical that Bodiensky and the others developing the charter would say anything different at CIAM 10 from what they had said at CIAM 9 and Sigtuna. In England, he said, they were working out an idea for a new organization.¹⁹ As the discussion was drawing to a close Bakema suggested that they, as the eldest of the younger, organize the next congress. The question was only whether to act independently of, or together with, Giedion, Le Corbusier, and the other old guard CIAM members.²⁰

The discussions at this meeting reveal points of agreement, differences in emphasis, and points of disagreement between the Dutch and English groups. Members agreed that the planning methods of the Athens Charter were unacceptable, for its lack of flexibility and universalizing tendency. According to Van Eyck, "the mesh of the 4 functions let through most of what goes to make life."²¹ For Voelcker the CIAM methods was too rigid a framework.²² Peter Smithson objected to the universalizing aspect of CIAM planning method that encouraged the same housing type in different types and scales of settlements. He conceived of every community as being unique, and thought that architects needed to study the environment of each community because the pattern of the houses depended on the environment.²³ Bakema was also opposed to the fact that the the same pattern was turning up everywhere-- there were no real differences in the solutions to the same problem even though they were located in very different contexts. Bakema argued in favor of "identity" that in his opinion was tied to specific physical and social conditions.²⁴ Van Eyck agreed, commenting that he was unable to "design a building of five stories without knowing about the environment," adding that they could no longer continue building isolated "flat buildings" like those of their modern predecessors.²⁵

Both groups were also comfortable with the notion of dealing with cities as totalities, but what they meant by it was not the same. For Bakema, it referred to the totality of life--its biological, social and spiritual impulses-- which he thought architects should take into

¹⁹Peter Smithson, "Notes from First Meeting," 2.

²⁰Bakema, "Discussion on organizational matters," 1.

²¹Aldo van Eyck to Alison and Peter Smithson, commenting on the early "Draft Frameworks," [July-September 1954]. Photocopy from Alison and Peter Smithson Office, in Francis Strauven Papers.

²²Voelcker, "Notes from First Meeting," 1.

²³Van Eyck, Bakema, Peter Smithson, *ibid.*, 1-5.

²⁴Bakema, *ibid.*, 4.

²⁵Van Eyck, *ibid.*, 5.

consideration.²⁶ Van Eyck conceived of this "life as totality" as a fifth function that embraced all the forms of the other four functions of work, dwelling, recreation and transportation. A perceptual tool that would help them achieve this totality was, as Bakema and Van Eyck continued to emphasize during this period, was the notion of the "visual group" that they had introduced at CIAM 9. As a design principle it aspired to create instantly recognizable entities. For Peter Smithson, it referred to the totalities of different scales and densities of settlements along the "Scale of Association."²⁷

As had been raised by the Giedion and Van Eyck-led discussions of commission II at CIAM 9, both the Dutch and British members felt that the central problem they had to deal with was "the great number" and the "multiplicity" implicit in differences in circumstance. They agreed that the task at hand was to arrive at new patterns by taking into consideration both relationships and the particulars of a site, but both groups had different attitude as to how to achieve this differentiation. Whereas the Dutch proposed solving the problems of the universalizing strategies of the Athens Charter by emphasizing visual and social relationships, Peter Smithson insisted on solving them by taking into account the particular conditions or context of a site.

The Dutch tended to have a more theoretical approach to problems. They believed that the lack of identity created by excessively analytical planning methods, undifferentiated environments, and decorative architecture could be avoided by combining imagination with the "new patterns" that would result from architects becoming connoisseurs of relationships.²⁸ The English members agreed with the principle of responsive modernism, but tended to avoid theoretical propositions, offering instead their more empirical tool of the "Scale of Association" as a tool for achieving sociological and topographic specificity. The fundamentally different attitudes toward theory between the Dutch and English would reappear in future discussions, until by the fall of 1954 it had become a methodological bone of contention that would come close to dissolving the newly formed alliance of younger.²⁹

For Bakema, the issue of the "great number" was to be dealt with by emphasizing relationships. As Bakema explained it, the difference between their view and the Athens Charter was that, at the time the charter was written, cities were regarded as chaotic, and the

²⁶Van Eyck, "Notitie inzake inhoud en voorbereiding CIAM 10."

²⁷Peter Smithson, "Notes from First Meeting," 2.

²⁸Bakema, *ibid.*, 4.

²⁹ On the subject of the influence of the philosophical tradition of British Empiricism on the group, see Royston Landau, "The History of Modern Architecture that Still Needs to be Written," 50.

goal was to devise maps that brought order to the chaos by giving each of the four functions its own place.³⁰ But if one looked at the plans of the last few years, he went on, one noticed a lack of relationship between these things. He believed this reflected a lack of thought about the role of form, and the inability of architects to deal with the "great number," multiplication, and the masses. For Bakema, form was being determined by the limits of serial multiplication, and their task as architects was to create "codes" and "patterns" as well as to express "human relationships" within this context of seemingly endless repetition. For this they needed to find new tools for action. Creating new relationships could not be overstated for Bakema who thought that therein lay the significance of architecture.³¹

The Dutch were not against analysis *per se*, but wondered if, in more general terms, if the atmosphere for it was wrong. Bakema proposed that they continue to use plans with the analytical method of the four functions, but suggested that they focus more on relationships, not only relations between the functions but other relationships as well. This task, stated Van Eyck, was more difficult than the one set by the older generation for themselves.³² For Dutch CIAM social relationships needed to be expressed using spatial, physical, and visual means with the help of insights gained from other disciplines such as medicine, hygiene, psychology, and pedagogy. This knowledge was not to be dealt with in an analytical way, but in an intuitive, creative manner.³³

The English had less confidence in the notion of relationships, though the term nonetheless crept into the MARS vocabulary in the months following the Doorn meeting. Denys Lasdun, chairman of the CIAM 10 sub-committee for the MARS group, disagreed. He complained that new patterns would not be created, that the word "code" was too vague, and the phrase "limits of multiplication" -- by which Bakema meant the extent to which mass production could generate architecture that could accommodate a full life -- was meaningless. He agreed in spirit, however, saying of the Charter of Habitat, that it would provide the conditions under which architecture could be a true expression of human relationships.³⁴

Peter Smithson's approach to the issue of relationship, a decidedly more empirical one than that of the Dutch, continued along the lines he had argued at CIAM 9 with the "Hierarchy of Association" diagram. He too criticized CIAM for creating too much dualism

³⁰Bakema, Minutes of Meeting, Doorn, Holland (afternoon), 29 January 1954 (NAi/BAK, or97), 2.

³¹Bakema, "Notes from First Meeting," 4.

³²Van Eyck, Minutes of Meeting (afternoon), 29 January 1954; "Notes from First Meeting," 5.

³³Bakema, Minutes of Doorn Meeting (afternoon), 29 January 1954.

³⁴Denys Lasdun to Jacob Bakema, 22 March 1954 (NAi/BAK, or97).

between house and city, "without realizing their interrelation."³⁵ The project that they presented at CIAM 9, he reminded them, expressed forced and free relationships at various scales from the unit of a room to the town, adding that they had come to the realization that a complicated network of relationships existed at these various scales.³⁶ Peter Smithson took issue with the Dutch idea of the importance of the visual group, stating that in England they had paid no attention to it; instead they looked for a "real plan for a city."³⁷ However, after an extended discussion about the basis for the layout of some Opbouw plans--most likely the ones presented at Aix-- Smithson acknowledged that the Dutch project expressed relationships along lines similar to his own. Voelcker thought that even though he had previously spoken out against CIAM's insistence on a framework, he now thought that the Athens Charter ought to be replaced with a framework of relationships which he failed to define the form that this framework should take.³⁸

In spite of the differences of opinion, the Doorn group had arrived at enough of a consensus to produce a document they titled the "Statement on Habitat," but which would later be titled the "Doorn Report" (appendix II).³⁹ The "Statement on Habitat" was not, as its subsequent history suggests, written as a manifesto; it was simply a summary of the discussion at Doorn.⁴⁰ The document was to function as a necessary preliminary for the creation of a "Charter of Habitat" that the CIAM 9 congress had called for. They had come to the conclusion that if they were to create a "Charte de l'Habitat" they had both to redefine the aims of urbanism as described in the Athens Charter, which tended to produce towns in

³⁵Van Eyck, "Notes from First Meeting," 2.

³⁶Peter Smithson, Minutes of Doorn Meeting (afternoon), 29 January 1954, 2.

³⁷Peter Smithson, "Notes from First Meeting," 5.

³⁸Voelcker, *ibid.*, 2.

³⁹As an autonomous document, the "Statement on Habitat" is cryptic, but some of its premises and arguments become clearer when read in conjunction with the discussions on the last day in the draft version of the "Statement on Habitat," Doorn, Holland (evening), 30 January 1954, one page (NAi/BAK, or97). The final version included an introductory section that discussed the misgivings of its authors about the Athens Charter (LeC, D2-8-14). This version, with the history of modern architecture diagram attached (3 pp.), had been sent to a select group of CIAM members after the meeting at Doorn, and circulated to the delegates of the CIAM groups on 23 July 1954 by the CIAM 10 Committee (Howell, Smithson, Voelcker, Bakema, van Eyck, Candilis, Richards, Woods, Gutmann, Neuenschwander, Studer) who had been appointed to prepare a working program for CIAM 10. They wanted ideas regarding a working method before a meeting of the committee in London 28-29 August 1954; Jacob Bakema, circular letter to CIAM Groups, 23 July 1954 (NAi/BAK, or97). An annotated copy of the first two pages circulated to CIAM members was reproduced in *The Emergence of Team 10 out of CIAM*, compiled by Alison Smithson (London: Architectural Association, 1982), 33-34, and in Ockman, *Architecture Culture*, 183.

⁴⁰Sandy van Ginkel in conversation with the author, October 9, 1998, Toronto, Canada.

which vital human associations were "inadequately expressed," and to create a new tool to make this possible.⁴¹

The "Statement on Habitat" not only summarized the discussions at Doorn, but the thinking that had been developing within CIAM among the younger members since Bridgewater and especially since the Sigtuna meeting. It is now regarded as the foundation document for Team 10. Their document began by stating the historical value of the Athens Charter as an adequate technique for counteracting the chaos in the nineteenth-century city. But as a method for the twentieth century it was found wanting. A new method was needed to liberate the potential of the twentieth century,⁴² since the Athens Charter would produce towns in which "vital human associations" were "inadequately expressed"; the alternative they would propose would "induce a study of human association as a first principle," with the four functions reduced to a secondary role as aspects of a total problem.⁴³ At the center was the notion that to comprehend human associations one has to consider every community as a "particular total complex" studied in its "appropriate ecological field."⁴⁴ The word "particular" and "appropriate ecological field" solved the problem of adding the physical and social specificity favored by the English members, and the word "complex," with its connotation of relations between things, satisfied Dutch concerns. The Dutch and the British group each favored one over the other while maintaining the idea of "totality" as self-evident.

Included in the "Statement on Habitat" was a diagram of the "Scale of Association" which, according to Peter Smithson assumed the particularity of each community and its environment,⁴⁵ but which they collectively agreed allowed them to study and compare similar types of settlements located in different regions and countries (fig. 19).⁴⁶ Most likely introduced by Peter Smithson, Geddes's emphasis on the specific social and geographic conditions of a place was of interest to those that met at Doorn. Of particular value to the theoretical position they were developing was his theory of the geographic, social, and historical integration of communities.⁴⁷ In Geddes' elaboration of his theory, he theorized

⁴¹Draft and final versions, "Statement on Habitat."

⁴²Final version, "Statement on Habitat."

⁴³Draft and final versions, "Statement on Habitat."

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Peter Smithson, *ibid.*, 2.

⁴⁶Alison and Peter Smithson, "An Alternative to the Garden City Idea," originated in 1954, revised 25 March 1956, final version 30 March 1956. Photocopy from Alison and Peter Smithson Office, in Francis Strauven Papers. Published as "Alternative to the Garden City Idea," *Architectural Design* 26 (July 1956).

⁴⁷Geddes, *Cities in Evolution*, 166-167.

that broadly speaking, the land masses of the earth move from highland to lowland and that the climate, vegetation, animal life, and population density changes along this profile.⁴⁸ The essential character of each place was conditioned by the particular environment which in turn determined the natural occupations that were allowed to occur and the range of social relations possible.⁴⁹ For example, the hunter and miner and the woodsman appeared in high country; the shepherd on the grassy slopes; the peasant on the plain; and finally the fisherman, sailor, merchant by the sea. The task at hand for Geddes was to "re-understand history from the evolutionary standpoint" by surveying occupations, which he thought could "unravel the explanation of the individuality, the uniqueness, of each of the towns and cities of men; and yet also understand their manifold similarities, region by region."⁵⁰ He presumed that the "kind of place and the kind of work conducted determined the way people lived and the institutions they formed."⁵¹ In addition to providing an understanding of a particular place at a particular time, knowledge of these conditions was indispensable for planning improvements for towns and cities.

Geddes' illustrated his theory with his "Valley Section of Civilization" diagram that not only described the different physical features of various types of settlements, but their occupational and social characteristics as well.⁵² The "Valley Section" graphically displayed the importance to Geddes's theory of planning of the topographical particularities of a site in determining its social conditions but also its particular "evolutionary history."⁵³ As a synthetic tool this diagram represented Geddes's theory of physical, social, and historical integration, for as it descends, the section describes various ecological conditions and traces the course of social history.⁵⁴

Geddes approach to town planning to counteract the trend toward eroding regional

⁴⁸By reclaiming modernism from Patrick Geddes, the Smithsons became a link in the chain of moral and pragmatic modernism that was peculiar to the English intellectual tradition that began with John Ruskin and William Morris and continued through the twentieth century in the historiography of the modern movement by English historians and critics J. Morton Shand, Nikolaus Pevsner, J.M. Richards and Reyner Banham. This moral ethos gained strength in the 1950s in the postwar Modern Architecture Research Society (MARS), in New Brutalism, and in the popularity of Karl Popper's philosophy.

⁴⁹Ibid., 166.

⁵⁰Ibid., xxvi.

⁵¹Ibid., xviii.

⁵²Ibid., xviii.

⁵³Ibid., xxiii.

⁵⁴Ibid., xix.

cultures by stressing the uniqueness of every cultural heritage⁵⁵ had already been put into practice with his plan for Dunfermline (1904). His approach to the development of this plan represented the application of belief that every city ought to have an "Encyclopedia Civica: a Book of the Past," by which he meant an interpretative geographical and historical guidebook; a "Book of the Present," which referred to a social survey; and a "Book of the Future," the city's book of hope, which plans or suggests its potential development. The survey stressed action and yielded "a philosophy, an ethic, and a policy of social life,"⁵⁶ in which one could reconstruct the ideals of a more "civilized and developed" individual. Geddes believed that, in addition to the practical purpose of preparing for and moving toward the eventual plan,⁵⁷ the survey documented "things as they are." In his regional plan for Dunfermline, it is surveyed and analyzed step by step in order "to produce a clear observation of the thing as it is and the design of it as it may be,"⁵⁸ Geddes assumed the universality of the topographical section as the "characteristic geographic unit," the "essential Region" which provides a conceptual framework for a "Rational Geography of Cities in terms of their Regional Origins."⁵⁹

All these ideas were implemented in the first ever comprehensive town plan. The Dunfermline plan called for each generation of inhabitants to achieve a sense of place and a sense of belonging through civic spirit. Town planning had therefore to come from below, with the people fully involved in running their city. It should establish a framework that could accommodate change, not a once-and-for-all finished product. For Geddes, the creation of a place required the participation of successive generations, with each generation given the opportunity to build its own traditions without losing sight of what had gone before. His notion of civic engagement was inherently historical in the sense that it was a repository of experience (much as it was to be for de Carlo and Rogers), a "model" and a "re-construction of the vital past" that might lead to an interpretation of the present.⁶⁰ Geddes did not distinguish between his survey ("Valley Section") and plan, or between past and future.

⁵⁵Peter Green, Introduction, *City Development*, 17.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, xxviii.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, xxvi.

⁵⁸Patrick Geddes, *City Development: A Report to the Carnegie Dunfermline Trust*, introduction by Peter Green (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1973), 18; originally published as *City Development: A Study of Parks, Gardens, and Culture Institutes: A Report to the Carnegie Dunfermline Trust* (Edinburgh: Geddes, 1904).

⁵⁹Geddes, *Cities in Evolution*, 165.

⁶⁰Geddes, *City Development*, 70.

The method of planning he proposed was based on the principle of "geographical control" as a tool against "monotonous gridiron plans," both for dealing with old cities and for laying out new ones,⁶¹ an attitude the younger CIAM members found useful in their fight against Le Corbusian Rationalist planning methods. Borrowing his premise that communities in different geographical locations are different from each other and that communities of the same scale are "the same everywhere"⁶² and were thus comparable to one another, they modified Geddes' Valley Section for the tool they called the "Scale of Association."⁶³ Abstracting Geddes's "Valley Section" they also divided it into four categories they called "fields." Each field represented the increased complexity of social relations that accompanied increased density in collective human habitats. They wanted architects and planners to take into account these varying degrees of social complexity, study the four functions "in their appropriate ecological field" -- in the context of the city, town, village, or isolate (meaning the least dense of all the settlements, located at the highest topographical point in the mountains, and comprised of a loose arrangement of detached buildings).⁶⁴ Cultural differences were recognized by acknowledging that patterns of association in one culture could be patterns of dissociation in another. As a tool the "Scale of Association" encouraged regional architecture and town planning which was socially and topographically, and not stylistically or historically, based.

The Smithsons were particularly aware of the usefulness of Geddes's ideas to their purpose, since he had pioneered survey techniques that revolutionized town planning, observed "organisms," and analyzed existing conditions. They saw in Geddes's work the basis for a new planning method which would do away with controls, master plans, and "planning as we know it." Geddes's dictum, "Survey before plan"--i.e., examine existing conditions before planning for new ones--fit in with their attitude that planning procedures

⁶¹Geddes, *Cities in Evolution*, 166.

⁶²Alison and Peter Smithson, "Habitat" (NAi/BAK, or97). At least three versions of this document exist. The published version stamped "2 Feb 1960" is reproduced in Alison Smithson's *The Emergence of Team 10*, 13, without the "Scale of Association" diagram; a similar version, with a sketch of the "Scale of Association" diagram is in the Bakema archive (NAi/BAK, or97); a third version found by Francis Strauven has handwritten editorial notations which cross out "Smithsons" as authors and shift the title "Habitat" with an arrow to the right top corner. In place of the latter the title "'Doorn Manifesto' original manuscript" is written. Photocopy from Alison and Peter Smithson Office, in Francis Strauven Papers.

⁶³There are different versions of the "Scale of Association" diagram. In his book, Francis Strauven labels the diagram the "Scale (of Complexity) of Association" (*Aldo van Eyck*, 257). The version in Ockman, *Architecture Culture*, based on the facsimile published in *The Emergence of Team 10*, 33-34, is the version which Bakema sent to CIAM members in March 1954.

⁶⁴Final version, "Statement on Habitat."

should first of all involve a thorough briefing on the facts that would then be assessed to determine spatial needs. Echoing Geddes, they would later state that "the principles of a community's development can be derived from the ecology of the situation, from a study of the human, the natural and the constructed, and their action on each other."⁶⁵ They valued learning about the social relations of a community as a way of accommodating the requirements for a full life. What attracted them to Geddes was his notion of relating the individual to a social whole and of developing and civilizing social and individual life; they were not interested in his ideal of developing an ethic and a policy for social life.⁶⁶

However, the critique of the four functions as declared in the "Statement on Habitat" was not new to CIAM or unique to these particular youngers. It had already been expressed by Manz, Bakema, and van Eyck; the emphasis on the relations between people by Groupe Bâlois, the Smithsons/Howells, Stam-Beese, Groosman, and Voelcker; the desire to provide greater physical and social specificity to cities and towns emphasized by the Smithsons and Howells, Stam, Beese, and Groosman. But the desire to create human settlements that had some sense of unity or "totality" would form the conceptual basis for the creed of the younger generation, and in particular for the small contingent which would soon be recognized as Team 10.

Some of the topics discussed at Doorn were left out of the "Statement on Habitat," and others are difficult to decipher outside of the context of these discussions. The cooperation of architects with other specialists and the relationship of the architect with the town planner were discussed but not included in the statement.⁶⁷ No mention was made as to who would conduct the research involved, or what specific research would lead them to achieve comprehension of the "particular total complexes," i.e., the specific nature of the settlements along the "Scale of Association." There was much discussion about whether there should be cooperation between planner (architect) and scientist and if so how much would be fruitful. No mention was made of the cooperation of architects with other specialists or the idea, stated explicitly by Bakema and implied in the writings of Geddes, that communities should become involved in the planning process. The "Statement on Habitat" also failed to address the Dutch CIAM concerns about the division in the development process between the

⁶⁵Commentary to the Doorn Manifesto by Alison Smithson, *Team 10 Primer* (London: Standard Catalogue, 1966), 30.

⁶⁶Geddes, *Cities in Evolution*, xxvii.

⁶⁷Minutes of Doorn Meeting (afternoon), 29 January 1954.

architect and town planner,⁶⁸ a concern echoed in British CIAM's opposition to town planning that tended towards "creative administration" by specialists who "prepared plans in a few months and then left the realization to municipal administrators," a situation they had experienced in England.⁶⁹

Immediately after the meeting at Doorn, Bakema took it upon himself to circulate the "Statement of Habitat" to all the national groups (Appendix IIb), attaching to each copy a diagram that traced the lineage of the emerging position within CIAM within the context of the history of modern architecture since 1850 (appendix IIc).⁷⁰ Most likely the product of Jacob Bakema, this timeline sends the message that the deterministic method for generating form expressed by the statement, "form follows function" was to be replaced by the Charter of Habitat that emphasized human relationships.⁷¹ Their intellectual heritage is not aligned with the programmatic functionalists, but linked with the avant-garde ideas of "simultaneous action" and "continuity of space" that had been promoted by l'Esprit Nouveau, Dada, de Stijl, Futurism and Constructivism at the beginning of twentieth century. In their minds, this was a change of historical importance for the development of modern architecture. In our minds it is interesting if only because this chart reveals their awareness of the historical importance of this discussion occurring within CIAM.

The influence of the "Statement on Habitat" produced at Doorn, with its proposal for new criteria for planning, was substantial. MARS member Denys Lasdun sent Bakema an encouraging response, saying that his report was a "clear and concise starting point for our work in connection with CIAM X" and promising it would be circulated to the MARS group and discussed.⁷² The momentum for meeting was then maintained by MARS, which formed

⁶⁸"Notitie inzake inhoud en voorbereiding CIAM 10."

⁶⁹Peter Smithson, Minutes of Doorn Meeting (afternoon), 29 January 1954, 1.

⁷⁰[Bakema], untitled diagram, n.d., attached to the "Statement of Habitat" sent to all the delegates, March 1954.

⁷¹Voelcker, Minutes of Meeting of CIAM (afternoon), 28 August 1954 (NAi/BAK, a30), 3.

⁷²Denys Lasdun to Jacob Bakema, 22 March 1954 (RIBA AvO/2/11). The only other response was from Eugenio Batista (Cuba) who remarked on how closely this new agenda paralleled the curriculum he had developed for a new School of Architecture in Havana. The curriculum designed by Eugenio Batista (ATEC, Cuba) proposed two lecture hours a week devoted to the analysis of functions, which he believed to be the prerequisite of design. However, "the study of function [was] not limited to isolated buildings, but include[d] site planning, groups of buildings and whole communities as interrelated parts and organic wholes." Starting the third year, they would design and research single-family dwellings in which the four functions were "sheltered in one building" in extreme climatic conditions of the Eskimo igloo, Indian tent, and Cuban thatched hut. In the second semester they would design for neighborhood groups in which different functions are sheltered in separate buildings. In the fourth and fifth years they would design villages, the town, the city and the region. Eugenio Batista to Bakema, 1 April 1954 (NAi/BAK or97).

the CIAM 10 Subcommittee (not to be confused with the CIAM 10 Committee formed by CIAM in Paris in June/July 1954) chaired by Lasdun to organize the congress. The subcommittee met several times that spring to discuss the report of the Doorn meeting, how to modify the Athens Charter, and preparations for the CIAM 10 Congress. MARS gathered for a series of meetings beginning with the one on March 22, 1954 to decide on who could participate to prepare the Habitat Charter, its nature, and their modus operandi as a group. On April 23, they met again to discuss the Statement on Habitat and for a third time on May 28 to develop their criticisms of the Charter of Athens. A final meeting was held on June 15.⁷³

Initially several members agreed to work on the MARS contribution to the Habitat Charter including Arthur Ling, from the London County Council, the largest housing authority in the world; Frederick Gibberd, architect and planner for the New Town of Harlow; leading English modern architects Maxwell Fry (1899-1987), his partner and wife Jane Drew (1911-1996),⁷⁴ MARS founder L.W.A.T. Drake, Denys Lasdun, and Erno Goldfinger (1902-1987). The committee proposed that representatives from all new towns be contacted.⁷⁵ The younger MARS members--Alison and Peter Smithson, John Voelcker, William Howell--also formed part of this initiative but they subsequently formed their own group and formulated independent responses.

After their June meeting Lasdun wrote a statement summarizing their discussions and stating what they wanted to discuss at the July meeting in Paris when they were to meet with the CIAM seniors. By this time MARS had become strongly anti-CIAM and unanimous in questioning the value of the Athens Charter, with Peter Smithson and E. A. Gutkind making particularly harsh remarks about the uselessness and meaningless of its phrases.⁷⁶ They were against the four functions as not only being inadequate but without value, nothing more

⁷³The minutes for subcommittee meetings are in *Bulletin*, nos. 1 and 3 (1954); Wells Coates to Jacob Bakema, 19 October 1953 (NAi/BAK or91).

⁷⁴At the time the Fry-Drew partnership was designing University College in Ibadan, Nigeria. In 1951 they had been made members of the design team for the building of the new capital at Chandigarh, and were largely responsible for the appointment of Le Corbusier as architect for some of the major buildings.

⁷⁵Denys Lasdun for MARS Group CIAM X Committee, "Bulletin No. 1," 22 March 1954 (RIBA GoE 315/2; AvO/2/1; NAi/BAK, or97).

⁷⁶Giedion, circular letter to all groups, 12 May 1954; Trevor Dannat letter to Giedion, 10 June 1954, ii; Denys Lasdun, "Statement by CIAM 10 Sub-Committee," 16 June 1954 (RIBA GoE/315/2), i-viii. The statement by Peter Smithson (v-vii) summarizes the position emerging from CIAM. It is reproduced as "Task of CIAM in the Fifties" in *The Emergence of Team 10*, 57-61, and was published as "The Idea of Architecture in the '50s," *Architects' Journal* 131 (January 21, 1960).

than a mechanical framework⁷⁷ that could not relate to urban life⁷⁸ or allow for creative urbanism.⁷⁹ The functional approach made no allowance for patterns of development, growth, or tradition, nor did they differentiate between magnitudes or scales of settlement as corresponding to either existing or projected urban form.⁸⁰ Voelcker stated that it ignored the dynamics of urbanism that is reflected in a community's network of distinct and purposeful human associations. As a result they would be able to produce little more than "efficient, clean, healthful cities."⁸¹ Voelcker retorted that if the functions themselves were "irrelevant" then so were the interactions between them,⁸² and Peter Smithson thought that it was time to be concerned with more than just mechanical efficiency and ease of movement, which by now he felt could be assumed. Only Arthur Korn pointed out that the Athens Charter did in fact call for the interaction of all four functions and not just with each function in isolation,⁸³ but the group was so biased in its reading of the Charter that the comment was not taken notice of.

The CIAM 10 Sub-committee, an offshoot of MARS, sent their a reply, which repeated almost verbatim the ideas of the "Statement on Habitat." The MARS CIAM 10 Sub-committee defined its main task as continuing the work on the Habitat Charter begun at CIAM 9, and in particular extending the Athens Charter to provide a more sympathetic expression of man's functional needs.⁸⁴ Citing Marcel Lods and E. E. Beaudouin's Cité de la Muette housing project at Drancy (1933-35),⁸⁵ which had been used as a Nazi prison during the war, as an example of a project that had adhered to the functional code of the Athens Charter, they wanted their new charter to point the way toward something more inspiring than "hygienic barracks" by recognizing the importance of "belonging" and "identity". This would provide the foundation for a sense of neighborliness which they felt

⁷⁷Erno Goldfinger, "Notes of Meeting of MARS Group CIAM X Sub-committee," 1.

⁷⁸Peter Smithson, Notes of Meeting of MARS Group CIAM X Sub-committee, April 23, 1954" (RIBA GoE/315/2), 1.

⁷⁹Ove Arup, "Note of Meeting of MARS Group CIAM X Sub-committee," 2.

⁸⁰Voelcker, *Bulletin* no. 3, 2.

⁸¹Voelcker, "General Summary" of MARS Group CIAM 10 Sub-Committee, May 1954 (RIBA GoE 315), 2.

⁸²Voelcker, "General Summary," 2.

⁸³Arthur Korn, "Notes of Meeting of MARS Group CIAM 10 Sub-committee," 2. He based his opinion on the version of the Athens Charter summarized in *Can Our Cities Survive?* (1944), which the chairman, Denys Lasdun, read to the sub-committee.

⁸⁴Lasdun, *Bulletin* no.1 (RIBA GoE/315/2; NAI/BAK or97), 2.

⁸⁵Referred to in van der Woude, "Housing," in *Het Nieuwe Bouwen*, 39, fig. 43.

could be achieved through the "visual group," the idea introduced by Dutch CIAM at CIAM 9, whose use was supposed to engender feelings of community among its inhabitants.⁸⁶ They also introduced some formal issues which to date had not been discussed by the younger members. They rejected abstract formalism in favor of developing a formal expression that observed the growth of patterns of development and accommodated daily life.⁸⁷ They would make use of the Geddes-style survey to avoid destroying existing human associations, and then through a classification of settlement types would distinguish between, and connect, different types of human association.⁸⁸

A sub-group of this sub-group composed of the Smithsons, the Howells, and Voelcker, also sent their own more emphatic statement criticizing the CIAM 9 congress, and reiterating the need for new ideas on habitat derived from the "Scale of Association."⁸⁹ The Smithsons had continued to take an assertive role in MARS group meetings after Doorn, producing independent documents in addition to this one, with the two Howells and Voelcker, and coming to the council meeting in Paris armed with prepared documents stating their position and outlining their own planning theory by addressing the issue of habitat and clarifying what they had found to criticize.

Twelve CIAM council members attended the June meeting including Bakema, William Howell, Candilis and Rogers; eleven delegates represented the younger generation, including van Eyck; and six were observers, including Peter Smithson and John Voelcker.⁹⁰ On Sert's suggestion, a CIAM 10 Committee was formed with Jacob Bakema, George Candilis, Peter Smithson, and Rolf Gutmann as its members. They were given the task of preparing "intellectually and spiritually" for the congress and provided with the institutional means for doing so. But they were given no authority.⁹¹ On June 30, the first day of the meeting, it was proposed that the CIAM 10 Committee be comprised mainly of senior members -- Giedion, Roth, and Wogensky -- with younger members Smithson, Bakema, and Tyrwhitt as "intermediaries." On the second day, however, Sert proposed that the committee be made up of *des jeunes* and Candilis proposed himself, Smithson, and Gutmann, with Bakema as

⁸⁶Lasdun, *Bulletin*, no. 1.

⁸⁷Peter Smithson, "Notes of Meeting of MARS Group CIAM 10 Committee," 1; Voelcker, "General Summary," 2; *Bulletin* no.3, 2.

⁸⁸Voelcker, "General Summary," 2.

⁸⁹Alison and Peter Smithson, William and Gillian Howell, and John Voelcker, "Report on Habitat," 18 June 1954 (NAi/BAK or97).

⁹⁰"Réunion tenu à l'UNESCO, le 20 juin 1954" (CIAM 42-JT-13-373/379), 1.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, 4.

secretary, which was agreed to. In the interim, Jaqueline Tyrwhitt was to meet with them in London later in July to assess their progress. At that meeting the youngers reported to Tyrwhitt that the committee had been enlarged to include Aldo van Eyck, William Howell, John Voelcker, MARS member Brian Richards (1928-), Shadrach Woods, and Swiss architects André Stude and E. Neuenschwander. The formal membership remained at eleven, but others, such as the architect wives of Smithson and Howell, also worked with the committee.⁹² They decided also to meet again in August and September to report on their plans.

In the month following the Paris meeting the Smithsons prepared various versions of the "draft frameworks" (appendix III) intended to be sent as instructions to the national groups in preparation for the congress. They may also have discussed at least "Draft Framework 3" with Tyrwhitt at a meeting with the English committee members in London on 29 July 1954. In any case, Tyrwhitt sent the minutes of this meeting to Sert, Giedion and Bakema, which summarized the position of the committee as expressed by its English members in their "Draft Framework 3" and the Doorn Report. The position stated was that modern architects needed to concern themselves with creating the "ideal habitat" using a method based on housing groups in settlements representing the four different scales: isolate, village, town and metropolis.⁹³ The results of the Paris meeting were also extensively discussed by the Dutch *De 8 en Opbouw*.⁹⁴

They met again in London a month later in August to sort out their individual differences and take stock of their affinities and to continue developing the "draft/framework".⁹⁵ In spirit, this meeting was in many respects the follow-up to the Doorn meeting. It was attended exclusively by the younger Dutch and English CIAM members to prepare the final version of the "Framework," or "Instructions to Groups" for the CIAM 10 congress.⁹⁶ Gutmann read the document Swiss-CIAM had prepared for the CIAM

⁹²Tyrwhitt, "Short Report of Meeting in London, July 29th [1954]," 22 August 1954 (NAi/BAK or97).

⁹³Ibid.

⁹⁴"Verslag bijeenkomst 14 Juli 1954 te Amsterdam," photocopy (Francis Strauven Papers, Brussels, Belgium); Van Gool, Hatsuyker, Kloos, Groosman, Niegeman, Boer, van Ginkel, "Reacties op het besprokene in de samenkomst op 14-7-1954" [14 July 1954] (NAi/BAK or97).

⁹⁵Alison and Peter Smithson to Jacob Bakema, 31 October 1954 (Alison and Peter Smithson Office, London, "Team 10" box); John Voelcker to Jacob Bakema, 1 November 1954 (NAi/BAK or97).

⁹⁶Those attending the meeting in London, August 28-29 were Bakema, Candilis, van Ginkel, Gutmann, Bill and Gillian Howell, Brian Richards, Alison and Peter Smithson, Voelcker, Bruno Wissing and Woods. Minutes, "Meeting of CIAM" London, 28-29 August 1954 (NAi/BAK a30).

9 congress which had become the basis for their discussions.⁹⁷ The ideas in the Doorn Report were then restated to clarify their theoretical intentions as a group. They agreed that ethically architects were bound to express in the most direct manner the particular circumstances with which they were confronted,⁹⁸ and that specialists were to have a role secondary to that of the architect, whose work as a "specialist in form" was primary.⁹⁹ The task at hand, they stated, was to develop a new method of work.

At a meeting in Le Corbusier's office in Paris in September the "Draft/Framework 3" was discussed and agreed to in principle. Present at the Paris meeting were Bakema, van Eyck, van Ginkel, both Smithsons, both Howells, and Candilis representing the CIAM 10 committee--there for the first time referred to as Team 10 --and Le Corbusier and Giedion representing the advisory group.¹⁰⁰ The elders, showing a combination of resistance and encouragement, finally handed over full responsibility for the congress. The transfer of power to the youngsters, however, was still not complete: the executive added the provision that Team 10 maintain "close contact" with the advisory group of Sert, Giedion, Le Corbusier, and Gropius, and directed Tyrwhitt to maintain continuous liaison. Giedion also requested that he and Sert meet with them again before they left Europe for Harvard, so as to be brought up to date about preparations for the congress.¹⁰¹

At this Paris meeting Candilis proposed an organizational structure for the congress, whereby the six commissions set up at CIAM 6 would be replaced by four working groups, each dealing with one of the scales of human habitat. Candilis felt that this structure was better suited to dealing with the new agenda of examining the relationships between the four functions and defining the "premières constatations sùr l'Habitat." The focus of discussion of these commissions was to be "the inter-action between the dwelling and its immediate environment"; from it some of the changes to be made in the structure of the city were supposed to emerge. Candilis proposed that each working group be comprised of a rapporteur, a member of Team 10 who would act as a coordinator between groups, a member of the senate, i.e., from the advisory group for the CIAM 10 committee, and participants. Although this structure retained the internal hierarchy of the commissions, Candilis did attempt to structure more interaction between commissions.

⁹⁷Minutes of meeting, London, 28 August 1954 (NAi/BAK a30), 3.

⁹⁸Ibid.

⁹⁹Ibid.

¹⁰⁰"Minutes of meeting of Team 10 with Advisory Committee, September 14 1954" (NAi/BAK or97).

¹⁰¹"Réunion tenue a l'UNESCO le 30 juin 1954, de 15h. a 18h.30" (CIAM 42-JT-13-376), 4.

The minutes of the September Paris meeting only record the opinions of the senior CIAM members, suggesting either that they dominated the meeting or that the younger generation kept silent; the latter is unlikely--both the Dutch and English groups had come prepared to speak. They also make clear that Le Corbusier still did not understand the concept of habitat.¹⁰² He talked about the "dwelling" (*le dedans*) as a container and the "extension of dwelling" (*le dehors*).¹⁰³ But there were also some encouraging signs. On Sert's recommendation, the youngers had not only been given sufficient authority to execute their charge. Sert expressed his understanding and sympathy for the new agenda. There were some indications that the ideas discussed at Sigtuna and expressed in projects at CIAM 9 were beginning to permeate the hierarchy. CIAM agreed to Sert's definition of an "ideal Habitat" as being one that took "full account of social and climatic conditions and was not constrained by existing laws or economic considerations."¹⁰⁴ His assertion that at this stage "synthesis was more important than further analysis" was greeted with applause. He also seemed to grasp the notion that they should study the the whole (*l'ensemble*).¹⁰⁵

To avoid making the Habitat Charter a bone of contention among the younger generation, the Paris meeting proposed to publish a series of booklets on the topic of the human habitat, rather than one authoritative volume.¹⁰⁶ The first booklet would include material from CIAM 9, but not the commission reports specifically dealing with "the effects of geographic and ethnological conditions upon the Human Habitat in different parts of the world."¹⁰⁷

In the months following the September Paris meeting conflict and tension began to arise between the Smithsons and Dutch-CIAM as they struggled to resolve the theoretical and

¹⁰²"Minutes of Meeting of the CIAM 10 Committee (Team 10) with the Vice-President and Secretary General of CIAM (representing the CIAM 10 Advisory Group)," 14 September 1954, by Tyrwhitt (NAi/BAK or97), 2.

¹⁰³Minutes of Meeting of the CIAM 10 Committee (Team 10) with the Vice-President and Secretary General of CIAM (representing the CIAM 10 Advisory Group)," 14 September 1954, by Tyrwhitt (NAi/BAK or97), 2).

¹⁰⁴"Minutes of the meeting of the Council and Delegates of CIAM in Paris on June 30th and July 1st, 1954" 4 July 1954 (CIAM 42-JT-18-70/75). The French version identifies the speakers.

¹⁰⁵"Le synthèse doit dominer l'analyse" which is followed by applause, and "le groupe doit étudier un ensemble, un 'tout'." J.L. Sert, "CIAM 9 Réunion tenue à l'UNESCO le 30 juin 1954, de 15 h. à 18h.30" (CIAM 42-JT-12-373/379), 5.

¹⁰⁶Minutes of meeting, Paris, 30 June 1954 (CIAM 42-JT-18-70/75), 4-5.

¹⁰⁷Ibid. This series was never published, but the concept reappeared in the publication of the Otterlo Congress, considered by many to be the first Team 10 congress: Oscar Newman, *CIAM '59 in Otterlo: Group for the Research of Social and Visual Inter-relationships* (London: Alec Tiranti, 1961).

methodological differences that had begun at Doorn and had grown at the Paris meeting. Through the development of the "Draft Frameworks" the English had taken the lead in insisting on adopting the theoretical agenda initiated at Doorn, while the Dutch came to the September Paris armed with their own statements about a new method of work and suggestions for how CIAM should proceed.¹⁰⁸ During this time, the Smithsons had become increasingly recalcitrant about changing the documents they were preparing, and resorted to strategies not unlike those of Le Corbusier before the war, of ignoring comments and insisting on their own particular view, while the Dutch maintained that the documents were still open to discussion. When the English failed to respond to the suggestions made by the Dutch for the "Draft Frameworks," the Dutch circulated their own statement among the national groups and the CIAM Council, which threatened to divide the group just at the moment when it had finally gained recognition.

The Dutch committee members continued to edit and to comment, sometimes extensively, on the various versions of the "Draft/Framework"; the English continued to ignore them; and the Dutch continued to circulate their recommendations to others until a crisis among the youngers and a loss of faith among their elders threatened their newly won independence.

Throughout the fall, the particulars of this "method of work" became increasingly contentious. The British members attributed a definitive status to the "method of work" produced at the Doorn meeting and insisted on maintaining the predetermined categories of isolate, village, town and city agreed upon at Doorn, Paris, and London, a method which entailed studying human associations based on the these four "fields" which Candilis had proposed would then become the focus of research by CIAM commissions. The Dutch had a broader agenda and a more dynamic conception of the new method of work. They were not averse to applying these categories, but they believed they should be used within a broader architectural context and they emphasized the need for planning principles that favored "growth and change."

The Dutch agreed to the method of work developed at Doorn, including the four fields and the "Scale of Association," but did not regard either as necessarily definitive. They felt their task was "to integrate a wider scope of thinking and other methods of approach into

¹⁰⁸CIAM-Netherlands, "Suggestions for Method of Work in CIAM-10" June 1954 (CIAM 42-RV-X-15-11). MARS Group (Denys Lasdun), "Statement by CIAM 10 Sub-Committee" 16 June 1954.

their work.¹⁰⁹ They should begin by concentrating on one subject -- the appropriate scope for a "Scale of Association."¹¹⁰ Planning habitat involved the relationships not just within and between the isolate, village, town, and city, but also between forms of production, social behavior, science, and art. Van Eyck agreed with the Smithsons that CIAM needed to develop a "new working method" in which there was a commission for each kind of habitat on the "Scale of Association."¹¹¹

The Smithsons explained that the words "city," "town," "village," and "isolate" were symbols--or what they called "image entities"-- that stood for a much more complex series of relationships than can be expressed by terms like "large group," "group," "small group," "single dwelling."¹¹² Each category was conceived of as a whole and particular thing in a network of related whole things where all of the four functions would be integrated. The notion of a symbol was also part of Voelcker's thinking at the time. He defined it in an article as a "man-made form which can be identified with an extensive, intangible, and otherwise unimaginable structure of ideas and is communally accepted."¹¹³

Although it is not clear how the Smithsons got the task of preparing the program for the CIAM 10 congress, they continued to draft a series of "Frameworks." Version 3, after the discussion with Tyrwhitt at the London meeting in August, had been agreed to in principle by the advisory group at the September meeting in Paris. When or which version van Eyck and Dutch-CIAM received, however, is unclear, but their response reflected the general opinion of the Dutch constituency. They included ideas that had been raised by other younger members, such as the concept of "doorstep" which the Smithsons had introduced at CIAM 9, and "growth and change" which had been promoted by Dutch-CIAM since CIAM 7.

Returning to his philosophical inquiries, Van Eyck thought the projects presented at the CIAM 10 Congress should address some questions of "fundamental significance." He argued that architecture and urbanism should make clear that polarities such as individuality-collectivity, material-emotional, part-whole, permanency-change in fact do not exist; they should give form to Bakema's notion of change over time¹¹⁴ as a factor to be taken into

¹⁰⁹Dutch-CIAM, "Suggestions for a Method of Work in CIAM 10," June 1954 (CIAM 42-RV-X-15-11).

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹¹Aldo van Eyck to Alison and Peter Smithson, in response to "Draft/Framework" n.d. [14 July 1954]. Photocopy from Alison and Peter Smithson Office, in Francis Strauven Papers.

¹¹²[Smithsons], "Orientation" n.d. [September/October 1954] (NAi/BAK a30), 3.

¹¹³Voelcker, "Symbol and Sign," *Literary Guide* (August 1954): 15ff.

¹¹⁴Bakema, untitled, n.d. [September 14-22, 1954] (NAi/BAK a30). Bakema responds with 20 points about the "Draft/Framework 3.

account in the plastic expression of architecture; they should express in their architecture a greater awareness of the many activities, desires, and needs of man; and finally they should attempt to solve some of the aesthetic problems of the time resulting from serial production and repetition.¹¹⁵ He asked the Smithsons to introduce these points into the "Draft Framework," so that the participants would know what they were "bloody well up to this time" in advance. He suggested that the "Framework" also spell out how their new analytical method of the four fields complied with the spirit of the Athens Charter, and how it would bring out what Team 10 were seeking.¹¹⁶

In their fourth version of the "Draft Framework" the Smithsons inserted a brief summary of the ideas in the Doorn Manifesto and a brief history of how the youngers had arrived at the present state. They irritated the Dutch when they failed to specify what the work of the commissions should be, and attached to the "Draft Framework" a more formal version of the comments Van Eyck had expressed in his letter to the Smithsons. Titled "Orientation," and probably written by van Eyck,¹¹⁷ this document was also referred to as the "October 24 document" after the date the Dutch committee took it upon themselves to circulate it to the twenty-two members of the CIAM 10 Committee. These members now included: Eugenio Batista, Alfredo Viana de Lima, Fred Freyler, Voelcker, Ernesto Rogers, Arno Korsmo, Wilhelm Schütte, Werner Hebebrand, Lasdun, Giedion, Sert, Tyrwhitt, Candilis, Le Corbusier, Wogenscky, Roth, Gutmann, van Eyck, van Ginkel, van Eesteren, Ben Merkelbach, and Hans Hovens Greve.¹¹⁸ It spelled out the ideas for a new program for CIAM 10, including all the recommendations from van Eyck's letter to the Smithsons and an account of how the Dutch group had arrived at their position; it described the four fields and

¹¹⁵Aldo van Eyck to Alison and Peter Smithson, n.d. [July-September 1954]. Photocopy from Alison and Peter Smithson Office, in Francis Strauven Papers.

¹¹⁶Ibid.; Smithsons, Howell and Voelcker to Bakema, 31 October 1954 (Alison and Peter Smithson Office, "Team 10" box).

¹¹⁷The "Orientation" begins with a quotation used by van Eyck in his contributions to the CIAM 6 Congress (1947) from Mondrian: "The culture of particular form is approaching its end. The culture of determined relations has begun." The version also incorporates in full the comments made by van Eyck in his letter to the Smithsons. Finally, the language is characteristic of van Eyck. A draft of the "Supplement Framework" is annotated in van Eyck's hand, but he credits the document to Bakema, H.P.D. van Ginkel, Hans Hovens Greve, and Bruno Wissing.

¹¹⁸There are three revisions of the "Dutch Framework": [van Eyck], "Orientation," October 24, 1954, 7 pp (NAi/BAK a14[7]; CIAM 42-JT-13-407/413); Bakema, van Eyck, van Ginkel, Hovens Greve, Wissing, "Supplement/Framework" n.d., 4 pp (NAi/BAK or97); van Eyck for de 8 en Opbouw, "Untitled" December 1954, 1p (NAi/BAK a25); French version (CIAM 42-JT-13-416); summarized version of "Supplement/Framework", and one version of the "Orientation" without the "Dutch Framework" included.

the "Scale of Association," and, in a section called "Framework," outlined a revised version of the four key points that Van Eyck had asked the Smithsons to include in the "Draft Framework." In clearer terms than the letter, the "Orientation" proposed a non-dualistic attitude expressed in the notions of (A) the "greater reality of the doorstep" (fig. 20); (B) a response to the aesthetics of the mass; (C) "growth and change" that bear directly on the "main issue"; and (D) an "ecological approach," the term used to refer to the four types of habitat, or "fields," defined in the "Scale of Association." The word "ecological" reframed the notion of habitat by adding a biological connotation suggesting the interrelationship of living organisms to each other and to their environment and a social connotation of concern with the social and cultural patterns formed by human groups. Among the younger generation, "ecological" also carried with it the idea of studying habitat in its particular context.¹¹⁹ The Orientation/October 24 document then proposed working parties at the congress that would first study the key problems of their time, represented by A, B, and C, in order to help in the final study (D).¹²⁰ Particularity at varying scales of habitation was both a quality of the ecological field and intrinsic to the structure of each of the fundamental problems. The crux of the argument was that one had to understand A, B, and C before one could proceed to a study of the four fields; each of them should also be considered in terms of various scales of habitation which they identified -- echoing Le Corbusier's terminology at the Paris meeting -- as the dwelling, larger housing unit, and housing section.

The reactions from the young MARS members--Smithsons, Howells, and Voelcker--were vehement. In a joint letter to Bakema written a few days after they received the October 24 document, they stated in no uncertain terms that the Dutch proposal represented an unacceptable alteration of the "Draft Framework" in both content and procedure. In their opinion it was not only a complete departure from what they had agreed to at the July meeting in Paris, but it showed that the Dutch had missed the point of all the work done in the last year. Nor did they think the new ideas would be acceptable to the rest of the group.¹²¹ They were "completely bewildered" and "distressed" both by the document and by the breach in procedure involved in circulating it in the name of the group without first discussing the move.¹²² By altering the "common factor" that had evolved over the last year, they had

¹¹⁹Dutch-commission, "Supplement," 24 October 1954 (NAi/BAK or97), 2.

¹²⁰Ibid., 1; CIAM-Holland to Alison and Peter Smithson, 24 October 1954 (NAi/BAK or97).

¹²¹Alison and Peter Smithson, William Howell, and John Voelcker to Jacob Bakema, 31 October 1954 (Alison and Peter Smithson Office, "Team 10" box).

¹²²Ibid.

caused "a breakdown in the technique of group action." In a subsequent letter Voelcker relegated the problems the Dutch CIAM group had labeled "doorstep," "aesthetics of number," and "growth and change," as forms that must be left to each group or individual.¹²³ The English then concluded, "We have no desire to identify ourselves with the document of October 24th."¹²⁴

Voelcker's reaction to the "Orientation" had changed, however. Notwithstanding some reservations about its form, his first reaction had been that he was "sure that it should be circulated immediately as it stands."¹²⁵ But then he contradicted this when he co-signed a letter with the Smithsons and Howell condemning this synthesized version of the framework on the grounds, argued by the Smithsons, that it departed from what they had agreed upon as a group in the July meeting at Paris. In a personal letter to Bakema he reiterated their mutual agreement on their concern with "totalities" and "the way in which their location in space and time may contribute to their distinct built forms." However, he relegated the "factors involved in achieving these distinct forms" as being "personal" responses of the group or individual.¹²⁶

Following this outburst, Bakema and van Eyck produced another supplement, a one-page summary of the October 24th document,¹²⁷ which they translated into French and sent along as representing the Dutch opinion of the English "Draft Framework 5" in December. In it they maintained that the "Orientation/October 24 Document" and its condensed form, the "Dutch Supplement" were all based on the discussions at Doorn, Paris, and London, since both groups had concurred on the importance of "totality" and "particularity."¹²⁸ They had simply found it necessary to broaden the scope of CIAM's inquiry, because in their view it was not enough merely to state their feelings about totality, the ecological field, particularity, and the Valley Section, a working method, and so on.¹²⁹ For CIAM 10 they had to define the existence of a new field of human association which they believed would be possible by

¹²³John Voelcker to Jacob Bakema in response to the "October 24 document," 1 November 1954 (NAi/BAK or97).

¹²⁴Smithsons, Howell and Voelcker to Jacob Bakema, 31 October 1954 (Alison and Peter Smithson Office, "Team 10" box).

¹²⁵John Voelcker to Jacob Bakema, 28 October 1954 (BAK, or97).

¹²⁶John Voelcker to Jacob Bakema, 1 November 1954 (NAi/BAK or97); John Voelcker to Jacob Bakema, 28 October 1954 (NAi/BAK or97).

¹²⁷Aldo van Eyck, "Supplement," December 1954 (NAi/BAK or97).

¹²⁸Jacob Bakema to George Candilis, 15 November 1954 (NAi/BAK or97).

¹²⁹Jacob Bakema to Peter Smithson, 7 November 1954 (CIAM 42-JT-18-55), 1.

solving the key problems indicated by the words "interrelationship" (doorstep); "aesthetic of number" (repetition, rhythm, etc), "growth and change" (flexibility). These were the tools that would allow them to see what lies behind human associations in "our time."¹³⁰ Bakema felt that each problem of habitat had to be studied as part of a field of human association. But the tools used to recognize the background of human association were interrelationship, growth and change, and aesthetics of number, and he believed they ought to emphasize these aspects for the commission.¹³¹

The Dutch group, and Bakema in particular as secretary of the CIAM 10 committee, also felt the "Draft Framework" had to respond to the demands by Giedion and Gutmann that instructions be made more specific to avoid the generalities that so plagued the reports that had issued from CIAM 9.¹³² Team 10 ought to ask participants beforehand to pay particular attention to certain problems. The four problems that van Eyck listed as fundamental were ambivalence, time, manifold aspects ("doorstep") and the aesthetic problem of number.¹³³

At the London meeting in August it had been agreed that the work of CIAM should no longer follow a deductive method.¹³⁴ The Dutch insisted that they needed to specify the issues that the national groups should address before the congress convened. Bakema insisted they needed to be more precise about their opinions of the present situation.¹³⁵ If the English did not concur, the Dutch group would wait until each national group found the need to do it themselves, but the Dutch group intended to work in the manner indicated by the Supplement,¹³⁶ a document issued in response to Gutmann's request at the London meeting that they define the questions for the working groups and by Sert and Giedion for precise directives.¹³⁷ Sert and Giedion felt that "Draft/Framework 3" presented at the Paris meeting in September was still very general and too schematic and oversimplified. Bakema felt that it was the duty of the commission to express itself precisely in order to clarify what it wanted

¹³⁰Jacob Bakema to Smithsons, Voelcker, Howell, 27 December 1954 (NAi/BAK or97).

¹³¹Ibid.

¹³²"Meeting of C.I.A.X.," London, August 28-29, 1954 (NaI, BAK a30).

¹³³Aldo van Eyck to Alison and Peter Smithson, n.d. Photocopy from Alison and Peter Smithson Office, in Francis Strauven Papers, 2.

¹³⁴Minutes of meeting in London, 28- 29 August 1954 (NAi/BAK a30), 2.

¹³⁵Jacob Bakema to Alison and Peter Smithson, Bill Howell, John Voelcker, 27 December 1954.

¹³⁶Jacob Bakema to George Candilis, 15 November 1954 (NAi/BAK or97).

¹³⁷Ibid.; Gropius, Giedion, Sert to Jacob Bakema, 16 December 1954 (CIAM 43-K-1954-12-16[6]); J.L. Sert and Sigfried Giedion to Jacob Bakema, 21 October 1954. Photocopy from Alison and Peter Smithson Office, in Francis Strauven Papers.

from the groups.¹³⁸ The Supplement provided exact definitions to stimulate research and to make up for what they regarded as inaction on the part of the English CIAM group on that point, which the "Draft Frameworks" prepared by their English counterparts had not addressed.¹³⁹

The English overreacted. Their accusation of procedural improprieties was ill-founded, and in their outrage they failed to recognize that the Dutch Supplement/October 24 document was in fact based on the discussions they had had as an international group since Doorn--it simply broadened the scope of their intentions. The English also failed to recognize that the Dutch proposal actually strengthened the intentions they all shared. The Smithsons themselves had introduced the concept of the "doorstep" at CIAM 9; van Eyck had expanded its definition.¹⁴⁰ Similarly, they had reached an agreement about the nature of change and permanency at the meeting in August. Finally their reaction to the Dutch suggestions contradicted their claim that the "Statement on Habitat" and the "Draft Framework" were not "sacred and unalterable."

There were some real differences in the two documents, however. In addition to the differences in status allotted to the "Scale of Association" as a working method by the English and the Dutch, the committee members also differed in the degree of emphasis allocated to their ideal of "totality" and "particularity". That Dutch-CIAM considered the premise of "particularity" relevant to town planning is confirmed by the prime position they gave to the four fields in their Supplement. They had even suggested that a special sub-commission be established to study places such as technologically underdeveloped countries with different ways of life and different climates.¹⁴¹ But the Dutch tended to stress their concept of totality, however they regarded totality as only one aspect to be addressed, along with the "aesthetics of number," "growth and change," and especially the "ecological approach." For Bakema, the laws of society and art were being confronted by "the wonder of totality (interrelationship)."¹⁴² They had discussed "totality," he reminded Peter Smithson, at the Doorn, Paris, and London meetings,¹⁴³ and the idea continued to recur in much of the

¹³⁸Jacob Bakema to Alison and Peter Smithson, William Howell, John Voelcker 27 December 1954.

¹³⁹Jacob Bakema to Georges Candilis, 15 November 1954 (NAi/BAK or97).

¹⁴⁰Strauven, *Aldo van Eyck*, 260.

¹⁴¹Dutch commission, "Supplement," 24 October 1954 (NAi/BAK or97), 4.

¹⁴²Jacob Bakema to Peter Smithson, [7 November 1954]. Photocopy from Alison and Peter Smithson Office, in Francis Strauven Papers.

¹⁴³Jacob Bakema to Peter Smithson, 7 November 1954 (CIAM 42-JT-18-55).

Smithson's discourse throughout 1954.

The English thought the notion of totality was implicit in the four fields of the "Scale of Association." They tended to emphasize particularity. Voelcker reminded Bakema that as a group they had provisionally agreed to focus their attention on totalities, life structures, and the way location in space and time could contribute to distinct built forms.¹⁴⁴ Although the problem of modern architecture was, wrote Voelcker, "to make ecological totalities through built forms," "context in time and space [was] their 'song'."¹⁴⁵ These young MARS members continued to resist the use of analytical methods. Peter Smithson declared little interest in "detailed, philosophic, academic, classification of method, etc.,"¹⁴⁶ and questioned the "fundamental validity of isolating any aspects of [the] problem and codifying them in this way."¹⁴⁷ "We empirical radicals (the bloody English!)," he wrote, "feel terribly and, I hope, creatively, *against analysis* which may *not* be relevant to the nature of the enquiry, or of presupposing that, say, the disciplines of 'number' or 'growth' are the *most important* things at this time or if they are essential to the discipline of built-form at all."¹⁴⁸

Deeper philosophical differences led the English to oppose specifying, or determining categories beforehand. In an early version of the "Draft Framework," the Smithsons had stated that the commissions would make abstractions from the submitted work, and not "force onto it pre-determined philosophies or concepts," an approach agreed to by Voelcker.¹⁴⁹ They failed to notice the inconsistency in their own stance, which van Eyck was astute enough to point out,¹⁵⁰ that although the Smithsons were unwilling to "force onto it pre-determined philosophies or concepts"¹⁵¹ they were equally insistent that the commissions be organized according to the four fields as proposed in the Doorn Report and insisted upon it in the various versions of the "Draft Frameworks." An approach that resisted categorization

¹⁴⁴John Voelcker to Jacob Bakema, 1 November 1954 (NAi/BAK or97).

¹⁴⁵John Voelcker to Jacob Bakema, 28 October 1954 (NAi/BAK or97).

¹⁴⁶Peter Smithson to Jacob Bakema, 31 October 1954 (NAi/BAK or97).

¹⁴⁷Peter Smithson to Jacob Bakema, 15 November 1954 (NAi/BAK or97).

¹⁴⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹Alison and Peter Smithson, "Draft/Framework for Discussion by CIAM 10 Committee" [c. 14 July 1954] (NAi/BAK or97); "Reacties op het bespokene in de semendomst op 14-7-1954" (NAi/BAK or97), 11-12; version dated August 1954 (CIAM 42-JT-13-405; NAi/BAK, or97); John Voelcker to Jacob Bakema, 1 November 1954 (NAi/BAK or97).

¹⁵⁰Aldo van Eyck to Alison and Peter Smithson, n.d.; photocopy from Alison and Peter Smithson Office, in Francis Strauven Papers.

¹⁵¹Alison and Peter Smithson, "Draft Framework for Discussion by CIAM 10 Committee" in "Reacties op het bestokene in de samenkomst op 14-7-1954" [c. 14 July 1954] (NAi/BAK or97), 11-12.

altogether had already been proposed by the Italian-CIAM group at Bergamo.

Both the Dutch and English CIAM 10 Committee members agreed to maintain intellectual continuity with CIAM, but again the particulars of what constituted intellectual continuity meant different things to different people. Bakema, who in age straddled the two generations, felt a greater loyalty to CIAM, and was more inclined to encourage unity than to destroy the institution. The Dutch found the "Draft Framework" drawn up by the English group to be "somewhat aggressive."¹⁵² The English way of thinking, according to van Eyck, seemed to be heading for a break with CIAM, with its radical change in course, whereas he hoped to achieve greater continuity in their theoretical work.¹⁵³ Van Eyck was right: the tenor of the Smithsons' first "Draft Framework," before they had responded to the more conciliatory comments of Bakema, was determinedly critical, and the tone of "Draft Framework 3" was downright melodramatic. Alison and Peter Smithson remarked on how shocked the youngers had been at CIAM 9 to see the degree to which the wonder of the Ville Radieuse had faded. A new spirit was rising, as was evident in their "revolt" against mechanical concepts of order.¹⁵⁴ Although Peter Smithson still agreed with CIAM's aims, he too openly declared that the institution had outlived its purpose.¹⁵⁵ Candilis's comments were also contentious. At the meeting in Paris he had noted that the postwar generation of architects now known as Team 10 considered that the moment had come to "introduce *l'eau de jeunesse* into CIAM in order to save it from "la senilité", la fatigue et la médiocrité."¹⁵⁶

Thus, when the question of reorientation of CIAM had been brought up in the London and Paris meetings, many agreed that it must be maintained, albeit in differing degrees and in different aspects of CIAM. Reorientation for Bakema meant understanding the relationship between permanence and change.¹⁵⁷ He and van Ginkel were its most fervent supporters, reiterating what the Smithsons had written in a more cursory manner in their "Draft Framework," that regenerating CIAM would take not only the reorientation of thought but also an understanding of CIAM's beginnings.¹⁵⁸ The Dutch were partial to reorientation,

¹⁵²Jacob Bakema, Minutes of meeting [c. 20 November 1954].

¹⁵³Ibid.

¹⁵⁴Alison and Peter Smithson, "Draft Framework 3" [c. August 1954] (NAi/BAK a30), 1.

¹⁵⁵Peter Smithson facsimile to Royston Landau, "Reflections on the Doorn Manifesto: 29th/30th/31st January, 1954," 1 January 1993 (Royston Landau Papers, London).

¹⁵⁶Minutes of a Meeting of the CIAM 10 Committee (Team 10) with the representatives of CIAM 10 Advisory Committee, 14 September 1954, by Tyrwhitt (NAi/BAK or97), 1.

¹⁵⁷Minutes of meeting, London, 28 August 1954 (NAi/BAK a30), 2.

¹⁵⁸Minutes of meeting held in London, 29 August 1954 (NAi/BAK a30), 4.

but less in the sense of rupture than in the sense of continuity provided by modifying the situation. For the English re-orientation meant reexamining problems, using the four fields as the point of departure. For Candilis it signified comprehending the reorientation of thought at the juncture at which CIAM found itself, to develop methods of work by which the reorientation could be expressed, as well as the structural reorganization of CIAM whose vitality depended on new thinking.¹⁵⁹ Only Peter Smithson repeated the word "revolution," which was his idea of their role and which he had already expressed before the formation of the CIAM 10 Committee at the Paris meeting in June/July 1954 where he had stated that the "Revolution [had been] accomplished."¹⁶⁰ The Dutch favored a continuity of aims, if not of means, believing that their generation still shared with CIAM an interest in distinguishing between the issues that were the direct responsibility of the architect and those that were "poignantly" relevant to the community in which they were operating.¹⁶¹ They had incorporated into their 24 October document the titles for the commissions that Corbusier had suggested in place of isolate, village, town, and city, and both Bakema and van Eyck used a less aggressive tone than the English when speaking of CIAM and the Athens Charter, even suggesting to the Smithsons that they say something about the value of the charter in their "Draft/Framework"; he and Van Eyck suggested they compare draft 3 discussed at London with draft 5, the 24 October document.¹⁶²

In spite of the revolutionary tenor of the Smithsons, the younger were not oblivious to their debt to the CIAM leaders. They referred to Le Corbusier's *Unité* as a manifestation of the ideal *Habitat* and an example of "richness and dignity at the human scale"¹⁶³ that represented a new direction for CIAM that they were still trying to define: "we feel that since the war we have only seen two basically new ideas for dwellings which have stimulated and moved us--the *Unité d'Habitation* at Marseilles, and its subsequent developments, and the *Rog et Rob* houses: both these ideas postulate a new habitat, are realised in new forms which suggest new town patterns, and are clearly presented on a few pages."¹⁶⁴

In December 1954, the conflict between English and Dutch Team 10 members ignited by the Dutch Supplement was finally resolved. To appease the opposition expressed by

¹⁵⁹Minutes of meeting, London, 28-29 August 1954 (NAi/BAK a30), 1.

¹⁶⁰Peter Smithson to Jacob Bakema, 20 June 1954 (NAi/BAK vd4), 2.

¹⁶¹Minutes of meeting, 28 August 1954 (NAi/BAK a30), 1.

¹⁶²Jacob Bakema to Giedion, Sert, Gropius, 28 December 1954 (NAi/BAK or97).

¹⁶³Minutes of CIAM meeting, 28 August 1954 (NAi/BAK a30), 3.

¹⁶⁴Smithsons, Howells, and Voelcker, "Report on Habitat," 18 June 1954 (NAi/BAK or97), 2.

English Team 10 members, Bakema sent out the Supplement as Voelcker proposed, referring to it as an "opinion from the Dutch group," and issuing an invitation to the other groups to make their own suggestions and proposals.¹⁶⁵ The Supplement was appended, along with a sample grid, to the Smithsons' "Draft Framework 5" and sent to forty-four national groups.¹⁶⁶ Bakema judged Draft 5 "Okay," though he thought it should have been more precise in defining the work of the commissions and clarifying what they wanted from the groups.¹⁶⁷ This did not soothe the Smithsons, who complained in a letter to Giedion that the October 24 document did not represent the views of Team 10 and was never intended for circulation. They thought it had been a mistake to have sent it out at all,¹⁶⁸ a complaint that made Giedion aware for the first time of the tensions between the members of the committee.¹⁶⁹

The Smithsons continued to ignore all criticisms about the working method that they had proposed in the "Draft Frameworks," and their response to the advisory group's anxiety about the organization of the CIAM 10 congress was flippant: "What do the professors want. If the working groups understand [the proposed method], it will be a good Congress."¹⁷⁰

Just as Le Corbusier's planning methodology had become CIAM's planning methodology, by the spring of 1955 the Smithsons personal agenda had become part of this early Team 10 agenda. However, at least some Dutch thinking found its way into some of the documents. In a one-page commentary written at a Team 10 meeting in Candilis's office on 12 April, the concepts promoted by Bakema and van Eyck in the Dutch Supplement were mentioned, but abstracted to such a degree that they were unrecognizable. Under the heading, "Object of CIAM," were phrases like the "interrelationships between human activities" and the "evolution and change of elements and their groupings," obscure references to van Eyck's notions of "doorstep"/relations (A) and "growth and change"/flexibility (C); they did not include either the notion of "aesthetics of number" or "ecological approach." For good measure the Smithsons restated the method of work as it had been conceived at the

¹⁶⁵Ibid.

¹⁶⁶Alison and Peter Smithson, ed. Howell, "Draft Framework 5, CIAM X, Instructions to Groups," 4 December 1954 (NAi/BAK a30); French version, [c. January 1955].

¹⁶⁷Jacob Bakema to Smithsons, Howell and Voelcker, 27 December 1954.

¹⁶⁸Alison and Peter Smithson, William Howell, and John Voelcker to Sigfried Giedion, 4 January 1955 (NAi/BAK or97; CIAM, 42-JT-13-417).

¹⁶⁹Handwritten comment by Sigfried Giedion to José Luis Sert on letter from Smithsons, Howells, Voelcker to Giedion, 4 January 1955 (NAi/BAK or97; CIAM, 42-JT-13-417).

¹⁷⁰Alison and Peter Smithson to Georges Candilis, Jacob Bakema et al., 28 March 1955 (NAi/BAK or97).

Doorn meeting, using the four categories of the isolate, village, town and city as starting points for their work.¹⁷¹

The effect of even this limited concession to the Dutch Supplement was further attenuated by the fact that the document was not circulated to CIAM at large. However, the motive for writing the Supplement -- as a response to criticism from the Dutch-CIAM group, the younger members, and the Advisory Group about the method of work represented by the four categories -- did not suffer a similar fate. The method of work and in particular the value of the four "fields" would be raised again by Italian-CIAM in the spring of 1955, and by others at the subsequent meetings of Team 10 and the meetings of the CIAM Council in Paris in July and at La Sarraz in September.

Rejection of the "Scale of Association" as a Method of Work

No sooner had the debate over the method of work been resolved between the Dutch and English Team 10 members than another argument arose which Giedion regarded as yet another "crisis."¹⁷² At issue was whether CIAM 10 should be held as planned or whether it should be postponed for another year.

The national groups had, for the most part, agreed with the principles and the spirit of the congress as proposed in "Draft Framework 5." Circulated under the title, "Summaries of Reactions on 'Instructions to Groups' (Draft Framework 5, sent out to groups on 22 December 1954)," a memorandum was sent out documenting the reactions Team 10 had received from CIAM groups in one column and the corresponding commentaries of the CIAM 10 Committee in the other. The commentary was written by Bakema, Candilis, and the Smithsons at a meeting at Candilis's Paris office on 12 April 1955.¹⁷³ Three of the respondents made a special point of approving the "Dutch Supplement." Candilis was in agreement, although he feared that the notion of "doorstep" needed a better explanation.¹⁷⁴ Gutmann welcomed the contents of Dutch-CIAM's contribution and felt that it should be

¹⁷¹CIAM X Committee (Bakema, Candilis, and Alison and Peter Smithson), "Commentary on the reactions received by CIAM X [committee] from the groups and some members of Council," 12 April 1955 (NAi/BAK a14[9]).

¹⁷²Sigfried Giedion to José Luis Sert, 16 May 1955 (LeC D3-07-156).

¹⁷³Jacob Bakema, "Summaries of reactions on 'Instructions to Groups' (Draft Framework 5, sent out to groups on 22-12-54)," 1 April 1955 (NAi/BAK a25); Bakema, Candilis, Alison and Peter Smithson, "Commentary on the reactions received by CIAM X [committee]."

¹⁷⁴Georges Candilis to Jacob Bakema, 12 January 1955 (NAi/BAK or97).

circulated more widely: "The doorstep is marvelous (the form of the inbetween) and is already a framework for a 'Resolution.' You have formulated the point of view, now we act on it."¹⁷⁵ The Austrian Junior Group submitted a response independent from that of CIAM-Austria received on 8 February 1955, in which they "fully agreed" with the Dutch proposals. They felt that "the great number" was "the problem in most parts of the world" and the cause of "dissociation" because of the attendant factors of mobility; striving for independence, isolation, lack of privacy, and lack of neighborhood spirit. "Dissociation" in their opinion was the determining factor in contemporary society.¹⁷⁶ However, all the critics agreed with the Dutch group that the four fields were inadequate as a working method.

The principle reactions came from the Swiss and Italian groups.¹⁷⁷ The Swiss CIAM groups from Basel, Berne and Zurich (BBZ) agreed with the criticism of Sert, Gropius, Giedion, and Tyrwhitt that the proposed four commissions--homestead (isolate), village, town, city--would not work,¹⁷⁸ and in their place proposed, rather vaguely, that the research of CIAM should be carried out from the point of view of "the various functions of the Habitat." Rolf Gutmann (Group Bâlois) complained that the fixation on the results of the congress was out of proportion to their importance, adding that he reacted in a foul manner to this at the London meeting.¹⁷⁹ The Italian group found the four proposed categories, even if they were empirically based, to be "useless and unbearable." These divisions hindered the method in the "new scheme"; the problem of habitat should be maintained without any prior

¹⁷⁵"Umsomehr begrüße ich es nun, das der wesentliche Gehalt Deines Programms trotzdem in einer Stellungnahme Eurer Gruppe verbreitet ist. "Le réalisme plus grand du 'seuil'" ist grossartig (das gestaltgewordene 'Zwischen'), und ist bereits das Gerippe einer Resolution. Du hast den Standpunkt formuliert, den wir vertreten werden." Rolf Gutmann to CIAM X and others, 28 January 1955 (NAi/BAK or97); attached to this letter is an essay by Gutmann titled "The New City - The New House. An Interpretation of Ordering Space"/"Die neue Stadt - das neue Haus" Eine Deutung der Raumordnung" (NAi/BAK or97).

¹⁷⁶Eduard Sekler (CIAM Austria) to Jacob Bakema, 13 January 1955 (NAi/BAK or97).

¹⁷⁷Jacob Bakema, on behalf of CIAM 10 Committee, cover letter to all council members, 1 April 1955, sent with "Summary of Reactions" (CIAM 42-JLS-9-43). The reactions he was referring to were: "Italian Group's Suggestions" by Franco Albini and Ignazio Gardella of the Italian-CIAM Group [January 1955]; and Alfred Roth on behalf of Swiss Group BBZ (Bâle, Berne, Zurich), "Criticism on the proposed programme and presentation of studies for CIAM X" (CIAM 42-JT-13-425).

¹⁷⁸Alfred Roth on behalf of Swiss Group (BBZ), "Criticism of the proposed programme and presentation of studies for CIAM X," 4 February 1955 (CIAM 42-JT-13-425; NAi/BAK, or97); Alison and Peter Smithson Office, "Team 10" Box.

¹⁷⁹"Ich glaube aber (Ihr habt mich eigentlich in London überzeugt) dass eine so bestimmte Fixierung das Resultat des Kongresses allzusehr präjudiziert hätte. Meine Reaktion war etwas faul . . ." Rolf Gutmann to Jacob Bakema, 28 January 1955 (NAi/BAK or97).

divisions into categories.¹⁸⁰ Instead of proposing alternate categories, they questioned whether categories were useful in the process of achieving some clarity about the theme at hand.

The Italians suggested that the way to avoid the inertia of the CIAM 9 congress was to place the next congresses on "completely new foundations, changing both the spirit of research and the method of work." The crux of their argument was that "habitat," in the sense of communities as opposed to agglomerations of buildings, existed at every scale of settlement.¹⁸¹ They suggested that every group prepare a report on the subject of the congress in no more than four grid panels, which should then be sent to the CIAM 10 Committee before the congress convenes. The content of the panels was to be left free and expressed in "concrete architectural language." At the beginning of the congress, the president, assisted by the committee, should "summarize and elucidate" the problems revealed by the panels. After general discussion in a plenary assembly, limited discussion in commissions could be scheduled in the last days of the congress.¹⁸² Reiterating their opinion of Dutch-CIAM about the four categories, apart from their conviction that it should lie within a wider concern for integration (Van Eyck) and relations (Bakema), was that the categories were not to be thought of as separate entities such as city, village, house, but rather as house (or dwelling) in a city, town or village.¹⁸³

These responses were echoed by the Advisory Group to Team 10. Sert, Le Corbusier, Giedion and Tyrwhitt felt that the ill-defined boundaries between what constituted a village, town, or city made it difficult to define the work of the commissions. They noted the inherent lack of specificity in these categories, pointing out that the Marseilles block, which the group had sent out as an example of the method of presentation, was planned for a city, but was considered equally appropriate for a town.¹⁸⁴ And Wogenscky was very disappointed.¹⁸⁵ He had been "flabbergasted to see the poverty, the partiality, the negative

¹⁸⁰Franco Albini and Ignazio Gardella for Italian CIAM, "Italian Group's Suggestions," [January 1955] (CIAM 42-JT-13-497); "Summaries of reaction on "Instructions to Groups," 1 April 1955 (NAi/BAK a25).

¹⁸¹Franco Albini and Ignazio Gardella, "Italian Group's Suggestions," January 1955 (NAi/BAK or97).

¹⁸²Albini and Gardella on behalf of Italian-CIAM, "Summaries of Reactions," 1 April 1955; "Italian Group's Suggestions," [5 January 1955] (NAi/BAK or97).

¹⁸³Aldo van Eyck, "Bespreking te Amsterdam, op Zaterdag 19 Februari 1955, over programstelling en werkmethode voor CIAM X," by Hovens Greve, 21 February 1955 (NAi/BAK or97).

¹⁸⁴Sert, Gropius, Giedion, Tyrwhitt circular letter to all CIAM Groups, 5 January 1955 (NAi/BAK or97; CIAM, 42-JT-13-44/45).

¹⁸⁵André Wogenscky to José Luis Sert, 1 March 1955 (LeC D2-8-306).

and destructive aspects, the absence of concrete, simple, efficient propositions" in the program, adding that he expected infinitely more from Bakema and van Eyck.¹⁸⁶

Qualified support for the four categories of isolate, village, town and city proposed in the "Draft Framework" came from the Austrian junior group who submitted an independent reaction. They felt that they could work within the four categories specified by the "Draft Framework." As the Dutch had suggested, the approach to habitat had to be different for industrialized and non-industrialized countries since "no one could even pretend that the assumptions were the same in both cases."¹⁸⁷

Giedion was equally uneasy about the spiritual and material organization of the congress,¹⁸⁸ as he confirmed in a letter to Sert. He found the formulations by the CIAM 10 Committee to be "vague and imprecise"; it appeared that no one would be leading the discussion, the groups would be "disoriented," and their members have "personal problems." He was afraid of a badly prepared congress, especially at what he considered to be a decisive moment. As founders, he told Corbusier, it was not in their "proper interest to let go of the thing at the last minute"¹⁸⁹; they should not accept the preparations of Team 10.¹⁹⁰ To the growing criticisms he added his misgivings about financial problems and political instability in Algiers where the congress was to meet.¹⁹¹ Finally he suggested that they postpone the congress for a year,¹⁹² and in the meantime produce the results of the CIAM 9 Congress as encouragement and to provide "better directions" for the groups. Sert and Gropius, both teaching at Harvard by this time, left the decision about the advisability of holding the

¹⁸⁶"Je suis sidéré de voir la pauvreté, la partialité, l'aspect négatif et destructeur, l'absence de propositions concrètes, simples, efficaces qui caractérisent à mon avis le programme préparé par le groupe désigné. C'est une déception car j'attendais infiniment mieux de Bakema et de van Eyck." André Wogenscky to Pierre-André Emery, 6 April 1955 (LeC D2-08-331).

¹⁸⁷Eduard Sekler to Jacob Bakema, 13 January 1955 (NAi/BAK or97).

¹⁸⁸Georges Candilis to Alison and Peter Smithson and Jacob Bakema, 25 March 1955, photocopy (Francis Strauven Papers). Giedion had a long conversation with Candilis in Paris on 25 March about the organization of the CIAM 10 Congress in Algiers.

¹⁸⁹"Chaque'un de nous est certainement comblé de travail, mais s'est Corbusier et nous qui ont fondé les CIAM et c'est dans notre propre intérêt de ne pas lâcher la chose au dernier moment" (Sigfried Giedion to André Wogenscky, 12 April 1955 [LeC D2-8-325]).

¹⁹⁰"Malheureusement nous n'avons pas pu accepter telquel les préparations du Team 10 et les CIAM ne doivent pas faire un congrès mal-préparé dans ce moment décisive (Sigfried Giedion to Pierre André Emery, 4 May 1955 [LeC D3-07-148]).

¹⁹¹Sigfried Giedion to José Luis Sert, 25 March 1955 (CIAM 43-K-1955-3-25[6]).

¹⁹²This idea was also supported, according to Candilis, by Wogenscky. Georges Candilis to Jacob Bakema, 9 May 1955 (NAi/BAK or99).

congress to the council members in Europe, which in practice meant with Le Corbusier.¹⁹³ An official request by Giedion left him with the "responsibility of making the final decision, in his capacity as vice-president for Europe."¹⁹⁴

Le Corbusier first echoed Wogensky's and Giedion's lack of faith in the younger generation. They did not have the authority to embrace the terrible complexity of the contemporary situation. Their call for breadth of vision might in this case actually represent an absence of one and "verbal dilettantism."¹⁹⁵ The Habitat Charter should conclude 25 years of CIAM and not announce a new stage: bequeathing a charter was very different from elaborating a new one.¹⁹⁶ Giedion and Sert agreed that an older member with many active years in the congress should undertake the task of writing a habitat charter as a finale to 25 years of CIAM.¹⁹⁷ The second stage could then be opened with the work of the youngers, instead of doctrinaire conclusions that they felt the youngers were incapable of drawing. Corbusier conceived of the youngers as soldiers battling for CIAM on the field of architecture, urbanism and administration, but not as colleagues with a mandate to discuss a strategy for CIAM. They had been handed a clean slate only to realize CIAM's ideas about urbanism and architecture under contemporary conditions.¹⁹⁸

Le Corbusier changed his mind a month later when he met with Candilis and Wogensky in his atelier to discuss the upcoming congress.¹⁹⁹ This meeting was, according to Candilis, decisive for Le Corbusier's understanding of the Team 10 agenda. Candilis believed that it was not until that day that Le Corbusier really grasped the theme of the congress as they had proposed it and that, barring some confusion in the various English and French translations, he found it "very good." Candilis believed that he would agree with the

¹⁹³"Il [Le Corbusier] m'a dit que Sert et Gropius lui avaient donné tous pouvoirs en sa qualité de Président du Groupe Européen de CIAM, pour décider de faire ou de ne pas faire le Congrès d'Alger" (José Luis Sert to Pierre André Emery, 28 April 1955 [CIAM 42-JT-13-445]). Georges Candilis to Jacob Bakema, 9 May 1955.

¹⁹⁴Le Corbusier, "Intervention," 2.

¹⁹⁵"Les 'jeunes' n'ont pas la force d'embrasser la terrible complexité du phénomène modern. 'La largeur du vue' prend peut-être ici la forme d'absence de vue, ou alors adopter l'attitude des négations débilantes et d'un dilettantisme verbal" (Le Corbusier to unidentified recipient, 8 April 1955 [LeC D3-07-143]).

¹⁹⁶"La Charte de l'Habitat en tous cas devrait être la conclusion des 25 ans des CIAM et non pas le manifeste de la nouvelle étape. Les CIAM devient léguer une Charte et non pas en élaborer une. C'est très différent" (Le Corbusier to unknown, 8 April 1955 [LeC D3-07-143]).

¹⁹⁷Sigfried Giedion to José Luis Sert, 24 April 1955 (GSD/JLS, C15); J.L. Sert to Pierre-André Emery, 28 April 1955 (CIAM 42-JT-13-445).

¹⁹⁸Le Corbusier to unknown, 8 April 1955 (LeC D3-07-143).

¹⁹⁹Le Corbusier, "Intervention," 9 May 1955, 2; Georges Candilis to Jacob Bakema, 9 May 1955.

program of the congress as they were proposing it.²⁰⁰

That same day, Le Corbusier prepared a document outlining his thoughts about the future course and content of CIAM 10.²⁰¹ He declared that the propositions set forth by Team 10 were "sound and perfectly acceptable." Instead of canceling the congress, he suggested, as had Bakema, that it be postponed for a year to the following September. He countered all of Giedion's doubts about the program with arguments in its favor: it was in fact the program circulated on 21 December 1954; there was sufficient time for groups to prepare for the congress; and Emery had procured sufficient funds to hold it in Algiers.²⁰² He restated the theme of the congress as agreed upon at the Paris meeting the previous July as "The Problems of the Human Habitat. First CIAM Proposals: Statement and Recommendations."

Having dealt with the future of CIAM, he then turned his attention to what he felt was the equally necessary task of "crowning the first 25 years of CIAM." For this he proposed drawing up a "Charte du Logis" to allow CIAM to set down the experiences its members had already acquired in the development of the conditions absolutely necessary for the modern dwelling.²⁰³ He conceived of the charter as being similar in form, and providing an "indispensable balance," to the Charter of Athens and commanding an equally firm position with the authorities.²⁰⁴ But he argued that this complimentary document be named "Charte du Logis" and not "Charte de l'Habitation" in order to avoid the endless confusion that results from employing a terminology that is evocative of other meanings or has so many nuances in other languages. Publishing the "Charte de Logis" he argued was a way of putting behind them 25 years of CIAM work; and the Habitat Charter placed the future before them, the outcome of the work of groups and individuals during the coming years.²⁰⁵

A few days later, Le Corbusier and Candilis drafted an invitation to the CIAM 10 congress specifying the theme, program of work, method of presentation, and the definition of

²⁰⁰Georges Candilis to Jacob Bakema, 9 May 1955.

²⁰¹Le Corbusier, "Intervention of the Vice-President for Europe," 9 May 1955 (CIAM 42-JT-13-451/453). Le Corbusier sent Bakema 50 copies of this document so that if Bakema saw fit, he could forward them to Gropius.

²⁰²Ibid., 1.

²⁰³Ibid., 3.

²⁰⁴Ibid.

²⁰⁵Ibid.

the word "habitat" that he had given in his "Invitation."²⁰⁶ The CIAM 10 congress in Algiers was to be based on the program established in "Draft Framework 5 -- Instructions to Groups," and referring members to the "Summary of Reactions" of the national groups and the exhibition material as indicated by the sample grid sent with "Draft Framework 5." Le Corbusier restated Team 10's definition of "Habitat" verbatim with its emphasis on "organic integration," making a special point of differentiating it from the French notion of *habiter*.²⁰⁷ This sudden about face in support of the work of Team 10 and away from Giedion's point of view elicited from Gideon the not surprising response that Le Corbusier "could not care a jot" about CIAM and had shifted the responsibility for sending out the invitations for CIAM 10 to Wogenscky.²⁰⁸

Although the question of what constituted "habitat" had been discussed since Sigtuna, it was not until the spring of 1955 that Le Corbusier explicitly acknowledged that CIAM was at an intellectual turning point,²⁰⁹ and the summer of that year for Giedion. Sert, as the "youngest elder," was the first and most willing to hand power and the future of CIAM over to the younger generation; he had first suggested it at the CIAM 6 congress in Hoddesdon in 1951. While Team 10 was consolidating its theoretical position in the fall of 1954, it was Tyrwhitt's turn to realize that it was "the first time that another generation had made plans and marked a direction for CIAM which was unknown to the CIAM executive; they needed "to get a move on now to decide whether the name of CIAM can continue or not."²¹⁰ But it was not until the Paris meeting in July of 1955 that the executive members collectively recognized that CIAM was at a turning point. Le Corbusier became aware of it during the meeting with Candilis in May 1955, after which he did his about-face and intervened to support the direction proposed by Team 10, and drafted the invitation to the newly conceptualized CIAM 10 congress. Giedion did not realize until a meeting on 16 May 1955

²⁰⁶Georges Candilis and Le Corbusier, "Invitation au 10^{ème} Congress CIAM à Alger," 13 May 1955 (CIAM SG-42-19; NAI/BAK, or99; LeC, D2-07-98).

²⁰⁷Georges Candilis and Le Corbusier, "Invitation to the CIAM X Congress at Algiers." Sert prepared a second draft of the invitation, in consultation with Jaqueline Tyrwhitt and Wells Coates (MARS Group). It does not change the content, but fills in the content from the documents referred to in the Le Corbusier/Candilis version. José Luis Sert, "Second draft of Invitation to CIAM X," 25 May 1955 (CIAM 42-JT-13-456/458).

²⁰⁸Sigfried Giedion to José Luis Sert, 8 June 1955 (CIAM 42-JT-13-463).

²⁰⁹Le Corbusier in "Minutes of Meeting of CIRPAC," UNESCO, Paris, 4 July 1955 (CIAM 42-JT-13-503).

²¹⁰"C'est la première fois qu'une autre génération fait des plans et marque une direction dont nous ne savons pas quel caractère elle aura . . . Il s'agit maintenant de décider si le nom des CIAM peut continuer ou non" (Jaqueline Trywhitt to Le Corbusier, 7 September 1954 [CIAM 42-JT-18-92]).

that habitat had again generated a crisis, and at the Sarraz meeting in September 1955 in his *Proces-verbal* he stated that for him and the other members of the older generation, the CIAM experiment was over. With the unanimity of this awareness, the executive agreed to wrap up twenty-five years of CIAM history by writing a "Statut de Logis" to summarize their position before CIAM X, and clear the decks for the new agenda of the younger generation.

This realization had prompted them, at the meeting at UNESCO in Paris on July 4, to unanimously agree to wrap up 25 years of CIAM history by writing a "Statut de Logis." This document was to distinguish between the position of CIAM before and after the tenth congress. Le Corbusier now felt that the work of CIAM needed to be continued by a new generation which "faced problems that were not the same as -- but were no less important than -- those of the past twenty-five years."²¹¹ In his opinion, CIAM X should be concerned with the new agenda of "Habitat": the interrelation of man and his environment.

Corbusier also proposed that before the CIAM 10 congress, the youngers should commemorate the experience of their elders in a "Charte de Logis." Giedion²¹² and Sert²¹³ concurred. They agreed to hold a CIRPAC meeting at La Sarraz on 8-11 September 1955 to begin preparing the 25-year retrospective. The subject of the meeting would be the "*Statut du Logis: Conclusion of the Work of CIAM IX at Aix*" and "*Preparation for CIAM X/ L'Habitat: Premières Constatations.*" They also postponed CIAM 10 until September 1956. Conceived as a combination of a "bill of rights" and a second Athens Charter, the "Statut du Logis" would summarize particularly the work of the Sigtuna meeting and the Aix congress. It was to be written by Sert and Gropius along lines suggested by Corbusier.²¹⁴ Le Corbusier's view of the future course of CIAM was clear at that point, but the clarity was lost through the confusion of leadership of the old guard leading up to the meeting at La

²¹¹Le Corbusier, "Minutes of Meeting of CIRPAC (Council and Delegates) at UNESCO, Paris, July 4, 1955" (CIAM 42-JT-13-503/506. Le Corbusier had little faith in the younger generation at this point: "Clarity of our aims. Intervention despite me. It is the little things that provoked the difficulty. Lack of clarity in expressing ideas. Every generation turns a page -- the same idea continues but seen from another side. One could not study houses without urbanism. The present generation finds itself between two chairs. The soil of the ground is badly occupied. The 'younger' know this well. They do not have the wisdom to make perspectives, but how man can live -- one calls that habitat -- the places of occupation of the ground by human presence. Never from the [?] of the final congress. Always necessary to have windows." Le Corbusier, handwritten notes from meeting, Paris, 4 July 1955 (CIAM 42-JT-13-484), 4.

²¹²"Minutes of meeting of CIRPAC (Council and Delegates) at UNESCO, Paris, July 4 1955" (CIAM 42-JT-13-503/506), 2.

²¹³José Luis Sert to Le Corbusier, 24 May 1955 (CIAM 42-JT-15-454/455).

²¹⁴"Réunion at the Chateau de la Sarraz, 8-11 September 1955," 10 July 1955 (CIAM 42-RV-X-13-29).

Sarraz.

The issues that had prompted the writing of the "Dutch Supplement" -- the desire by Bakema and van Eyck to respond to the demands for greater specificity in defining the work of the national groups in the "Draft Framework" -- did not disappear. They were repeated by Gutmann at the London meeting in August 1954 and at the Advisory Committee meetings, one in the fall of 1954 and two in January 1955, restated again in the responses to the "Draft Framework" by Gutmann and Roth for Swiss-CIAM and by Albin and Gardella for Italian CIAM, and taken up again by CIAM at the meeting in La Sarraz in September 1955. Although the Italian CIAM were generally in sympathy with the criticisms and attitudes of both the Dutch and English committee members, in their comments to "Draft Framework 5," Albin and Gardella objected to the working method represented by the four categories of the "Scale of Association" and suggested that CIAM extract conclusions from particular contributions instead of predetermining the categories before forming commissions. Bakema mentioned to Albin that their suggestions had influenced the development of the program developed by the CIAM 10 committee in the spring of 1955.²¹⁵ Rogers reiterated what he called this more "pragmatic" position again at the La Sarraz meeting, at which point CIAM finally agreed that the commission would be formed at the CIAM 10 congress based on the work presented, an approach finalized in two documents circulated by Team 10 in November 1955.²¹⁶

How some arguments are ignored while other influence the course of events is well illustrated by the fate of the suggestions for a working method by the Dutch and the Italians. The "Dutch Supplement" provides a case in point. The Smithsons played an enormous part in its fate by insisting that its agenda did not represent the agreed-upon view of the CIAM 10 committee. They made their disapproval known to Bakema, the Advisory Group of Sert, Giedion, and Le Corbusier, and to the national groups.²¹⁷ The English members seemed unable to understand how the Dutch suggestions lay within the conceptual framework that they had already agreed to. The Smithsons' proprietary feelings and inflexible attachment to

²¹⁵Jacob Bakema to Franco Albin, 12 April 1955 (NAi/BAK or97).

²¹⁶Team 10, untitled, November 1955 (NAi/BAK or99; CIAM, 42-JT-13-519/521); Smithsons and Dutch Team 10, "Clarification of 'Instructions to Groups'," 10 November 1955 (CIAM 42-JT-13-526); Alison and Peter Smithson and Dutch members of Team 10, "Clarification of 'Instructions to Groups,'" 10 November 1955 (CIAM 42-JT-13-524).

²¹⁷Jacob Bakema, Georges Candilis, Alison and Peter Smithson, "Commentary of the CIAM X committee" in "Summaries of Reactions on 'Instructions to Groups' (Draft Framework 5, sent out to groups on 22-12-54)," 12 April 1955 (NAi/BAK a25).

the original statement at Doorn also made it hard for the new ideas of Dutch-CIAM to get on the agenda.²¹⁸ This played itself out in the context of a more conciliatory Dutch response. In spite of Bakema's persistence in sending it out in its increasingly edited versions -- from its first form in the "Orientation" where the ideas were integrated in a longer text, to its second version as an attached "Supplement," to its summarized version, and its final half-page form as a "commentary"²¹⁹--their position was left by the wayside.

These conversations influenced each other's thinking. The Smithson's notion of the "doorstep" that they had introduced at the Aix congress resonated with van Eyck's already developed theoretical position about the "inbetween," and became the term that he used after 1959 to describe the space between two polarities. The notion of "growth and change" discussed by Gardella and commission I at Bergamo and promoted by Dutch-CIAM at the Sigtuna meeting was resisted by the Smithsons for the CIAM 10 program, but became part of their own discourse at the end of 1955 by which time they had decided that, along with "urban infrastructure," the problem of "change - mutation" should form part of the agenda of the reorganized CIAM.²²⁰

²¹⁸The Smithsons believed that van Eyck had coopted the group's discourse: "We must say, off the record, that the first circular you speak of was a thing sent out by van Eyck. It was an eye opener to us that he should use all the terminology that Team 10 had built up for themselves without apparently understanding any meanings. But I think this circular reached only a few unhappy people. This is why the sample grid did not appear till later as a supplement to the Document proper. I hope now this can be forgotten as a small unfortunate incident." Alison and Peter Smithson to Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, 14 April 1955 (CIAM 42-JT-13-443).

²¹⁹Bakema, Candilis, Alison and Peter Smithson, "Commentary on the Reactions Received by CIAM X [committee].

²²⁰Alison and Peter Smithson to J. L. Sert, 8 December 1955 (NAi/BAK or99).

CHAPTER VII.

CIAM IN CRISIS AND THE TRIUMPH OF Team 10, 1955-1959

La Sarraz Meeting: CIAM unravels

As they had agreed at the meeting in Paris meeting in July 1955, the CIAM Council members met again at La Sarraz in September to discuss the "Charte du Logis" and plan for the organization of CIAM 10. With the absence of Sert, who could not attend the La Sarraz meeting because of his responsibilities at Harvard, Emery was appointed Chairman, and with the assistance of Team 10 and Ecochard, they were made responsible for preparing for this meeting. Neither Gropius or Le Corbusier were in evidence at the Paris meeting: Gropius was at Harvard; Le Corbusier was unwilling to discuss the preparations for CIAM 10 because, as he had decided at the Paris meeting, CIAM was embarking on the new phase concerned with the habitat, in which he had no interest. He had wanted those who had experienced 25 years of CIAM history to produce a "Charte du Logis" summarizing CIAM activity from its inception and those who were dissatisfied with CIAM to participate in the new work.

Le Corbusier had anticipated what indeed proved to be the character of the La Sarraz meeting, a "fragmentary discussion"¹ of CIAM's twenty-five years that reflected the confusion resulting from the conflicting objectives of the two CIAM generations. The English group, composed of the Smithsons, Voelcker, and Howell, had at least agreed with Le Corbusier that the most useful document that CIAM 10 could produce was a summary of CIAM thinking over the past twenty-five years to prepare the way for the work on habitat, but they were against his suggestion of a "Charte du Logis" because they regarded it as "meaningless and dangerous unless related to the problem of habitat."² Team 10 members in general were more interested in producing a document which would lead CIAM into the future, and Bakema in particular regarded the preparation of a retrospective document as an inconvenient interruption of work.³ They were more interested in defining a "new discipline

¹Le Corbusier to Sigfried Giedion, 6 September 1955 (CIAM 42-JT-13-281/282).

²Alison and Peter Smithson, William Howell and John Voelcker, "Statut de Logis," n.d. (CIAM 42-JT-13-271).

³Bakema, *ibid.*

in planning⁴ and attempting to manifest their theory in their projects and grids than in reviewing the past. Instead of summarizing twenty-five years of CIAM experience, therefore, a group referred to as the "Commission of the Ten" produced what they saw as the basis for a statute in the form of a table of contents with twelve chapter headings. It proved to be a confusing mix of CIAM history and future agenda. Since they objected to the didactic tone associated with the Charter of Athens, they provided what they preferred to call "principles" and they entitled their work, "The Dwelling, Declaration of Principles."⁵ According to Peter Smithson:

It had been the intention to prepare a *statut de logis*, a kind of combination of the "Bill of Rights" and a second "Charte d'Athènes." After two days of high-level talk and amidst a great deal of scepticism at the lower levels, the word *statut* was abandoned and a "Declaration of Principles" on the subject of *logis* was agreed in draft. The draft document showed the extent of the modification that "Charte d'Athènes" thinking has undergone since the reunion at Sigtuna in 1952 prior to the 9th Congress. This "Declaration" is a statement of the problem of *habitat* and is the first shot across the bow of the type-planners. The Congress on *habitat* will be the first broadside.⁶

The table of contents produced by Team 10 restated what they believed should be the new CIAM agenda, but it lacked the conviction of the Athens Charter on which it was modeled, and reflected the confusion of trying to deal with two very different agendas at the same meeting. It suffered from being too general and lacking a clear direction, precisely the same shortcomings the younger generation had leveled at the CIAM 9 Congress in Dubrovnik.

Notwithstanding the disagreements about the "Charte du Logis" there was evidence at LaSarraz that the importance of relationships in the new way of thinking about habitat was finally accepted by both generations. Giedion had proposed to insert the idea of "inter-relationships" into what became the rather unwieldy title for the next Congress: "The Habitat: Problem of Inter-relationships. CIAM's First Proposals, Statements and Resolutions,"⁷ to emphasize the need to anchor their ideas to the simple notion of interrelation, adding that they needed to reestablish the relation between the "I" and the "You" that had been destroyed. He

⁴Peter Smithson, "General Assembly," 9 August 1956 (CIAM 42-JT-15-186).

⁵Pierre-André Emery, "Minutes of the general meetings, September 9th 1955, 14:30 hrs, La Sarraz" (CIAM 42-JT-13-134).

⁶Peter Smithson, "Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne. La Sarraz, 7-11 September 1955," 30 September 1955 (NAi/BAK a14[3]).

⁷"CIAM Meeting at La Sarraz, 8, 9, 10 September, 1955. Minutes of Meeting," 22 November 1955 (CIAM 42-JT-13-290/294; NAi/BAK, vd13; RIBA, ArO 2/11/12[v]).

now believed that it was by solving the problems of interrelation that "CIAM will have urbanism and architecture take a step forward."⁸ Reiterating what van Eyck and Bakema had been saying since CIAM 6, insofar as dealing with the subject of Habitat was concerned the "relations between the functions of urbanism may be just as important as the functions themselves."⁹ Adding that "the role of the architect to-day and the role of the urbanist consist in knowing, studying and comparing such relationships."¹⁰ Giedion continued to incorporate the new thinking after the La Sarraz meeting. In his "Prolegomena" which he wrote in July 1956, he began to consider the significance of the "new regionalism" in the context of machine civilization, reflecting a shift from his support of the universalizing methods of Le Corbusian town planning to one which concerned itself more with the differences between places.

Although the delegates at La Sarraz seemed to agree about the need for modern architecture to deal with relations between things, one source of generational tension continued to be the fundamentally different ideas about what the working method for CIAM should be, i.e., how CIAM would organize itself. Differences of opinion arose as well over whether the relations, which were now the accepted topic of discussion by CIAM, should be specified before the congress or whether the topics of the congress should arise from its work-in short, whether they should follow a deductive or inductive method. At the La Sarraz meeting, Giedion had listed six major types of relationships to be discussed at CIAM 10.¹¹ Unable to resist predetermining the categories for the congress, he then proceeded to list some of the possible relationships that they could examine: between the dwelling and its extensions; between different elements of the city and its structure; between the mobility within a differentiated society and its plastic expression; relations of the dwelling and its environment; relations between density and volume and between density and space; relations between built-up volumes and the space between buildings; relations of a problem particular to a certain country, such as relations between the "new regionalism" and the ambience in which the

⁸Giedion, "Minutes of the general meeting," 1.

⁹Giedion, "Procès-Verbal" (CIAM 42-JT-13-523); "Proposal of S. Giedion" 10 September 1955, in "Minutes of CIAM Meeting of Delegates at La Sarraz 8, 9, 10 September 1955" (CIAM 42-JT-13-293/294); "Exposé du Professeur Giedion" 10 September 1955 (CIAM 42-JT-13-119/120); "Rough translation of Giedion's Procès-Verbal de la Reunion à La Sarraz" (CIAM 42-JT-13-522/523); "Speech of Prof. Giedion" (CIAM 42-JT-13-204).

¹⁰Giedion, "Proposal of S. Giedion," 1.

¹¹CIAM, "Preparation for CIAM X. July 1956, at Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia," December 1955 (CIAM ArO/2/11/14; RIBA, GoE, 315/2).

"machine civilization" was developed.¹² The members of Team 10, who preferred an inductive method, emerged from the meeting convinced that it was impossible to predetermine the relations that were decisive for habitat.¹³

The state of mind of the two generations and the significance of the issue of integration are not discernable in the official records of the La Sarraz meeting. The minutes do not mention contributions to the meeting by Rogers and the Italian CIAM, the British members, Israeli A. Neumann, Pierre Fitschi (Belgium); or Fred Freyler and the other delegates from CIAM Austria. Equally passed over in silence was the contribution by the Dutch CIAM on *logis*,¹⁴ although their addition to the *Statut de Logis* stated more explicitly than ever before the democratic values on which their proposals for the future of CIAM and modern architecture and planning were based. Reflecting Bakema's thinking, they believed that the task, in the second half of the twentieth century, was to realize the principles of equality and equal rights as laid down in the United Nations Declaration of the Universal Rights of Man (1948), as well as political integration and interrelation. Their aim for *le logis*, included personal liberty, choice, and the ability to choose one's own relationship to society.¹⁵ These values reflect the strong anti-authoritarian and democratic ethos within CIAM and the flavor of European politics in the postwar period. The proceedings also failed to record some important discussions, such as the one on the difficulties several members had with the four scales of association that had been promoted by the English Team 10 members as a working method for the CIAM 10 congress.

The criticisms about the lack of specificity of congress topics raised by Dutch-CIAM during the development of the "Draft Frameworks" were repeated at the meeting by others, including Italian-CIAM members who had also already expressed them in their response to "Draft Framework 5" and at the Paris meeting in July 1955. At that meeting CIAM had also objected to the commission's suggested by the program and Gardella to the method of

¹²Giedion, "Proposal of S. Giedion," 2; "Procès-Verbal"; "Prolegomena pour une Charte d'Habitat," in "CIAM 10 Report," 51-60.

¹³Team 10, "CIAM. Team 10," November 1955 (NAi/BAK a20).

¹⁴For the contributions to the La Sarraz meeting from the various groups, see the compilation by Jaqueline Tyrwhitt (CIAM 42-JT-13 and 42-JT-13-519/531). Contributions by Belgian and Austrian groups (NAi/BAK a25).

¹⁵De 8 en Opbouw, "Contribution of CIAM-Netherlands to the discussion on a Statut de Logis," n.d. (CIAM 42-JT-13-223/225).

presentation.¹⁶ Instead of pre-determining any category they suggested a more inductive proposal whereby individual and group work would be collected and summarized for general discussion before the congress, with the commission being determined at the congress.¹⁷

Emery repeated that they had "all been somewhat bothered" by what they felt was the arbitrary classification of city, town, village, and isolated house and wanted to discard them.¹⁸ Wogenscky thought that the categories were "more apparent than real" and that it was better to have "distinctions based on the way of life of men rather than their agglomerations of buildings."¹⁹ Giedion and Tyrwhitt proposed that they replace the categories with classifications by relationships.²⁰ When the session finally adjourned, Emery announced that it seemed as if they must unanimously abandon the classification of Team 10 as a basis of work, and that they ought to find a new classification during the congress.²¹

Throughout the discussion about how to proceed with the CIAM 10 congress, the British CIAM delegates seemed to contradict themselves. In his presentation on Team 10's way of thinking,²² Peter Smithson qualified the use of their fourfold division of communities into isolated houses, villages, towns and cities to be used for determining the appropriate habitat for particular types as being "only a method of classification and very flexible."²³ He claimed that their four settlement categories were merely a method of analysis,²⁴ a method which he did seem to recognize was at odds with his own critique of the analytical methods of the Athens Charter, and as self-proclaimed "empirical radicals."²⁵ The Smithsons changed their conception of the four categories from a numerical classification at Doorn to a symbolic representation in the "Draft Frameworks":

At CIAM 9 work was presented by our group which suggested that there

¹⁶Tyrwhitt, Minutes of meeting of Council and Delegates at UNESCO, Paris, 4 July 1955 (CIAM 42-JT-13-481, 486).

¹⁷Gardella and Albini, "CIAM Groupe Italien" (CIAM 42-JT-13-274/275). This document was a response to "Draft Framework 5" by Team 10, c. December 1954 (CIAM 42-SG-42-6/9).

¹⁸Emery, as quoted in "Preparation du CIAM X" (CIAM 42-JT-13-179) and in "5:30 Full Session, La Sarraz, Sept. 9 '55" (CIAM 42-JT-13-169).

¹⁹André Wogenscky, as quoted in "Preparation du CIAM X" (CIAM 42-JT-13-180).

²⁰Giedion and Tyrwhitt as quoted in "5:30 Full Session" (CIAM 42-JT-13-176, 182); Giedion, "Proposal by S. Giedion," 2.

²¹Tyrwhitt, "Minutes of the general meeting," 2.

²²Tyrwhitt, "Preparation for CIAM X" (CIAM 42-JT-13-176/182).

²³Peter Smithson, "Minutes of the general meetings," 3.

²⁴Peter Smithson, "Preparation du CIAM X," 2.

²⁵Peter Smithson to Jacob Bakema, 15 [November] 1954 (NAi/BAK vd4). The letter is dated 15 October, but the contents indicate that it was written in November.

might be some numerical system which could be established as a basis for the solving of problems of Habitat and for the construction of communities. We have subsequently come to the conclusion that no systematic relationship can be established between finite number and the patterns of human communities.²⁶

Howell agreed explaining that the groupings were not based on numbers but quality and complexity, and he made light of their role by stating that the groupings were just one way of organizing a congress: one commission could look at all villages, and another at all the presentation grids in a particular area of Africa.²⁷ The conceptual assumption that these categories represented an integrated unit defined by a series of interrelationships remained constant among the British Team 10 members, a concept that they referred to at the La Sarraz meeting as "appreciated units" which then developed into their idea of "felt units." If the main aim of urbanism was comprehensibility, then "appreciated units" were the building blocks for creating a comprehensible whole. These units were defined on many levels: as an idea, as a human group, as a mechanical-structural organism, and as a visual unity. They conceived of the "appreciated unit" on more psychological or experiential terms as "the way one 'takes in' a natural phenomenon." The "appreciated unit" was Bakema's notion of the "visual group" extended to more experiential levels because it was something that did not solely gain its comprehensibility visually--it was felt.

At La Sarraz the older generation seemed to fall apart as a group. Le Corbusier and Giedion in particular each began to push his own agenda for restructuring CIAM and the "Charte de l'Habitat." Many were distracted by teaching obligations at universities and by their practices.²⁸ Giedion had been teaching in Zurich for years; and Sert, Gropius, and Tyrwhitt were all at Harvard, and Sert, Le Corbusier, and Gropius were preoccupied with large commissions.²⁹

²⁶Team 10, England, "Contribution to La Sarraz, 7-11 September 1955. Summary of conclusions reached," n.d. (NAi/BAK a25).

²⁷Howell, *ibid.*

²⁸Pagon Group (Norway), "Note from Group Pagon, Norway," in "CIAM 10 Report" (CIAM 42-X-115), 36.

²⁹Other CIAM members who were teaching included Leslie Martin in England, who was reorganizing the school of architecture at Cambridge University; A. Neumann in Haifa, Helena and Syzmon Syrkus and Jerzy Soltan in Warsaw; Cornelius van Eesteren and J.H. van den Broek in Holland; Blanche Lemco in Philadelphia; Peter Smithson in London, [first name] Schütte in Vienna; Georges Brera in Geneva; Gabriel Guévrékian in Illinois; Drago Ibler in Zagreb; Takamasa Yosizaka at the University of Waseda, Tokyo, which was one of the best architectural schools in the world at the time having won two successive prizes at the Brazil Biennale; and Germàn Samper in Bogota. Giuseppe Samonà, Piero Bottoni, Ernesto Rogers, Lodovico Belgiojoso and others in Italy were all involved with the CIAM Summer School in Venice.

They also began to disagree among themselves. Although these two founding members Le Corbusier and Giedeon differed over the nature of the "Charte de Logis"/"Charte de l'Habitat," which eventually developed into a difference of opinion between Le Corbusier and the rest of CIAM. Le Corbusier and Giedion agreed that CIAM needed to produce a document to balance the Athens Charter, they disagreed as to what the document should contain and who would produce it. Le Corbusier continued to insist that the document should wrap up the twenty-five years of CIAM and be drafted by Sert, who had been part of this experience, to mark the end of the First CIAM and the beginning of the Second CIAM.

Contrary to Le Corbusier's wishes, Giedion had not organized the La Sarraz meeting as an exclusive venue for producing the document as Le Corbusier had suggested. Instead of working out the table of contents for the "Charte de l'Habitat" decided upon at the La Sarraz meeting, he produced his own outline which he called the "Prolegomena pour une Charte d'Habitat." Giedion's "Prolegomena" was his own version of the Charter of Habitat and his outline deviated from the one decided on at La Sarraz. This document departed substantially from the draft produced in May 1956 by Sert, Gropius, and Tyrwhitt in Cambridge, which they called "The Dwelling: Statement of Principles," in which this executive trio continued to develop their thinking as it had been discussed at La Sarraz. The table of contents for the proposed "Declaration du Logis" was to include extracts about habitation from the founding CIAM meeting at La Sarraz in 1928, as well as an extensive recapitulation of CIAM 4 followed by the outlines for the twelve chapters that CIAM and Team 10 had drawn up after several days of discussion.³⁰ The proposed chapters were to deal with the interaction of dwelling and environment, the sociological basis for housing, physical and historic integration of the dwelling in habitat, and the relations of the dwelling to its immediate surroundings; unity and diversity, dynamism, the limits of industrialization and standardization and the indivisibility of form from its total conception. This document, although the logical outcome of the work done at La Sarraz, was not what Le Corbusier had wanted--a summary of 25 years of CIAM experience on the topic of dwelling -- nor was it an authoritative statement, as the Athens Charter had been, about dwelling or future work by CIAM. In the first section, rather than quoting the definitions of habitat as they had been discussed at Sigtuna and later by the younger generation, he used Le Corbusier's definition and definitions from French and English dictionaries. This section was followed by a summary of CIAM's attitude towards

³⁰"The Dwelling: Statement of Principles," May 1956 (CIAM 42-JT-15-20/36).

housing and urban development between 1928 and 1953.³¹ To his "Prolegomena" Giedion attached a proposal for points to be dealt with in the "Charte de l'Habitat."³² These points, too, were entirely his own; they included the problems of individual privacy, the individual and community, noise, contact with nature, differentiated settlements, urban growth, and the new regionalism. Even his title deviated from what everyone but Sert had agreed upon at La Sarraz: to drop the word *charte* and replace it with the phrase "Statement of Principles."³³

Two documents drawn up after La Sarraz concluded the preparations for CIAM 10: one written by Team 10 (listed as being Bakema, van Eyck, Peter Smithson, Candilis, Woods, Gutmann)³⁴; the other written by the older generation represented by Sert, Gropius, and Tyrwhitt.³⁵ The latter document was a very cut-and-dried list of relationships, albeit not a comprehensive one, to be discussed at the congress, and a description of the method of presentation as developed in the "Clarification of 'Instructions to Groups'" by Team 10. The list echoed in form and content the relationships mentioned by Giedion in his speech to the La Sarraz meeting.³⁶ The Smithsons objected to it on three levels: they felt it was "wrong" to call a list of "truisms" relationships; instead, delegates ought to find the key relationships involved in "realities" and accessible to form. They also objected to describing man's basic needs as "unchanging," asserting that aspirations change all the time; and they were against the "lack of definite focus on human associations," which they felt Team 10 ought to stress.³⁷ The Smithsons restated their opposition a few months in their response to a request by the CIAM Secretariat that, in order to facilitate the organization of the CIAM 10 congress, all groups inform Team 10 about the relationships that they proposed to study at CIAM 10. The Smithsons stated their opposition to "any encyclopaedic dealings with all possible relationships" and against "imposing" any relationships listed either by Team 10 or by

³¹Giedion, "Prolegomena pour une Charte d'Habitat," July 1956 (NAi/BAK a12[35]).

³²Giedion, "Some Proposals for Points to Be Dealt with in the Charte de l'Habitat," July 1956 (NAi/BAK a12[36]).

³³J.L. Sert to Sigfried Giedion, 1 June 1956 (CIAM 42-JT-13-542/543).

³⁴"CIAM Team 10," November 1955 (NAi/BAK or99).

³⁵"Preparation for CIAM X (July 1956, at Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia)," December 1955 (CIAM 42-JT-13-528/529).

³⁶"Rough Summary of Giedion's Procès-verbal de la reunion à La Sarraz" and "Proposal of S. Giedion," in "Minutes of CIAM Meeting of Delegates at La Sarraz 8, 9, 10 September 1955" (CIAM 42-JT-13-517, 522-523); "Speech of Prof. Giedion," handwritten notes in "Papers of the Meeting of CIRPAC at La Sarraz, September 1955" (CIAM 42-JT-13-204/207).

³⁷Alison and Peter Smithson, "Open letter to Sert and Team 10. Commentary on 'Preparation for CIAM X of Team 10 Nov '55 and CIAM Secretariat Dec '55,'" 30 January 1956 (Alison and Peter Smithson, "Team 10" box).

Giedion.³⁸ True to their empirical spirit they wanted each local group to determine their own "key problems" so that working parties at the congress could recognize the vital issues.³⁹ Instead, they wanted, as had been suggested in the "Final Preparations Document" of May 28, 1956, that each group isolate "key problems" so that working parties at the congress could deal with "vital problems."⁴⁰

The document sent out by Team 10 on 30 December 1955 was the final one laying out preparations for CIAM 10. This final version, the result of months of working over the "Draft Frameworks" bore little resemblance to its predecessors. The document was a concise and clear statement about the future work of the congress, devoid of criticism of the previous work of CIAM, and no longer trying to justify the new direction of thinking within CIAM by providing an account of how Team 10 had arrived at this new attitude. It stressed, more than any other version, the importance of relations in the new CIAM agenda of "habitat," by including a transcript of Giedion's speech to the La Sarraz meeting. To assuage criticisms about the theoretical, or as they stated it, "academic" turn CIAM had taken, Team 10 emphasized that members should present design projects.

CIAM 10: CIAM in Crisis

CIAM 10, titled "The Habitat: Problem of Inter-Relationships" held at Dubrovnik in August 3-13, 1956, was the first congress in which Team 10 had official representation, and it is considered by many to be the last "official" CIAM congress. Several of the older generation members were not even there. Gropius excused himself on the grounds of urgent work.⁴¹ Le Corbusier decided to "escape the fruitless controversy between the two generations,"⁴² Marcel Lods, representative of Bâtir, was unwilling to reformulate CIAM doctrine and chose to avoid the "byzantine" academic discussions that would not even deal

³⁸This document, prepared at a meeting of Team 10 in London, May 1956, summarizes the responses they had received in one column and Team 10's comments in the other. Team 10 (Bakema, van Eyck, Howell, P. Smithson, Candilis, Wood, Gutmann), "Final Preparations Document," 28 May 1956 (NAi/BAK or99; CIAM, 42-JT-13-553).

³⁹Alison and Peter Smithson to J.L. Sert, 22 June 1956 (NAi/BAK a20).

⁴⁰Alison and Peter Smithson to J.L. Sert, 22 June 1956 (NAi/BAK a20).

⁴¹Walter Gropius to Sigfried Giedion, 25 July 1956 (CIAM 42-JT-15-140/141).

⁴²Le Corbusier, "Message of Le Corbusier to the CIAM X Congress at Dubrovnik," Roquebrune-Cap Martin, 23 July 1956, in "Report of CIAM 10, Dubrovnik, August, 1956" (CIAM 42-X-115), 24-28. The report will hereafter be referred to as "CIAM 10 Report."

with CIAM doctrine or reconstruction.⁴³ Van Eesteren (honorary president) J.J. Honegger (treasurer), and Helena Syrkus were also absent. Even Leslie Martin, who had been nominated by the Sert, Gropius and Tyrwhitt as one of the three new vice-presidents, found it impossible to attend because he was busy turning over his responsibilities at the LCC to his successor. No projects or grids were presented by the few elders who did come. CIAM did not publish a book of the work produced at and for the congress.

This congress again revealed the split between the generations that had been developing since CIAM 6 at Bridgwater. There was a retrospective air in the two speeches by founding members: in a message sent to the congress, Le Corbusier reiterated that CIAM should prepare the 25-year document, declare itself closed, and then reopen as CIAM II. Sert's speech to the congress gave a historical account of CIAM's concern with dwelling beginning in the prewar congresses. Gropius, Giedion, Sert, Le Corbusier, and van Eesteren, some of whom had been considering retiring since Bridgwater, had all sent in their resignations, provoking a need to discuss organizational changes to fill the gaps, which took up almost all the last two days of the congress. To the younger members it was evident that the old drive in CIAM was no longer there. Many of its members had turned to teaching or had found other outlets for developing their theoretical positions, and academic posts did not involve them in the urgent and incessant problems of researching, rethinking, reshaping," or so Howell claimed.⁴⁴

Unlike the CIAM 4 Congress where CIAM produced their statements following the congress, the older generation were quite prepared to use the CIAM 10 Congress to achieve their pre-determined goal of producing a Charter of Habitat.⁴⁵ Giedion insisted that the goal of CIAM 10 was to formalize the issue of habitat in a charter, in contrast to their usual practice of publishing the work of the congress itself. CIAM had a "moral obligation⁴⁶ to produce a document since everyone expected it.⁴⁷ Giedion also thought the charter should

⁴³Marcel Lods (President, Groupe Bâtir), to members of the CIAM Council, 26 March 1956 (NAi/BAK a20).

⁴⁴William Howell, "CIAM is dead . . . long live CIAM," *Architect's Journal* 124, no. 3210 (September 6, 1956): 332.

⁴⁵Giedion, Minutes of the Team 10 and CIRPAC Meeting, Padua, 1 August 1956, 10:00 am (CIAM 42-JT-15-85).

⁴⁶Sigfried Giedion to CIAM Council, Team 10, Alfred Roth, Drago Ibler (Yugoslavia), 12 June 1956 (CIAM 42-JT-13-550/551).

⁴⁷Sigfried Giedion to All CIAM Groups, Delegates, and Members, 30 May 1956 (RIBA/GoE 315/2); redrafted version (RIBA ArO/2/11/16; CIAM, 42-JT-13-53g; NAi/BAK a20).

be written collectively, an opinion which he acknowledged Le Corbusier did not agree with-- he thought only the elders should be entrusted with it.⁴⁸ Sert agreed with Giedion that it should represent the vision and practical experience of everyone, adding that it should be a "snapshot of 1956" just as La Sarraz and Athens had been.⁴⁹

Team 10 and the CIAM Council had set two main tasks for the congress at a meeting held just prior to the commencement of CIAM 10 itself: to prepare the "Charte de l'Habitat with "First Propositions" and to reorganize CIAM.⁵⁰ Two commissions were formed along generational lines. Commission A and its sub-commissions A1 through A3 were to study the different aspects of the "Charte de l'Habitat," taking on the task of editing and arranging the previous work of CIAM on the subject-- especially that of Sigtuna, Aix and La Sarraz.⁵¹ Commission B, composed mainly of youngers and Team 10 members, was to extract new material from the grids for use in the charter. In particular, their reports were to study the relations between different functions of Habitat for inclusion in it. A third commission was established for Liaison and Public Relations.⁵² Each sub-commission was to produce a report.

Commission A1, which included the key older members, Sert, Giedion, and Tyrwhitt, and was responsible for producing the charter, structured their report using the same headings as those proposed by the Smithsons in "Alternative to the Garden City Idea," a document they were preparing outside of CIAM which summarized their planning theory at the time.⁵³

⁴⁸Giedion, as quoted in Minutes for 2nd meeting of CIAM Council and Team 10, " 1 August 1956 7:00 p.m. (CIAM 42-JT-15-91).

⁴⁹Giedion, as quoted in Minutes for Commission AI, "Formulation du Charte" (CIAM 42-JT-18-281).

⁵⁰Three meetings of CIAM Council and Team 10 were held during the CIAM 10 Congress. "Minutes of 3 Meetings of CIAM Council and Team 10, August 2-3 1956," in "CIAM 10 Report" (CIAM 42-X-115), 20.

⁵¹Commission A1: Formulation of the "Charte de l'Habitat": R. Aujaume (Group CITE, France), S. Giedion (Secretary General), Takamase Yosiyaka (Group Japan), Ernst May (Group Germany), J.L. Sert (CIAM President), J. Soltan (Group ASP, Poland), J. Tyrwhitt (Group Omnibus, USA); Commission A2: The Present Situation of the Habitat: a critique: F. Chapman (Group Toronto, Canada), F. Freyler (Austria), J. Havelick (Czechoslovakia), Blanche Lemco (Group GAI, USA), B. Merkelbach (De 8, Holland), E. Sekler (Austria), R. Steiger (BBZ, Switzerland), S. Syrkus (Poland), W. van Tijen (Opbouw, Holland), P.L. Wiener (Group Omnibus, USA); Commission A3: P.-A. Emery (Algiers), G. Guérvrékian (Group Omnibus, USA) F. Lavander (Austria), M.J. Mauri (Algiers), A. Sive (ASCORAL). Composition of the eight commissions listed in "Commissions of CIAM 10" in "CIAM 10 Report" (CIAM 42-X-115), 50.

⁵²Commission C8 was comprised of Godfrey Samuel (MARS), Alfred Roth (Swiss CIAM), Ernesto Rogers (Italy), Jacob Bakema (Opbouw), J.H. van den Broek (Opbouw).

⁵³Commission A1, "Formulation of the Charte de l'Habitat. Provisional Headings," 8 August 1956, in "CIAM 10 Report" (CIAM 42-X-115), 61. Alison and Peter Smithson's text, "An Alternative to the Garden City Idea" [1954-1956].

They felt that thinking about human agglomerations as self-sufficient units was an idea of the past, that terms such as village, town, and city were "obsolete"⁵⁴ since in the postwar world cities had become "urban agglomerations" and not "urban constellations." Their conception of "agglomerations" did not include the social or associational qualities of Team 10's definition, but was limited to increased movement and exchange of communications by means of roads and utilities, continuous unclassified fringe development, and amorphous structure.

The task of Commission B was to extract new material from the thirty-five grids presented by twenty CIAM groups and individuals which dealt with the relations between different functions of habitat. This commission was divided into four sub-commissions assigned to the new topics that Team 10 wanted to address: Commission B4, "The Problem of Cluster"; Commission B5, "The Problem of Mobility"; Commission B6, "The Problem of Growth and Change"; Commission B7, "Urbanism as a part of the Habitat." Each commission was headed by a Team 10 member who had some affinity to the topic of the commission they were leading: Commission B4 was headed by Peter Smithson and included Alison Smithson, Aldo van Eyck, Rolf Gutmann and F. Albini; Commission B5 was headed by William Howell; Commission B6 was headed by Jacob Bakema, and included John Voelcker; and Commission B7 by Candilis.

Commission B4 was able to produce a clearer definition of the concept of the "cluster," which, according to Smithson, was chosen to substitute the obsolete terminology of the isolate, village, town and city.⁵⁵ "Cluster" was the term used by the English-CIAM members to describe a more organic and environmental attitude toward collections of dwellings. It reflected a new discipline which created distinct total structures, as opposed to sub-dividing a community into parts which simply renewed or extended existing patterns.⁵⁶ The Smithsons defined cluster as the specific pattern of the whole community as well as a way of using all the elements of the four functions such as house, roads, factories, so that they contribute to the existing structure to make it comprehensible.⁵⁷

The panels presented by the Smithsons, Voelcker, and Howell were all based on the notion of creating community by means of the concept of the cluster, but instead of replacing

⁵⁴Commission A1, "Formulation of the Habitat," 9 August 1956, in "CIAM 10 Report" (CIAM 42-X-115), 63.

⁵⁵Peter Smithson, as quoted in handwritten minutes of CIRPAC Meeting, 5 August 1956, (CIAM 42-JT-15-99).

⁵⁶Commission B4, "Cluster (Team 10)," 8 August 1956, in "CIAM 10 Report" (CIAM 42-X-115), 81.

⁵⁷Commission B4, "Cluster. Preamble to the Final Report." n.d. (CIAM 42-JT-15-252).

the four terms on the Scale of Association, it was to be subservient to it. Habitat, according to the Smithsons who included a long panel collaged with text and diagrams, was defined in terms of identity, association, cluster, and mobility (fig. 21). The cluster was a way of reinforcing or extending existing conditions. At CIAM 6 the Smithsons presented a series of cluster types for each type of community over the whole range from the village to the metropolis: the 'isolate' (Burrows Lea Farm), the small village (Galleon Cottages), the large village (Fold Houses), the town (close houses), and city (south facing terraced housing) (fig. 22-26).⁵⁸ Their object was to create habitat for each size and type of community by creating a subdivision or cluster which they believed would enable the town to be comprehended as a whole.⁵⁹ In their grid for the Galleon Cottages, for example, they believed that the structure of the small village could only support one new element which they called -- making reference to Le Corbusier -- the village *unité*. In this grid they put houses together so that they formed an architectural unit that can be set against the existing organization of the village. In the Fold Houses infill development was proposed around the fringe of the larger village at the end of secondary roads, which was all that this type of village could hold. Their Close House for towns was an attempt to develop new types for an area of a new town with a pattern to accommodate growth and not mere addition.⁶⁰ There was an inconsistency, however, between what the Smithsons said and what they did. Peter Smithson stated in the meetings that the four categories were obsolete, but the structure of their presentation revealed that the categories of the "Scale of Association" were still generative in their thinking and in that of the British Team 10 members in general. Giedion was surely being ironic when he stated that "cluster" in German meant "chaos."

John Voelcker, the youngest of the English youngers proposed, with his "Village Extension" project for rural resettlement, that clustered forms could create total habitat as well

⁵⁸The original panels for the Lea Burrows Farm, Galleon Cottages, Fold Houses, and Close Houses and Terrace Housing is in the Alison and Peter Smithson Office. According to the list of projects presented at CIAM 10 Congress, the Smithsons also presented a grid called "The Return to Urbanism" of which there is no record.

⁵⁹Alison and Peter Smithson, "MARS Group. Grilles 11a,b,c,d,e,f,g)." in "CIAM 10 Report," 118.

⁶⁰Alison and Peter Smithson, "Close House Grid for CIAM 10" (Alison and Peter Smithson Office). The Smithsons presentation at CIAM 10 embodied their idea of the "type house" which they defined as a house that was 'standard in conception' but were varied and large enough to contain a variety of types and suitable for different physical environments (village to metropolis).' (Alison and Peter Smithson, handwritten minutes, 6 August 1956, evening session (CIAM 42-JT-15-149).

as revitalize dying localities (figs. 27-28).⁶¹ He proposed a system, or cluster, of connected buildings arranged to form a courtyard connected by a continuous spine which, he argued, provided an orderly extension of dwelling space from private yards to private allotments to community-held orchard spaces.⁶² Bill Howell's grid, produced with his partners John Killick and John Partridge, dealt with identity and cluster in a city by infilling a neighborhood in London (fig. 29).⁶³

These projects by the Smithsons and Voelcker also demonstrated how they proposed to find new patterns of association as a way of achieving what at CIAM 9 they had called "identity."⁶⁴ In their opinion, "identity" could not be achieved by using historical forms and house groupings such as streets and squares because these devices represented a social reality that no longer existed. The idea of Peter Smithson's commission B4 was that the scale of the cluster would increase with the scale of the community; that clusters were particular to the scale and not transferable between scales i.e. a cluster created for a town could not be put into a city. Moreover, community was not achievable without what he called an "identifying device" something that is particular to that community. The cluster theory ran into difficulties at the scale of the city, where the commission argued that community was only possible with something particular to that city.⁶⁵ The predominantly Dutch commission B6, argued that the architect-urbanist ought to create elements of reference, or signs of identity, by which people who were on the move could experience a sense of location in the world. Habitat, they claimed could be achieved by finding a way to "stimulate the spontaneous expression of identity among individuals and among groups" and to develop 'Habitat' through built elements which had their own identity at every stage.⁶⁶

The issue of "identity" was not the exclusive preserve of the British Team 10 members, but was a recurring issue in the projects presented to CIAM 10 by the Dutch members. Van Eyck had addressed the issue of "Lost Identity" in his panels of the

⁶¹Commission B6, "Change and Growth," 11 August 1956 and "Examination of Grilles for examples of Growth and Change," 9 August 1956, in "CIAM 10 Report" (CIAM 42-X-115), 96, 91.

⁶²John Voelcker, "Village Extension . Rural Settlement 2, 1956. Grilles 9 and 10," in "CIAM 10 Report," unpaginated.

⁶³Gillian Howell, William Howell, John Killick, and John Partridge (MARS group), "Town Houses," 4 panels (CIAM 42-X-11).

⁶⁴See Smithsons, "An Alternative to the Garden City Idea," and Commission B4, "Cluster. (Team 10)," 81.

⁶⁵Commission B4, "Cluster. (Team 10)," 81.

⁶⁶Commission B6, "Change and Growth" 11 August 1956, in "CIAM 10 Report" (CIAM 42-X-115), 94-95.

playgrounds he had been developing for Amsterdam, which, according to commission B4, were an effective way of revitalizing existing sections of the city (fig. 31). Identity, also addressed in the report of Commission B6, was a notion which Bakema had been concerned with in his own thinking at the time. Bakema defined 'identity' in three ways: as a means of locating oneself in the world, as a personal expression of individuals and groups, and finally, built elements that would create 'habitat' by having their own identities at every stage of development. The presentation for the Dutch CIAM project for the proposed new village of Nagele on the featureless and seemingly boundless site of a newly reclaimed polder, also led the Dutch members to deal with identity and relations which were the generative ideas for the architectural form they developed in the Alexander Polder project presented at CIAM 10 by Opbouw--Bakema and Stokla, and Oyevaar and Stoller (fig. 32).⁶⁷

With similar intentions but different means, the Alexander Polder II project, which was to provide housing for 37,000 people as well as a core, dealt with creating identity through developing different housing types, more clearly articulating "visual groups," and stressing the relations between housing types and between groupings (figs. 32-33).⁶⁸ This project represented the culmination of thinking by Dutch-CIAM which started with the Pendrecht I project at CIAM 7 (fig. 2), was developed further in the Pendrecht II project at CIAM 8 (figs. 3-4), and carried over into the Alexander Polder I project at CIAM 9 (fig. 18). The development of these projects show a formal progression from a homogeneous grid divided into 4 quadrants (CIAM 7) to a grid in four quadrants with an identifiable core (CIAM 8) to a series of eight groups arranged around a huge open space (CIAM 9) to the disappearance of the grid and the full articulation of the "visual groups" repeated along a central spine with a regional core located at its head (CIAM 10). Their intention was to create a society where individuals could express their own ways of living free from the constraints of economic and religious specialization. Underlying these formal changes was the idea that recognizing different ways of living was not only an important tool for living life, but a "basic element of new democracy."⁶⁹

"Relations," they argued, were developed at several levels: the relations between the

⁶⁷Hartsuyker, "Enkele gedachten voor de verdere uitwerking van Alexanderpolder," April 4, 1956: BAK: a14[5].

⁶⁸Jacob Bakema to Alison and Peter Smithson, 7 February 1956 (NAi/BAK or99), 1-3. More detailed description of this project by H. Hartsuyker, "Enkele gedachten voor de verdere uitwerking van Alexanderpolder," 4 April 1956 (NAi/BAK a14[5]), 4 pp.

⁶⁹Jacob Bakema to Alison and Peter Smithson, 7 February 1956 (NAi/BAK vd13, or99), 1.

functions of living, work and recreation, the relations of this new residential district and the town and region, and the relations between different forms of dwelling and repetitive units of habitation (the visual group). The integration of functions was achieved in the Alexander Polder by integrating the individual dwelling with local services, schools, and gymnasiums. The function of work was integrated by incorporating the agricultural surroundings in the residential sphere, by having hot houses penetrate into the residential quarter, and by including small-scale industry in the quarters.⁷⁰ Connection of the residential quarter to the region were to occur by means of a raised highway.

Bakema felt that the limiting and therefore defining character of their time -- the result of social democracy and "bureaucrat democracy" -- was monotony.⁷¹ The resulting loss of identity in the face of large bureaucracies could be mitigated by providing a variety of housing types, ideas that the Dutch groups had been investigating during the war.⁷² Opbouw, he stated, was interested in creating enough variety that a "man leaving his house will be confronted with other ways of living expressed in other types of houses surrounding his own cell." In a rather more systematic way than the Smithsons' empirical approach, he conceptualized different types of cells which could be arranged either horizontally, or vertically or mixed together in a single structure. Recognizing the interrelationships between these various housing types was the responsibility of the architect.⁷³ The Dutch-CIAM groups had been busy with the scale of housing or the "visual group" in the projects they presented at CIAM 7 and CIAM 9 and again in their Alexander Polder project for CIAM 10. The "visual group," as Bakema defined it, was concerned with the structure of the next scale up from a individual dwelling.⁷⁴ Bakema also believed that the working method of their time was a plastic expression of social conditions, an idea similar to the Smithson's archetypal house.

In addressing the issue of monotony and lack of choice Dutch CIAM proposed developing different housing types -- single-family houses, flats, gallery houses, maisonettes, and high buildings which they called "Unités d'Habitation." They also addressed the issue of monotony by articulating, more than any previous project, the "visual group" which they felt

⁷⁰Group Opbouw (Bakema and Stokla), "Grille 19," in "CIAM 10 Report," 123.

⁷¹Jacob Bakema to Alison and Peter Smithson, 7 February 1956 (NAi/BAK or99); Jacob Bakema, "Enkele loose gedachten . . ." 20 March 1956 (NAi/BAK a14[6]).

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³Jacob Bakema to Alison and Peter Smithson, 7 February 1956, 4.

⁷⁴Ibid.

was one of the "indispensable conditions for Habitat." Bakema and Stokla divided the program into eight identical residential quarters repeated in a linear arrangement with a central spine. Each quarter formed its own "visual group," articulated different housing types, and incorporated the agricultural activities of the hot houses and small-scale industry. They achieved the "visual group" at the scale of the quarter and at the scale of the entire polder. At the head of the spine was a regional "core" which consisted of public buildings and buildings for social activities, trade, and culture, and a connection to the region by a highway. A "core" which contained important public and recreational functions was another means by which the quarter was connected to its larger context.

Van Eyck's presentation for this isolated settlement for about 2,500 field laborers was located in what he called "visually unlimited" territory. According to van Eyck, the task at hand with the Nagele village was to provide a protected space in a windswept "desert"⁷⁵ in which the entire village would express unity by developing the housing and the core simultaneously (fig. 30).⁷⁶

The assignment of the predominantly English and Swiss Commission B6 was to discuss the method by which town planning could implement growth and change, or at least take it into account. They tackled the problem through their studies of the organic structure of habitat and discussed how such an approach required giving up over-all control and accepting more personal responsibility. Planning also had to change from an authoritarian "top down" approach into one that would involve consultation and coordination with the desires of the inhabitants. In the place of controls they had to build up a "sense of planning," by which they meant responsible action by those involved so as to spark "positive new development." As an example of an approach to avoid they referred to the destruction of several Bloomsbury squares to make way for new buildings for the University of London, which could have been avoided by developing the adjacent slum property instead -- a strategy they believed would have brought Bloomsbury back to life.

The discussions at CIAM 10 revolved around the notion that architects had to accept the responsibility for "renewal" by doing the positive thing in any situation, as, in their opinion, Le Corbusier had in his *Maison Jaoul* where he had not merely put a house on a

⁷⁵Van Eyck, as quoted in Minutes of meeting, 7 August 1956, morning (CIAM 42-JT-15-151).

⁷⁶Van Eyck, "Nagele, a polder village," 4 panels presented at CIAM 10 Congress (NAi/MERK, 70). For a discussion of van Eyck's role in the preparation of the Nagele project, see Strauven, *Aldo van Eyck*, 170-181, 230-237, 280-283. For an explanation of this project and van Eyck's involvement see Strauven, *Aldo van Eyck*, 230-237.

plot, but transformed the idea of house and plot. They were aware that working with the concept of time demanded a "new creative discipline"⁷⁷ which Peter Smithson elaborated as finding a new discipline that could exercise controls. Not surprisingly, Giedion opposed the idea of a "new discipline," saying that the job of the youngers and CIAM was to replace planning bureaucrats with creative people.⁷⁸

Habitat as a form of retaining cultural and social continuity was the topic to be considered by commission B7. Candilis, who led the commission on urbanism, attributed the failure of the plan for Milan (1947-1953) to the results of applying the principles of the Athens Charter too narrowly; as a result the continuity of habitat had not been maintained and the new quarters had been isolated from their social milieu.⁷⁹ This community-based attitude was also evident the project presented to CIAM 10 by the Swiss CIAM members Werner Äbli, R. Gieselman, and Theo Manz. Their study of the twenty-year-old Neubühl colony in Zurich, they thought, could offer some important practical experience about habitat. They concluded that the collective life in an agglomeration depended directly on its social and cultural structure.

The Reorganization of CIAM

The topic of reorganizing CIAM itself, which had been discussed in between the scheduled sessions at La Sarraz, erupted into open debate in the months following the La Sarraz meeting and resurfaced again on the last two days of CIAM 10. When Sert, Gropius, and Tyrwhitt had met in Cambridge before CIAM 10 they had come to the conclusion that the "new composition of CIAM" ought to be led by Jacob Bakema as president, with roles, as yet undefined, for Ernesto Rogers, MARS member Leslie Martin, who was Deputy Chief Architect under Robert Mathew at the L.C.C., and Emery or Wogenscky, with Roth as treasurer and Tyrwhitt as secretary. The choice of Leslie Martin is surprising given that he had hitherto not been involved at all in developing a new direction for CIAM, but it reveals the bias held by the executive members of the council against younger MARS members the Smithsons, the Howells, and Voelcker. The Cambridge group also proposed that the council resign en bloc and a new one be elected at CIAM 10. The old guard, they suggested, could

⁷⁷Commission B4, "Cluster. Final Report August 11th [1956]," in "CIAM 10 Report" (CIAM 42-X-115), 83.

⁷⁸Smithson, Minutes of General Assembly, 9 August 1956 (CIAM 42-JT-15-186).

⁷⁹Commission B7, "Rapport de la Commission B7," August 1956, in "CIAM 10 Report" (CIAM 42-X-115), 102.

be re-formed as a "board of advisers" who would have no power to intervene, but who could be consulted whenever the new officers thought fit.⁸⁰

Independently, Le Corbusier's proposed a similar solution. He recommended that the 1928 generation be considered as separate from the 1956 generation. He identified the "new generation" -- those around forty years old in 1956 -- as being the "only ones qualified to act in the new phase of CIAM" and the only ones able to understand what the present problems were, what goals should be pursued and how, and the urgency of these measures.⁸¹ According to Le Corbusier, that part of the generation of 1956 who were born around 1916 during wars and revolutions and were now 40-year-olds and those who were born around 1930 and brought up amidst, first, world Depression and then the Second World War, found that in "the heart of the present period, [they were] the only ones capable of understanding actual problems personally and profoundly, the goals to follow, the means to reach them, and the urgency of the present situation. Only they are in the know--their predecessors no longer are."⁸² He presented his plan for the new CIAM in two illustrations showing his conception that the 1928 generation, "in the midst of the confusion of its time," formulated a program for the "First CIAM"; the generation of 1956 were the ones destined to put that program into action (fig. 34).⁸³ But, Le Corbusier favored continuity more than the dramatic juncture of his proposal might suggest. He believed that the future had no meaning without the past and thought that CIAM could continue in its creative passion and, as a veiled criticism of the Smithsons, that they ought to "reject the opportunists." He ended by wishing CIAM II good luck and long life.⁸⁴ The older generation had conceived the program; it was now the task of the new generation to carry it on.

Claiming that the world was demanding action from CIAM, Gropius agreed that the "task of the new CIAM generation" was to "translate the CIAM philosophy into planning action" by installing the architect and planner into the agencies of power.⁸⁵ He considered the CIAM of the 1930s as having "revolutionized planning" and "established the theoretical basis for the future." Its influence on planning agencies he believed to be more indirect than

⁸⁰J.L. Sert to Sigfried Giedion, draft, 1 June 1956 (CIAM 42-JT-13-542).

⁸¹Le Corbusier to J.L. Sert, 23 July 1956 (CIAM 42-JT-18-157); Le Corbusier, "Message to CIAM X Congress," 24-25.

⁸²Ibid., 24-28.

⁸³Le Corbusier, "Message to CIAM X," 24.

⁸⁴Ibid.

⁸⁵Walter Gropius to Sigfried Giedion, 25 July 1956, in "CIAM 10 Report" (CIAM 42-X-115), 31.

direct, because, except for a few isolated cases, CIAM members had "not been called upon to translate the CIAM philosophy into planning action." "Too many good planning schemes," stated Gropius, "have remained just paper designs slumbering in the drawers of their designers."⁸⁶ This opinion was also shared by Sert who thought that the youngers should be made aware, if they were not already, of the little that has been done relative to amount that had been talked about.⁸⁷ Therefore, according to Gropius, the task of the new CIAM generation was to find the means of bringing the CIAM architect and planner into the agencies of power in their towns and cities through the democratic process.⁸⁸

There was a consensus among the new generation that the CIAM name and purpose should remain the same. The oldest of the youngers, Bakema and Rogers, in particular argued for that degree of continuity. Bakema saw no difference between old and new CIAM,⁸⁹ and regarded it as a time, not of revolution, but of "modest evolution." Rogers thought that members ought to be chosen on the basis, not of age, but of ability.⁹⁰

While the younger generation agreed about the need for continuity, the nature of this continuity was contested among Team 10. Georges Candilis sympathized with Le Corbusier's position that there ought to be a continuity of doctrine in the new CIAM, since the job of the younger generation was simply "to get on with it." William Howell recognized that they were at the end of a chapter, but he also stated that they had intended to work together as "children of CIAM" and should have had no intention of cutting themselves off. Peter Smithson, on the other hand, believed they had to "be free to find their own way." They had already tried to work with the old, but they found common ideas only among themselves and thus it was "foolish to go on trying." They could continue the spirit of CIAM but not the doctrine. Rogers took exception to the "presumptions of Smithson," reiterating that the younger generation were followers rather than revolutionaries. Peter Smithson and Aldo van Eyck alone seemed to understand that the situation they were in was not as clearcut as the others had painted it. The projects presented at CIAM 10 displayed an investigative spirit rather than a revolutionary one. Van Eyck acknowledged that many were disappointed with its vagueness, but this in fact represented the truth of the situation--it was a time of "muddle,"

⁸⁶Ibid.

⁸⁷Sert, "Address by Sert to the General Assembly," 11 August 1956, in "CIAM 10 Report" (CIAM 42-X-115), 40.

⁸⁸Walter Gropius to Sigfried Giedion, 25 July 1956 (CIAM 42-JT-15-140/141; 42-X-115, 31).

⁸⁹Bakema, Minutes of Meeting, 10 August 1956, 8:00 am (CIAM 42-JT-15-20).

⁹⁰Rogers, *ibid.*

which was usual after a changing of the guard.⁹¹

At a CIRPAC meeting held at the congress almost unanimous support for some form of continuity with CIAM was registered in a vote concerning CIAM's future. Only Peter Smithson voted for its complete dissolution; sixteen supported dissolving the organization but retaining the name; and nine voted for dissolution and changing the name.⁹² Although Emery was correct when he said that "CIAM had not voted for dissolution,"⁹³ it was also true that the younger generation was demanding the freedom to act independently from the generation of "genius." While continuing to use its name and follow its original purpose and spirit, they sought changes in the organization which would shift the focus from collective to individual efforts, from a centralized structure to a decentralized, local one, and from a European-based organization to more global representation.

Some of the older generation supported, at least in part, Peter Smithson's view of the need for a complete break so that the new CIAM could be free to proceed on its own terms. Le Corbusier had proposed in his letter to CIAM, two distinct CIAMs, one for those over, the other for those under, forty.⁹⁴ Van Eesteren thought that it should come to an end and the "new influence" go its own way.⁹⁵ Sert proposed that CIAM make a clean break and allow CIAM II be free to establish itself.⁹⁶ It was clear to him that CIAM was "now faced with changes" and that it was time for a new and different CIAM. Although he believed that the new blood should take the initiative, he conceived of this change as occurring within the framework of continuity of the general aims that make CIAM remain what it is.⁹⁷ Giedion opposed the younger generation using the name of CIAM; they were treading on the "edge" of its tradition.⁹⁸ Therefore he supported the idea of a separate CIAM II because he wanted

⁹¹Candilis, Howell, Rogers, Bakema, Peter Smithson, and Aldo van Eyck, *ibid.*

⁹²Minutes of CIRPAC meeting, 10 August 1956, 11:00 am (CIAM 42-JT-15-214).

⁹³Emery, *ibid.*, 2.

⁹⁴Le Corbusier, "Message to CIAM X Congress," 24; Le Corbusier to Jose Luis Sert, 23 July 1956 in "CIAM 10 Report" (CIAM 42-X-115).

⁹⁵Van Eesteren, "Summary of a talk which Merkelbach, van Eyck and Bakema had with van Eesteren about CIAM," in "CIAM 10 Report" (CIAM 42-X-115), 33.

⁹⁶Giedion, Minutes of CIRPAC Meeting, 10 August 1956, 9:30 pm, (CIAM 42-JT-15-224).

⁹⁷Sert, "Opening Talk. CIAM X, Dubrovnik," in "CIAM 10 Report" (CIAM 42-X-115), 17.

⁹⁸"Nous vivons dans une tradition nouvelle, et cette tradition nouvelle ce n'est pas que nous demandons que les jeunes suivent ce que nous avons fait. S'il veulent faire la révolution tant mieux! J'étais vraiment heureux quand j'ai entendu quelque feu entre vous et d'entendre 'We won't be kept in a nursery'" Nous vivons dans une grande ligne. Je crois que ceux qui doivent continuer les CIAM marchent sous le grand angle d'une tradition dont personne ne prévoit la fin." Giedion, "Paroles de Giedion à la clôture," 12 August 1956, in "CIAM 10 Report" (CIAM 42-X-115), 48-49.

the new CIAM to be an organization with autonomy from CIAM which would have its own name in their own right.

A second major task at CIAM 10 was to fill the places vacated by the retirement of the founding members. Sert and Gropius claimed to be too busy to assume any further role.⁹⁹ Giedion refused a role in an organization in which he no longer had a part and withdrew his name. At the CIRPAC meeting at the end of the congress, a Reorganization Committee charged with the task of making proposals to CIRPAC regarding the reorganization of CIAM was appointed. It consisted of four Team 10 members, Bakema, Howell, Peter Smithson, and Woods, and three of the old guard, Emery, Rogers, and Roth. The committee then outlined a procedure whereby the council and CIRPAC would resign on 31 December 1956, at which time authority would be transferred to a group of 30 individuals, who would form the nucleus of the new organization. The CIAM Council--which would be enlarged to include three members of the Reorganization Committee--would choose the thirty keeping in close touch with the local groups. The local groups would continue to function, but would become autonomous and independent of CIAM, acting henceforth in "an exclusively local or national context" as required by the circumstances. Reflecting the global nature of CIAM, reform also included continental sub-grouping (European, North American, South American, Far Eastern, etc).¹⁰⁰ Thus CIAM, which had started as a meeting of individuals and had, with the constitution at Bridgwater, institutionalized national groups, reverted once again to a meeting of individuals. Following up on these discussions, Bakema circulated a document to CIAM members suggesting that it be reorganized along the same lines as it had by CIAM in 1928 as providing an international forum for discussing "personal ideas or ideas developed in the local groups."¹⁰¹ This model would form the basis of the Team 10 meetings after the Otterlo congress in 1959.

The Dissolution of CIAM

CIAM 10 was the last congress attended by most CIAM members, and the last to be attended by delegates representing national groups, but Team 10 members would use the name

⁹⁹Sert, as quoted in Minutes of meeting, 2 August 1956, 3:30 pm (CIAM 42-JT-15-98).

¹⁰⁰CIAM, "Reorganization of CIAM," 11 August 1956, in "CIAM 10 Report" (CIAM 42-X-115), 41-42.

¹⁰¹Bakema, "CIAM in Reorganization," 5 December 1956, photocopy (Francis Strauven Papers, Brussels, Belgium).

CIAM for their next congress held at Otterlo, Holland, in September 1959. In the years between there was a protracted debate about whether or not CIAM should be dissolved, generated by a questionnaire about the reorganization of CIAM by Giedion.¹⁰² Giedion wanted to renew the CIAM groups, aware that there was little contact between the groups themselves, and even worse, a lack of cohesion within them.¹⁰³ In February, Sert, Gropius, Giedion and Tyrwhitt met to discuss the organization and membership of the new CIAM.¹⁰⁴ Acknowledging its worldwide membership, they proposed dividing it up into areas: Europe, the Americas, and the East. They also chose CIAM-friendly executives to replace them: Jacob Bakema as president, Ernesto Rogers as vice-president, P.-A. Emery as general secretary, Roger Aujaume as assistant secretary, and Alfred Roth as treasurer.¹⁰⁵

Even before the CIAM Council had specified the chosen list of 30 members as suggested at CIAM 10, the English, particularly Peter Smithson, rose up against it:¹⁰⁶

I am absolutely opposed to the definition of a list of names of the new CIAM. If new CIAM is to be a healthy growth it must develop *[sic]* from a new idea. I think that Team 10 had a *beginning* of a new idea and that at present they should continue in *an interim organizational capacity* [and] the new organization should be allowed to grow, not be bureaucratically defined in advance. If there is a genuine "new feeling." the regional organization will follow "naturally."¹⁰⁷

In the months following CIAM 10 the English became vocal advocates for dissolution. The Smithsons claimed that the aesthetic of the 1920s that was associated with modern architecture was dead.¹⁰⁸ Together with Howell, Lasdun and Voelcker drafted a document advocating dissolution in which they again expressed their disapproval of the thirty-member list and re-creating a formal organization for CIAM. They proposed replacing it with a "series of informal contacts until the moment that group action becomes necessary. Then will be the time to consider the sort of organization we want-- when we have discovered what

¹⁰²Giedion, "Reorganisation des CIAM Questionnaire" [November 1956] (NAi/BAK or 84).

¹⁰³Sigfried Giedion to Pierre-André Emery, 24 December 1956 (CIAM 42-JT-22).

¹⁰⁴Giedion, Sert, Giedion and Gropius to Jacob Bakema, 26 February 1957. Photocopy from Alison and Peter Smithson, in Francis Strauven Papers.

¹⁰⁵J.L. Sert, Walter Gropius, Sigfried Giedion and Jaqueline Tyrwhitt to Jacob Bakema, 26 February 1957 (NAi/BAK or 88).

¹⁰⁶Alison and Peter Smithson to Team 10 and old CIAM Council, "Future of CIAM," 19 December 1956 (CIAM 42-JT-22-52/54).

¹⁰⁷Peter Smithson to Pierre-André Emery, 17 November 1956 (CIAM 42-AR-17-122).

¹⁰⁸Alison and Peter Smithson, "Future of CIAM," 19 December 1956.

precisely it is we want to do."¹⁰⁹ In accordance with their empirical attitude in general, the Smithsons proposed that the new group be called "Team XI (Structure of Communities), Team XII (Domestic Equipment)," and so on with each title reflecting changing objectives and composition of the team.¹¹⁰ Peter Smithson made these views public when he spoke about the "collapse of CIAM" at a meeting of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA).¹¹¹

Misunderstandings between the two generations in this post-CIAM 10 period were attributable in part to the Smithsons' stated intention to destroy CIAM. It was not clear from the Smithson's statements that continuity for them was intellectual, but not institutional. They were deeply committed to CIAM as a body that expressed the ethic of modern architecture. Although they agreed with the general aims of CIAM they no longer believed in its means, including its "diagrammatic thinking," "Cartesian layouts for cities," and "public ownership of the soil":

Our whole way of thinking, particularly with regard to the political and technical set-up has completely changed since 1928. In these circumstances it would be better to "make CIAM history" and start a new group with new specific aims and a new name which reflects a new attitude. The words we commonly use
radical
pragmatic
non-diagrammatic
non-geometric
reflect our desire to create an architecture which is the image of a new ideal in society, a society of free, dynamic, change and growth.¹¹²

"One can only create what one loves by repudiating it": it was therefore necessary to be "fiercely polemic about a new sort of international organization."¹¹³ They proposed that the new group be called "CINCON, for CIAM Continuity, Continuita, Continuité etc." It would be concerned with defining "new methods of attack" -- cluster, growth and change, and mobility -- and for dealing with the problems of habitat begun by Team 10. It would also organize a congress to carry on the work started at CIAM X.¹¹⁴ Voelcker supported them: the differences between the decade 1928-1939 and 1946-1956 were so considerable that he felt

¹⁰⁹William Howell, Denys Lasdun, Alison and Peter Smithson, John Voelcker, "CIAM Dissolution," 22 March 1957 (NAi/BAK vd13; CIAM, 42-JT-22-106).

¹¹⁰Alison and Peter Smithson, "Future of CIAM," 19 December 1956.

¹¹¹Sigfried Giedion to Alfred Roth, 9 May 1957 (CIAM 42-JT-22-120).

¹¹²Alison and Peter Smithson to Team 10 and old CIAM Council, "Future of CIAM," 19 December 1956.

¹¹³Alison and Peter Smithson to Colleague [Bakema], 23 August 1957 (CIAM 42-AR-17-43).

¹¹⁴Alison and Peter Smithson, "Formation of CI[N]CON," 23 August 1957 (CIAM 42-AR-17-44).

they had to build up a new structure that would have no "sentimental allegiance to the old," adding "we share only one thing -- active participation in the growth and change of the modern movement."¹¹⁵ Candilis and Woods also realized that the founders could not go on indefinitely and that the problems were totally different from those of the first epoch of CIAM, though they did not oppose the continuation of CIAM so long as it was an association of architects who were aware of what the problems were and who were looking for solutions.¹¹⁶

The reaction of the old guard was human. Giedion claimed, perhaps with some truth, that the English wanted "to make the public believe that they are the heroes of the present situation," adding that this kind of behavior made all of the older members "very bitter."¹¹⁷ Although he believed Smithson to be talented he was worried that CIAM would fall into the hands of mediocrity. Gropius thought that it would be foolish to throw away the power that had been accumulated, but he also thought that they should leave the English group alone.¹¹⁸ Bakema was the most incensed, but decided that so long as CIAM continued, it would be attacked by the Smithsons and others who were out to destroy it and the best way out was to decide that CIAM had had its day.¹¹⁹ A few months later Bakema qualified this view in a personal letter responding to one in which the Smithsons had declared that they could assume that CIAM was dead: if CIAM remained it would have to be based on the Team 10 approach of solving "daily problems in architecture-planning," but he felt that the world could not afford to lose an international platform. CIAM was needed by others, like Polish CIAM member Jerzy Soltan and Portuguese architect Alfredo Viana de Lima, who lived in countries in which modernism was still in its developmental stages.¹²⁰

To finish the task they had set for themselves at the congress at Dubrovnik to reorganize CIAM, another meeting was held at La Sarraz on 1-2 September 1957.¹²¹ Giedion was the only executive member who attended and was therefore wary of being the only one to defend CIAM against a strong contingent of Team 10 members. "I foresee

¹¹⁵John Voelcker to Jacob Bakema, 19 January 1957 (NAi/BAK or88).

¹¹⁶Georges Candilis and Shadrach Woods to Alfred Roth, 23 August 1957 (CIAM 42-AR-17-113).

¹¹⁷Ibid.

¹¹⁸Minutes of Meeting at 2 Buckingham Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts, by J.L. Sert, Walter Gropius, Sigfried Giedion, Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, 15 April 1957 (CIAM 42-JT-22-112).

¹¹⁹Bakema, *ibid.*

¹²⁰Jacob Bakema to Peter Smithson, 16 August 1957 (NAi/BAK or 88).

¹²¹"Reorganization of CIAM" n.d. (CIAM 42-JT-22-378; NAI/BAK, or88).

difficulties and an embarrassing situation,"¹²² he wrote to Sert.

Giedion's apprehensions proved true. It was, he wrote to Sert, "ghastly." There had been a heated discussion about the reorganization of CIAM on the first day outside of the scope of the programmed sessions, which went on until midnight, and in which Giedion found himself opposed by everybody except Voelcker and Bakema, and even they "did not help much." There was so much opposition that he was forced to conclude that the CIAM chapter for the older members was indeed closed, and they had no further responsibilities, except "to safeguard [this] work from distortion." Giedion believed that CIAM was "undergoing a dangerous experiment" which, if successful, would show the strength of a reorganized CIAM, but if not, would show that "CIAM I" had already ended and CIAM was no longer in the hands of the founders.¹²³ After the meeting Giedion informed J. M. Richards, editor of the *Architectural Review*, that the founders and former leaders of CIAM would have nothing more to say on its future development.¹²⁴

The meeting at La Sarraz produced a new CIAM.¹²⁵ It was composed of individuals, and a coordinating committee with Bakema as secretary-general, and a new name - CIAM: Research Group for Social and Visual Relationships.¹²⁶ All the national groups were dissolved. The MARS group had disbanded on 28 January 1957, because the conditions that had inspired its founding had changed and "despite various attempts during the past few years to make MARS a forum for the exchange of ideas, interest had dwindled amongst its members."¹²⁷ Dutch CIAM--De 8 en Opbouw--held its last meeting late in November 1957.¹²⁸ Peter Smithson did not attend.¹²⁹ Despite the suggestion prepared by the Smithsons proposing that he be included as a member of the "Steering Committee," Tyrwhitt told Sert that it was impossible to get him appointed, he had "really burnt his boats too completely" and he could not be exonerated for his remark in the *Journal of the Royal*

¹²²Sigfried Giedion to J.L. Sert, 26 August 1957 (CIAM 42-JLS-33-12).

¹²³Sigfried Giedion to J.L. Sert, 4 September 1957 (CIAM 42-SG-22-204/206).

¹²⁴Sigfried Giedion to J.M. Richards, 10 September 1957 (CIAM 43-K-1957-8-106)-4).

¹²⁵Those that met at La Sarraz in 1957 included the Committee of Reorganization: Bakema, Rogers, Roth, Voelcker, (deputizing for P. Smithson and W. Howell); Council: Giedion, Tyrwhitt, Wogenscky; Delegates: Albini, G. Brera, P. Fitschy, I. Gardella, W. Hebebrand, H. Hoffman, D. Ibler, A. Korsmo, K. Stranik, S. Syrkus.

¹²⁶"Reorganization of CIAM" n.d. (CIAM 42-JT-22-378; NAI/BAK, or88).

¹²⁷MARS Group, "Summary of General Meeting of the Groups held on Monday the 28th of January, 7:30 pm., at the Architectural Association" (CIAM 42-JT-22-64).

¹²⁸On the dissolution of Dutch CIAM, see Strauven, *Aldo van Eyck*, 274-279.

¹²⁹The twelve members who sent excuses also included J.L. Sert, and P.-A. Emery.

Institute of British Architects that CIAM had been dissolved.¹³⁰

Soon after the La Sarraz meeting the Smithsons met with Voelcker, Lasdun, and Bill Howell. Confident that the ideas of the younger generation could "make a new CIAM worthy of the old one" they discussed the possibility of organizing an exhibition of the "new attitude" to show what they stood for; it would range from planning principles to building details and would include old Team 10 material since "really it is Team 10's ideas as a whole which stand together."¹³¹ The Smithsons were against Rogers and Roth being on the Organization Committee, arguing that the new CIAM was a "pot pourri of the dying organization."¹³² They felt they ought to remain quiet until they had something to say that built on the old Team 10 ideas. Rogers did not agree with the new CIAM for the opposite reason. In his view, change was necessary to life; it was a sign of vitality not to break with CIAM tradition.¹³³ Bakema took a position between the two and assured Rogers that a basic element of the reorganized CIAM was a spirit of continuity, but it was also necessary to orient it to current problems which were fundamentally different from those of 1926.¹³⁴ Bakema's concerns were both more pragmatic and were more akin to those of the founding members than they had been. He believed that the new CIAM ought to be concerned with the split between architecture and urbanism, and the administrative processes that had been created by political parties. At a minimum, they had to clarify how architectural ideas were severed from their actualization in the administrative process of municipal and state departments.¹³⁵

CIAM'59, Otterlo: The Triumph of Team 10

The first meeting of the reconstituted CIAM was held in September 1959 at the Kröller-Muller Museum Otterlo, the Netherlands. The Coordination Committee (Bakema, Voelcker, Wogenscky, Roth, Rogers, and Team 10 members Van Eyck, Candilis, Woods, Alison and Peter Smithson, Blanche Lemco van Ginkel and Sandy van Ginkel) invited forty-

¹³⁰Alison and Peter Smithson, "Formation of CI[N]CON," 23 August 1957 (CIAM 42-AR-17-44); Jaqueline Tyrwhitt to J.L. Sert, 3 September 1957 (CIAM 42-JT-22-202).

¹³¹Alison and Peter Smithson to Jacob Bakema, 23 September 1957 (NAi/BAK or88).

¹³²Alison and Peter Smithson to Jacob Bakema, 12 November 1957 (NAi/BAK or88).

¹³³Ernesto Rogers to Jacob Bakema, 6 September 1957 (NAi/BAK or88).

¹³⁴Jacob Bakema to Ernesto Rogers, 20 September 1957 (NAi/BAK or88).

¹³⁵Jacob Bakema to J.L. Sert, 23 July 1956 (NAi/BAK or99).

three participants from twenty countries to the eight-day conference.¹³⁶ To indicate some kind of continuity with CIAM they continued to use the name; to emphasize the break with the old CIAM they called the congress "CIAM '59" instead of CIAM XI.

The structure and themes discussed at the Otterlo congress were the clearest theoretical and architectural expressions to date of the empirical and democratic ideals of Team 10. Members no longer represented local groups, as they had since CIAM 7, but attended as individuals as they had at the first meeting in 1928. Instead of the CIAM structure of permanent commissions, all the participants met in general sessions.¹³⁷ The projects they discussed covered a wide range of climatic and cultural contexts from a project in the Sahara desert by Hermann Haan, to a sub-Arctic habitat by Ralph Erskine.

A major event at the congress was the debate between Ernesto Rogers and the Smithsons over the historicism of the Torre Velasca in Milan.¹³⁸ Although some historians have, as Eric Mumford points out,¹³⁹ linked this discussion to the beginnings of "postmodern" historicism in architecture, in fact it was simply the culmination of the misunderstanding between the English-speaking members and Italian-CIAM surrounding the discourse on history that had begun at the Bergamo congress.¹⁴⁰ Giancarlo de Carlo in his "Talk on the Situation of Contemporary Architecture," along with other Italian CIAM members, felt that it was "extremely important that the historical circumstances be explained" and added:

What I consider as history is the acquisition of an exact knowledge of the problems we, as architects, touch on so that our solutions, our choices, are tied to continuous reality and are progressive. History does not concern itself solely with the past, but with the present, and in giving direction to the

¹³⁶Published documentation for the CIAM/Team 10 meeting at Otterlo can be found in Oscar Newman, *CIAM '59 in Otterlo: Group for the Research of Social and Visual Inter-relationships* (London: Alec Tiranti, 1961) prepared under the direction of Bakema on behalf of the CIAM '59 participants. Eric Mumford, *CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 259-265; tape recording and transcripts of the CIAM '59 (NAi/BAK). Participants of this meeting, and Sandy van Ginkel in particular, were dissatisfied with the representation of the congress by Newman.

¹³⁷Mumford, *CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 260.

¹³⁸Ernesto Rogers, "The Torre Velasca," in *CIAM '59 in Otterlo*, 92-97; BBPR, "Tre problemi di ambientamento," *Casabella* 232 (1959): 9-17.

¹³⁹Mumford, *CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 260-261.

¹⁴⁰For the Italian attitude to history, see in particular Mary Lou Lobsinger, "Monstrous Fruit: The Excess of Italian Neo-Liberty," *Thresholds* 23 (Fall 2001): 44-51; also Luca Molinari, "Between Continuity and Crisis: History and Project in Italian Architectural Culture of the Postwar Period" *2G* 3, no. 15 (2000): 4-11; Brian McLaren, "Figini and Pollini and the Question of Continuity in Modern Italian Architecture," *Design Book Review*, nos. 41/42 (Winter/Spring 2000): 84-87.

future.¹⁴¹

Peter Smithson response was purely along formal lines. He stated that they could not accept old forms of architecture, but needed to invent a "genuine new formal vocabulary," and derided De Carlo for selecting forms instead of inventing them.¹⁴² He described BBPR's design as irresponsible, as well as ethically and aesthetically wrong, to which Rogers retorted that Smithson was "thinking in English" which was not his way. The intimate morality of his architecture lay in the "clarity and sincerity of the structure and the awareness of the use of the many things required in the putting up of a building."¹⁴³

In his presentation, Rogers described how the form had resulted from a rational design approach; the upper floors which contained apartments required a larger floor plate than the office floors below them. He noted that the idea of making the upper floors larger was a strategy for expansion used in forts in the Middle Ages, but that as used in his building it was only "a casual coincidence resulting from programmatic needs" and not the main point of the building. He did not care what form the building had taken; he defined the main purpose of the project by BBPR as giving the building the "intimate value of our culture -- the essence of history . . . understanding what has happened before us."¹⁴⁴ Because the building was located in the historic center of Milan, it had to "breathe the atmosphere of the place and even intensify it." Rogers no longer felt that they had to adopt the anti-historical attitude of the previous generation; the first premise of their culture should be a new attitude toward history.¹⁴⁵ A new attitude toward history was, however, never developed in Team 10 thinking, and this would later leave a weakness in the group's critique of Modernism in the face of "postmodern" historicism.

At the Otterlo meeting they voted to drop the name CIAM, but even this led to confusion. Some people, such as Kenzo Tange, who had left before the resolution was put to a vote despite earnest entreaties to remain, was later surprised to hear that CIAM had been dissolved. Those at Otterlo felt "very strongly that the problems with which they have to deal and their method of dealing with them are both too urgent to be covered by the name 'modern architecture,' which had become so firmly attached to the architectural problems of around

¹⁴¹Giancarlo de Carlo, "Talk on the Situation of Contemporary Architecture," in *CIAM '59 in Otterlo*, 88.

¹⁴²Peter Smithson, *CIAM '59 in Otterlo*, 91.

¹⁴³Rogers, *CIAM '59 in Otterlo*, 95.

¹⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 92-93.

¹⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 93.

1928 and the banner of CIAM.¹⁴⁶ Regardless of their sympathies, the meeting at Otterlo was the end of CIAM (fig. 35) and the beginning of an era where those that associated with Team 10 would manifest the theoretical ideas they had developed over the last decade in architectural form.

After the "Statement on Habitat" written at Doorn in 1954, the next attempt to consolidate Team 10 thinking was the little-known account of the group by van Eyck published as "The Story of An 'Other' Idea" ("Het verhaal van een andere gedachte") in *Forum* in 1959, which had served as an invitation to the Otterlo Congress.¹⁴⁷ This account of the group is a compilation of quotations from CIAM statements and commission reports, forming a kind of collage of the new thinking that had emerged in CIAM since 1947.

In the years following Otterlo, there were attempts to clarify the dissolution of CIAM on the part of both CIAM and Team 10 members. Sert, Giedion, Gropius, and Le Corbusier drafted a letter to clarify what they felt were misinterpretations of and attacks on the leadership of CIAM that had appeared in various publications, and described the end of CIAM as they understood it.¹⁴⁸ Bakema responded with his version of the old guard's interpretation of the Otterlo meeting.¹⁴⁹ Team 10 had decided that CIAM was not needed for the tasks they had set for themselves, namely to prepare a publication clarifying their thinking and to work individually and collectively in order to confront similar work by other individuals and groups.

It became clear in the years after the CIAM '59 Congress that Team 10 no longer needed CIAM. They did not intend to impose their views on anyone; they simply wanted a forum, not unlike that of the CIAM of 1928, for discussion of architectural problems. In

¹⁴⁶Jacob Bakema, letter to editors, "What became of CIAM?" *Architectural Review* 129, no. 770 (April 1961): 226.

¹⁴⁷Aldo van Eyck, "The Story of An 'Other' Idea/Het verhaal van een andere gedachte", *Forum* 7 (1959): 197-248. For a discussion of this issue of *Forum*, see Strauven, *Aldo van Eyck*, 337-46.

¹⁴⁸Sert, Gropius, Le Corbusier, Giedion, "What became of CIAM?" *Architectural Review* 129, no. 769 (March 1961): 154.

¹⁴⁹Sigfried Giedion, "The Truth about CIAM: Letter from Four Founders," *Architectural Design* 31, no. 2 (January 1961): 5; Jacob Bakema, "The Truth About CIAM: A Reply from Bakema," *Architectural Design* 31, no. 2 (February 1961): 33; José Luis Sert, et al., "What Became of CIAM?" *Architectural Review* 129, no. 769 (March 1961): 154; Jacob Bakema, "What Became of CIAM?" *Architectural Review* 129, no. 770 (April 1961): 226.

particular they were interested in the "moral function of architectural expression," which, as Bakema pointed out, was "not the same thing as the 'social responsibility' fostered by Gropius."¹⁵⁰ To maintain international contact and develop a more intense working method to discuss the subject of "habitat," they set up an interactive newsletter, "Boîte Postale pour le developpement de l'Habitat/Post Box for the Development of the Habitat" ("B.P.H.") with Bakema as secretary. "B.P.H." was a center of communication, a way of maintaining contact and exchanging views, information and ideas.¹⁵¹ Eighteen issues were circulated between September 1959 and July 1971,¹⁵² responding to questions, ideas, letters, and essays such as, "It Is Not Genius that We Need Now" by Coderch (August 1961) and "L'architecture mobile" by Yona Freidmann (Israel-France).¹⁵³

Team 10 thinking was also developed in various magazines and professional journals, mainly *Architectural Design*, but also *Architectural Review*, *Casabella*, and *Architects' Yearbook*. The Dutch magazine *Forum* in particular published Team 10 work between 1959 and 1963 when van Eyck and Bakema were its chief editors, and the young Hermann Hertzberger was on the editorial board. During these years Bakema wrote twelve articles in *Forum* explaining his social attitude toward design.¹⁵⁴ It gave Team 10 a platform for expressing their new views through poetic and photographic means and for publishing their paintings and architectural projects. Van Eyck's theory of the "inbetween," which was explained in a discussion about the space between the private and the public domains, the place where the individual meets society, became one of the magazine's recurring themes.

Team 10 thinking is also evident in the lesser known "little magazine" *Le Carré Bleu* (1958-1970).¹⁵⁵ First established with the intention of promoting a discussion about "objectives and methods in contemporary architecture," the editorial board felt it was important to formulate the architectural problems of their time. Contributions were made by early Team 10 members Bakema, Candilis, Gutmann, the Smithsons, and Voelcker, as well as

¹⁵⁰Bakema to Editors, 226.

¹⁵¹Jacob Bakema to Editors, 226.

¹⁵²Copies of BPH (NAi/BAK a17).

¹⁵³Yona Friedman, "BPH," 4 May 1960 (NAi/BAK a17).

¹⁵⁴E.S. Brierley, "J.B. Bakema, An Architect's Social Attitude to Design," 1985, unpublished ms, Nederlands Architectuurinstituut, Rotterdam.

¹⁵⁵*Le Carré Bleu*, began in 1958 in Helsinki, moved to Paris in 1962, and became the organ for a group of Paris-based architect-urbanists with connections in Scandinavia, England, Italy, the Netherlands, and elsewhere. The magazine's editorial board consisted of Aulis Blomstedt (chief editor), Eero Eerikäinen, Keijo Petäjä, Reima Pietilä, André Schimmerling (editorial secretary), and Kyösti Ålander.

Team 10 members who had become active in the 1960s, Giancarlo de Carlo and Ralph Erskine. Each publication was devoted to a single subject. The first issue was a "critical examination of functionalism as the notion was expressed in the well-known sentence, "Form follows Function," furthering a more balanced position between these two terms of architectural thought. Another "little magazine' *Plan*, edited by students from several schools of architecture in England in the 1940s, prefigured the arguments of Team 10 with its social concerns that focused on the problem of housing and rebuilding Britain after the war.

After the meeting at Otterlo, Team 10 continued to gather in informal meetings until November 1981. Instead of the hierarchical administrative structure of formally organized congresses, these were family-like affairs, with the children of Team 10 members accompanying them. They were often held on the site of the project that was to be the subject of the discussion. The most important of these were at Bagnols-sur-Cèze, the site of Candilis's new town development, in July 1960; at Abbaye Royaumont in September 1962; at Giancarlo de Carlo's new hostel for the University of Urbino (September 1966); at Toulouse-le Mirail, the site of another project by Candilis, Josic and Woods (Easter 1971); and at the Free University of Berlin, also designed by Candilis, Josic and Woods (September 1965). The last proper meeting, according to Peter Smithson, was held at La Croupatier, Bonnieux (Easter 1977) (fig. 36),¹⁵⁶ but the last gathering of Team 10 members under that name was when the Smithsons and Le Corbusier collaborator Guillermo Jullian de la Fuente went to visit Amancio Guedes in Lisbon in November of 1981, and acknowledged that the death of Bakema that had occurred earlier that year should also mark the end of the Team 10 era.

¹⁵⁶Alison Smithson, ed., *Team 10 Meetings*, 37-96.

CHAPTER VIII.

Team 10 Historicized

Early Team 10 thinking exists in the crevices of official CIAM documentation, in the unselfconscious and "inbetween" realm of personal letters, drafts, notes of conversation, and anecdotes. This intellectual history does not, for the most part, extend itself into the history of CIAM as it has been recorded in official CIAM documentation, nor is it evident in the accounts by historians or in the books about Team 10. The group's thinking, as it has been portrayed in the highly personal accounts about the group in the three books compiled and edited by Alison Smithson, have, in varying degrees, formed the popular conceptions about the Team 10.¹ And this perception was achieved using techniques not unlike those employed by Le Corbusier to promote his planning agenda² and by CIAM to construct its own historical record -- omission, manipulation and appropriation.

The degree to which the motives underlying the editorial control of CIAM publications are attributable to publicity since their polemics were supported by an already large critical and architectural production, and everything to do with advancing the ideology of modern architecture. But the architectural production of Team 10 members in 1960 were, with the exception of the extensive work being produced by Bakema and van den Broek in the postwar period, not very extensive. As ambitious young architects, promoting the Team 10 was a way to achieving fame. Moreover, Alison Smithson was one of the first architects to promote an agenda in a manner made possible in the framework of a postwar society where the consumer market was employing new methods of advertising. As a soon to be novelist, she would have been well aware of the power inherent in the role of self-appointed chronicler

¹The *Team 10 Primer* was originally published as a special issue of *Architectural Design* (Alison Smithson, ed., "Team 10 Primer" *Architectural Design* 32 [December 1962]: 559-602). The editor of *Architectural Design*, Monica Pidgeon, recalled that it was not a very successful issue, and they were left with so many copies that Alison Smithson suggested they rebind them with overruns of supplementary articles and bind them into a book. The book form of the *Team 10 Primer* was issued in 1966 (London: Standard Catalogue, 1966). A later edition of *Team 10 Primer*, in a smaller format was published in 1968 by MIT Press which was reviewed by Janet Daley, "Needed: An Identity for Architecture" Review of *Team 10 Primer* in *RIBA Journal* 75 (December 1968): 544-545. The second in the series was Alison Smithson, comp., *The Emergence of Team 10 out of CIAM* (London: Architectural Association, 1982); and the third, Alison Smithson, ed., *Team 10 Meetings 1953-1984* (Delft: Delft University Press, 1991).

²See Giorgio Ciucci, "The Invention of the Modern Movement," 68-91; Martin Steinmann, *CIAM Dokumente 1928-1939*.

of Team 10.³ In a letter to Jacob Bakema, she described how "powerful" she felt editing the galley proofs of the book.⁴ Years later Peter Smithson recounted to Team 10 member Manfred Scheidhelm that when Alison edited the Team 10 special number in *Architectural Design*, which included the first edition of the *Team 10 Primer*:

she controlled everything -- layout, picture sizes, text, etc, collaborating with the editor, and this included the suppression of texts, the putting aside of pictures which confused the line she was trying to construct. Furthermore people had to be chased endlessly for their promised material or for a new bit of material to fit the emerging editing pattern."⁵

In her first, and most important book about the group, she codified the theoretical stance generated by the younger CIAM members during the 1950s into four headings: an introductory section titled "The Role of the Architect," followed by "Urban Infrastructure," "Grouping of Dwellings," and "Doorstep."⁶ These headings had only a marginal relationship with those that Team 10 had been developing in the discussion leading up to the publication of the *Primer*. They did not take into account Bakema's suggestion that the new CIAM continue to use the topics assigned to the commission at CIAM 10 -- "cluster," "mobility," "change and growth," and "urbanism and habitat"⁷ -- a proposal supported by the other MARS group members who felt that the four produced the right ideological climate.⁸ Alison also specified Team 10 membership in a club-like manner which ran contrary to the spirit of Team 10 as an informal association of the like-minded, she differentiated between the more intimate "family" members whom she listed at the front of the book and "invited participants" whom she listed on the last page.⁹ This upset John Voelcker who thought it violated Team 10's reputation as a "free association, the form of which has always depended on its content" and not hierarchical categories that would have been more familiar to CIAM such as "full membership," "visitor," and "participant." And like CIAM she suppressed certain documents, excluding or down playing important contributors to the Team 10 position

³Alison Smithson, *Portrait of the Female Mind as a Young Girl* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1966).

⁴Alison Smithson to Jacob Bakema, 12 April [no year] (NAi/BAK or104).

⁵Peter Smithson to Manfred Schiedhelm, 15 November 1977 (Alison and Peter Smithson Office, "Team 10" box).

⁶Alison Smithson, *Team 10 Meetings*, 14 n.31.

⁷Bakema, "CIAM in Reorganization," 5 December 1956. Photocopy from Alison and Peter Smithson Office, in Francis Strauven Papers.

⁸MARS Group, "Summary of General Meeting of the groups held on Monday the 28th of January [1957]" (CIAM 42-JT-22-64).

⁹Alison Smithson, *Team 10 Primer* (1968), 2. Her definition of members is specified in *Team 10 Meetings*, 11 n.21.

by Ernesto Rogers and Swiss CIAM members Theo Manz and Rolf Gutmann and favoring contributions by herself and Peter. Although this couple represented only 13 percent of the "family" membership as determined by Alison Smithson, their contributions constituted 40 percent of the main body of the text.

Intended to explain Team 10 thinking, the *Team 10 Primer* is a collection of fragments of texts,¹⁰ drawings, and sketches by people whom Alison Smithson deemed to be group members.¹¹ She edited extracts from theoretical papers and articles and illustrated them with diagrams and projects held together by "philosophic arguments or general statements about social patterns, aspirations, the spirit of building for our time."¹² She asked Team 10 members to send a statement of their opinions which she "edited into a collective opinion." Every page was laid out in four different fonts: the largest type was the "carrying text," i.e., the main message, on the left side of the page; on the right side, in smaller type, was the supplementary text, with the "verbal illustrations" between them, and in the right-hand margin, the smallest type with footnotes in italics. This technique allowed her to create a meta-text in the *Primer* where she placed certain texts either in the largest font or "carrying text," or in a smaller font in the margins, creating a hierarchy of importance among the authors.

In many respects the *Team 10 Primer* is Postmodern in that its conception and layout negate teleology. As a collection of different sources arranged under one of four major heading, the book denies the primacy or power of any individual author as the sole source of meaning about the group. Moreover, the structure and format of the book with its proliferation of sources and multiple levels of text and font size eschews chronology, prevents a single narrative, and encourages multiple readings and an accretion of meanings. Alison Smithson's keen awareness of the need to control the image and history of the group and her self-conscious theorizing of their own position foreshadows a discussion about how image is constructed and raises the issue of the crisis of history in Postmodern theory.

Alison's second book, *The Emergence of Team 10 from CIAM* (1982), published following a seminar held at the Architectural Association in London, is an equally selected compilation of facsimiles of CIAM and Team 10-related documents. She created a meta-narrative by the selection of documents and the nature of their accompanying captions

¹⁰Alison Smithson, *Team 10 Meetings*, 14 n.31.

¹¹Alison Smithson, *Team 10 Primer* (1968), 2; *Team 10 Meetings*: 11 n.21.

¹²Alison Smithson, "Team 10 Primer," 8 January 1961 (NAi/BAK or88).

imparting the impression that the Smithsons played a more important role than was in fact the case.¹³ This history does not include contributions by either the Dutch, Swiss or Italian 'youngsters' who had made important contributions to what became Team 10's theoretical position long before the arrival of these British architects at Aix-en-Provence in 1953. While the title of this book acknowledges the roots of Team 10 thinking in CIAM, her accounts of Team 10 begin in 1953, the year that the Smithsons first participated in CIAM.¹⁴

Her most subtle strategy in constructing the impression of their own importance was the order in which these documents were placed. The Smithsons "Habitat" text was placed between a document dated 18 December 1953, and the minutes of the first session at Doorn dated 29 January 1954 (Appendix II f). The non-chronological location of this document within a chronologically structured compilation raises some questions. Although the chronology in which the document is placed suggests that it was written before the Doorn Meeting, the date stamped on the document--"2 FEB 1960"--suggests that it was probably written several years later, and the handwritten note "A.D." most likely refers to the journal *Architectural Design* in which the "Team 10 Primer" was published in December 1962 and in which this "Habitat" document appeared with its new title "Doorn Manifesto." In short, the "Habitat" document was most likely written in anticipation of the publication of the "Team 10 Primer."

The captions accompanying the documents in *The Emergence of Team 10 out of CIAM* also emphasize the importance of the Smithsons in Team 10. A draft of the "Statement on Habitat," in the handwriting of Peter Smithson implies that he had been its author (Appendix III). The caption reads: "Statement on Habitat -- Doorn, January 1954 Peter Smithson." This impression of Peter Smithson's influence at the Doorn meeting is underscored by placing his handwritten draft immediately before the typewritten final version of the "Statement on Habitat" (Appendix III). However, the details of Peter's involvement put this assumption into question. Smithson had not been invited but attended as an envoy for Denys Lasdun (chairman of the newly formed MARS CIAM X Committee) who could not attend. He came along with John Voelcker who had received an invitation. According to 'de 8' member Sandy van Ginkel, who had been asked by Jacob Bakema to organize the meeting, Smithson, one of the youngest 'youngsters' at Doorn, was the secretary for the Doorn meeting. Sandy van

¹³Sandy van Ginkel, conversation with author, 8 October 1998, Toronto, Canada.

¹⁴This impression has been confirmed by Sandy van Ginkel in a conversation with author, 8 October 1998, Toronto, Canada.

Ginkel recalled that he and Anita Schumaker had spent the evenings at Doorn typing the proceedings of the day and circulating them to individuals for their comments.¹⁵ He also denied that Smithson came to the meeting prepared, as has been suggested by scholarship,¹⁶ and supposed that it was probably John Voelcker who tabled the Valley Section at the meeting.¹⁷

Alison's last book about the group, *Team 10 Meetings*, is an anecdotal account of Team 10's history but it is the most comprehensive published record of Team 10 meetings after CIAM'59.¹⁸ This book leaves the reader with the impression that Team 10 was formed with the *a priori* intention of ending what she refers to as the academic period of CIAM¹⁹ which, as a closer examination of CIAM archival material has revealed, was by no means shared by the group as a whole.

Nowhere is Alison Smithson's editorial control so evident as in her manipulations of the title of the "Statement on Habitat" to the "Doorn Manifesto." There are two versions of the "Doorn Manifesto." Neither of these versions were written with the intention of being a "manifesto," and both had titles with a more polemical tone of a manifesto. She substituted the collectively authored "Statement on Habitat" with a similar, but different text written by herself and Peter which emphasized their particular agenda.²⁰ The Smithsons version was included with the title "Doorn Manifesto" in Alison Smithson's *Team 10 Primer*, and *Team 10 Meetings* (appendix IIIh), and was not the one authored at Doorn and included by van Eyck in his account of early Team 10 thinking in "The Story of an *Other* Idea" (appendix IId).²¹ This is not insignificant since the "Doorn Manifesto" was the only collectively authored text by the group and is important both as a foundational document for the thinking of the group, and, given these manipulations, also for revealing the manner in which Team 10 history was constructed.

The first document was written at the conclusion of the meeting of like-minded younger CIAM members--Jacob Bakema, Aldo van Eyck, Sandy van Ginkel, Peter Smithson, John Voelcker and Hans Hovens Greve--at Doorn, Holland in January 1954 where they had

¹⁵Sandy van Ginkel in conversation with the author, 9 November 1998, Toronto, Canada.

¹⁶Royston Landau, *Rassegna* 52 (1992): 42; Francis Strauven, *Aldo van Eyck*, 258.

¹⁷Sandy van Ginkel in conversation with the author, Toronto, Canada, 8 October 1998.

¹⁸A comprehensive study of Team 10 after the CIAM'59 Congress remains to be written.

¹⁹Alison Smithson, *Team 10 Meetings*, 10.

²⁰For a historiography of the "Statement on Habitat"/"Doorn Manifesto" see Appendix II.

²¹Van Eyck, "The Story of an *Other* Idea," *Forum* 7, 1959): 197-248.

met to discuss their ideas for the future direction for CIAM. This text titled "The Statement on Habitat" (draft, Appendix IIa; final version, Appendix IIb) was not intended as a manifesto, nor was it referred to as such in the documentation of the period. Sandy van Ginkel, organizer and person who documented the proceedings of the meetings with secretary Anita Schumaker, claimed that he had never heard of the "Doorn Manifesto," nor was there ever any intention of writing one.²² On 1 March 1954 Jacob Bakema circulated this "Statement" to CIAM to which he attached a diagram of a time line showing their location within the history of form in modern architecture since the 1850s (Appendix IIc).

The collectively authored "Statement on Habitat" was published in the first summary of Team 10 thinking by Aldo van Eyck in "The story of an Other Idea" published in a special issue of *Forum* in 1959 (Appendix IId). Written in both Dutch and English, this little-known account of the groups' position as it had been consolidated by 1959 emphasized different aspects of the "Statement on Habitat" in bold face than what had been underlined in the typewritten version produced at the Doorn meeting, but he kept the original title. The next time this document was published was in Alison Smithson's second book, *The Emergence of Team 10 out of CIAM*, which is the least well-known of her trilogy of books about the group. Included is a facsimile of the "Statement on Habitat" produced at Doorn with a handwritten note changing the title to the "Doorn Manifesto" (Appendix IIb). This document was subsequently published as the "Doorn Manifesto"--with the "Statement on Habitat" as a subtitle--in Joan Ockman's compilation of architectural theory, *Architecture Culture 1943-1968* (1993) (Appendix IIe).

The confusion lies in the existence of a second "Doorn Manifesto," which is published in the key text about the group, the *Team 10 Primer* (1966). This "Doorn Manifesto" was originally a document co-authored by Alison and Peter Smithson which they titled "Habitat" which is reprinted in *The Emergence of Team 10 out of CIAM* (Appendix IIf). A copy of the same document with handwritten notes changing the title "Habitat" to "Doorn Manifesto," with the added notations that it was the "original manuscript," and with the Smithsons name crossed out can be found in the Bakema Archive in Rotterdam (Appendix IIg). The version of the "Doorn Manifesto" that Alison Smithson included in *Team 10 Primer* and *Team 10 Meetings*--was not the one written collectively at the meeting at Doorn, but the Smithsons' own version whose new title lent a more revolutionary tone to the group than was actually the

²²Sandy van Ginkel in conversation with the author, Toronto, Ontario, 9 October 1998.

case (Appendix IIIh).

Both "manifestoes" emphasized the need for "Habitat" to be concerned with providing particular solutions to particular social and physical conditions. Both versions also represent this ideal by means of a diagram of the "Valley Section of Civilisation." However, the Smithsons' version of the "Doorn Manifesto" specifically introduces the issue of mobility and circulation, themes which were specific to them and did not play a prominent part of early Team 10 thinking until CIAM 10. Neither the Dutch or the Smithsons version specified who would study the human relations in an existing community; however, the Smithsons explicitly affirmed the role of "architectural invention" over social anthropology in determining "the appropriateness of any solution."

Another impression is implied by Alison in the small note which accompanies the "Habitat"/"Doorn Manifesto" in both the *Team 10 Primer* and *Team 10 Meetings*. Following the text is the notation "Holland, 1954" implying that this version, the one authored by Alison and Peter Smithson, was a result of the Doorn meeting in 1954. Although there is much in the content of this version that was from the Doorn meeting, this particular version was not.

These shifting chronologies, misleading captions, and inconsistencies in chronology suggest that the Smithsons authored one version and were the intellectual force behind the other, making it appear as if they were not just the most important but the only contributors to the intellectual agenda of Team 10. But they used a technique of selective appropriation with the planning theories of both Patrick Geddes and Le Corbusier, a technique that left the Team 10 critique with some weaknesses. One could interpret this as a solipsistic attitude of emphasizing whatever suited their purpose, or, as seen from another point of view, as a critical and regenerative approach that used the best of old thought to enrich the new.

The youngers borrowed freely from Patrick Geddes for their theory because they found his premise of social and physical integration to be useful, as was his "Valley Section of Civilization" as a tool for comparing similar types of settlements. However, they did not develop a methodology for conducting surveys before drawing up a plan to determine the values of the specific culture they were dealing with. They saw the need for examining the sociological patterns of a city as a prerequisite to developing a plan that could "deal with realities,"²³ but they failed both in their manifesto and in their individual practice to come up with a method for determining to what they should assign the responsibility for doing it. They

²³Alison and Peter Smithson, "Open Letter to Sert and Team 10. Commentary on "Preparations for CIAM X of Team 10 Nov '55 and CIAM Secretariat Dec '55,'" 30 January 1956 (NAi/BAK, vd13).

did not even seem to recognize that the Geddisian survey was a means for achieving their objective.

The two main objectives of Geddes's approach--to develop regions and cities over time in a way that would create the best situation for them, and the importance of civic participation as a means of achieving a sense of community--was also missing in their adaptation.²⁴ By ignoring the civic engagement in Geddes's theory, the Smithsons ignored the historical aspect inherent in his "Valley Section of Civilisation." They adopted the notion of the social survey as a tool for understanding a human settlement, but they did not conceive of it, as Geddes had, as a means for understanding the historic city.

Like Geddes, they were opposed to inflexible and restrictive planning strategies; they agreed with him that town planning should be regarded as creating a kind of launching pad, not a unmodifiable finished product: a successful plan was one that could be changed. Unlike Geddes, however, they tended to downplay the importance of public involvement in developing and improving cities and to favor instead the planner's creative imagination.²⁵ For the Smithsons in particular, the analysis of the needs of society had to be more creative than ameliorative.²⁶ Whereas for Geddes flexibility was a means for encouraging civic action, for Team 10 it was an end in itself that needed to be expressed in physical terms. Giancarlo de Carlo, who joined Team 10 after it became established and whose position is not mentioned in publications about the group, best expressed the Geddisian ideal of civic engagement when he called it a methodology for creating a specific place. He expressed this idea architecturally in his University of Urbino project (1952-1960).

The requirements of the social survey in Geddisian planning theory necessarily involved various specialists. Geddes imagined that these specialists-- the geographer, anthropologist, evolutionary economist, and in time, the conventional economist and politician--would work together.²⁷ Their role was to provide knowledge and understanding, to point out opportunities, and to establish a basis for civic leaders and the public to make choices. Although they mentioned the need for interdisciplinary collaboration, the youngers at Doorn failed to put into practice a strategy whereby this radical and essential feature of Geddes's thinking could be implemented, but the idea would eventually manifest itself in the advocacy

²⁴Geddes, *Cities in Evolution*, xxviii.

²⁵Alison Smithson, *Team 10 Primer*, 30.

²⁶Alison and Peter Smithson, "An Alternative to the Garden City Idea."

²⁷Geddes, *Cities in Evolution*, xxviii.

planning movement of the 1960s and 70s.

Geddes challenged the architect's authority in society by conceiving of planning as a social service which was based on the assumption that when given adequate information an enlightened public could make its own choices. Bakema concurred. He thought that the architect's task of achieving "plastic" expression in form and space of the relations between people could no longer be achieved by means of a top-down approach of "telling it to the people," but only by "creating with people."²⁸ Voelcker modified this idea by defining the role of the architect as at once "humble" and "presumptuous." Architects should be humble because they were "at the mercy of the instant and our location at that instant," but they could also be presumptuous insofar as they "believe [they] have the perception to grasp and make positive use of the potentialities of that instant."²⁹ The Smithsons occupied the other end of the spectrum by advocating a more "top-down" role for the architect--a sense of belonging could only be achieved by expert architects and planners, the interpreter of events and the provider of solutions.

The youngers used similar techniques of selective reading and appropriation in the way they chose to cast Le Corbusier's planning methods. They chose to emphasize the Athens Charter as a response to the 19th-century industrial city making reference to the city as a chaotic place that provided poor living conditions, and lacked sun and air as described by Le Corbusier.³⁰ They chose to overlook Le Corbusier's descriptions of the present-day physical and economic factors resulting in the haphazard development of the modern city, unchecked expansion, random placement of industry³¹ driven by speculation, transportation which did not take advantage of mechanized means,³² and high-speed traffic that resulted in confusion, congestion, poor communication, and hazards to the public's health.³³ Not surprisingly, they also ignored references to the political and administrative factors that Le Corbusier had identified in 1933 and 1943.³⁴ In their "Statement on Habitat," the youngers chose to highlight that aspect of Le Corbusier's method which described the autonomous nature of the four functions, but to ignore Le Corbusier's recommendation that the location of

²⁸Bakema, "Enkele losse gedachten over elementen-werkmethode voor de structuure-ontwikkeling van woongedieden," 20 March 1956 (NAi/BAK, a14[6]).

²⁹Voelcker to Bakema, 24 May 1956 (NAi/BAK, vd13; Alison and Peter Smithson Office, "Team 10" box).

³⁰Le Corbusier, *Athens Charter*, no. 49.

³¹*Ibid.*, no. 44.

³²*Ibid.*, no. 52.

³³*Ibid.*, no. 80.

³⁴*Ibid.*, nos. 8, 72, 73.

three of the functions be determined according to the specific circumstances of climate, topography, and local custom, and that other function be integrated to accommodate daily life.³⁵ The Athens Charter stated that residential areas were to be sited in the most advantageous topographical and climatological parts of the city and work places were to be located to allow the shortest possible commuting distance from the residential areas.

It is also necessary to note that the youngers were not as opposed to Le Corbusier's stance as their rhetoric suggests. Other aspects of the Athens Charter did turn up in later Team 10 thinking, including mobility, habitation units, dwelling and habitation, the role of the architect, and growth and change. Still others were ignored completely: just as they had ignored the evolutionary and historical aspect of Geddes's "Valley Section", so too they failed to acknowledge Le Corbusier's position on the historic core of cities. According to Le Corbusier, isolated buildings or urban aggregations needed to be protected if they "express[ed] a former culture," were of universal interest, and did not force people to live in unhealthy conditions. Plans should preserve these centers by requiring radical measures such as detouring traffic or changing the traffic pattern. Le Corbusier's attitude about existing conditions was that it was necessary to destroy the slums around historical monuments, but the Athens Charter displayed an intolerance for the practice of using past styles as an aesthetic pretext for new buildings in historic areas.³⁶ The value of historical sites was acknowledged and treated as a fifth function in the over-all plan.

Moreover, the Statement on Habitat was heavily dependent on the very document it was criticizing. Many of the proposals in it can be found in the Athens Charter. Both call for comprehensive surveys and rigorous analysis³⁷ that included taking into account the topography of the whole area, economic facts, sociological needs,³⁸ and spiritual values which the youngers translated into human aspirations,³⁹ establishing a relationship between the individual and the collective⁴⁰ and accommodating daily functions.⁴¹ Both also deal with the issue of growth and change,⁴² the dwelling and "habitation units,"⁴³ the role of the

³⁵Ibid., no. 78.

³⁶Ibid., nos. 69, 70.

³⁷Ibid., nos. 1, 59, 86.

³⁸Ibid., nos. 1, 3, 6, 86.

³⁹Ibid., nos. 75, 86; "Doorn Manifesto," *Team 10 Primer*, 30.

⁴⁰Ibid., nos. 2, 75, 94, 95.

⁴¹Ibid., no. 79.

⁴²Ibid., nos. 7, 74, 86, 91.

⁴³Ibid., no. 88.

architect in society⁴⁴ and their relationship to other specialists.⁴⁵ In the Smithsons' version of the "Statement on Habitat" which Alison titled the "Doorn Manifesto," the problem of mobility is highlighted just as it is in the Athens Charter.⁴⁶ Le Corbusier's notion that a city should "be studied within the whole of its region of influence,"⁴⁷ including economic influence, is translated into the Doorn Manifesto's notion of "field." Regional planning is also part of the Athens Charter in that Le Corbusier proposed that plans be preceded by a "rigorous analysis" of the constituent elements of a region, including geography, economic facts, sociological needs, and spiritual values.⁴⁸ Like Geddes's, the premise of Le Corbusier's analysis is based on the premise that throughout history "specific circumstances have determined the characteristics of the city."⁴⁹

The similarities in the use of terms also mask some differences. Although both the Athens Charter and the Statement on Habitat call for surveys of climate, topography, and custom, the Athens Charter examines the particular conditions in a human settlement before a particular functional unit of work, recreation, or leisure is located, whereas the "Scale of Association" examines the particular conditions of the entire human settlement. In the Statement on Habitat the four functions are only four aspects of settlements considered as totalities. Both Le Corbusier and Geddes promoted selective clearance of blight, linking green spaces, adopting a unified transportation plan, and integrating old and new residential areas. What differentiates Geddes's approach from that advanced by Le Corbusier is that Geddes suggested that these changes occur "where appropriate." In essence, Geddes used an empirical approach that sought to preserve the existing parts of cities and towns in all their essential characteristics, even if renewed, an attitude that echoes the arguments of Ernesto Rogers and Italian CIAM at Bergamo.

For Le Corbusier, on the other hand, the city was an enterprise that was carefully studied in advance and subjected to the "rigor of an overall plan." His approach to the plan was rigid: "intelligent forecasts" were to project the future expansion of the city and "limit their excesses in advance" and be subordinated to the needs of the region, thus avoiding the "inhuman *melée*" and disorder that is produced by growth. Growth and change in the city

⁴⁴Ibid., no. 87, 92.

⁴⁵Ibid., nos. 86, 90, 91.

⁴⁶Ibid., nos. 59, 80, 81.

⁴⁷Ibid., no. 83.

⁴⁸Ibid., nos. 1, 2, 86.

⁴⁹Ibid., no. 6.

were accommodated with a once-and-for-all plan. His Athens Charter called for overall control, while the Statement on Habitat proposed a shift away from the analytical planning method represented by the four functions to one that favored human association.⁵⁰ These two approaches reflect the difference between the less theoretically explicit empirical tradition of Britain and the rationalism of continental Europe.

Similarities and differences aside, Team 10 members did not set out with the revolutionary intentions implied in the historiography about the group. Some Team 10 members were deeply committed to the institutional continuity of CIAM and did not share the Smithsons' desire to dissolve it. The emergence of a new agenda was not as simple as Frampton suggests, but evolved over time, by repetition and reiteration, and debate through a fluid and confused stage before it was published as the *Team 10 Primer*.

Team 10's Postmodern Modernism

The intellectual shift within CIAM which was simultaneously an evolution and a revolution of CIAM thinking. While Team 10's thinking was evolutionary in that it developed further a discourse that had already begun -- albeit a discussion that was not evident in official CIAM documentation and publications -- Team 10 thinking was also revolutionary. The end of CIAM was the result of a combination of factors: a change in values which developed through various stages that resonated with a larger cultural shift. The revolutionary status of Team 10 does not lie, as popular perceptions about the group claim, in its role in destroying CIAM, but in its contribution to the larger cultural critique of modernism.

Underlying the group's criticism of CIAM's universalizing modernism was their implicit agenda which one can now recognize as post-modern in the critical sense. Their attitude, like that of critical postmodernism, distrusted universalizing, totalizing tendencies, rejected utopia, and negated teleology. Team 10's proposal to replace the rational, authoritarian planning principles of CIAM with a more integrative approach that responded to the particularities of specific existing social and physical conditions had embedded in it an attitude which sought to replace totality with pluralism, placeless abstraction with the formation of new collectivities (communities) and local identities, separated functions for

⁵⁰Peter Smithson, London, facsimile to Royston Landau, London, 7 January, 1993. Royston Landau Papers, London.

autonomy with interrelated semi-autonomous functions, rationalism with empiricism. Their distaste for totalities led them to jettison CIAM's hierarchical power structure -- one in which authority was disseminated in a chain of command administered from a bureaucratically organized center to organize themselves heterarchically and to replace the top-down role of the architect with one that encouraged the participation of occupants in the planning process and rejecting the role of the architect as a singular and sole creator in favor of the architect as interpreter of situations and facilitator of process. Post-modernism's rejection of utopias was the cultural value underlying Team 10's opposition to CIAM's rational planning of social order, and CIAM's standardization of knowledge and production inherent in the CIAM grid as a method of presentation.

Early Team 10 thinking also demonstrated one of post-modernism's central tenets--the negation of teleology by placing less emphasis on the precepts of historical materialism, and unidirectional doctrines with one favoring process, growth systems and transformation, and by replacing an ahistorical stance with one bound in time. Underlying Team 10's criticism of the Athens Charter was a criticism of modernist values. Its aim was to replace hierarchy with overall systems ("clusters"), authority with democracy, idealism with reality, universalism with pluralism, formalism with realism, rationalism with empiricism, absolutes with dualisms ("doorstep" philosophy).

Team 10's contribution to the critical discourse of post-modernism has gone unrecognized by historians, critics, and journalists alike. The Team 10 members themselves were not aware that their position was in any way associated with critical post-modernism. They were in fact adamant in their disdain of formal Postmodernism as it crystallized into the architectural movement of the mid-1970s. Peter Smithson and Aldo van Eyck both vehemently denied any association with the movement.⁵¹ As ethical modernists, they felt responsible for addressing these conditions.

Team 10 members considered themselves to be modern architects first and foremost and their criticism of modernism was in fact founded in their rigorous adherence to the principles of modernism. The principle which held this diverse group together was their renewal of modernism's tenet that they be "of the day." As true modernists, if the conditions of the day meant accommodating new social diversity and providing a way for a society to come to express their particular identity -- values we now associate with critical

⁵¹Peter Smithson in conversation with author, 8 July 1998, London. Aldo van Eyck, "Rats, Posts, and Pests . . . or apropos the Solid Teapot," *RIBA Journal* 88, no. 4 (April 1981): 47-50.

postmodernism -- they would have to address these conditions. In short, to be truly modern in the ethical sense, in the pluralistic context of the post-World War II era meant that they had to be postmodern.

The group's relationship to modernism was summarized by Voelcker in a letter to Bakema in which he stated that since the Team 10 program was relevant to the immediate situation it was inevitably a part of modernism and therefore there was no need to exert themselves "in order to be good members of a modern movement club."⁵² The Smithsons, the most fervent claiming CIAM as being obsolete, also were perhaps the most orthodox modernists. Although they fervently believed that CIAM had outlived its usefulness as an institution they also believed that its dissolution was necessary in order to keep the spirit of moral modernism alive. The Smithsons were no less committed. In an article written for *Architectural Design* in 1965 they stated, the heroic period of modern architecture was the rock on which they stood. "Through it," they maintained, "we feel the continuity of history and the necessity of achieving our own idea of order."⁵³

Team 10's simultaneous commitment to the principles of modernism and their groundbreaking critical stance towards it force us to reconfigure our understanding of the relationship between these two, often conceived of as contrary, theoretical moments. Team 10's antagonism to totalizing strategies was also the intellectual centerpiece of the critical discourse of postmodernism, though this has been overlooked by historians and critics alike.

Team 10's critical stance reveals that architectural or formal Postmodernism as it was practiced in the 1970s was a highly specific practice that moved away from this critical intention. Much has been written about formal Postmodernism, or architectural Postmodernism, but the intellectual premises that formed it have, with few exceptions, been ignored. Charles Jencks, fabricator of the symbolic end of modernism, in his book *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture* (1977) emphasized the historical aspect of Postmodernity, but overlooked critical postmodernism's antagonism toward totalization and rejection of teleologies as relevant to architectural practice. Through theoretical initiatives

⁵²John Voelcker to Jacob Bakema, 1 December 1957 (NAi/BAK or88).

⁵³Alison and Peter Smithson, "The Heroic Period of Modern Architecture," *Architectural Design* 35 (December 1965): 590; *The Heroic Period of Modern Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1981). Along similar lines was their book, *The 1930s* (Berlin: Alexander, 1985), which again demonstrated their modernist patrimony.

such as Jenck's, formal Post-Modernism became a movement of historical recuperation⁵⁴ that failed to critique the actual systems of production and the economies of large-scale projects. Formal Postmodernists interpreted the negation of teleology in the narrowest sense, choosing to critique modernism's negation of history by subjecting architectural history to the rhetorical tropes of literary criticism -- parody, simulation, pastiche and allegory.

The failure of Team 10 -- or perhaps the failure of Alison Smithson's portrayal of the group -- to take a critical stance towards history that had been part of its earliest thinking left modern architecture vulnerable to the historicist post-modernism practiced in architecture throughout the 1970s. Although Alison Smithson did reflect the post-modern critique of teleology in the format and structure of the *Team 10 Primer*, she failed to promote that aspect of its theoretical position and ignored it in the discussions by the younger CIAM members which dealt with history. The notion that the past constitutes part of the present, which was inherent in Patrick Geddes's "Valley Section of Civilization" and formed the premise of Alfred Roth's thesis in *The New Architecture*, was stated explicitly by Ernesto Rogers and Italian-CIAM. As represented by Alison, Team 10 thinking proved inadequate against formal Postmodernism's fascination with appropriating and decontextualizing historic icons.

While Team 10's critical stance toward modernism puts into perspective the highly particular direction taken by formal Postmodernism, their critique of the alienating effects of the forces of modernization -- i.e. the modernization which destroyed local culture through the forces of universalization, mechanization, rationalization, and bureaucracy -- was a harbinger for the profound change in architectural culture which began to manifest itself in the early 1960s. Team 10's thinking within CIAM predates the re-evaluation by modern architects of their own practice of the 1960s and 1970s.

Signs that architects were abandoning the dogmas of modern architecture began to appear in treatises and buildings at about the same time as Alison Smithson published the *Team 10 Primer* (1962). Jane Jacobs's radical attack of 1961, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, with the succession of urban and social critiques it generated, resulted in the demolition of modernist housing estates, signaled the rise of postmodern architecture as it

⁵⁴It was not until 1992 that Charles Jencks revisited the Post-Modern movement, reminding us that it was a wider social protest against modernization, against the destruction of local culture by the combined force of rationalization, bureaucracy and mechanization, and only to a minor degree a rejection of the aesthetics of the International Style. Postmodern architects, he argued, ignored ten of the eleven factors which he had listed as being responsible for the death of the International Style. Charles Jencks, ed., *The Post-Modern Reader* (London and New York: Academy and St. Martin's Press, 1992), 24-26.

developed in the 1970s, and gave rise to the social planning theories and advocacy planning in America in the 1960s and 1970s. Robert Venturi's treatise, *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*, written in 1962 but not published until 1966, suggested that architects replace the "puritanically moral language of orthodox Modern architecture" and "obvious unity" with complexity and "messy vitality."⁵⁵

In 1963 Christian Norberg-Schultz gave an overview for a new integrated and environmental theory of architecture in his book *Intentions in Architecture*.⁵⁶ Along the lines of Rogers and Italian-CIAM, he argued that the everyday had a meaning both in the immediate situation and in the cultural and historical continuum.⁵⁷ Bernard Rudofsky lent status to vernacular architecture and validated the non-Western "other" in his book, *Architecture Without Architects* (1966).⁵⁸ Both of these works related urban forms to social forces and countered the orthodoxies of modern architecture by acknowledging changing social needs.

Team 10's aim that planning provide an architectural framework within which life could happen later took physical form in the architectural projects such as the Berlin Hauptstadt (Smithsons, 1958), and the Free University of Berlin (Candilis, Woods, Josic, 1963), and in the extension of Tokyo into Tokyo Bay (1960) by Kenzo Tange, who would later join Team 10.

The critique of the modern architecture's association with modernization begun by the younger CIAM members in the 1950s appeared in the work of Mario Botta and the Ticino architects in Switzerland who characterized this departure by its regional adaptations of classical abstract constructions, for which Kenneth Frampton coined the phrase "critical regionalism." These new values for modern architecture resulted in the dissolution of CIAM. More importantly however, Team 10 reformulated the theoretical foundations for modern architecture and made an intellectual contribution to the larger cultural shift occurring at the time. They refused to allow modern architecture to become a historical chapter, a 20th-century period style, and insisted on making it a living tradition which could maintain continuity by building on the ideas of the founding 20th-century architects in new contexts and

⁵⁵Robert Venturi, *Complexity and Contradiction* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1966), 16.

⁵⁶Christian Norberg-Schultz, *Intentions in Architecture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1965).

⁵⁷Heinrich Klotz, "Postmodern Architecture," in *The Post-Modern Reader*, ed. Charles Jencks (London and New York: Academy and St. Martin's Press, 1992), 237.

⁵⁸Bernard Rudofsky, *Architecture without Architects: An Introduction to Nonpedigreed Architecture* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1964).

in light of "reality" -- materials, technology, society, and culture. This was an important precedent that has been carried on in the work of contemporary architects such as Raphael Moneo, Alvaro Siza, Peter Zumthor, Herzog and de Mueron.

It is important to make a distinction between the rhetoric of revolution which the Smithsons used as a tactic to gain a place on the international stage and the truly radical nature of their critical stance. The issue at stake and the importance of the inter-generational debate within CIAM was not the future of the institution, but the future of modern architecture. Team 10 was not proposing a break from modernism; it was only insisting on distinguishing between modernism as a formal practice and modernism as an ethical practice. The importance of Team 10 does not, however, lie in their role in dissolving CIAM, as the history of the group implies, nor in the series of divisive splits and polemical manifestoes that the scant scholarship about the group attests. Team 10 was crucial to the practice of modern architecture in the second half of the twentieth century for critically assessing the aspects of modernism that were still relevant to contemporary practice, for replacing aesthetic concerns with moral values and for being the first to modernize modern architecture, which they did by putting into practice the core values of their discipline.

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Abbreviations

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AR	Alfred Roth Archive
JLS	José Luis Sert Archive
JT	Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Archive
SG	Sigfried Giedion, Archive
RV	Romke de Vries Archive
NAi,	Nederlands ArchitectuurInstituut, Rotterdam
BAK	Jacob Bakema Archive
GRAN	Granpré Molière Archive
MERK	Ben Merkelbach Archive
HAR,	CIAM Collection, Frances Loeb Library, Graduate School of Design, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts
JLS	José Luis Sert Archive
RIBA,	British Architectural Library, Royal Institute of British Architects: Manuscripts, and Archives Collection, London
TyJ	Jaqueline Tyrwhitt Archive
GoE	Erno Goldfinger Archive
ArO	Ove Arup Archive
AA	Library of the Architectural Association, London
LeC	Fondation Le Corbusier, Paris
	Alison & Peter Smithson Office, London
	Francis Strauven Papers, Brussels
	Royston Landau Papers, London

The primary source material is cited in the following manner: an abbreviation of the institution (CIAM, RIBA, NAi, etc.), followed by an abbreviated designation of the individual collection (GoE=Erno Goldfinger, JLS=José Luis Sert, etc.), and its location in the archive. Page numbers are included where available.

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Fig. 1

ASCORAL (Le Corbusier, Dr. Pierre Winter, André Sive, Pierre Jeanneret, Vladimir Bodiensky, André Wogensky, Georges Candilis, et al). CIAM presentation grid. CIAM 7, Bergamo, 1947. (Source: CIAM, *Programme du 7ème Congrès*, Bologne, 1948).

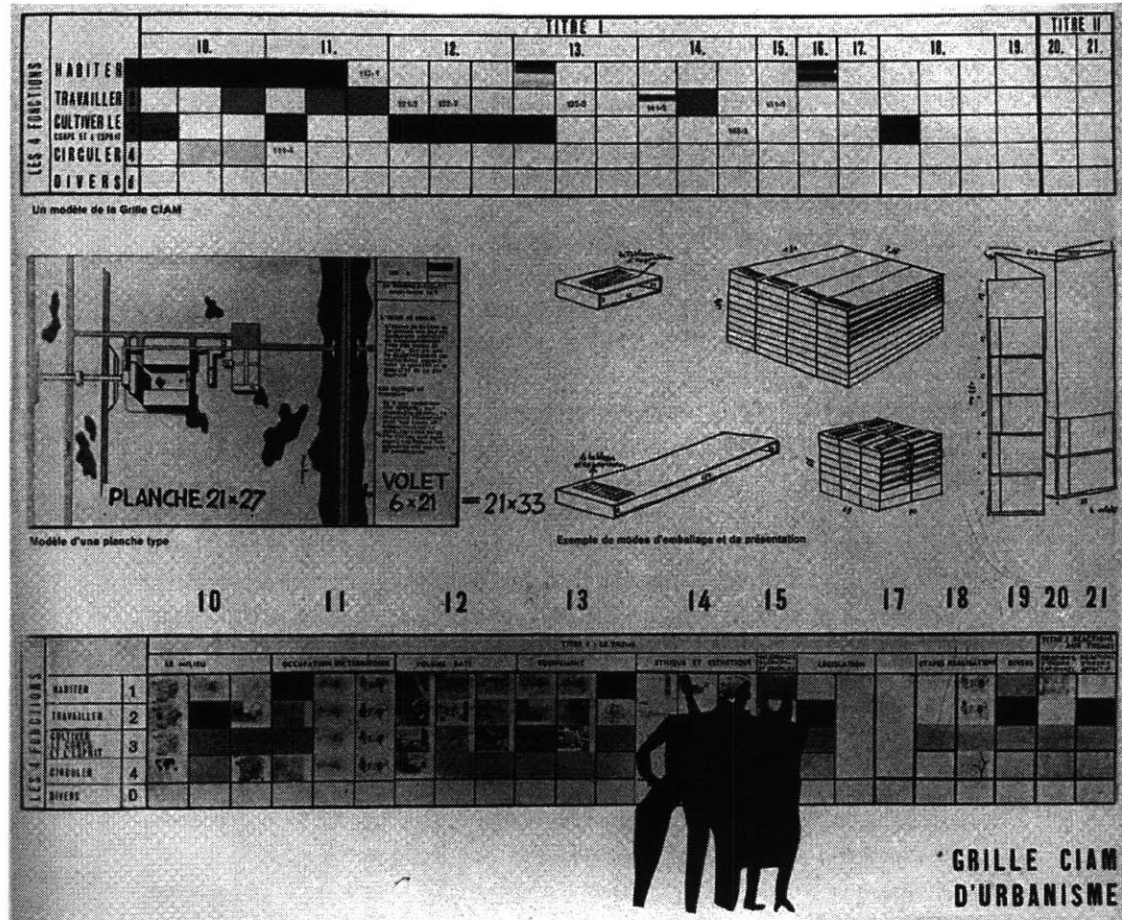
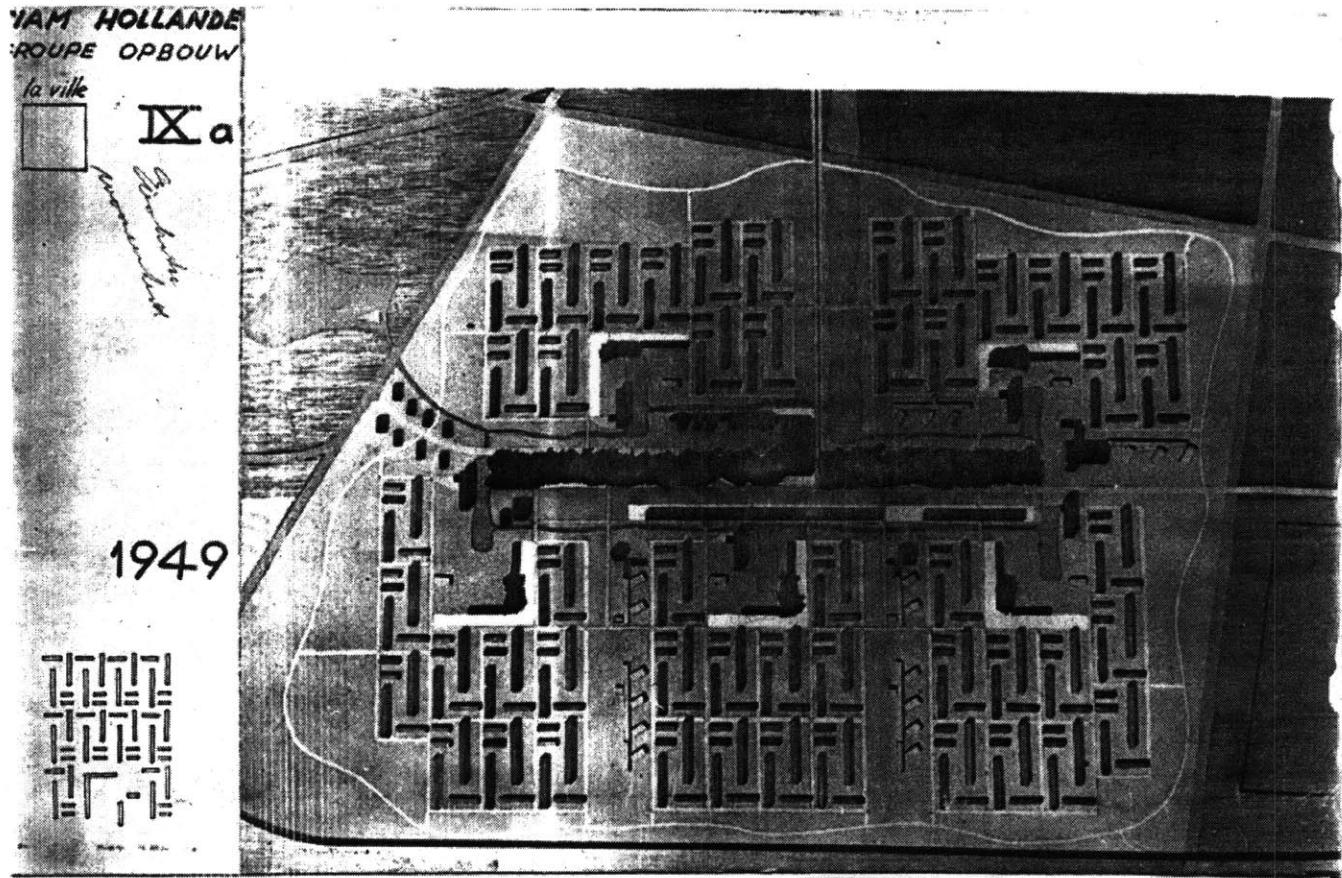


Fig. 2

Opbouw Group panel from
Pendrecht I grid, CIAM 7,
Bergamo, 1949, as presented at
CIAM 10, Dubrovnik, 1956.
(Source: Nederlands
ArchitectuurInstituut,
Rotterdam, BAK a30).



Figs. 3a-c

Opbouw Group panel from
Pendrecht II grid. CIAM 8,
Hoddesdon, 1951. (Source:
Nederlands
ArchitectuurInstituut,
Rotterdam, BAK vd6).

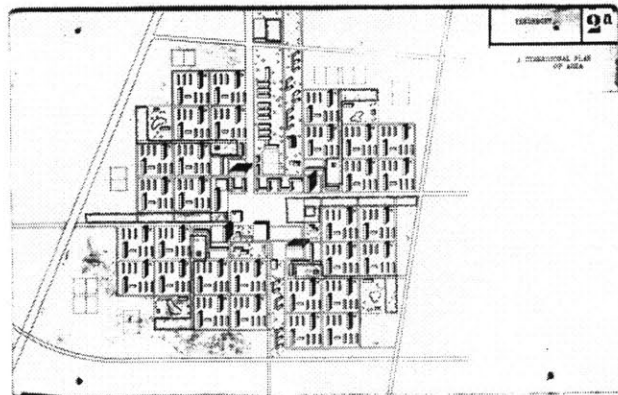
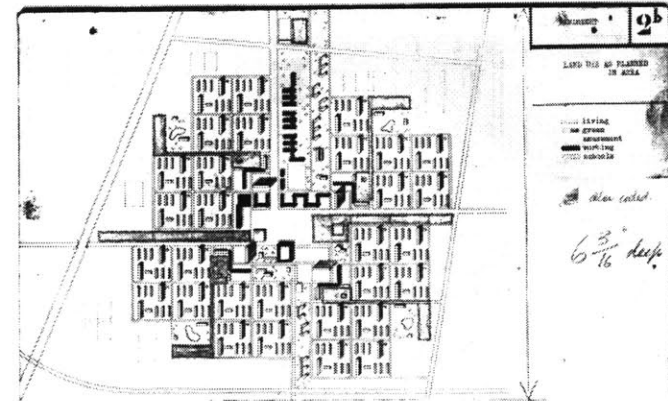
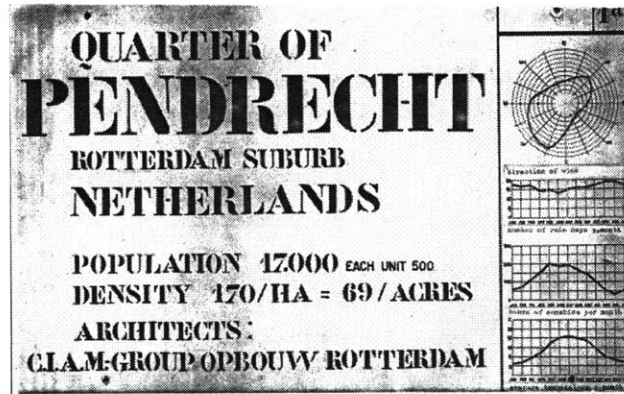
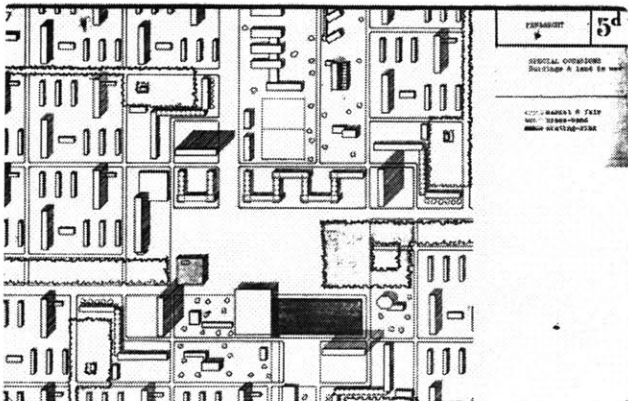
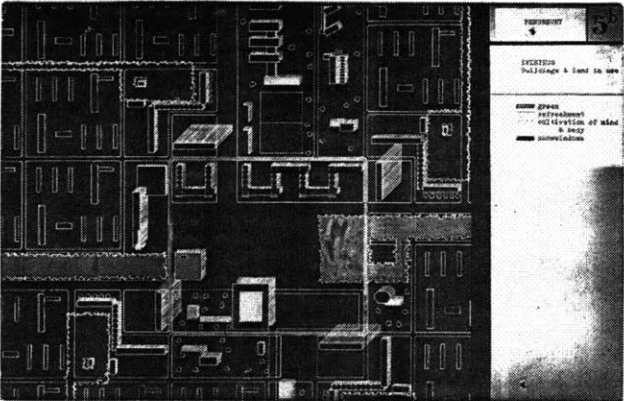
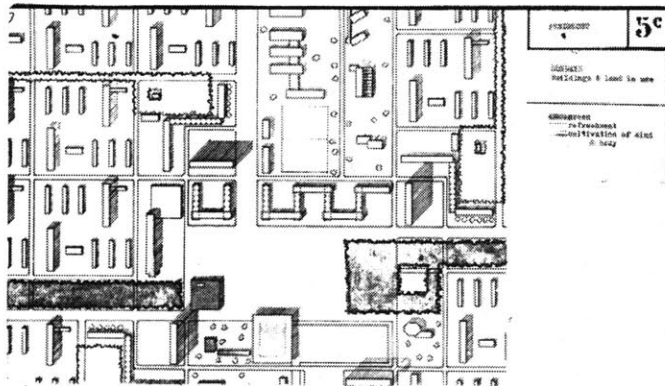
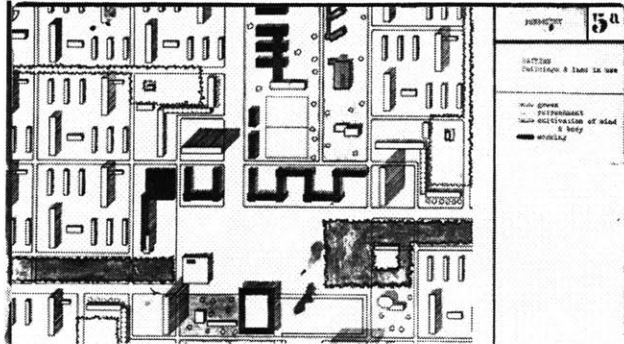


Fig. 3b



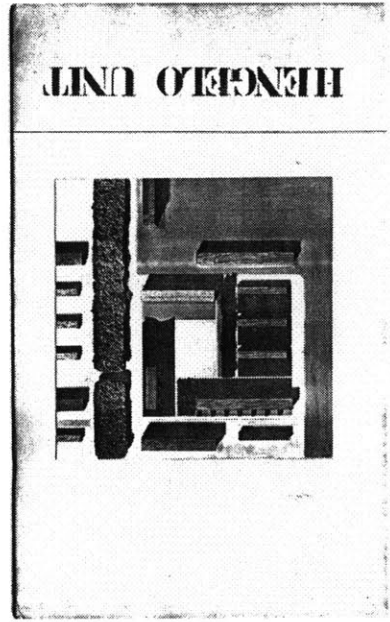
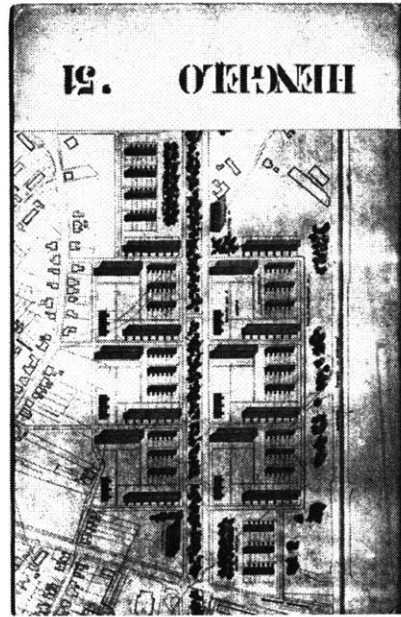
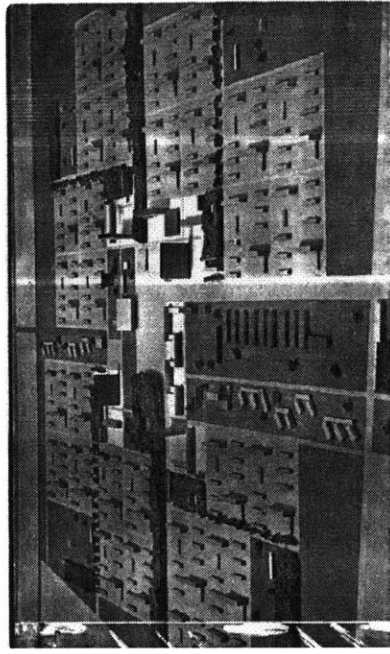
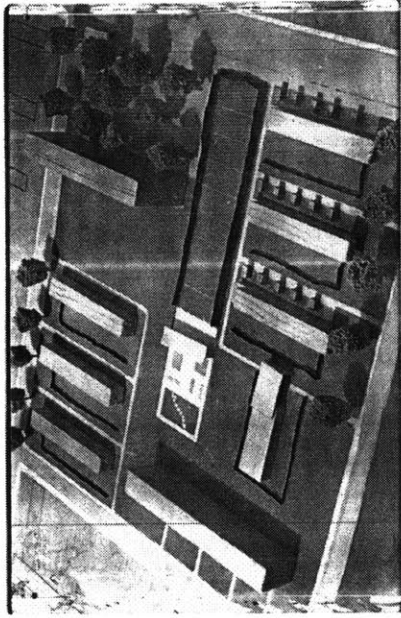


Fig. 3c

Fig. 4

Opbouw (Jacob Bakema, Lotte Stam-Bees), Pendrecht Polder, Rotterdam, 1949-1953.
(Source: Eric Mumford, *CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 209).



Figs. 5a-b

CIAM Meeting, Sigtuna,
Sweden, 1952. (Source: Van
Eesteren Archive, Nederlands
ArchitectuurInstituut,
Rotterdam, IV.440).

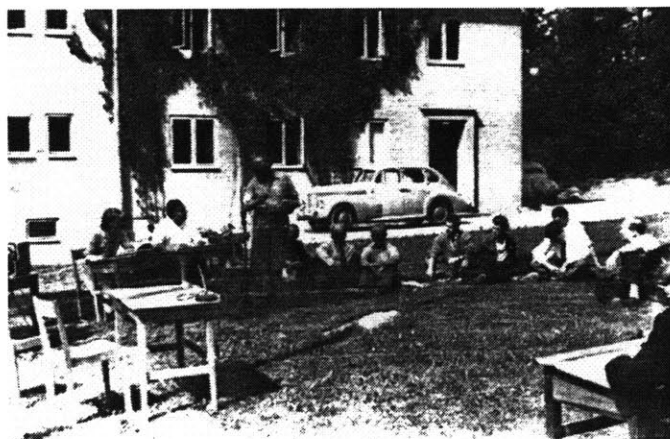


Fig. 6

Bâtir Group, proposed grid for Habitat. CIAM Meeting, Sigtuna, Sweden, 1952.
 (Source: *Les Documents de Sigtuna, 1952*, CIAM Archive, Zurich, 42-AR-X-1).

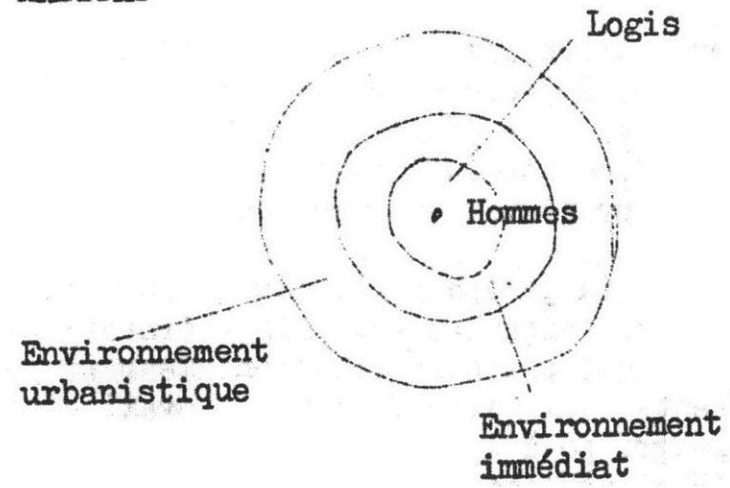
EXEMPLE D'UNE FORME DE PRESENTATION BIEN REMPLIE

A Programme et Conditions		B Besoins Fondamentaux				C Contraintes Universelles			D Commentaires
		Matériels		Spirituels		Validité	Gr.Nombre	Economie	
Nom du Projet	Milieu Naturel								
	Milieu Social								
	Formes								
	Tech- niques								

Fig. 7

Georges Candilis, Habitat diagram. CIAM Meeting, Sigtuna, Sweden, 1952.
(Source: *Les Documents de Sigtuna, 1952*, CIAM Archive, Zurich, 42-AR-X-1).

HABITAT



Figs. 8a-c

Commission Ia (Urbanism).
CIAM 9, Aix-en-Provence,
1953. (Source: CIAM
Archive, Zurich, JT-X-1).

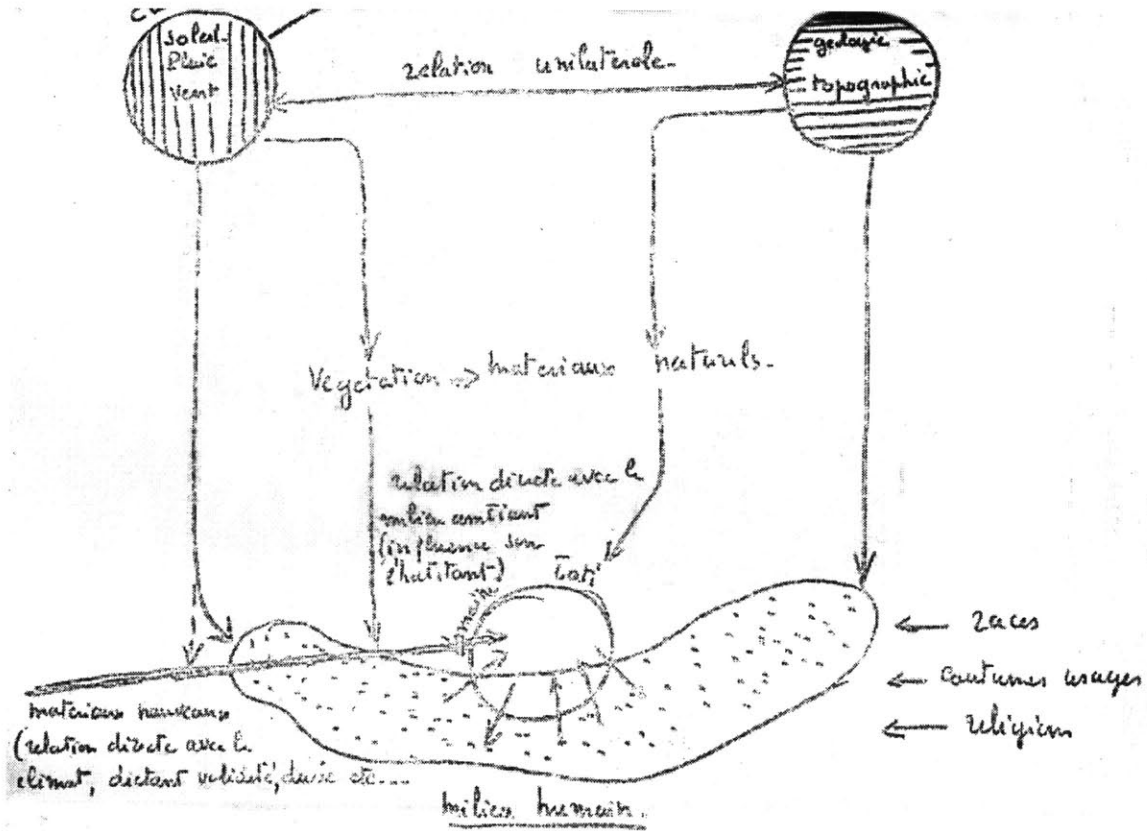


Fig. 8b

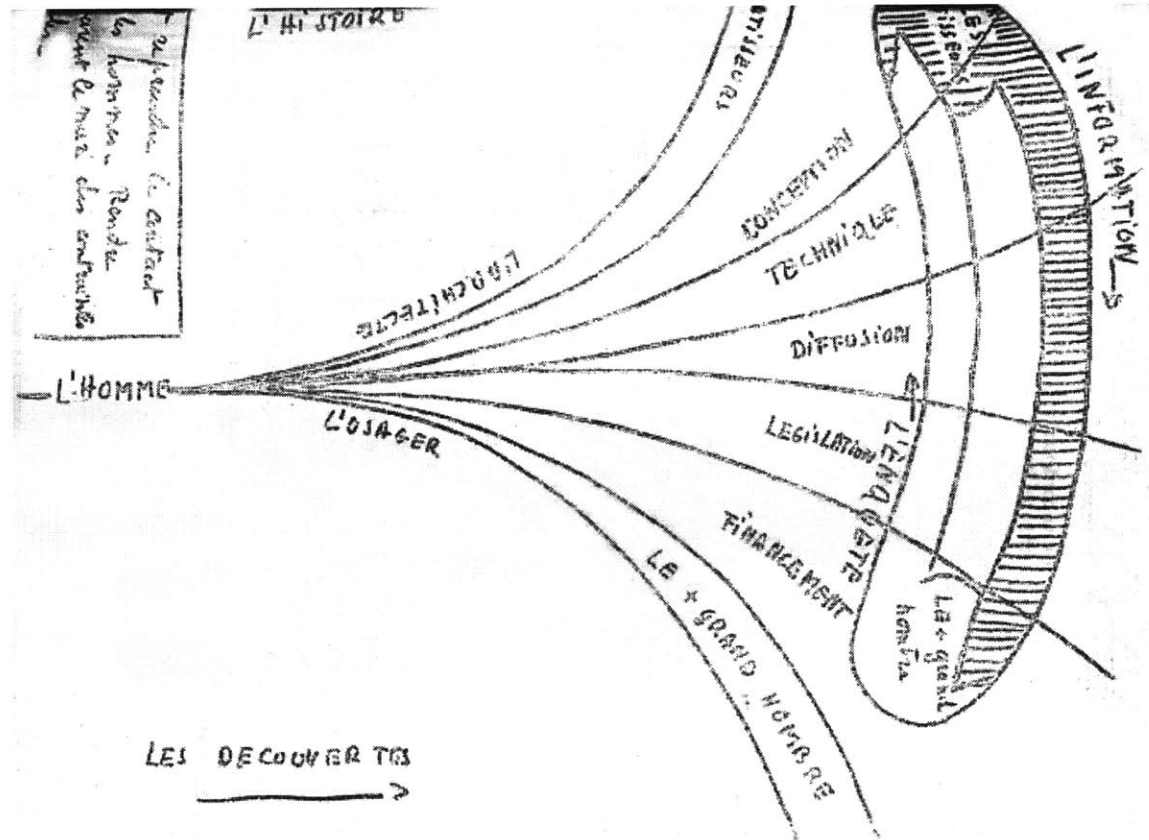
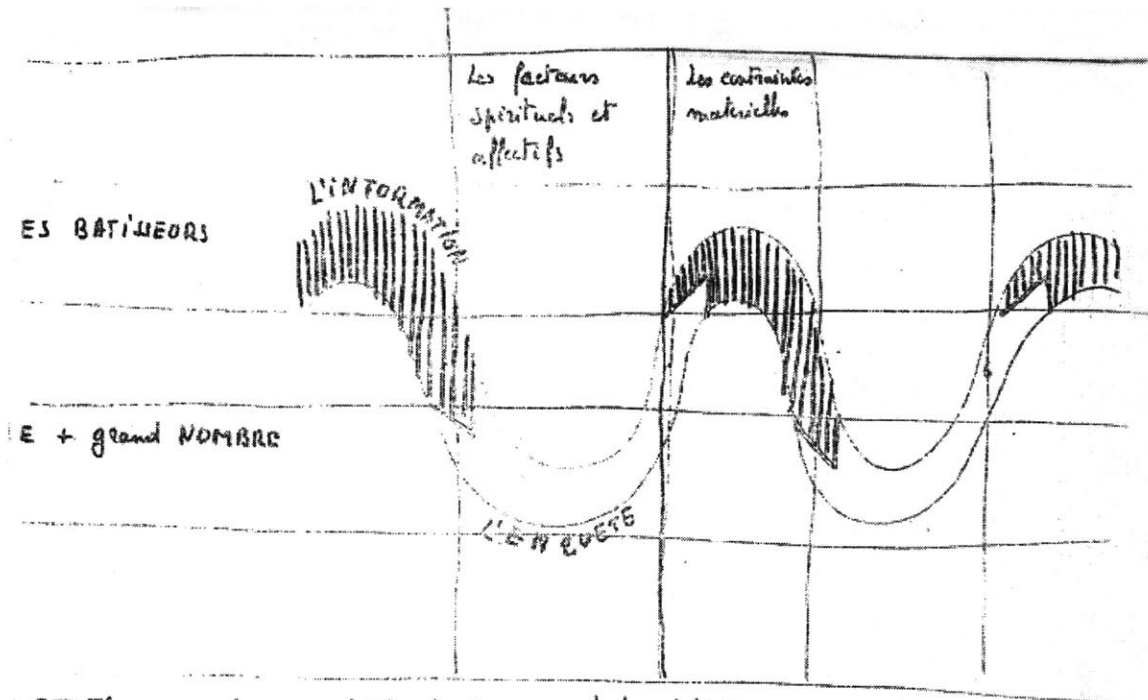


Fig. 8c



ETailiz un echange visible et interne. La'architecte en s'attant à un voir
qu'à donner.

Figs. 9a-b

GAMMA Group, (Morocco: Bodiansky, Candilis, Kennedy, Piot, Woods, Ecochard, Godefroy, Béraud), panels from "L'Habitat Marocain, ou l'Habitat du plus grand nombre," Carrières Centrales, Casablanca. Existing conditions. CIAM 9, Aix-en-Provence, 1953. (Source: J. L. Cohen, *Rassegna* 52, 1992, 61 & 64).

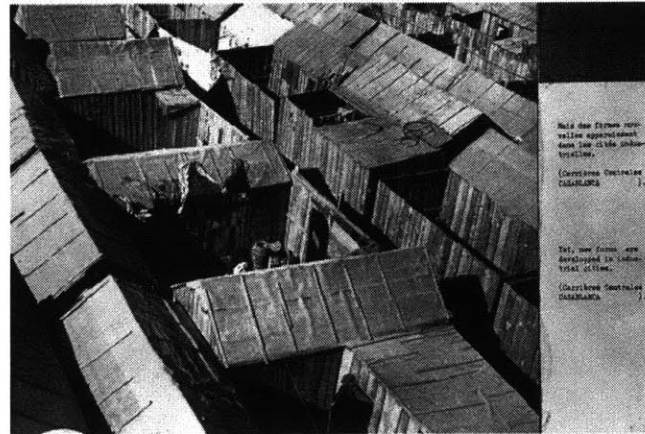
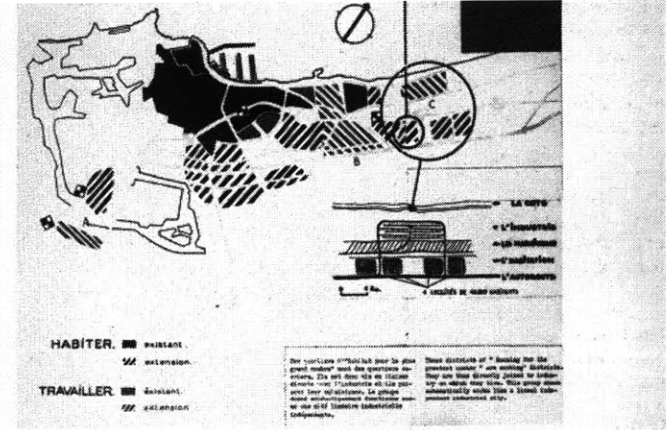


Fig. 9b

Layout of new Muslim neighborhoods and photograph of southern Morocco as a reference for the vertical city.

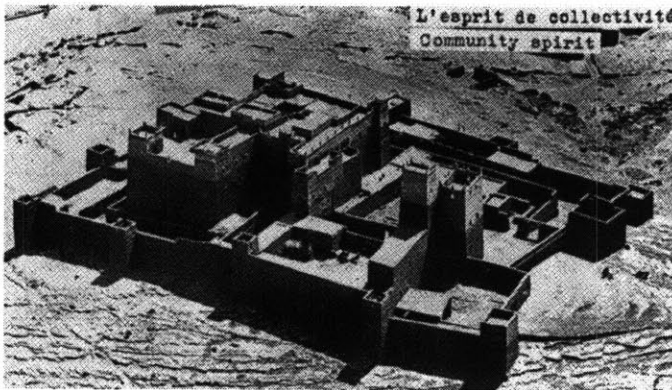
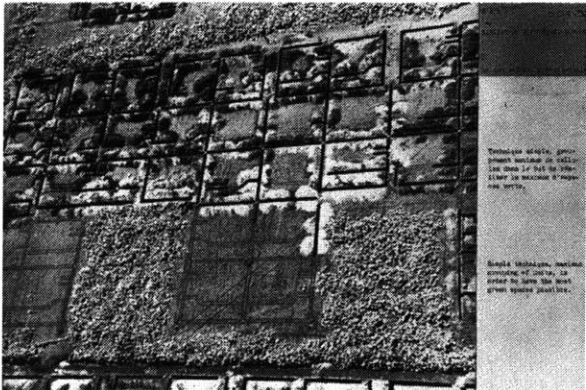


Fig. 10

Georges Candilis, Shadrach Woods, Vladimir Bodiansky, Henri Piot (ATBAT-Afrique), "Housing type for Muslims," Carrières Centrales, Casablanca, 1951. (Source: J. L. Cohen, *Rassegna 52*, 1992, 62).



Fig. 11

Georges Candilis and Shadrach Woods (ATBAT-Afrique), "Nid d'Abeilles project," Carrières Centrales, Casablanca. CIAM 9, Aix-en-Provence, 1953. (Source: *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 23, no. 46 February/March 1953).

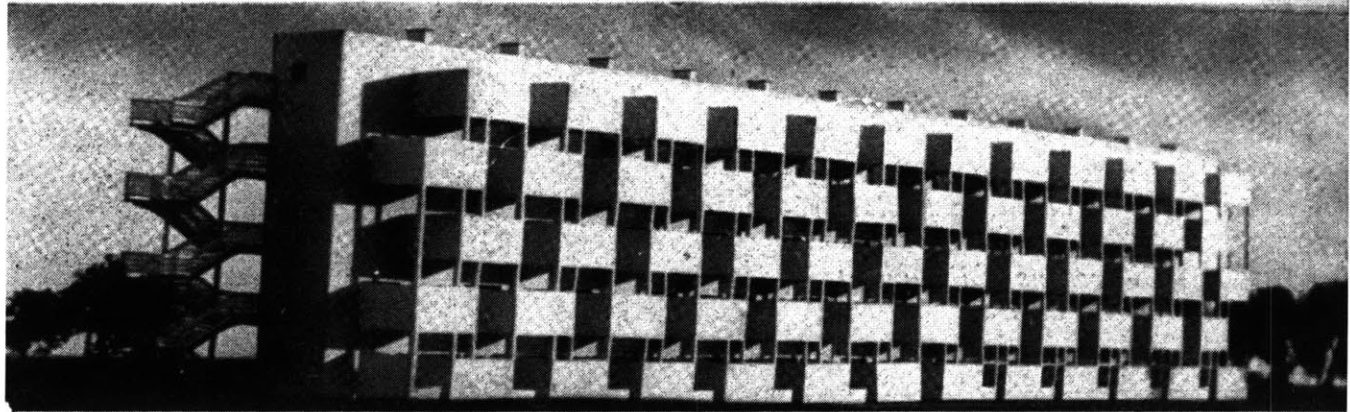


Fig. 12

CIAM-Alger Group (P. - A. Emery et al.), panel from Bidonville Mahieddine grid, CIAM 9, Aix-en-Provence, 1953. (Source: Eric Mumford, *CIAM Discourse on Urbanism*, 230).

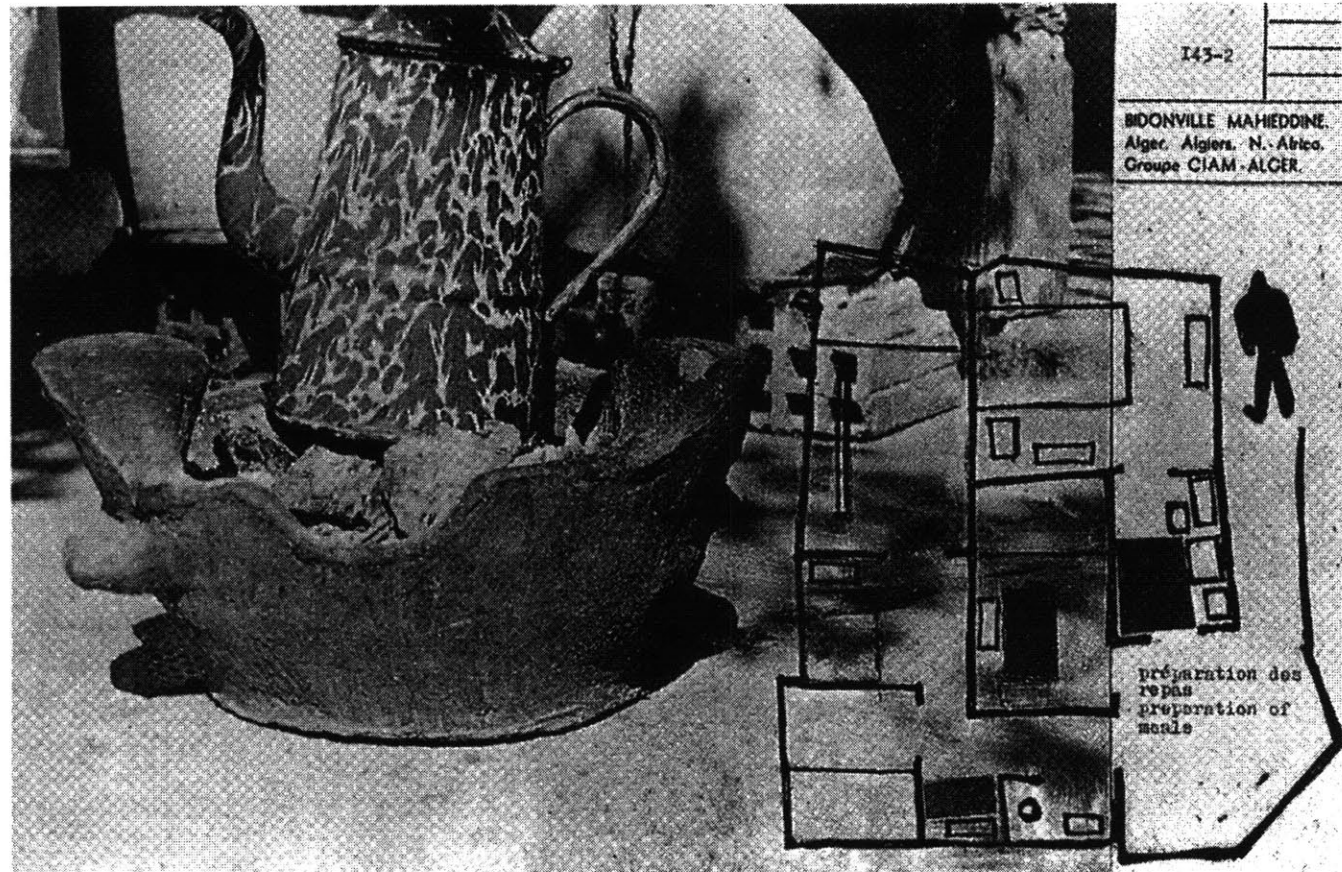
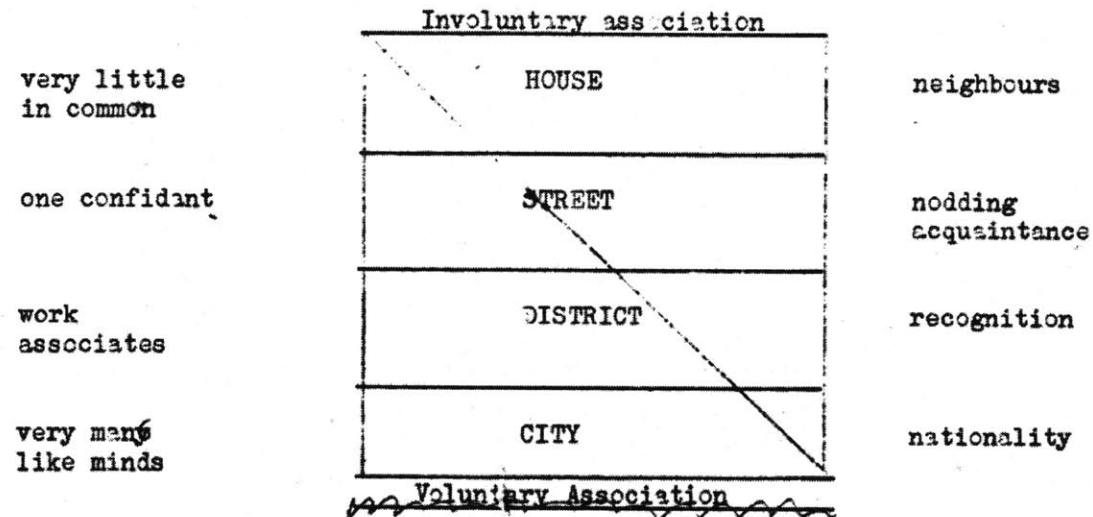


Fig. 13

Alison and Peter Smithson, Bill and Gillian Howell (MARS Group), "Hierarchy of Association." Each scale of the city represents different human relations: the "street" signifies a community in physical contact, the "quarter" a community of acquaintances, the "city" a community of intellectual contact and common interests. CIAM 9, Aix-en-Provence, 1953. (Source: "Report of the English Group," Nederlands ArchitectuurInstituut, Rotterdam, BAK a12).

And Although it is extremely difficult to define the higher levels of association - the street implies a physical contact community, the district an acquaintance community, and the city an intellectual contact community.

This hierarchy of association can be expressed in the following way:



We are of the opinion that we should construct a hierarchy of human associations which should replace the functional hierarchy of the *Charte d'Atenes*.

Fig. 14

Alison and Peter Smithson (MARS Group), "Urban Reidentification grid." Photographs by Nigel Henderson. CIAM 9, Aix-en-Provence, 1953. (Source: David Robbins, *The Independent Group*, 114).

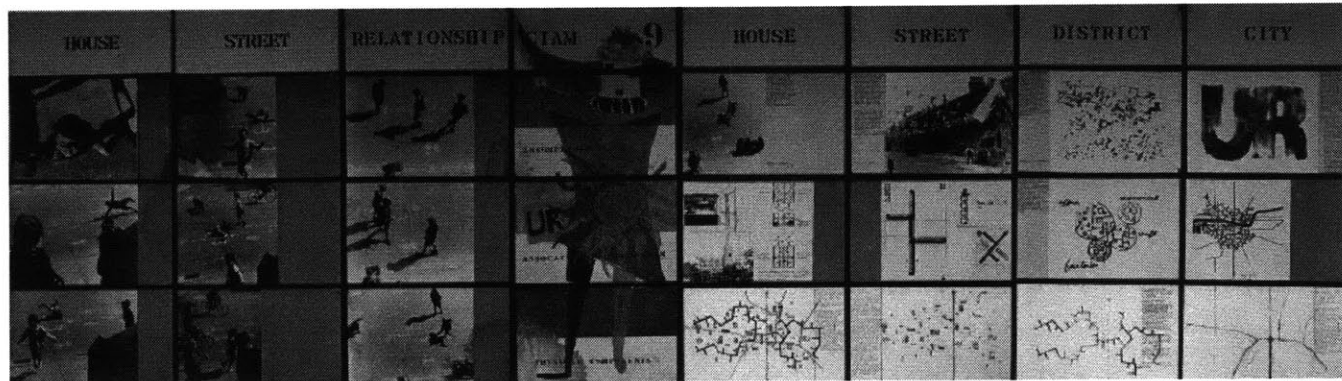


Fig. 15

Alison and Peter Smithson,
Golden Lane from "Urban
Reidentification grid." CIAM
9, Aix-en-Provence, 1953.
(Source: David Robbins, *The
Independent Group*, 113).

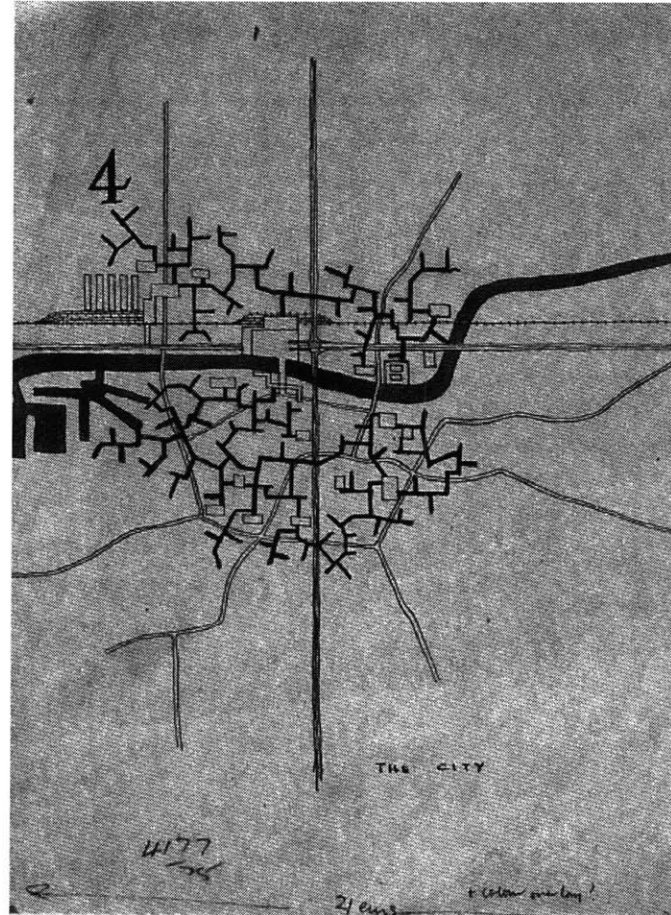


Fig. 16

Alison and Peter Smithson,
"Urban Reidentification grid."
London street decorated with
flags, photograph by Nigel
Henderson. CIAM 9, Aix-en-
Provence, 1953. (Source: Eric
Mumford, *CIAM Discourse on
Urbanism*, 234).



Fig. 17

John Voelcker, Pat Crooke,
Andrew Derbyshire (MARS
Group), "Zone project."
CIAM 9, Aix-en-Provence,
1953. (Source: Eric
Mumford, *CIAM Discourse on
Urbanism*, 230).

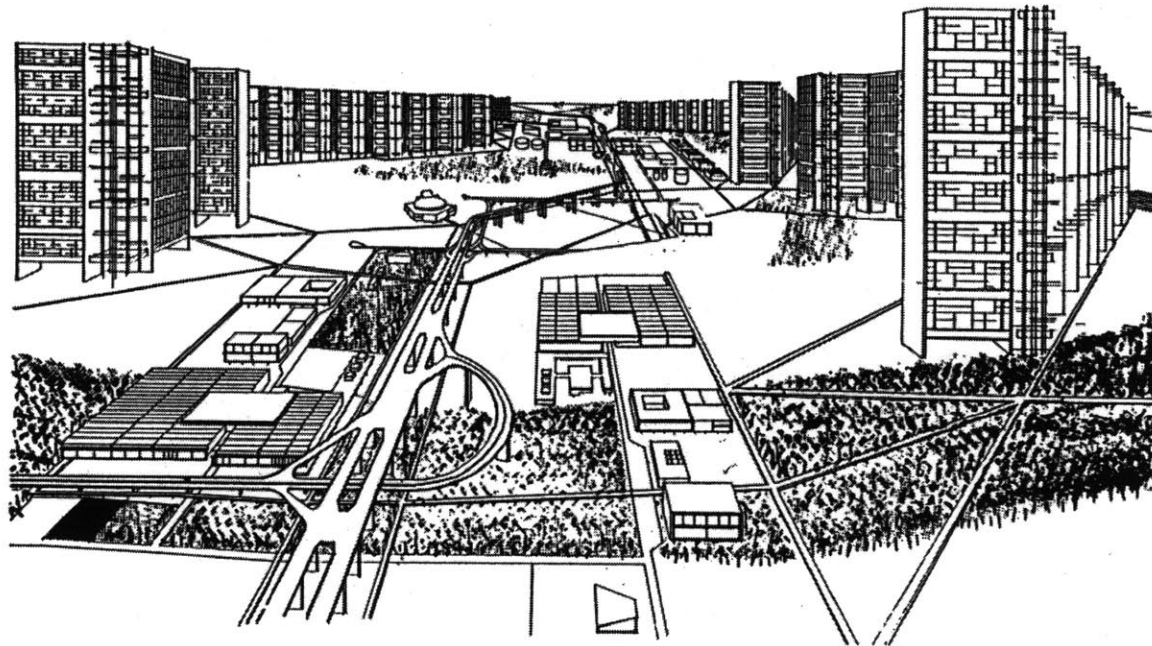


Fig. 18

Opbouw Group, Alexander
Polder I project. CIAM 9,
Aix-en-Provence, 1953.
(Source: Francis Strauven,
Rassegna 52, 1992, 50;
Nederlands
ArchitectuurInstituut,
Rotterdam, BAK a30).

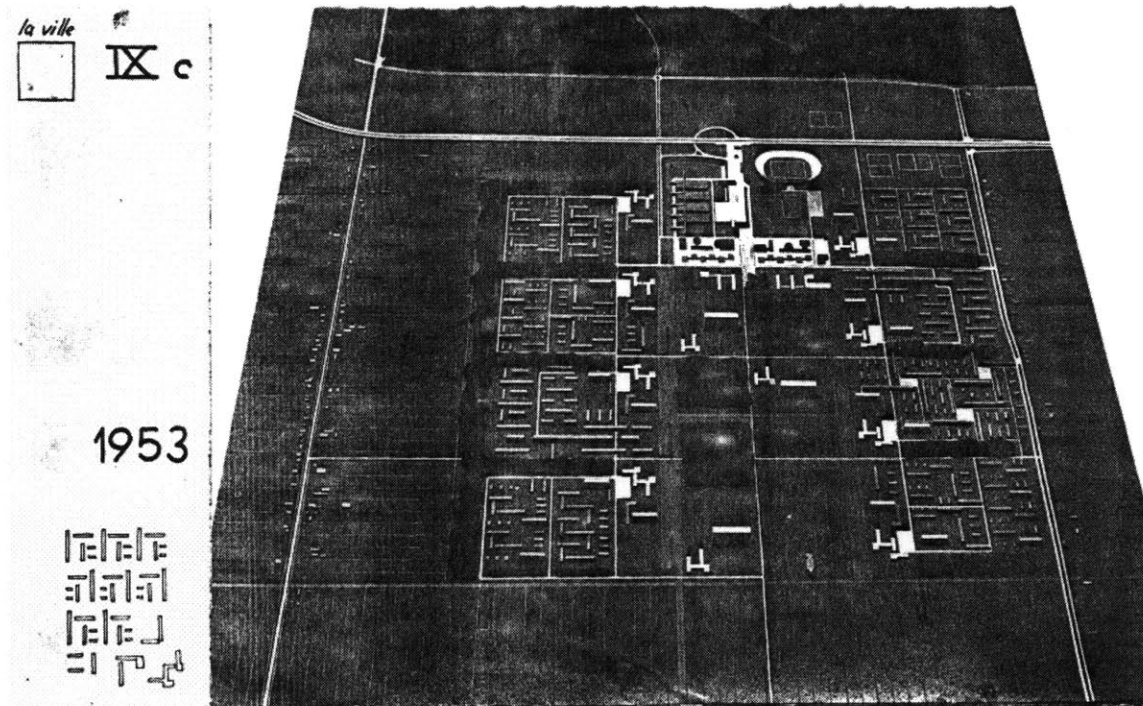


Fig. 19

Patrick Geddes, "The Valley Section of Civilization" and its social types in their native habitat. (Source: P. Geddes, *Cities in Evolution*, 1949, 166-167).

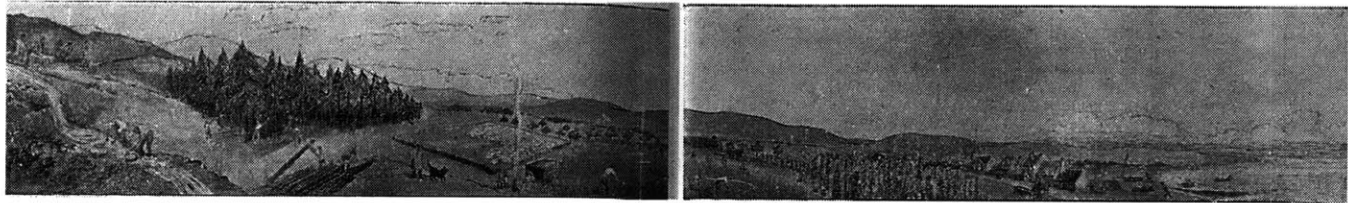
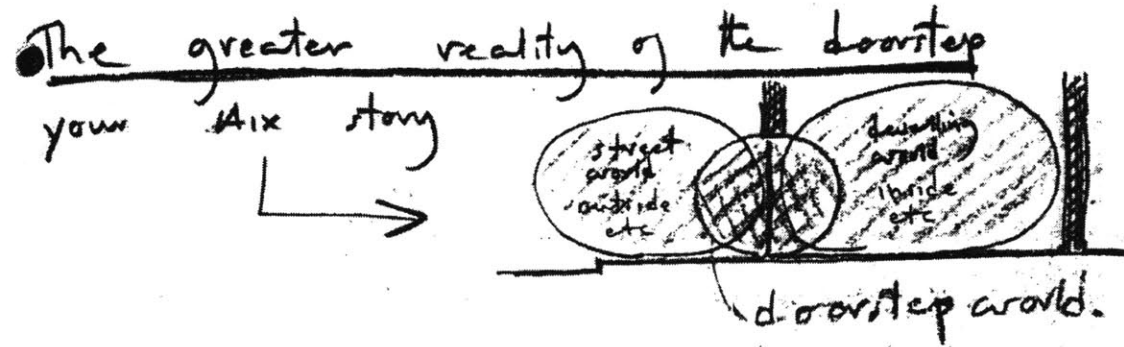


Fig. 20

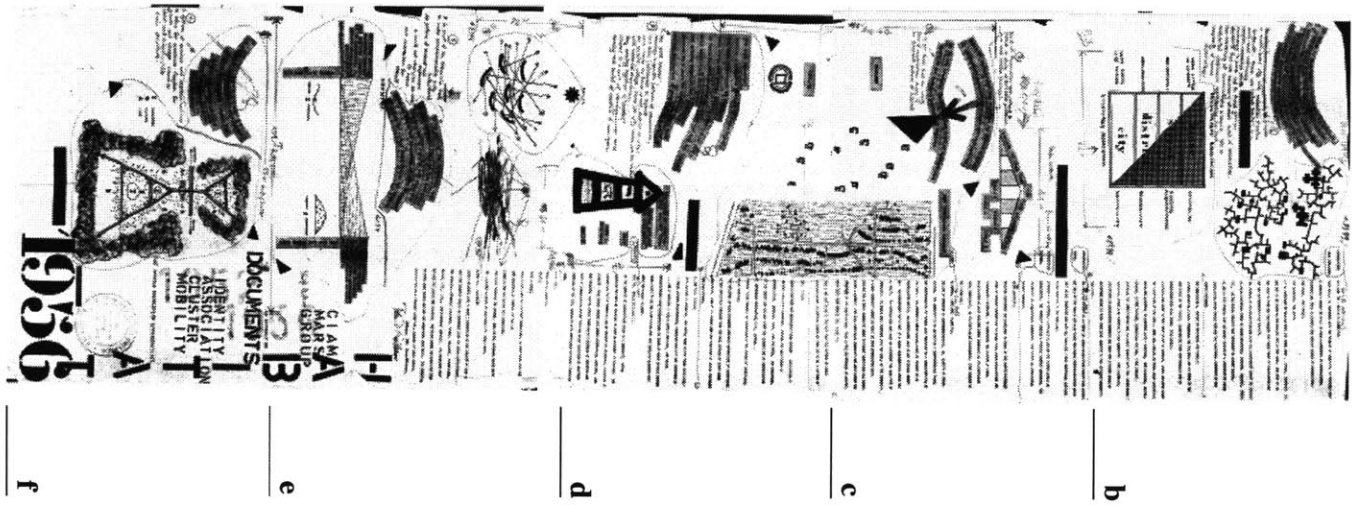
Aldo van Eyck, "Doorstep"
diagram, from an undated
letter to Alison and Peter
Smithson. (Source:
Photocopy from Alison
and Peter Smithson Office,
London, in Francis Strauven
Papers, Brussels).



The mesh of the 4 functions
lets through most of what goes
to make life

Fig. 21a

Alison and Peter Smithson
(MARS Group), explanation of
Habitat. CIAM 10,
Dubrovnik, 1956. (Source:
Alison and Peter Smithson
Office, London).



Figs. 21b-f

Alison and Peter Smithson (MARS Group), details from explanation of Habitat. CIAM 10, Dubrovnik, 1956. (Source: Alison and Peter Smithson Office, London).

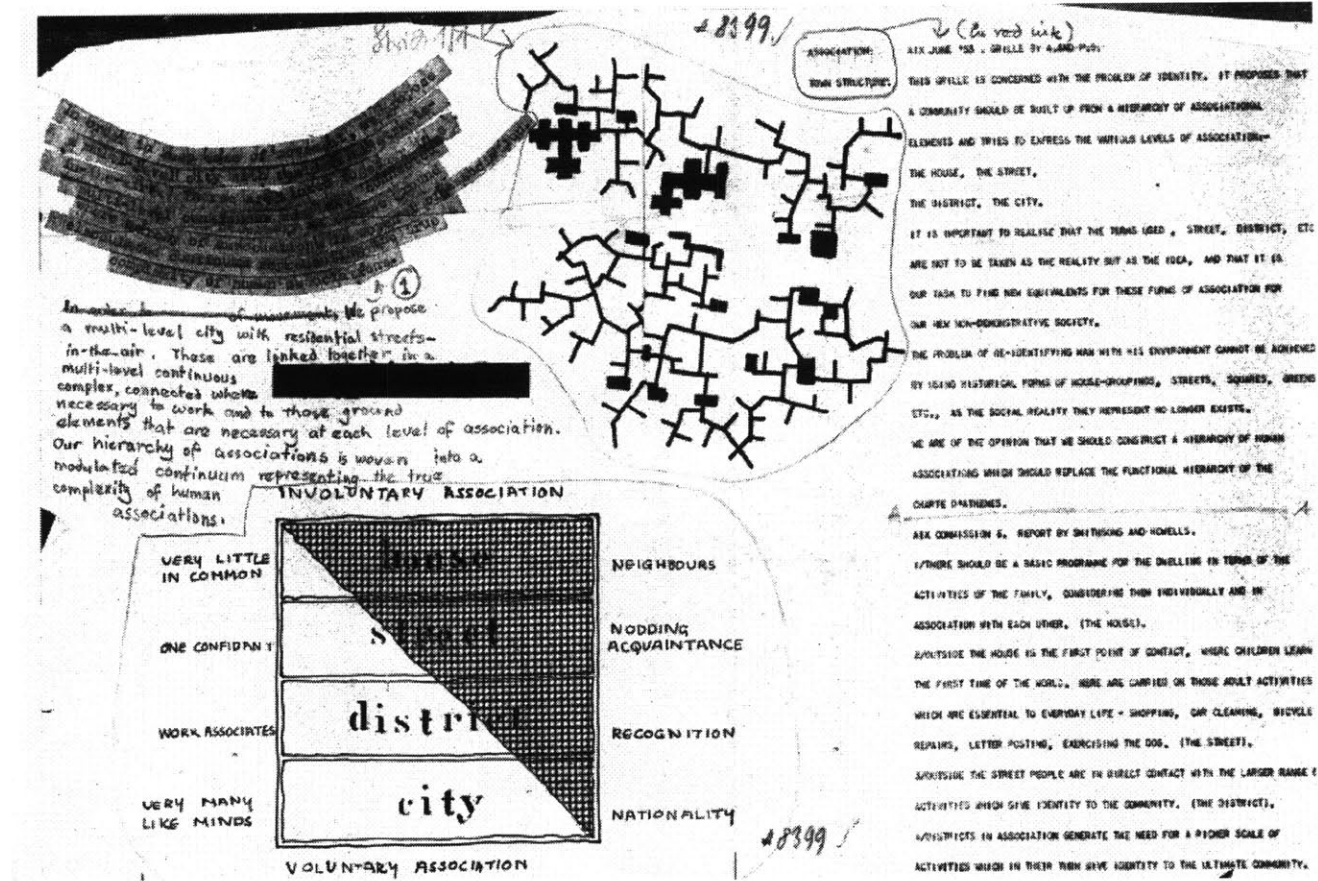
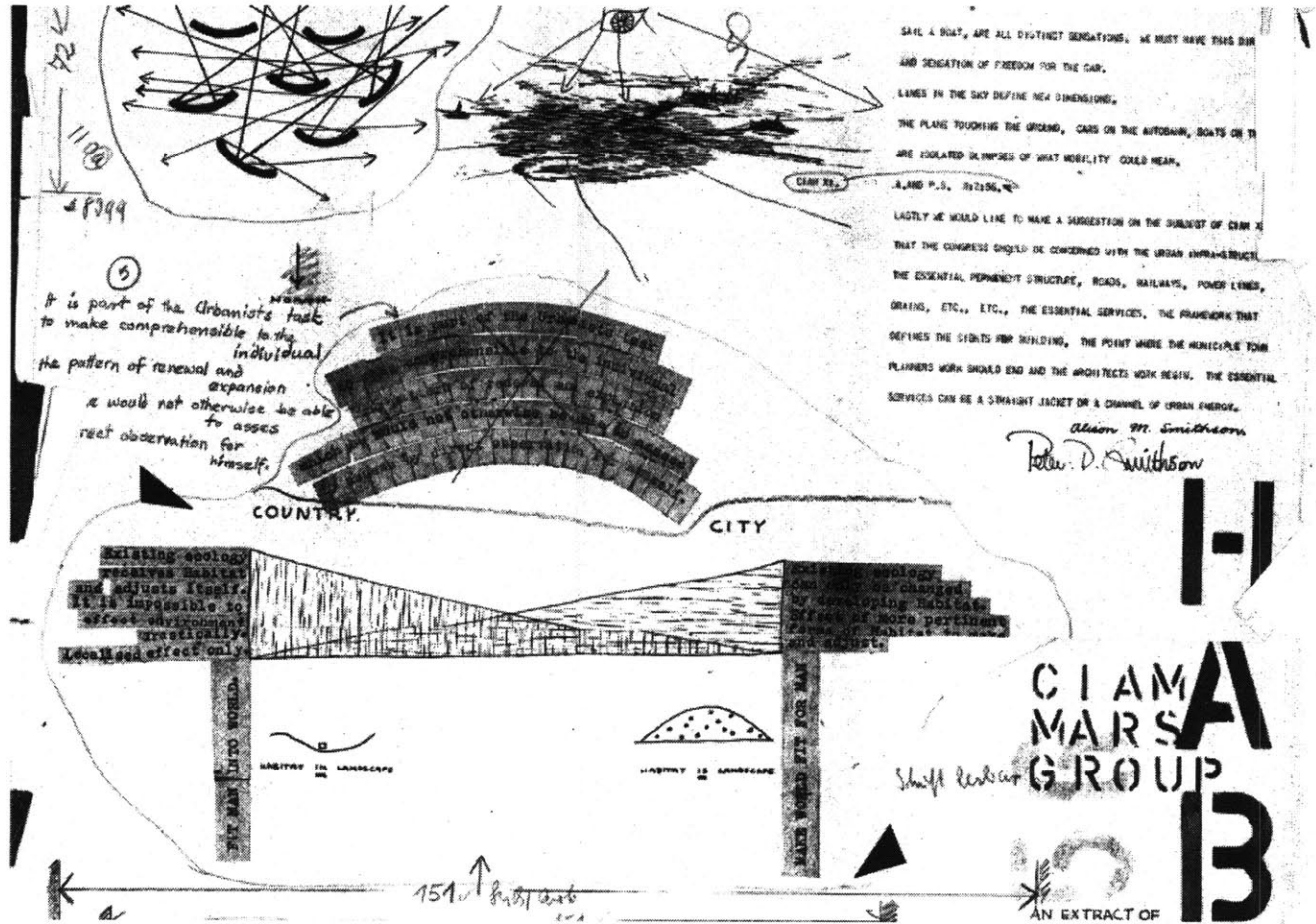


Fig. 21d

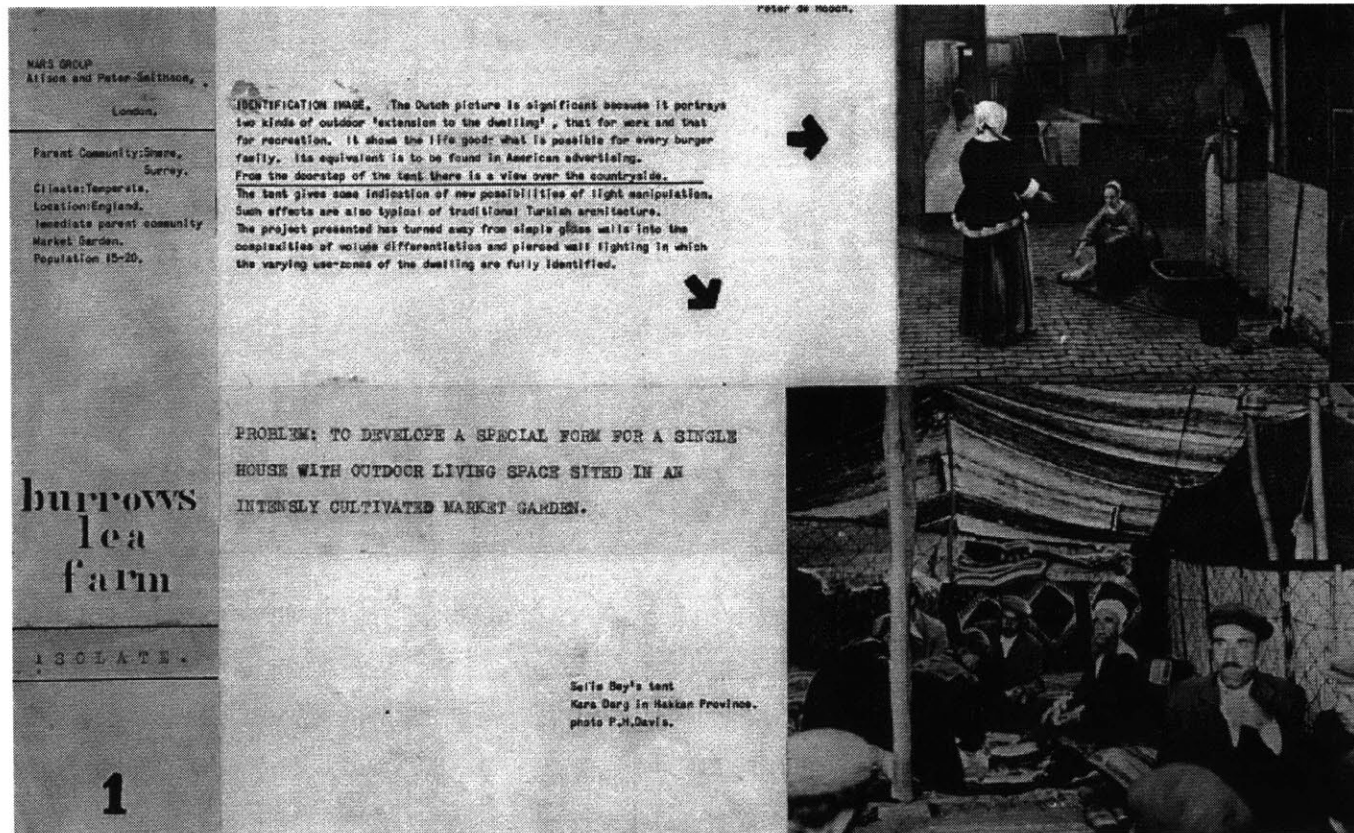


Fig. 21e



Figs. 22-26

Alison and Peter Smithson (MARS Group), four panels for each settlement type -- isolate, small village, large village, town and city. CIAM 10, Dubrovnik, 1956. (Source: Alison and Peter Smithson Office, London).



Figs. 22a-d

Alison and Peter Smithson, "Burrows Lea Farm," isolate settlement. CIAM 10, Dubrovnik, 1956.

Fig. 22b

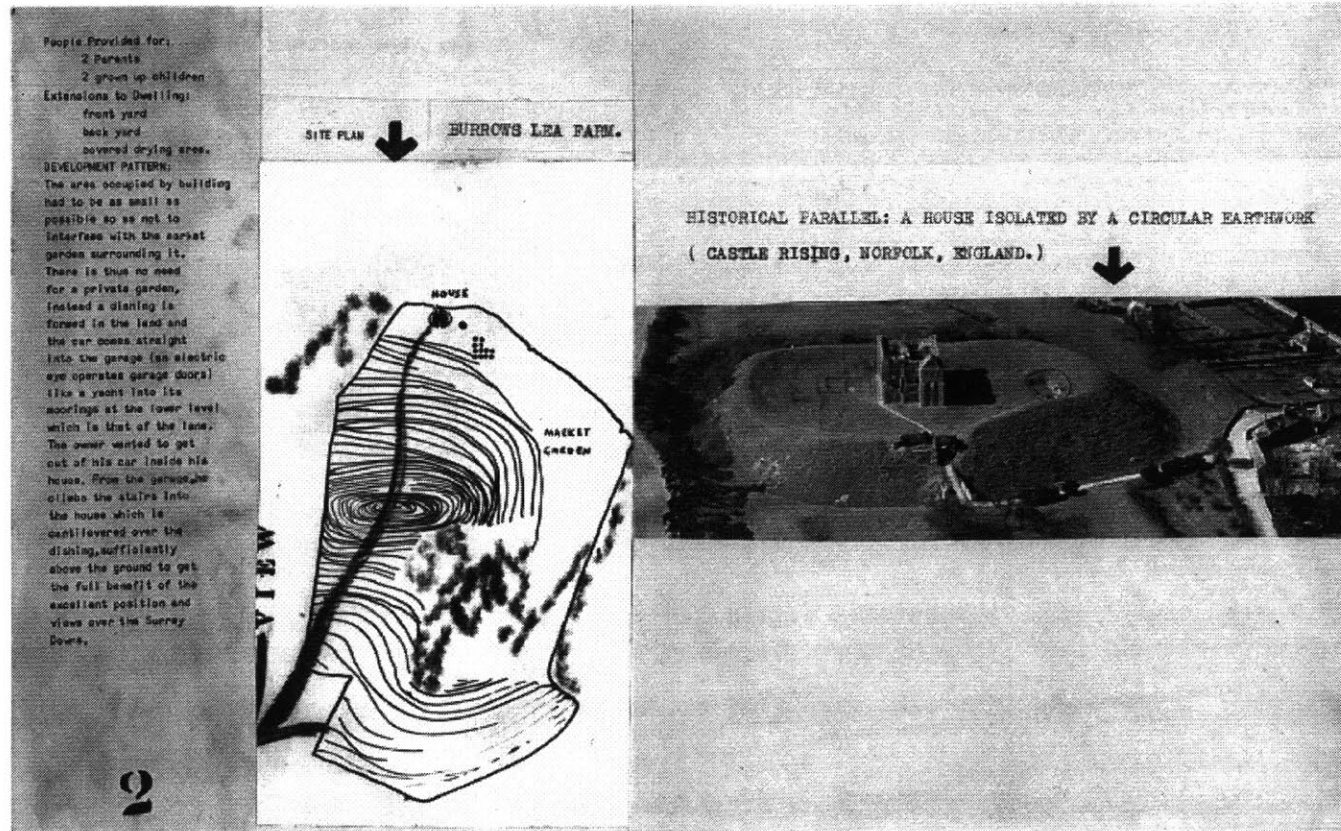


Fig. 22c

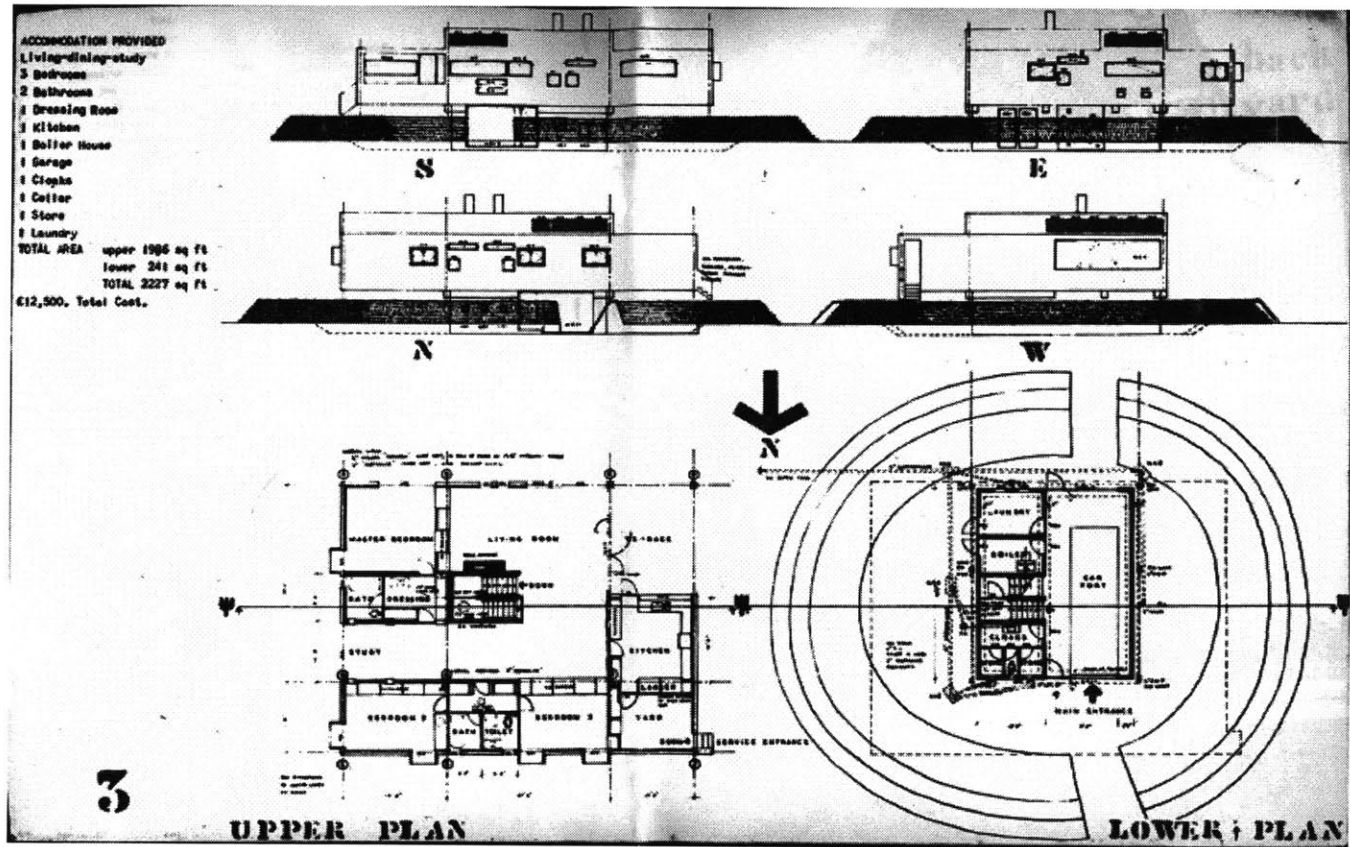


Fig. 22d

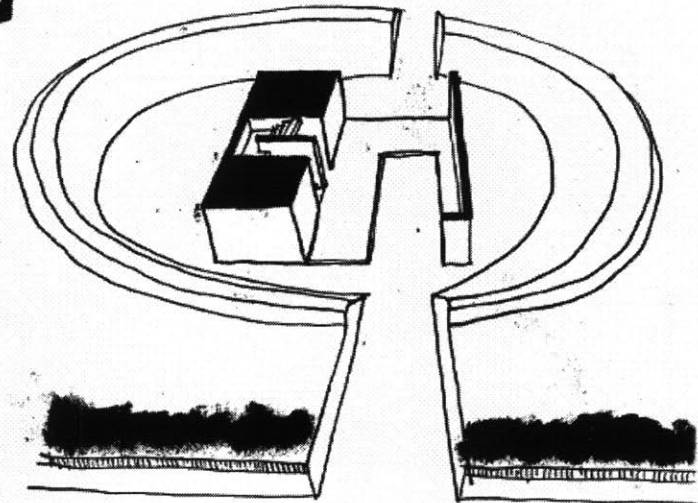
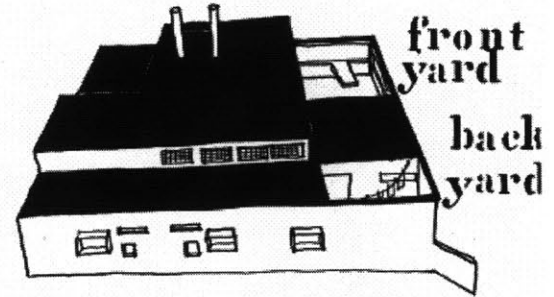
CONTRIBUTION TO AIM OF
CONGRESS,
Pattern of Development for
situation where surrounding
intensive cultivation does away
with the need for a 'garden',
immediate outdoor extensions
to living space provided as
part of house at upper level
and beneath it.

SIGNIFICANT IMAGE:
Earth moving is one of the most
effective ways of moulding the
land to make the immediate
environment suite the human
habitat. Its use provides a point
of contact with pre-history.

top

'out-port' in the dining in the
land. Occupant climbs up stairs
into home above.

bottom



Figs. 23a-d

Alison and Peter Smithson,
"Galleon Cottages," small
village. CIAM 10, Dubrovnik,
1956.



Fig. 23b

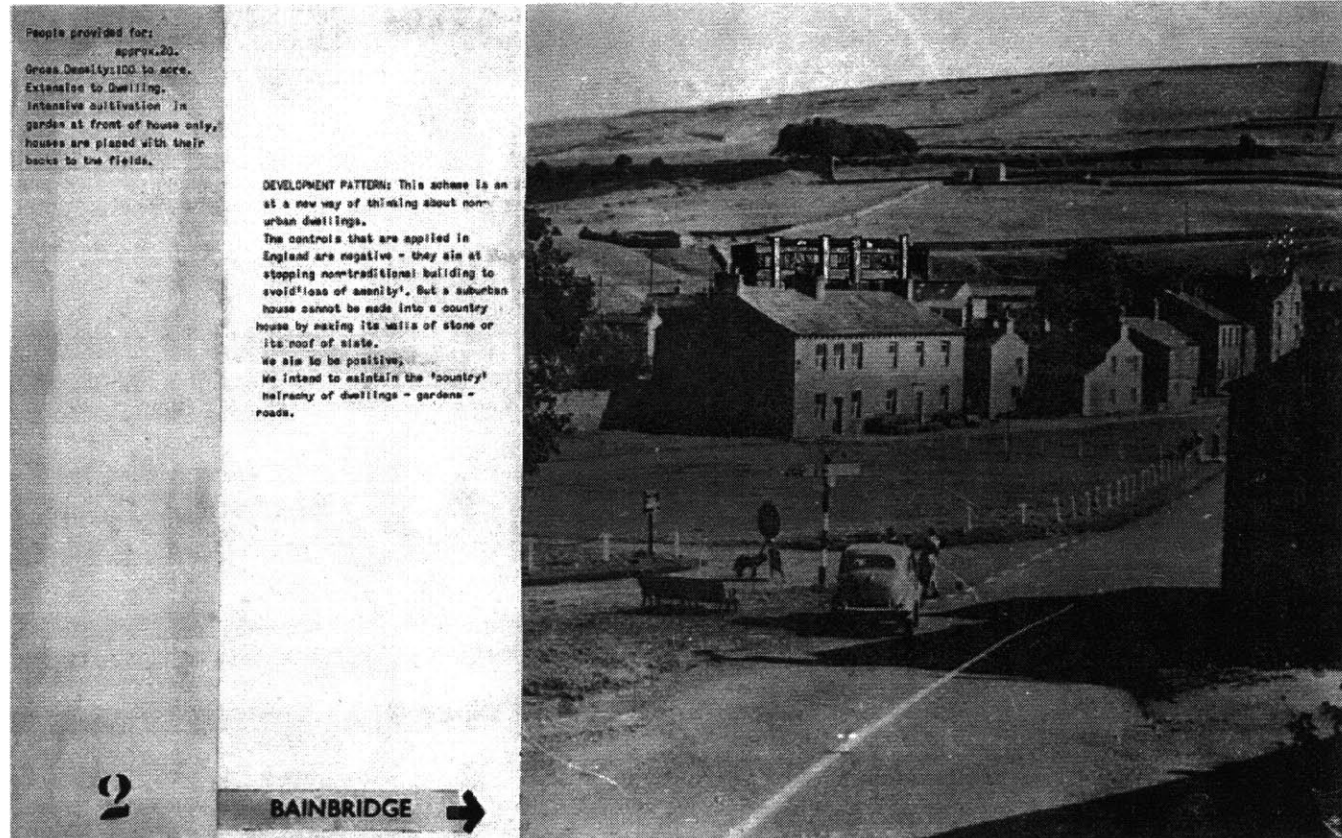


Fig. 23c

ACCOMMODATION PROVIDED:
This is a village unit.
The accommodation required in
a small village or hamlet
can be easily assessed,
in this case:-
2/4 Bedroom Houses
1/3 Bedroom House
1/2 Bedroom House (the
basic unit)
1 Single Old Persons House.

Cost: £ 1:10:0 per sq ft.

No additional roads or
drains should be necessary.

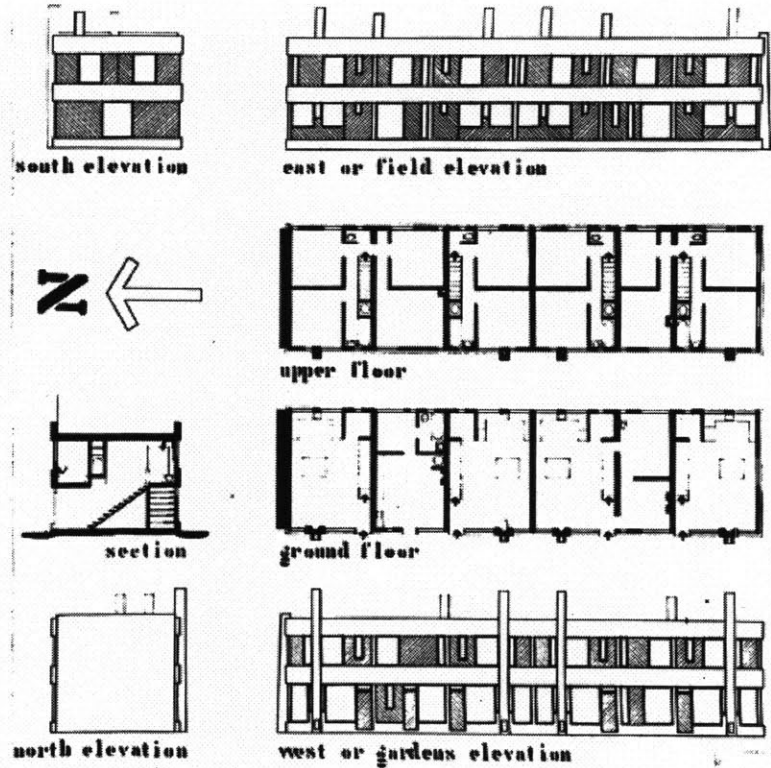
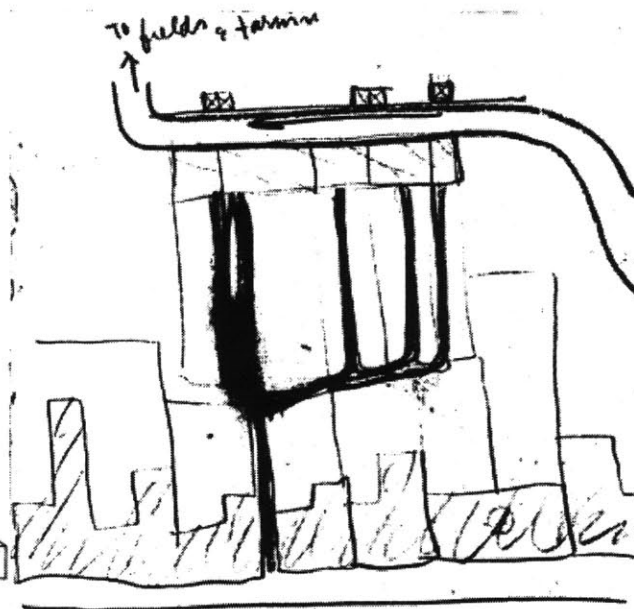
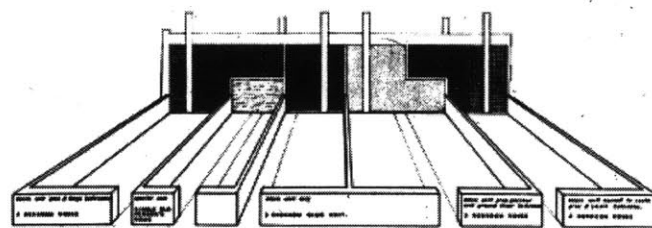


Fig. 23d

CONTRIBUTION TO A SHIP OF
CONGRESS.
The idea is to put the houses
together so that they form an
architectural unit which can be
set against the existing
organization of the village.
This has an historical
precedence in the Alas Houses.

THE VILLAGE UNIT IDEA.

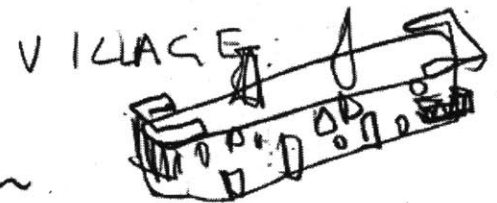
A possible built form.



The first sketch.



Galleon




Figs. 24a-d

Alison and Peter Smithson,
"Fold Houses," large village.
CIAM 10, Dubrovnik, 1956.

MARS GROUP
Alison and Peter Smithson.
London.


Parent Communitys
West Burton,
North Riding,
Yorkshire.
Location: England
Climate: temperate upland.
Population: 350.



fold houses

VILLAGE

1



↑ THREE: craft community. 1/Preservation of the terrain and heritage. 2/a family of dwellings.

PROBLEM: TO INVENT A "TYPE HOUSE" FOR USE IN INFIL DEVELOPMENT IN A VILLAGE.


← FORM: identical unit  used throughout (other island villages have their own unit) give an identity of coherence - like red apples on a tree.

Fig. 24b

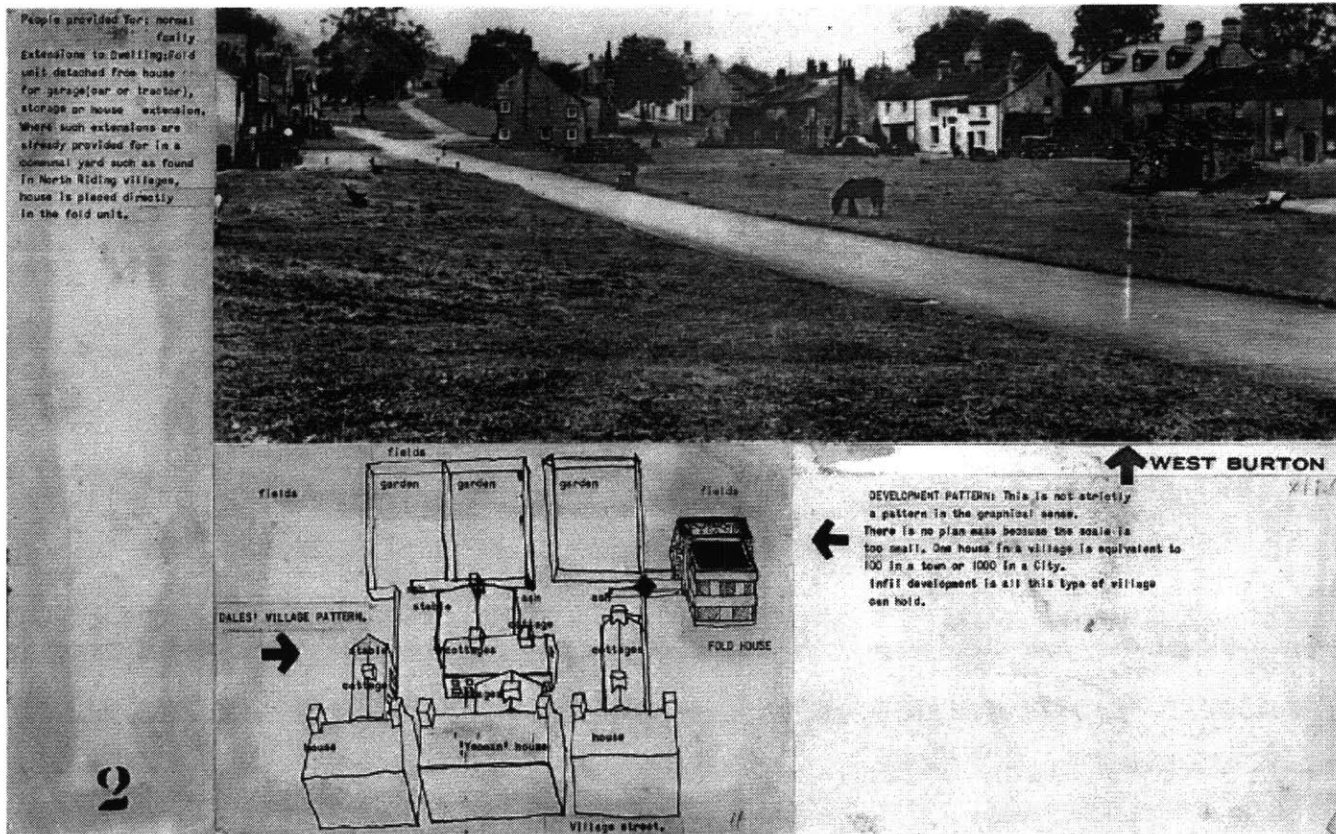


Fig. 24c

ACCOMMODATION PROVIDED: The houses cover a range of accommodation, from equivalent to Housing Manual standards. Cost: £2 per sq ft.

No additional roads or drains should be necessary.

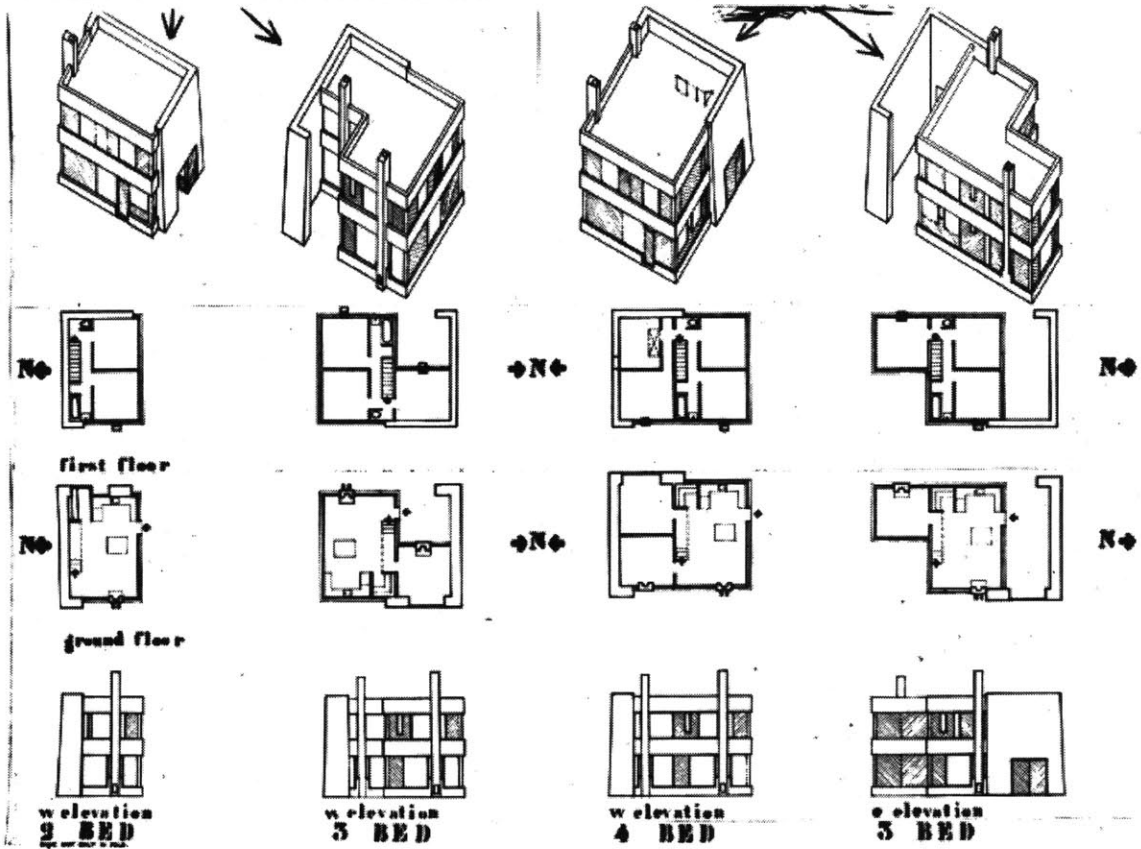


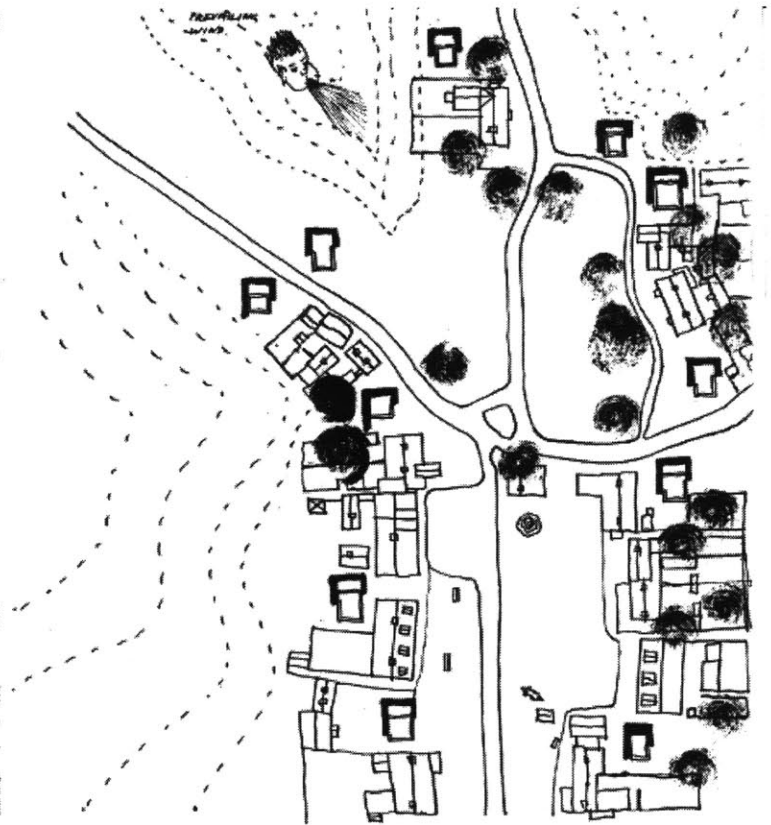
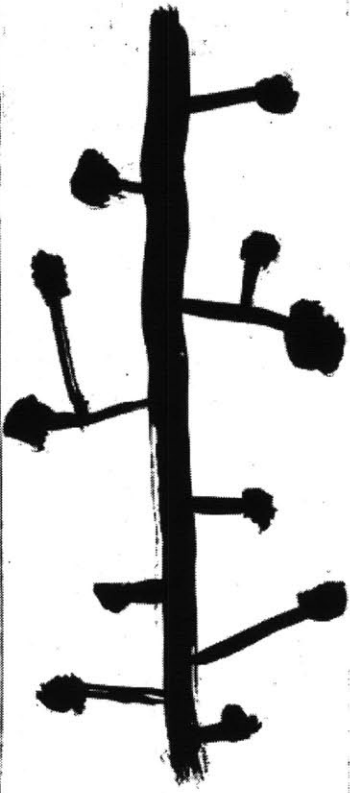
Fig. 24d

CONTRIBUTION TO AIM OF CONGRESS.
Village infilling all round the fringes, at the ends of the secondary access system. The new is placed over the whole of the old like a new plant growing through old branches - or new fruit on old twigs.

The Fold is a wind break. Each house has its back to the prevailing wind. This will particularise its location so that each Dalee Village will accept these houses as its own.

The 'Housing Manual' Council House, sent down from the suburbs to add to Hamlet or Village has the appearance of a city sinner - a borrow boy on the Falls.

4



Figs. 25a-d

Alison and Peter Smithson,
"Close Houses," town. CIAM
10, Dubrovnik, 1956.

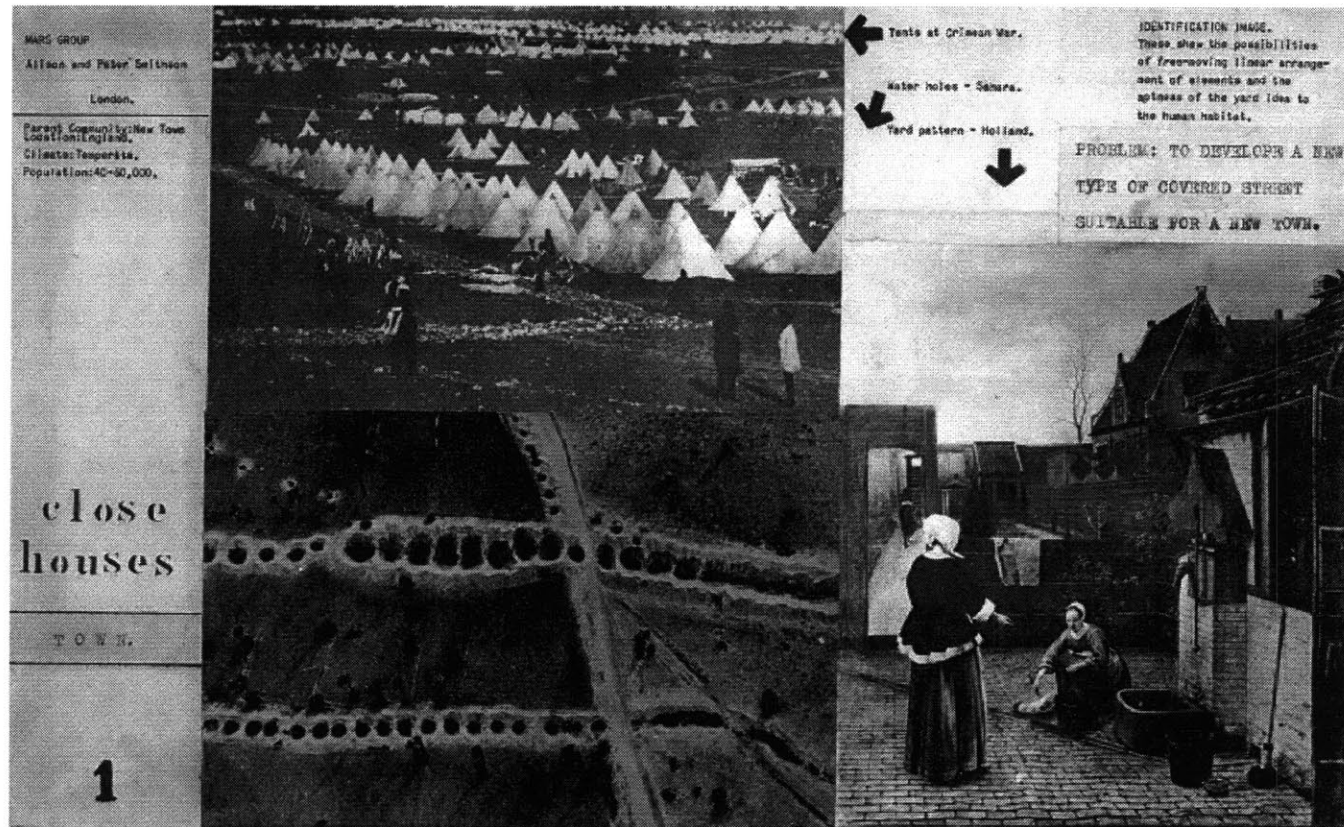


Fig. 25b

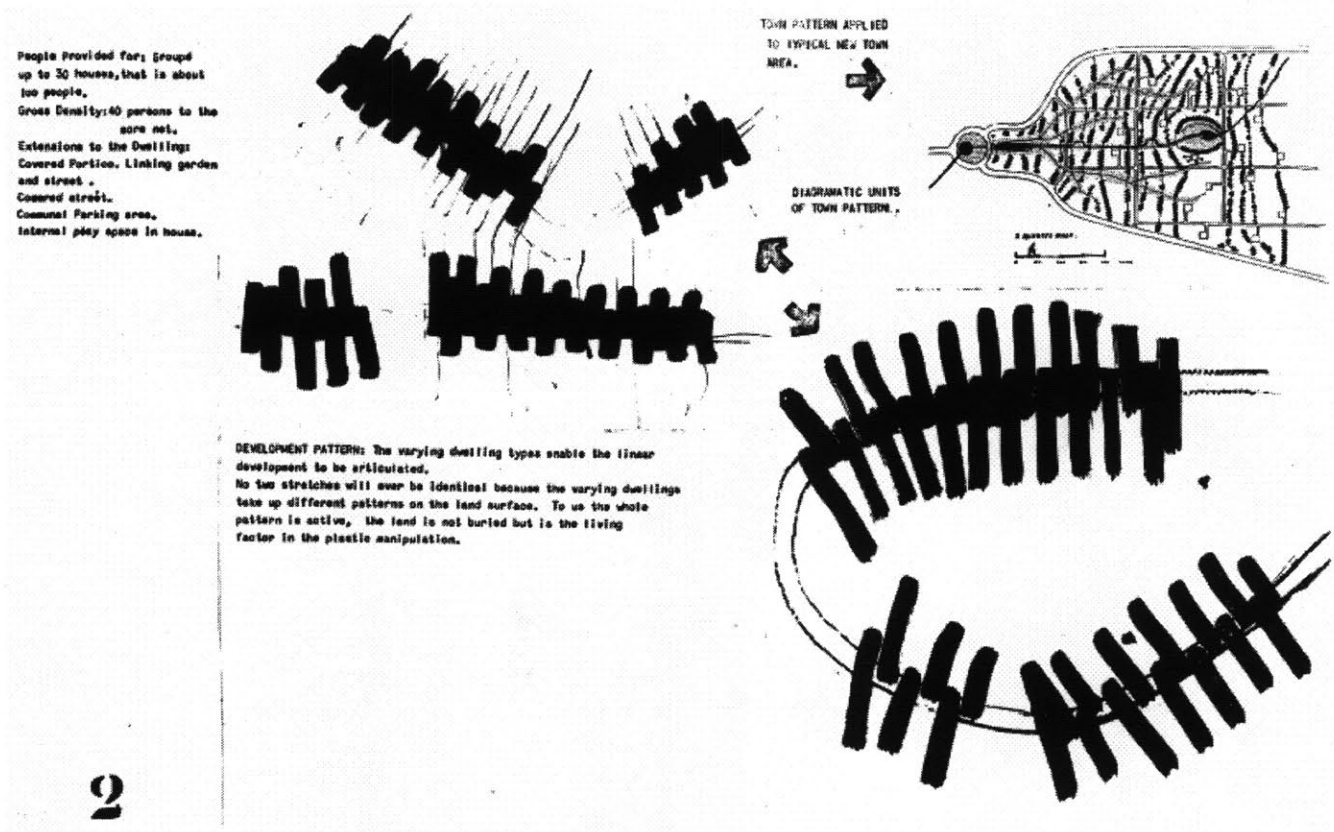
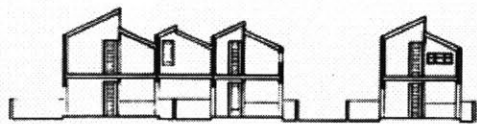
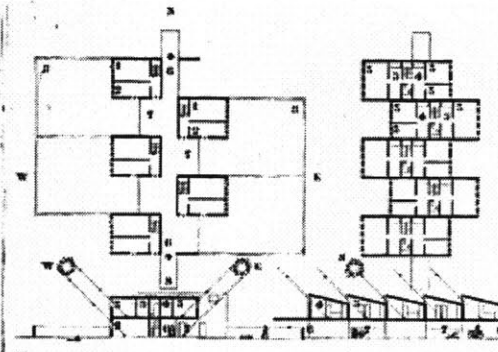
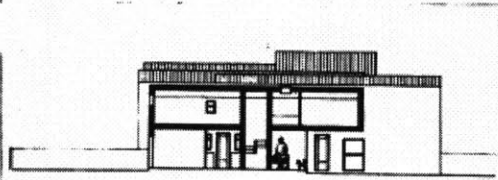


Fig. 25c

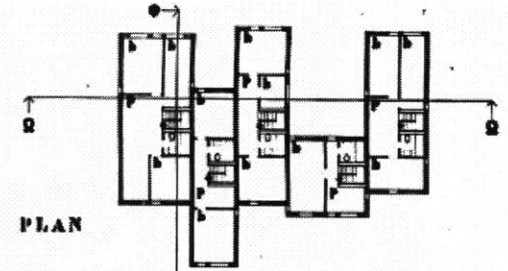
ACCOMMODATION PROVIDES:
The houses cover a range
of accommodation. Areas
equivalent to 'Housing Manual'
standards.
Cost: 41 shillings per sq ft.



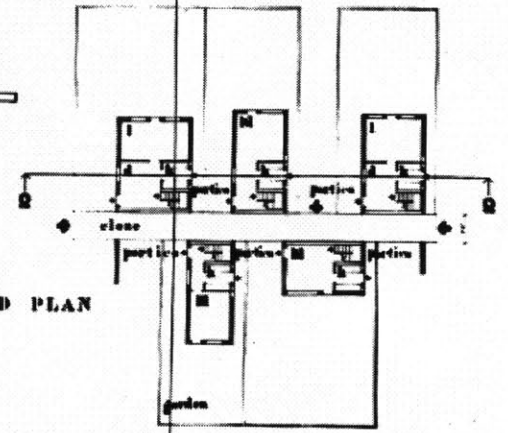
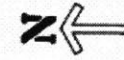
SECTION Q-Q



SECTION 3-3



UPPER PLAN



GROUND PLAN



Fig. 25d

CONTRIBUTION TO A BE OF
CONGRESS.

Covered Close with access to
houses through Porchies off
it responds to new ways of
living.

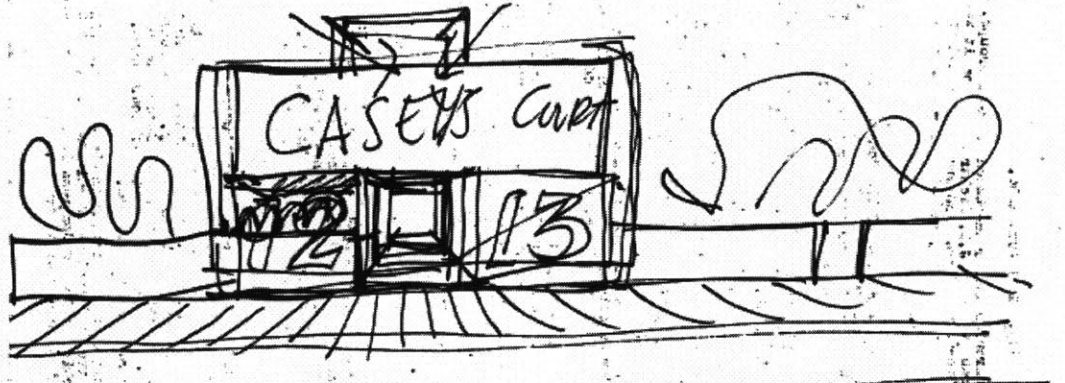
Every house different to suit
individual requirements, yet
derived from same organisational
principle and from standard
element.

Split section lighting permits
new forms of internal planning
and new sorts of spaces.

Grouping of houses can take many
forms to suit location and densities.
Houses ride the landscape.

They open out to allow pieces of
usable country - in contrast to
the waste open space of the New
Town.

Commercial buildings are in the main
Cove, the parking lot is the
only place of Local assembly.

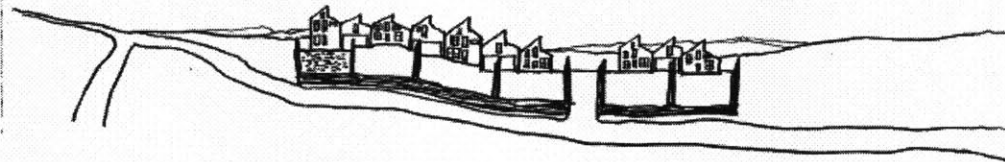


FIRST DRAWING OF IDEA - JULY '54

ENTRY TO CLOSE.



CLOSE DEVELOPMENT ON OPEN LANDSCAPE.



Figs. 26a-d

Alison and Peter Smithson,
"Terrace Houses," city. CIAM
10, Dubrovnik, 1956.



WARR GROUP
Alison and Peter Smithson
London.

Parent Community: London.
Location: England.
Climate: Temperate.
Population: 8 million.

south facing terraced houses

CITY

1



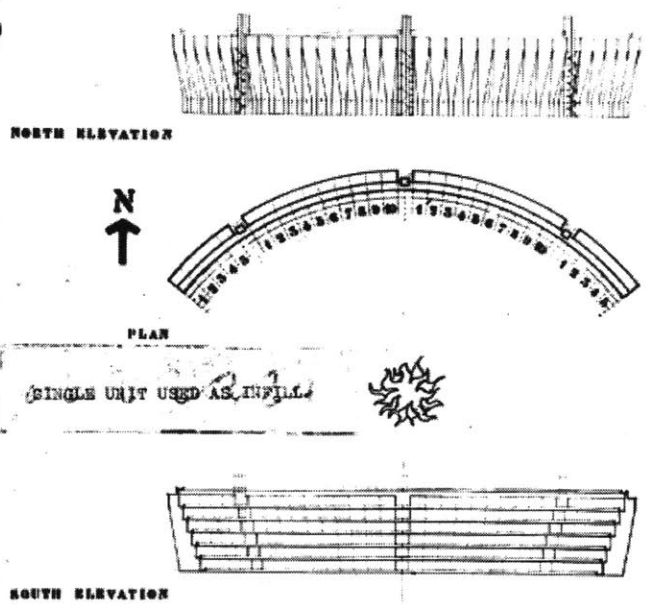
The two servicing vehicles are symbolic of the traditional "street" way of living in a city. Our problem is to make a new system of "streets" to the standards of our new means of transport.

↑ Servicing London Streets. (Bethnal Green 1952) ↑

THE PROBLEM: TO CREATE A TYPE OF COMMUNITY SUB-DIVISION SUITABLE FOR INRILL DEVELOPMENT IN A LARGE CITY. A TYPE WHICH CAN BE PUT INTO AN EXISTING RECTANGULAR TOWN PATTERN WITHOUT EITHER LOSING.

Fig. 26b

People provided for: 900 per unit.
 Gross Density: 75 to acre.
 Extension to Dwellings:
 1/ South facing porch (yard or garden). An extension to living area and connection to:-
 2/ Wide terrace at slightly lower level than dwelling.
 3/ Laundries, etc., at stair heads.
 4/ Parking, shopping, markets, play areas, on ground.
 (all essentially horizontal activities).



2

EXAMPLE OF GROUPED UNITS SHOWING
 NON-ENCLOSED SPACE FLOWING THROUGH
 DEVELOPMENT.

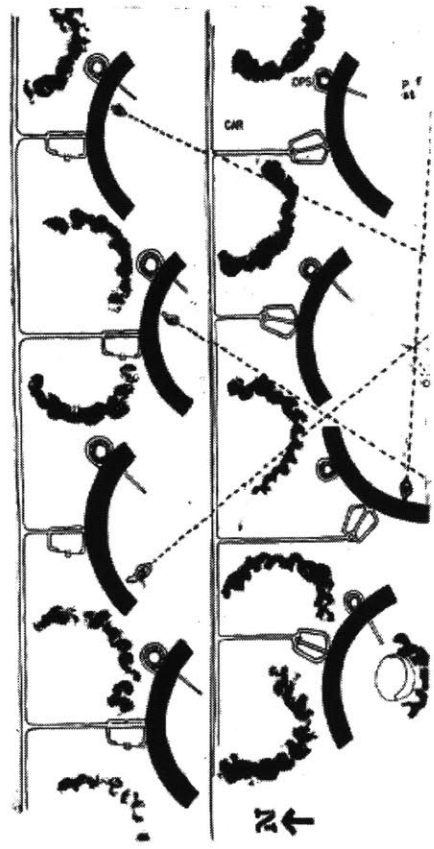


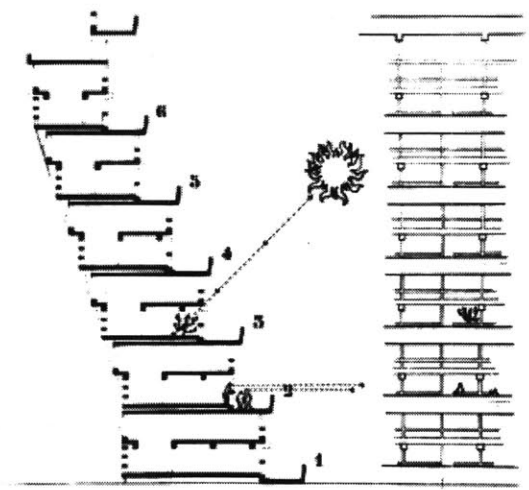
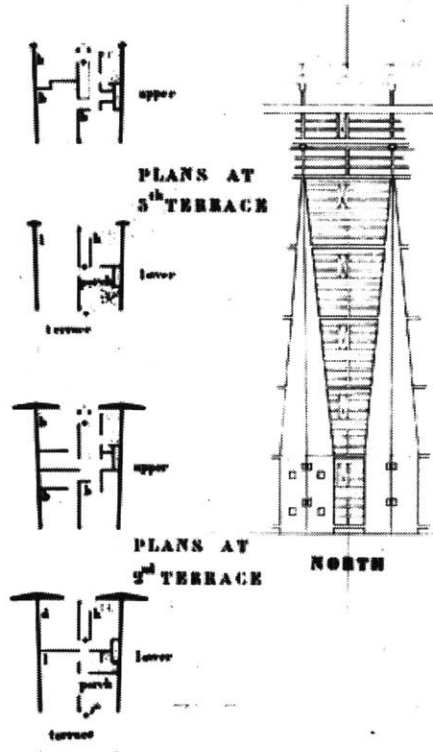
Fig. 26c

ACCOMMODATION PROVIDED: Middle
Class Housing,
Various accommodation.

Cost per dwelling £32:6 per sq ft,
or 7 shillings a cube ft gross.

Comparative cost: Our CIAM 3 Grille
'Golden Lane' could have built for
4/5 per cube ft. gross.

A slipper ashose type building costs
6 shillings per cube ft.



TYPICAL BANK OF HOUSES

Fig. 26d

CONTRIBUTION TO AIN OF
CONGRESS.

1/Plan Mass
isolated curved block
allows space to flow freely
through the system and reduces
the shadowed area.

2/Orientation.
All living accommodation faces
the sun.

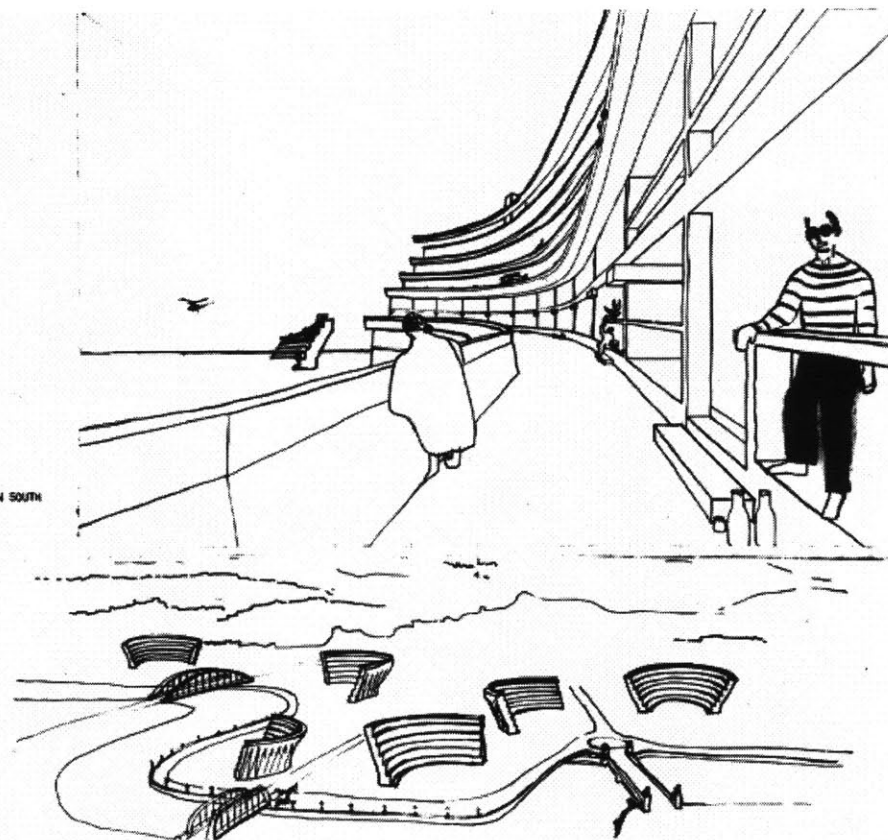
3/Immediate Extensions.
Living areas open on to porch
and doorstep to terrace.
Approximately 30 families to
each terrace.

4/Identity.
Every house its own terrace.
(no going down to a house)
Height of block within vision
range of ground.
Aesthetics of structure
identifies every house.

5/Variations.
House accommodation is in
proportion to size of house.
That is we do not merely add
bedrooms to standard elements
which confuses identity and
is only geometrically convenient.

VIEW OF TERRACES →

←
AERIAL VIEW OF BASIC UNITS ON SOUTH
BANK OF THAMES.



4

Figs. 27a-d

John Voelcker (MARS Group),
"Village Extension project."
CIAM 10, Dubrovnik, 1956.
(Source: Nederlands
ArchitectuurInstituut,
Rotterdam, BAK a12).

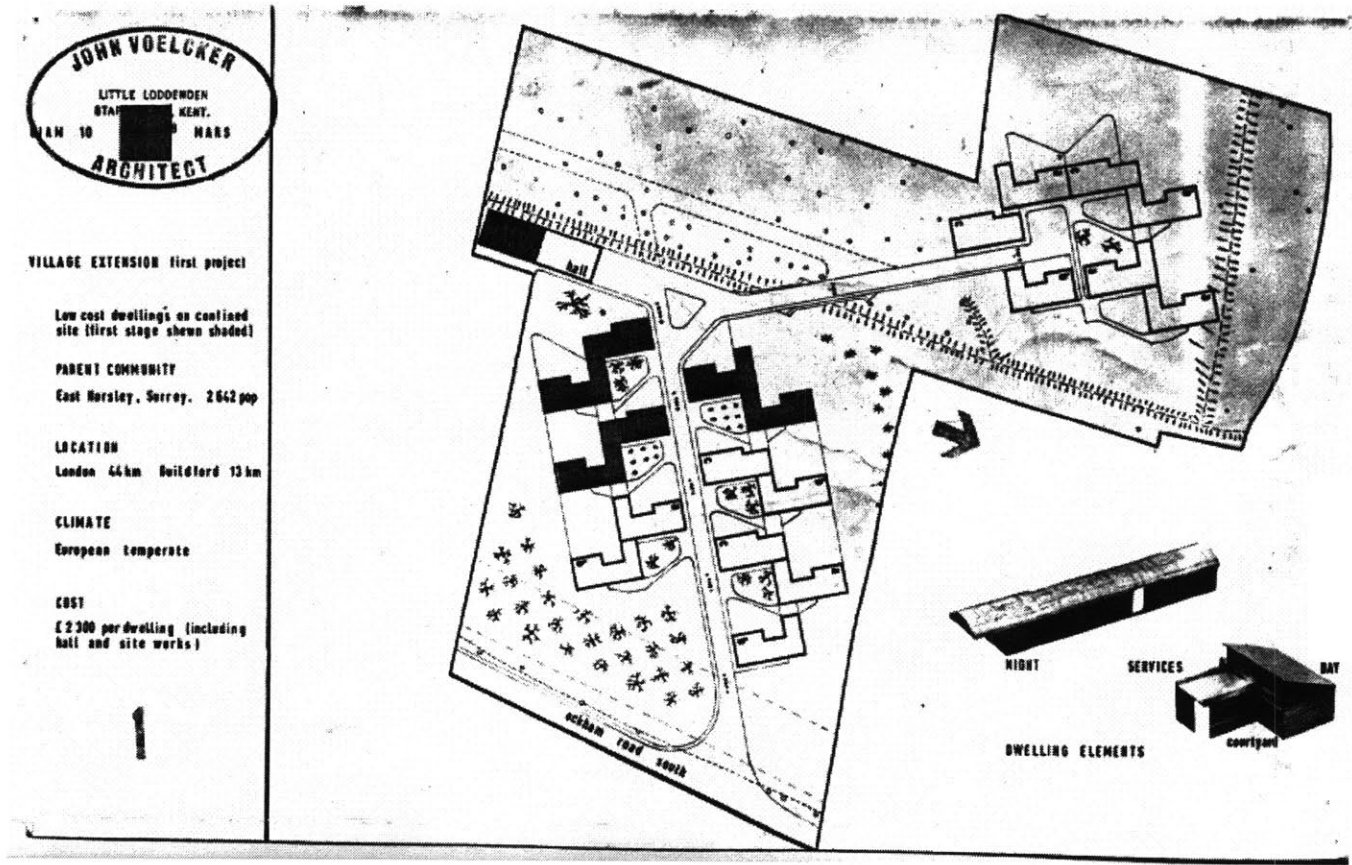


Fig. 27b

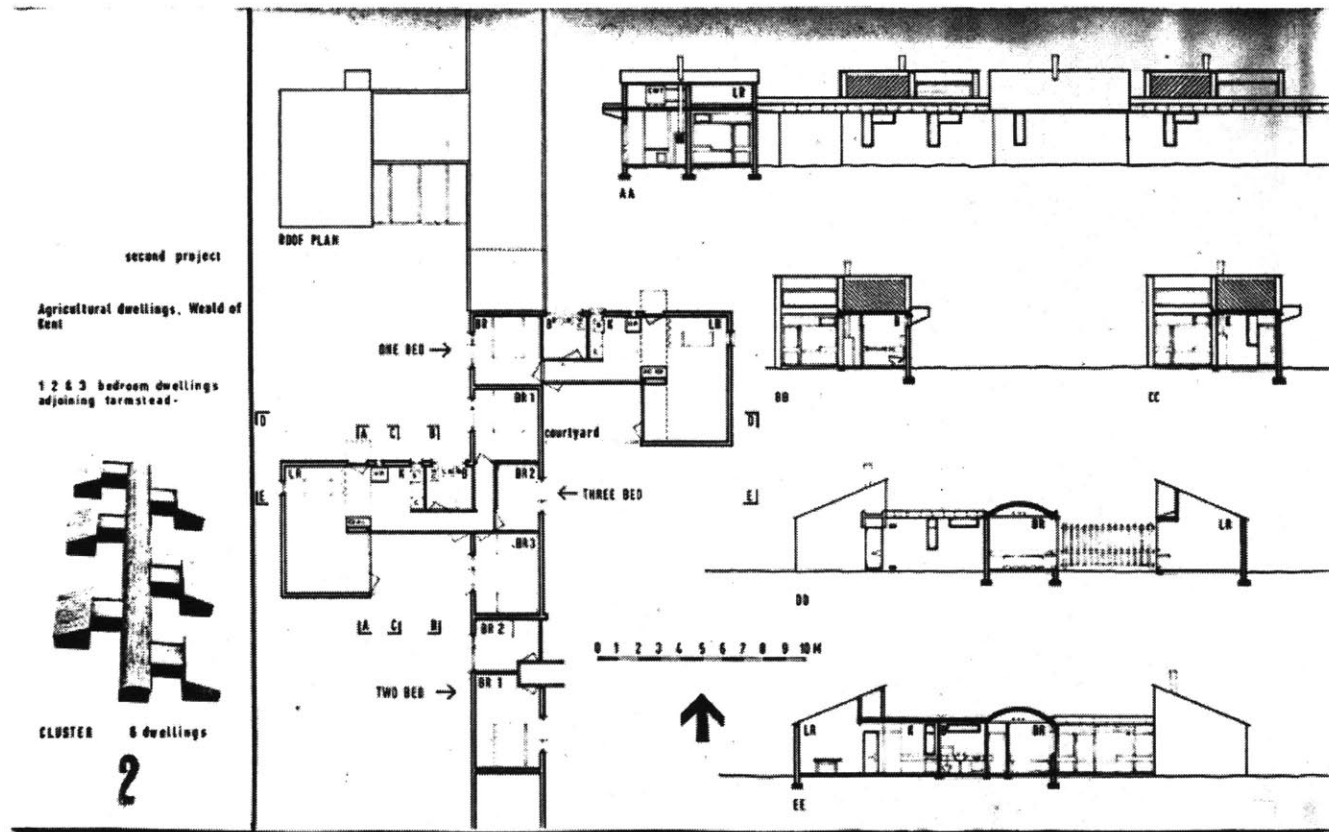


Fig. 27c

CLUSTER PATTERNS

1 Linear

2 Interlock

3 Echelon

3

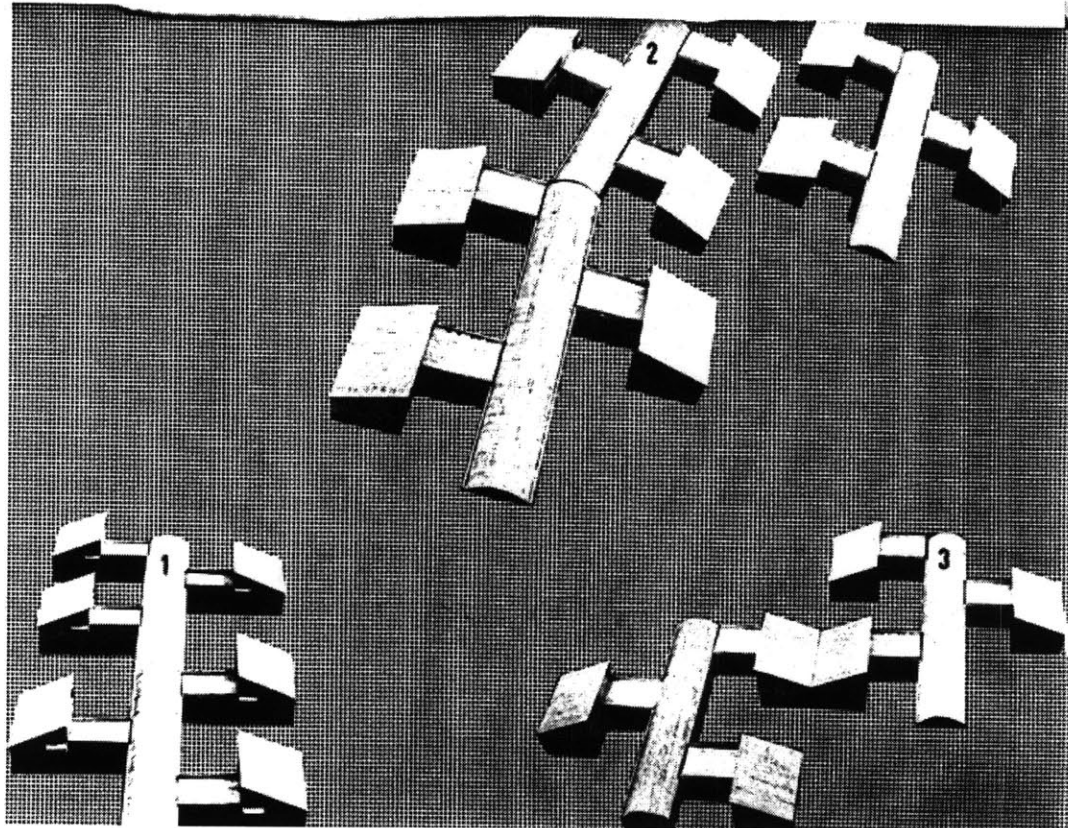


Fig. 27d

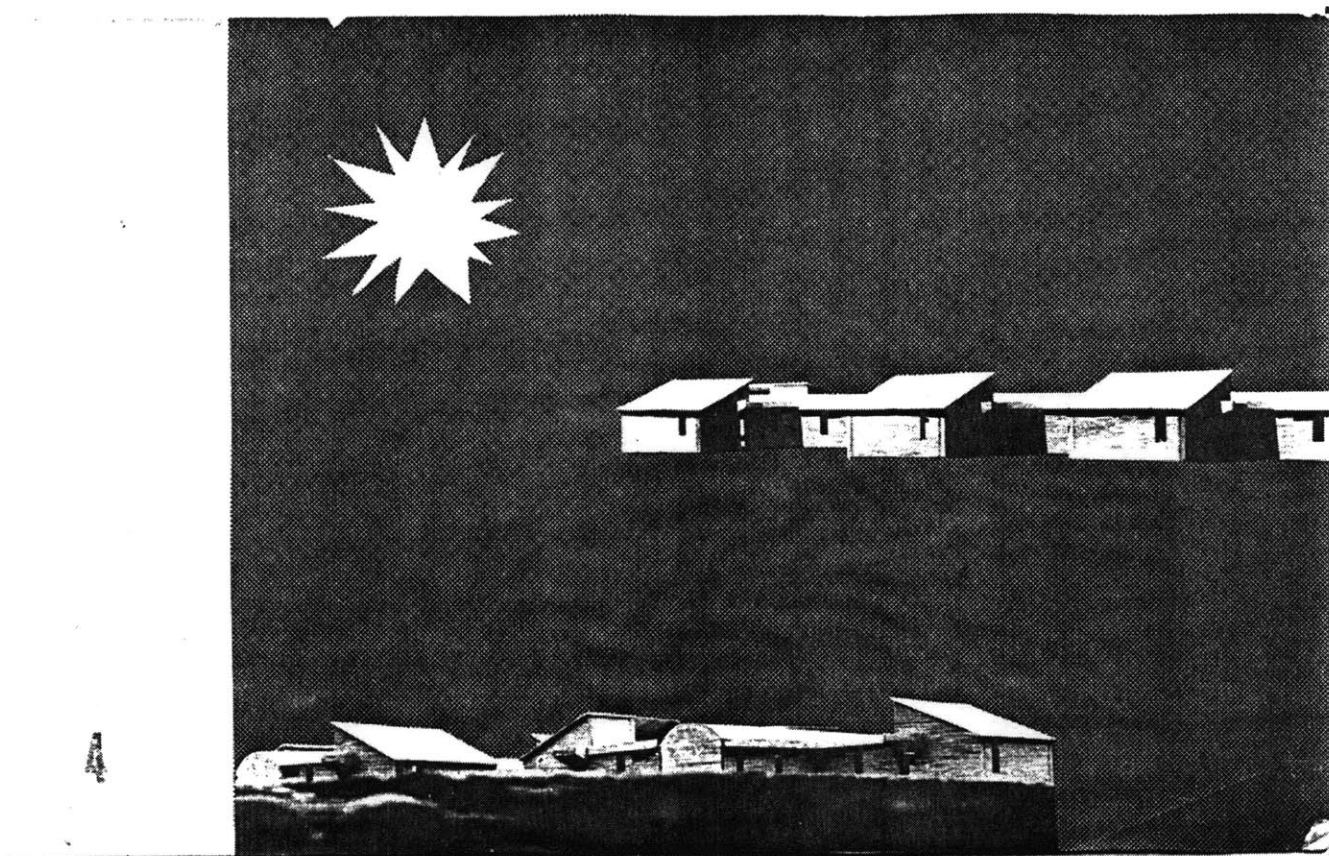
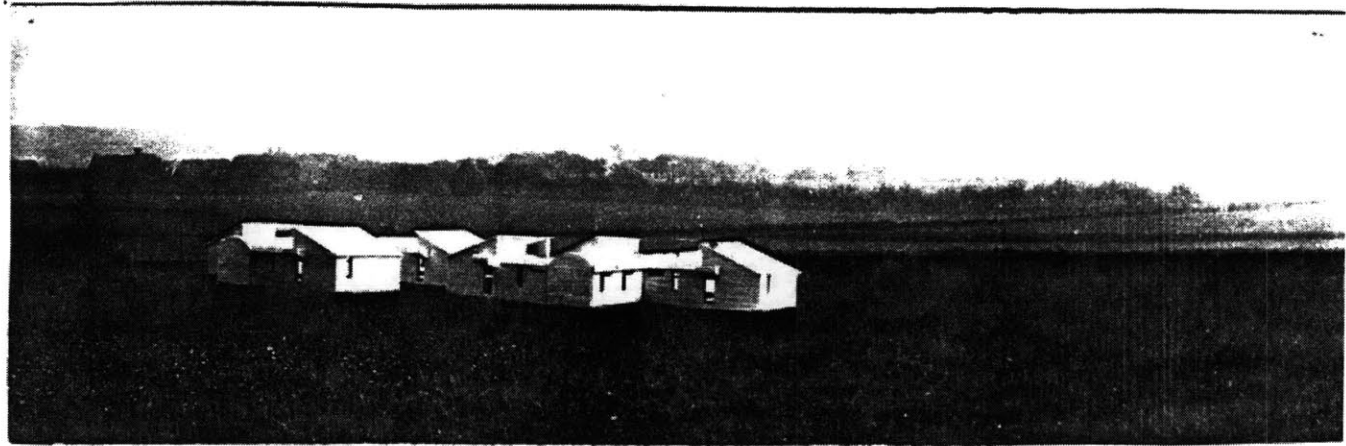


Fig. 28

John Voelcker (MARS Group),
photomontage of "Village
Extension project." CIAM 10,
Dubrovnik, 1956. (Source:
Nederlands
ArchitectuurInstituut,
Rotterdam, BAK a12).



Figs. 29a-d

William and Gillian Howell,
John Killick and John
Partridge (MARS Group),
"Town House project." CIAM
10, Dubrovnik, 1956. (Source:
CIAM Archive, Zurich, 42-X-
11).

MARS GROUP

CIAM ARCHITECTS
CIAM ARCHITECTS
CIAM ARCHITECTS

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE
POPULATION
CITY

1

TOWN HOUSES

PROBLEM
The problem is to provide a fully self-contained housing unit for a family of four, with a view of the sea, a garden, and a parking space. The houses are to be built on a plot of land which is 100 feet wide and 150 feet deep. The houses are to be built on a plot of land which is 100 feet wide and 150 feet deep. The houses are to be built on a plot of land which is 100 feet wide and 150 feet deep.

CONCEPT
The houses are to be built on a plot of land which is 100 feet wide and 150 feet deep. The houses are to be built on a plot of land which is 100 feet wide and 150 feet deep. The houses are to be built on a plot of land which is 100 feet wide and 150 feet deep.

DESIGN
The houses are to be built on a plot of land which is 100 feet wide and 150 feet deep. The houses are to be built on a plot of land which is 100 feet wide and 150 feet deep. The houses are to be built on a plot of land which is 100 feet wide and 150 feet deep.

CONSTRUCTION
The houses are to be built on a plot of land which is 100 feet wide and 150 feet deep. The houses are to be built on a plot of land which is 100 feet wide and 150 feet deep. The houses are to be built on a plot of land which is 100 feet wide and 150 feet deep.

Fig. 29b

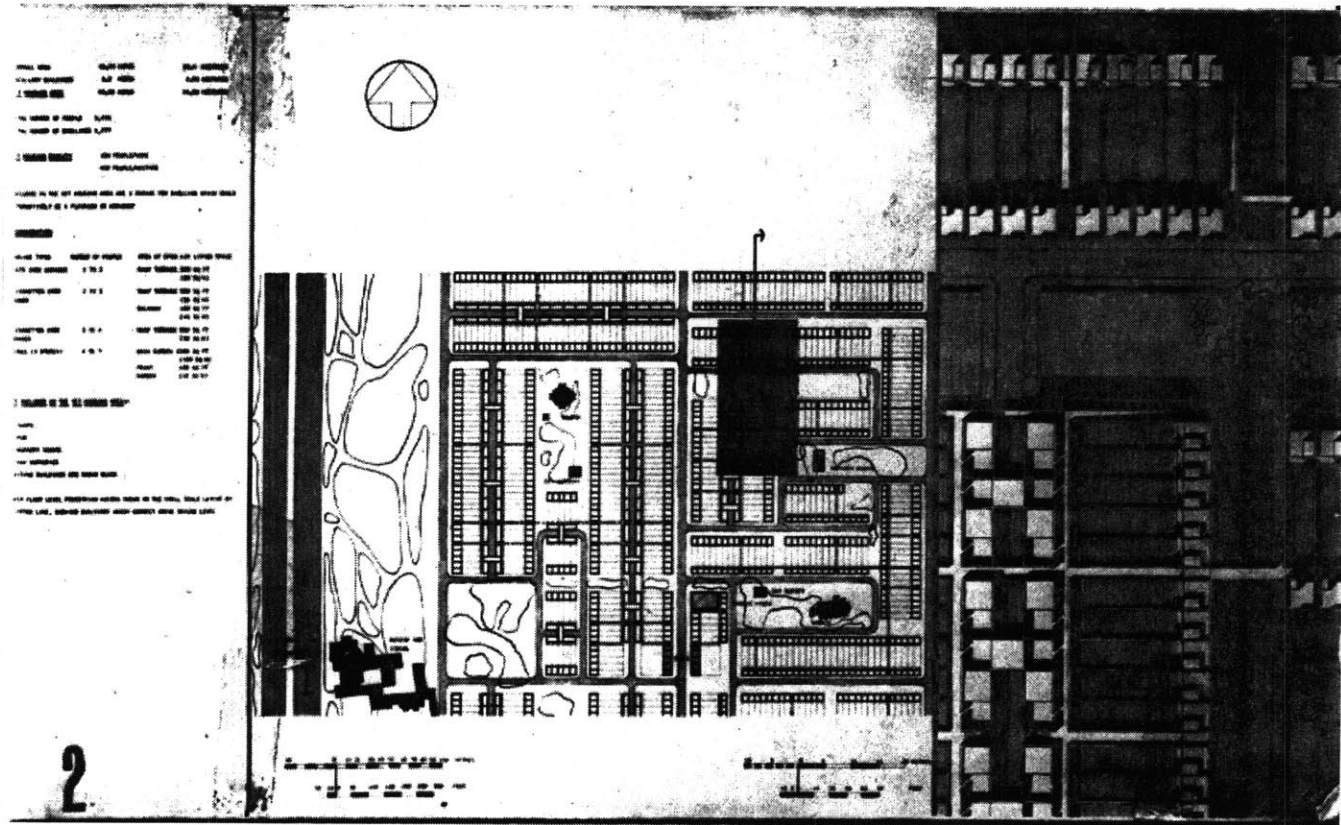


Fig. 29c

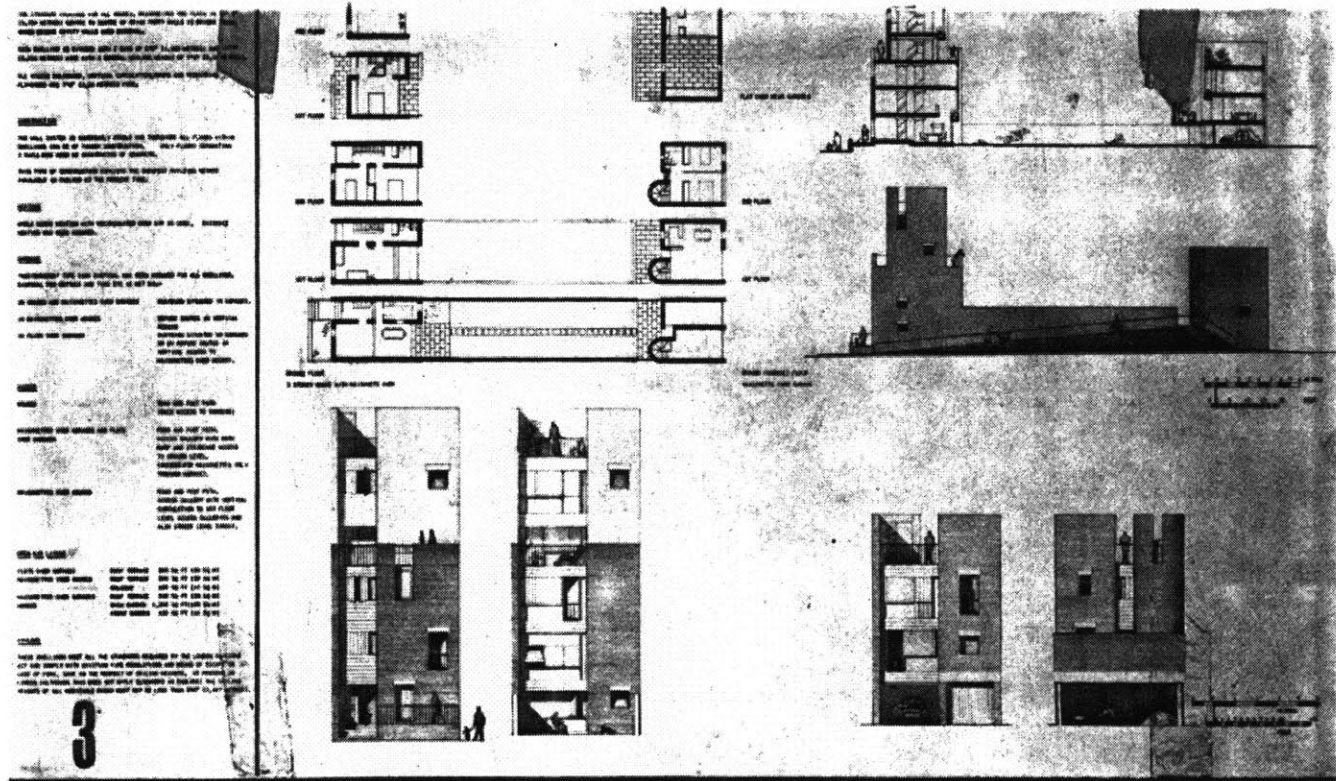


Fig. 29d

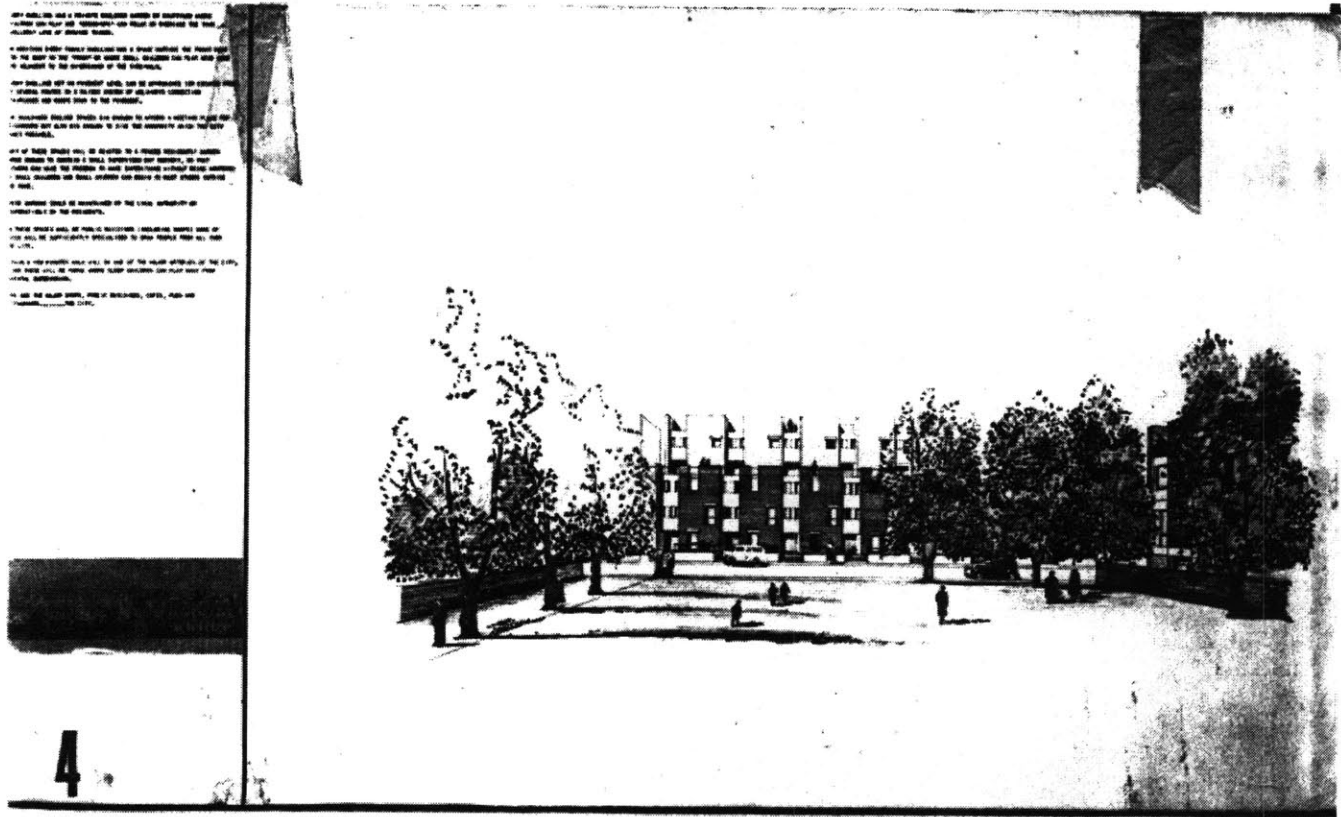


Fig. 29e

Transcription of text from panels of the "Town House project."

1.

Environment

This schedule is an attempt to produce a fully satisfying environment at the maximum normal density permissible in London: 136 people per acre: 400 people per hectare, giving every unit a private garden, courtyard or roof terrace.

All units, not directly accessible from ground level, have walk-up access by two flights of stairs in the case of maisonettes over houses or by ramps and stairs and access ways at first floor level (giving perambular access for all family units).

This kind of development is envisaged as 'in-fill' between major roads running in strips of parking or between high blocks containing flats, offices, shops and public buildings etc....

House Types

The units shown cover the full range with an accent on family dwellings of various sizes, assuming that most of the smallest units would be in the high blocks. They also cater for varying orientation and for stepping down hills.

Each unit is given its own identity by means of a solid brick tower.

Each area (of which this scheme is a small part of one) due to its special functions and genius look would achieve its own physical and social atmosphere and character.

Scale

We feel that 3 storeys is the maximum height for one unit, but as this is unlikely to proceed an adequate urban scale we have super-imposed small maisonettes on top of the houses.

The layout enables the growth of big trees in public open spaces.

There are no grass verges or small patches of planting with attendant high up-keep

Vehicles

It is essential that there should be at least one garage per dwelling, without the access to them and the front doors of houses dominating the ground. For this reason garages were not put on the approach side of houses, but off mews or access lanes screened from the public open space by high walls.

There are no cul-de-sacs as these are frustrating to motorists and usually dead anyway, but the roads are fairly narrow and have frequent right angle turns to discourage through traffic within the residential area. Nevertheless we thought it unfatigatory to banish the car from the urban scene.

2.

Overall Area
45.45 acres
18.4 hectares
Ancillary Buildings
5.2 acres
2.05 hectares

NAGELE

village in the NE polder -de 8 -
holland

1.
physical and plastic content

a large territory claimed from the sea; man made - geometric - visually unlimited - window apt, a territory adjusted to the changing need of agricultural production

Problem:
a space for approx 2500 people to live in; visually limited - plastically defined-protective.

SOCIAL CONTENT

Old land: local farmhand, has his dwelling not in the village but on the farm. He is tied to the farmer and depends on an uncertain and scanty livelihood upon hand and horse. small space time enterprise to make ends meet socially he is of course hardly integrated.

New land field labourer selected from all over the country. Has his dwelling in the village. he is no longer tied to the farmer and depends for a regular livelihood upon the machine and science. He adapts himself to the new scale of life but retains his former religious faith. socially is already well integrated.

Problem:
New village: primarily a home for field labourers. core and housing can develop simultaneously, in contrast to prevailing village forms there need therefore be no schism between the core and the surrounding housing zone. the entire village should be the expression of unity.

Net Housing Area
40.25
16.35 hectares
Total Number of People
5,475
Total Number of Dwellings
1,277

Net Housing Density
136 People/acre
400 People/Hectare

Include in the net housing area are 1 garage per dwelling which could alternatively be a playroom or workshop

Accommodation

Housing types
Number of People
Area of open air living space
Flats over garages
1 to 2
Roof terrace 300 sq ft (30 sq m)
Maisonettes over Houses
2 to 3
Roof terrace 300 sq ft (30 sq m)
Balcony 100 sq ft (10 sq m)
Maisonettes over Garages
3 to 4
Roof terrace 300 sq ft (30 sq m)
Houses (3 Storey)

4 to 5
Back Garden 1200 sq ft (120 sq m)
Front Garden 120 sq ft (12 sq m)

Not included in the net housing area:

10 Shops
1 Pub
1 Nursery School
2 Day Nurseries
Existing buildings are shown Blacked

First floor level pedestrian access shown on the small scale layout by a dotted line, showing buildings which connect above ground level

3.

Dimensions of Dwellings

The standard frontage for all houses, maisonettes and flats is 18'9" (5.734 metres) centre to centre of brick party walls 1 1/2 brick thick, which become cavity walls when external.

Each dwelling is divided into 2 bays of 6'0" (1.829 metres) and 10'7" (3.226 metres) wide with a general ceiling height of 7'6" (2.26 metres).

all access balconies, vertical circulation ramps and pedestrian fly-overs are 7'6" (2.26 metres) wide.

Construction

The wall system is inherently stable and therefore all floors within dwellings can be of timber construction. Only floors separating 2 dwellings need be constructed of concrete.

This type of construction exploits the cheapest building method available in England at the present time.

Heating

Whole house heating with recirculated warm air is used. District heating has been assumed.

Garbage

'wastemaster' type sink disposal has been assumed for all dwellings. disposal for bottles and tins etc is met by:

In houses and maisonettes over garages
Dustbins situated in garages.

In maisonettes over houses
Refuse chutes in vertical access

In flats over garages
Dustbins situated in garages or by refuse chutes in vertical access to maisonettes over houses.

Access
Houses
Road and foot path
(back access to gardens)

Maisonettes over garages and flats
Over garages
Road and foot path. Access gallery with both ramp and staircase access to ground level. (Access for maisonettes only through garages).

Maisonettes-over Houses
Road and foot path.
access galleries and also street level direct.

Open air living

Flats over garages
Roof Terrace 300 sq ft (30 sq m)

Maisonettes over houses
Roof Terrace 300 sq ft (30 sq m)
Balcony 10sq ft (10 sq m)
Maisonettes over garages Houses
Roof Terrace 300 sq ft(30 sq m)
Back Garden 1,200 sq ft (120 sq m)
Front garden 120 sq ft (12 sq m)

By-Laws

4.

These dwellings meet all the standards required by the London Building Act and comply with existing fire regulations and means of escape in case of fire, save in the respect of ceiling heights. At present in London (although this does not apply elsewhere in England) the ceiling heights of all habitable rooms must not be less than 8'0" (2.447 metres).

Every dwelling has a private enclosed garden or courtyard where children can play and 'grown-ups' can relax or exercise the town dwellers love of growing things.

In addition every family dwelling has a space outside the front door for the baby in the 'pram' or where small children can play near home and adjacent to the diversions of the side-walk.

Every dwelling not on pavement level can be approached (or escaped from) by several routes on a raised system of walk-ways connecting staircases and ramps down to the pavement.

The buildings enclose spaces big enough to afford a meeting place for neighbours but also big enough to give the anonymity which the city makes possible.

Part of these spaces will be devoted to a fenced residents' garden large enough to contain a small supervised day nursery, so that mothers can have the freedom to make expeditions without being hampered by small children and small children can begin to meet others outside the home.

These gardens could be maintained by the local authority or cooperatively by the residents.

In these spaces will be public buildings (including shops) home of which will be sufficiently specialised to draw people from all over the city.

Within a few minutes walk will be one of the major arteries of the city. Along these will be parks where older children can play away from parental supervision.

Here are the major shops, public buildings, cafes, pubs and restaurants.....the city.

Figs. 30a-d

Aldo van Eyck, "Village of Nagele." CIAM 10, Dubrovnik, 1956. (Source: Nederlands ArchitectuurInstituut, Rotterdam, MERK 70).

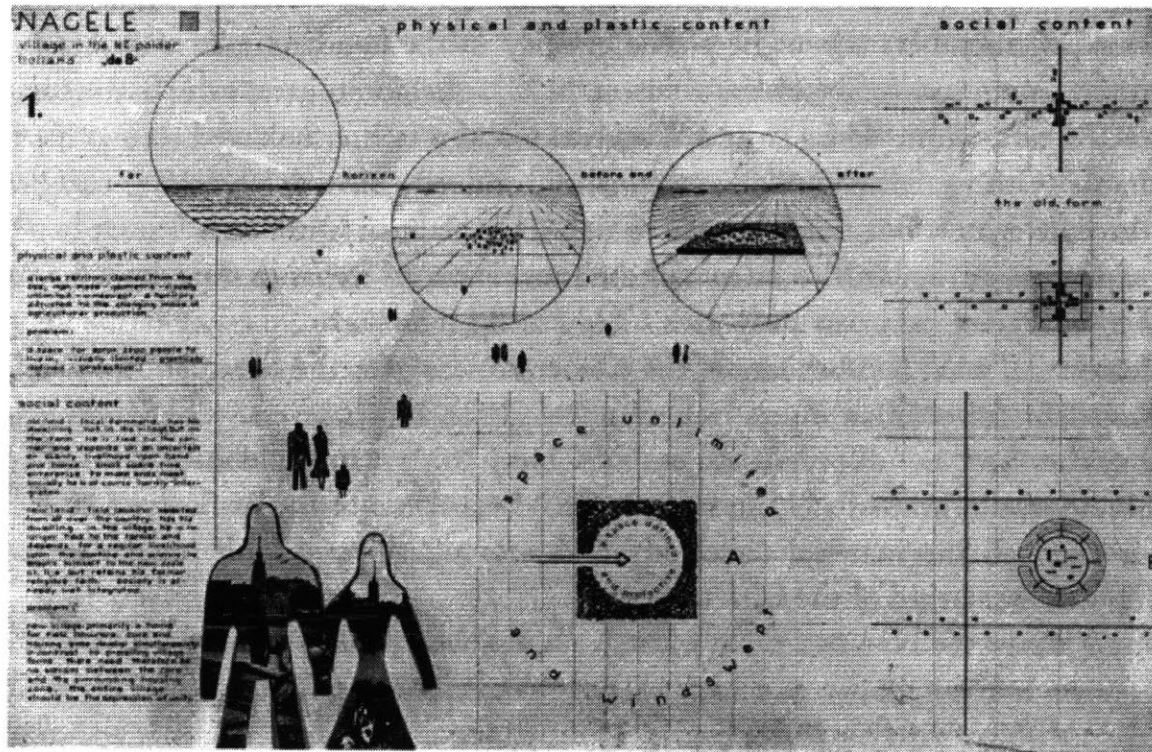


Fig. 30b

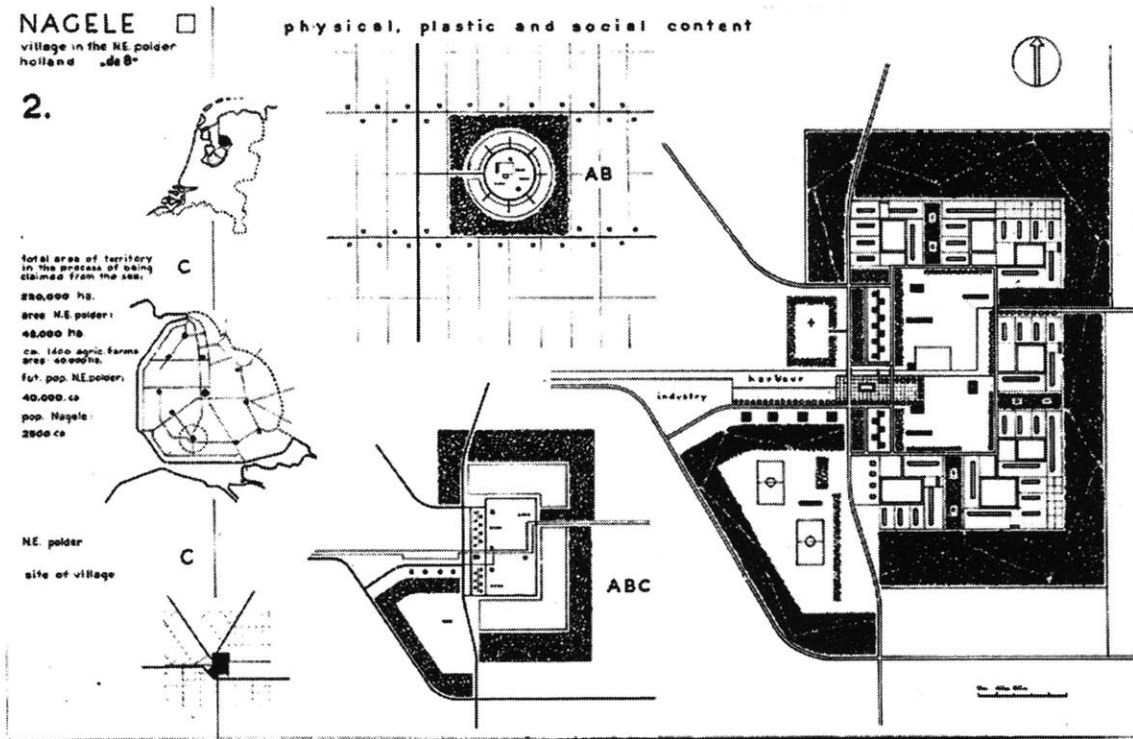


Fig. 30c

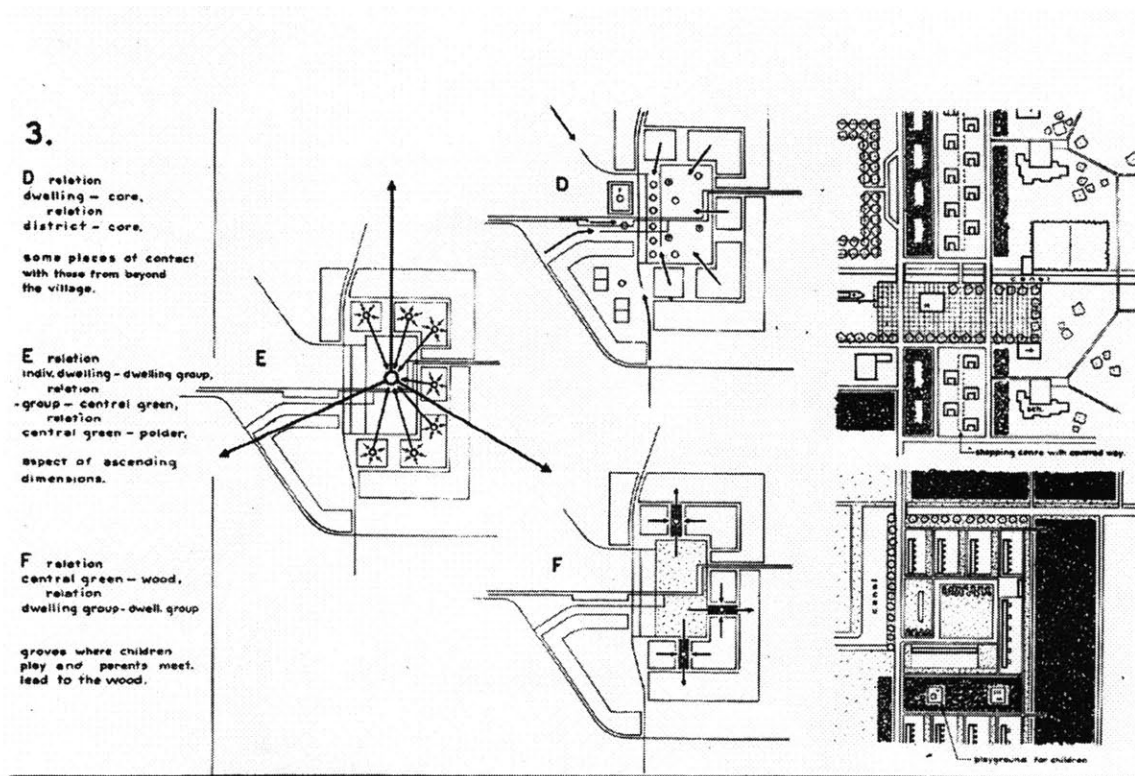


Fig. 30d

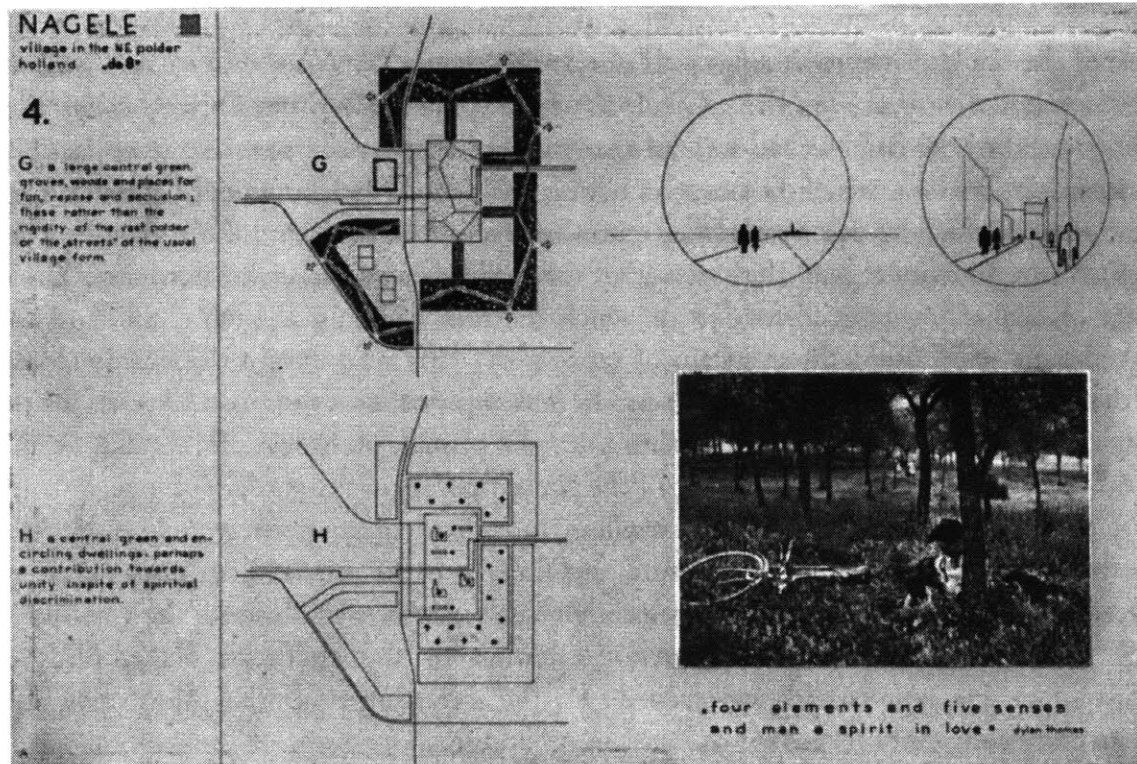


Fig. 30e

Transcription of text from panel 1, "Village of Nagele project."

NAGELE

village in the NE polder
holland -de 8 -
1.

physical and plastic content

a large territory claimed from the sea; man made - geometric -
visually unlimited - window apt, a territory adjusted to the changing
need of agricultural production

Problem:

a spcae for apro'x 2500 people to live in; visually limited - plastically
defined- protective.

SOCIAL CONTENT

Old land: local farmhand, has his dwelling not in the village but on
the farm. He is tied to the farmer and depends on an uncertain and
scanty livelihood upon hand and horse. small space time enterprise to
make ends meet socially he is of course hardly integrated.

New land field labourer selected from all over the country. Has his
dwelling in the village. he is no longer tied to the farmer and depends
for a regular livelihood upon the machine and science. He adapts
himself to the new scale of life but retains his former religious faith.
socially is already well integrated.

Problem:

New village: primarily a home for field labourers. core and housing
can develop simultaneously. in contrast to preveailing village forms
there need therefore be no schism between the core and the
surrounding housing zone. the entire village should be the expression
of unity.

Figs. 31a-d

Aldo van Eyck, "Lost Identity." CIAM 10, Dubrovnik, 1956. (Source: Francis Strauven, *Rassegna* 52, 1992, 55).

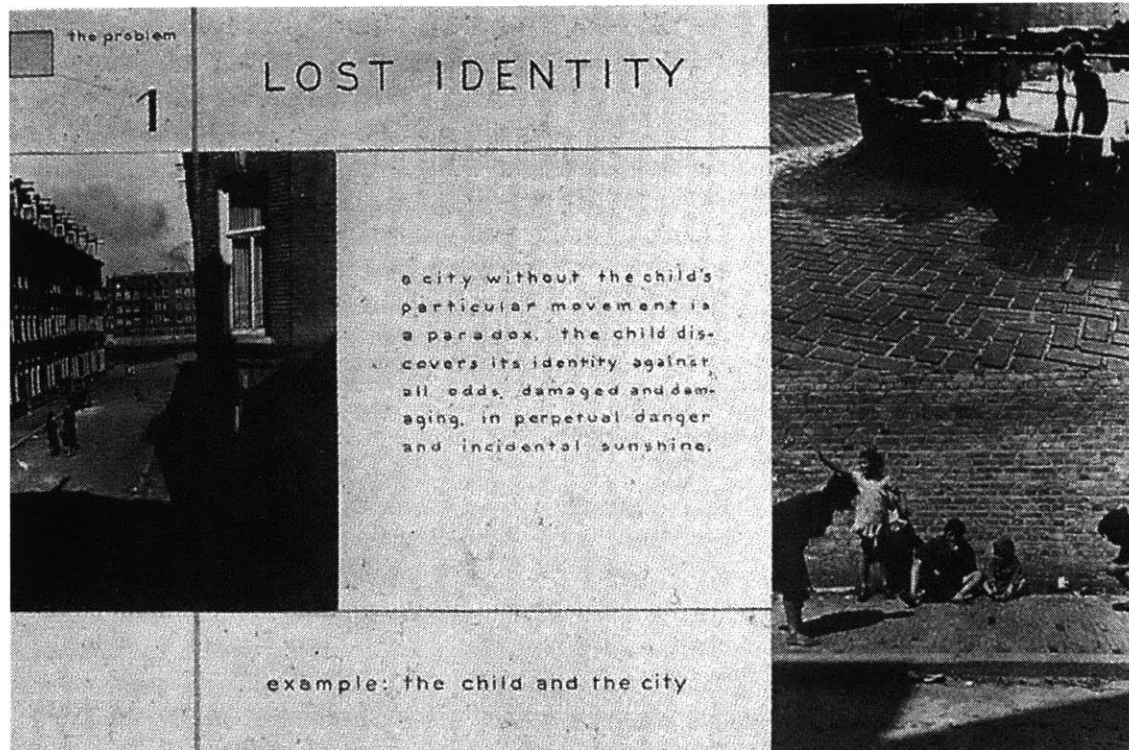


Fig. 31b

□ symbol towards
a partial
solution

2

hand in hand
with whatever
represents
imagination
unhusked
the child
survives
edged towards
the fringes
of our attention,
an emotional
and
"unproductive"
quantum.

snow! the child takes over. yet what it needs is



something far more permanent than snow.

Fig. 31c

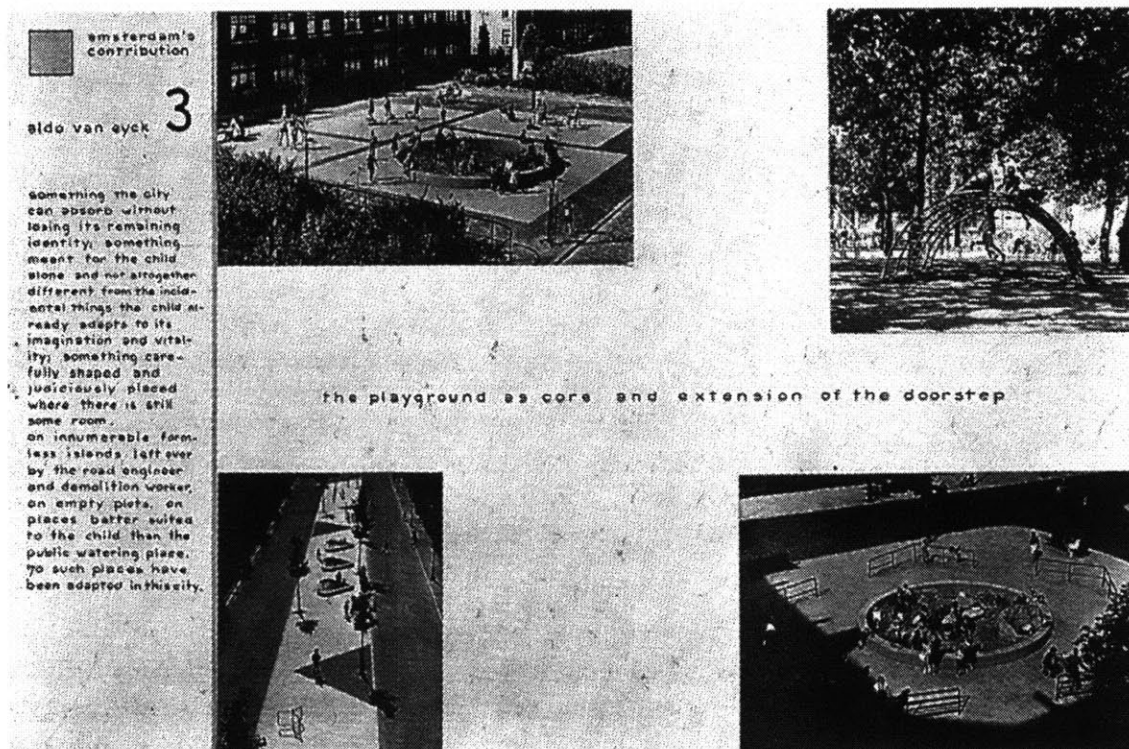
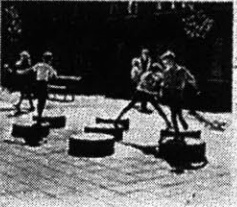
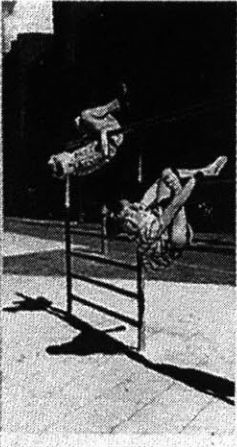


Fig. 31d

an appeal to authorities

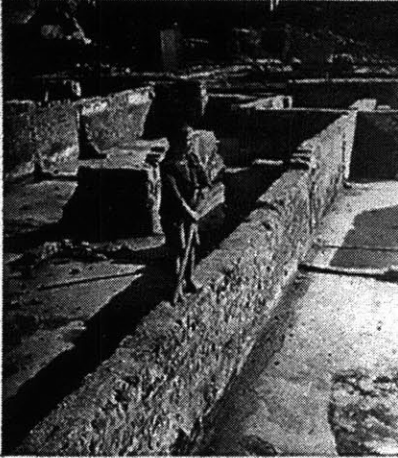
4

the artist,
essential
ally of
the child,
is there to
lessen the
conflict.



if childhood is a journey, let us see to it that

the child
the city
everywhere



the child does not travel by night.

Fig. 32a-d

Opbouw Group, panel of
Alexander Polder II project.
CIAM 10, Dubrovnik, 1956.
(Source: Nederlands
ArchitectuurInstituut,
Rotterdam, BAK a30).

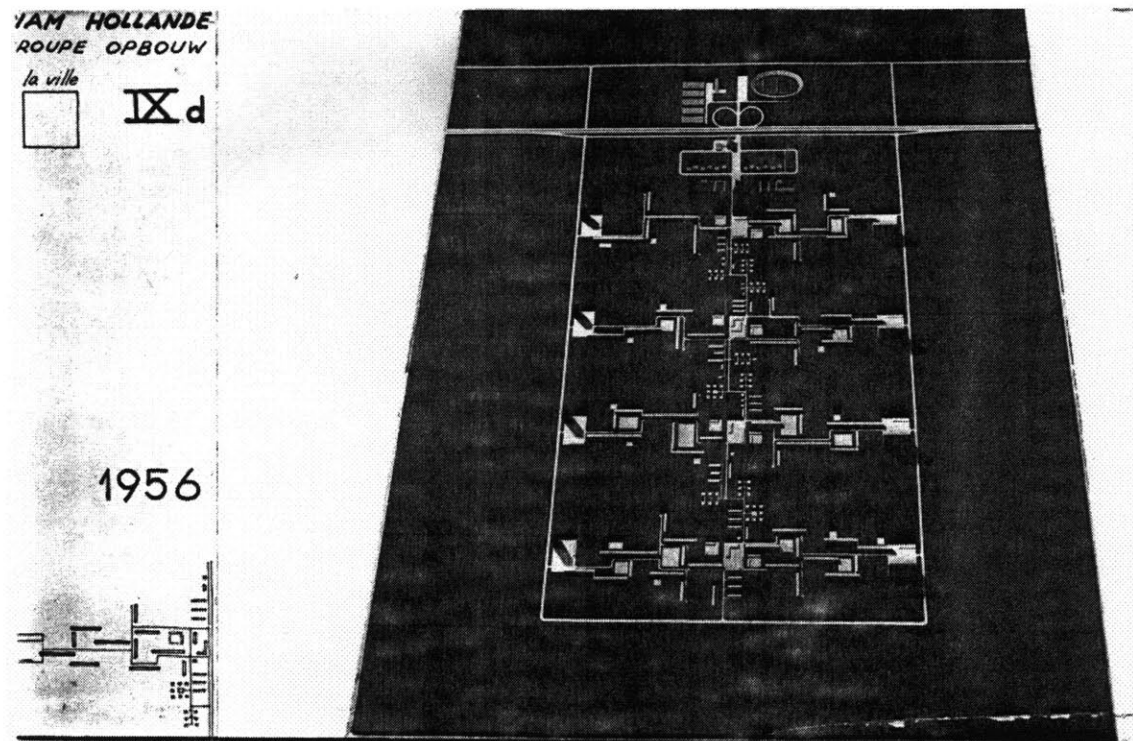


Fig. 32b

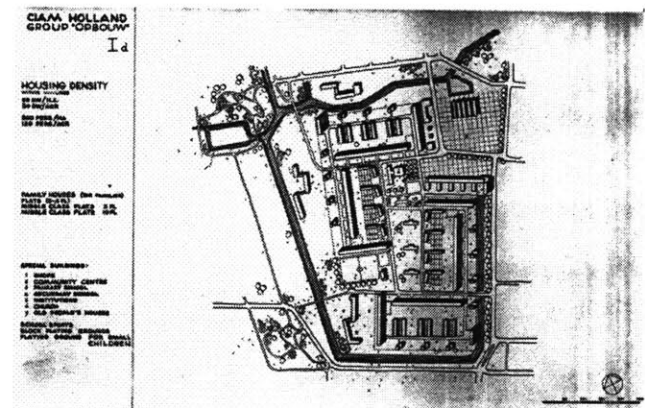
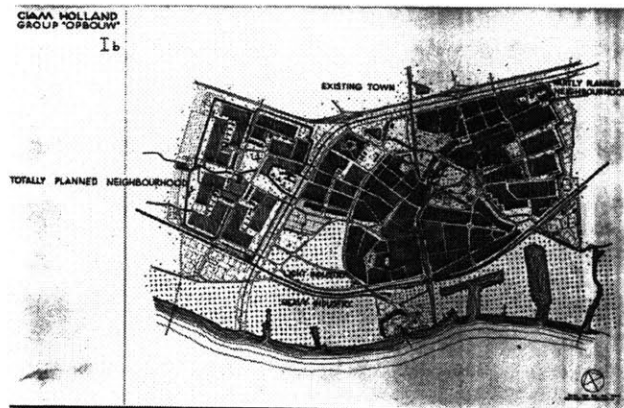
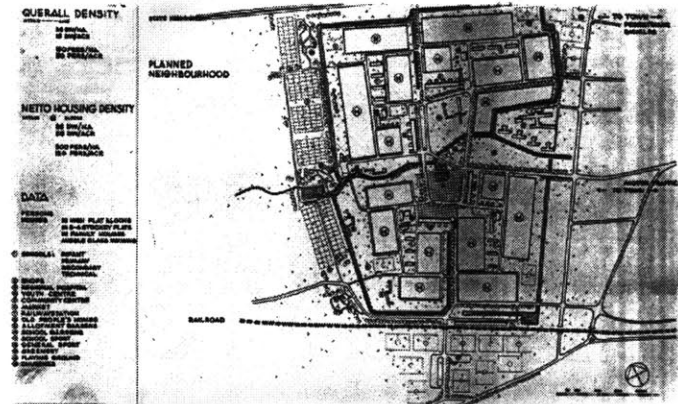
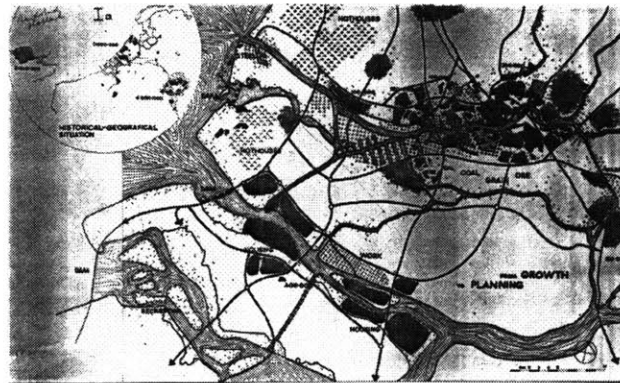


Fig. 32c

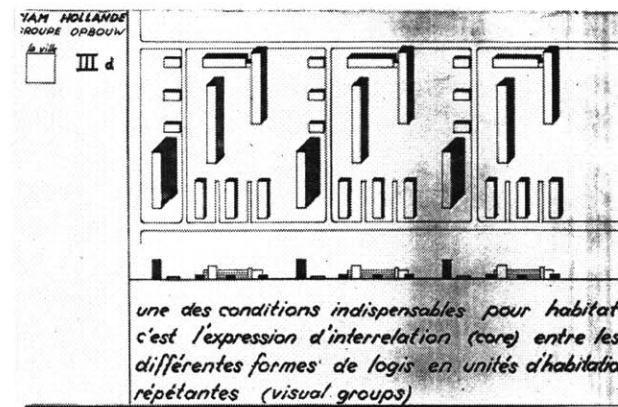
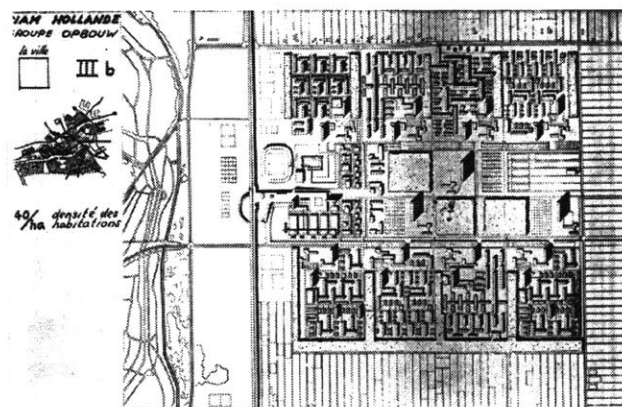
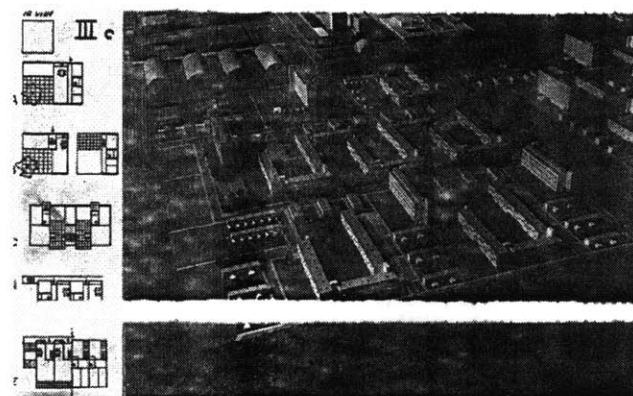
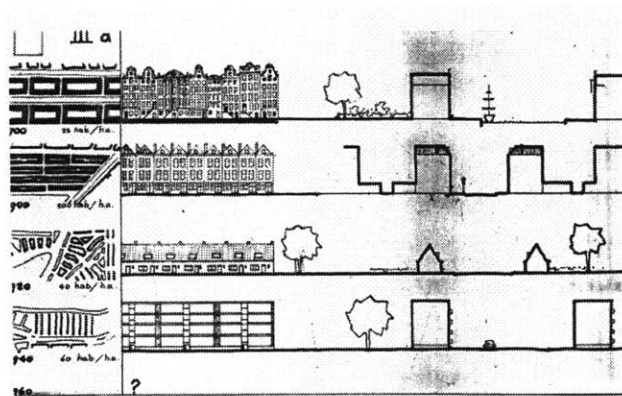


Fig. 32d

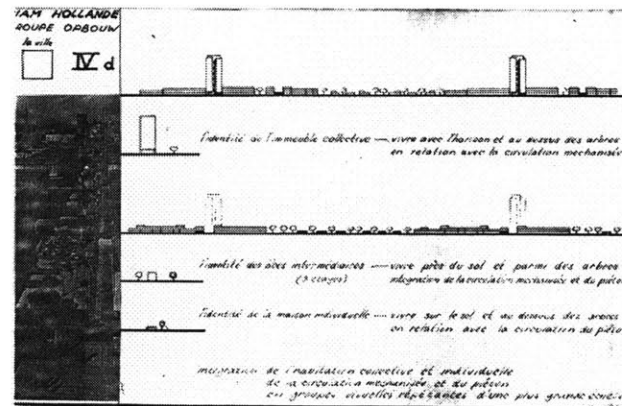
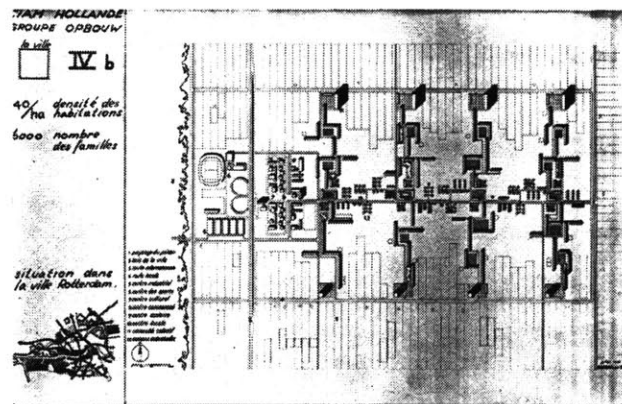
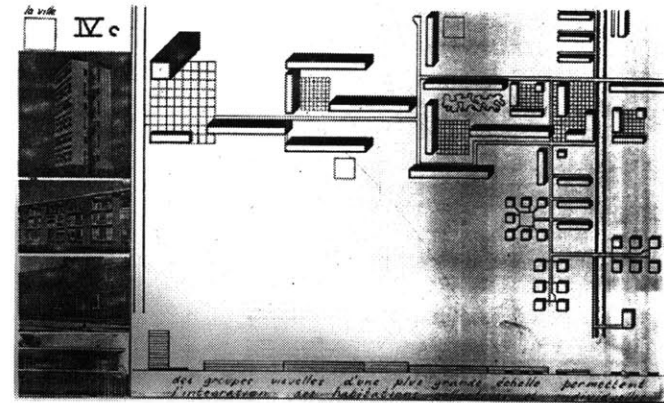
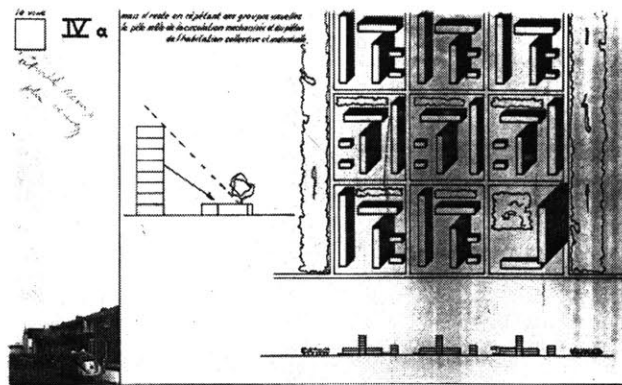


Fig. 33a-b

Oyevaar and Stoller
(Opbouw). CIAM 10,
Dubrovnik, 1956. (Source:
Nederlands
ArchitectuurInstituut,
Rotterdam, BAK a30).

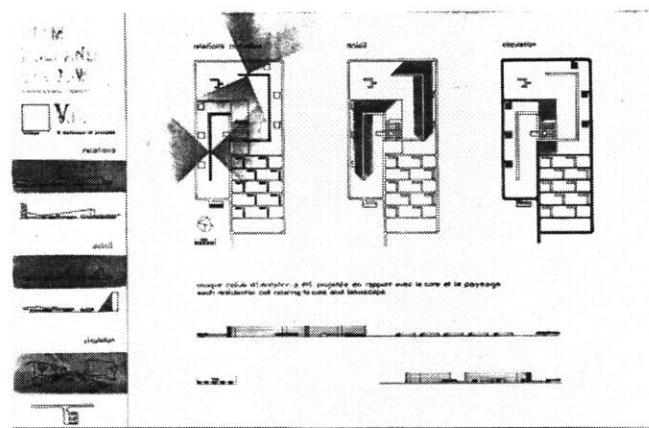
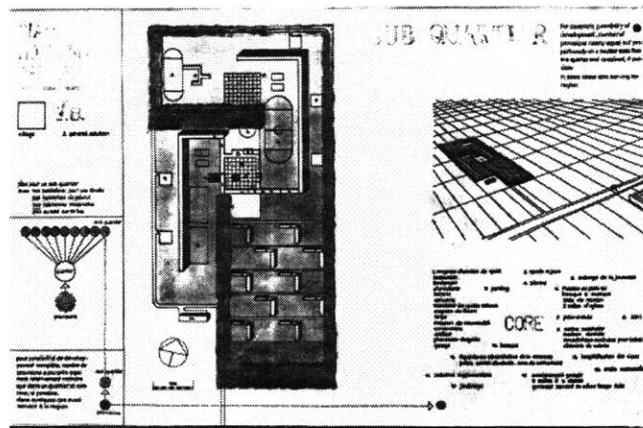
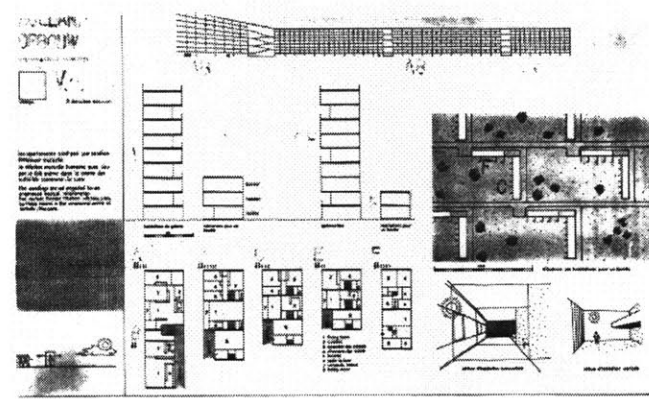
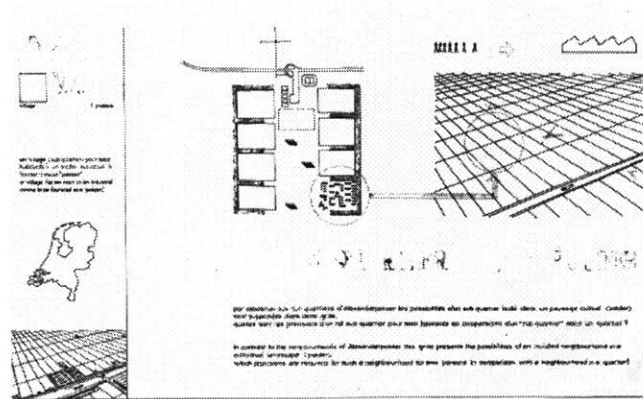


Fig. 33b

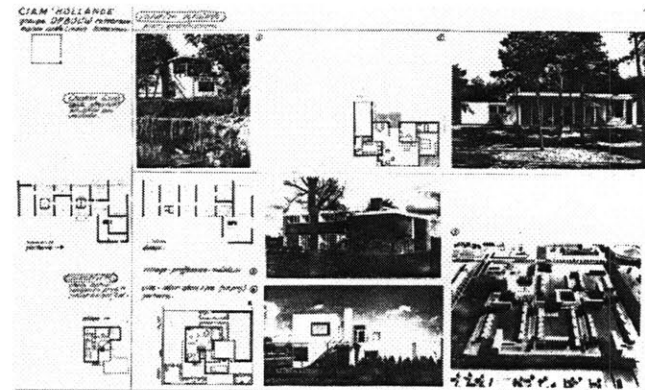
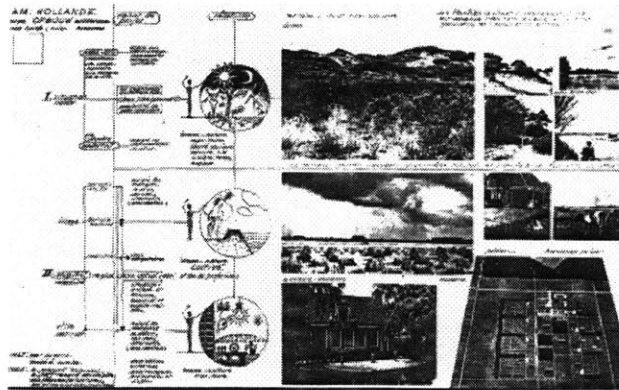
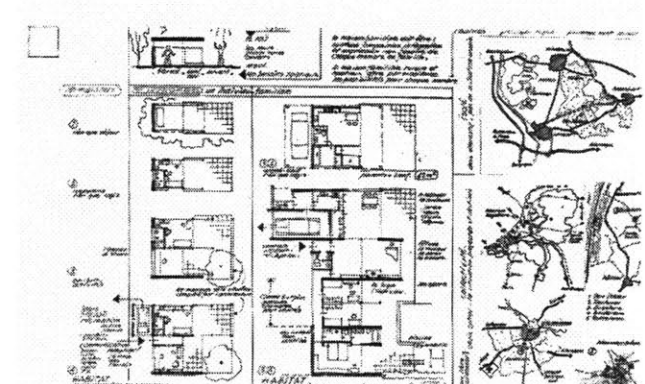
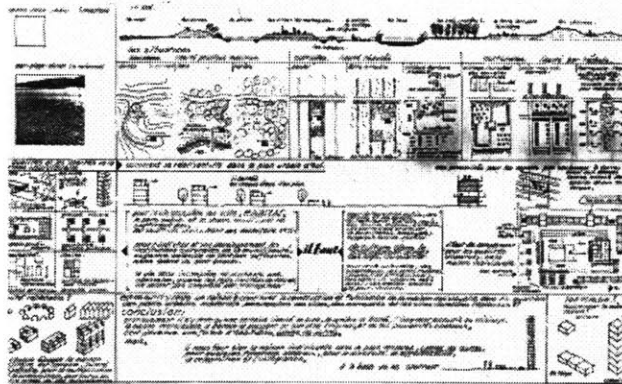


Fig. 34a-b

Le Corbusier's conception of the reorganized CIAM from a letter read at CIAM 10, Dubrovnik, 1956. (Source: CIAM Archive, Zurich, 42-X-115).

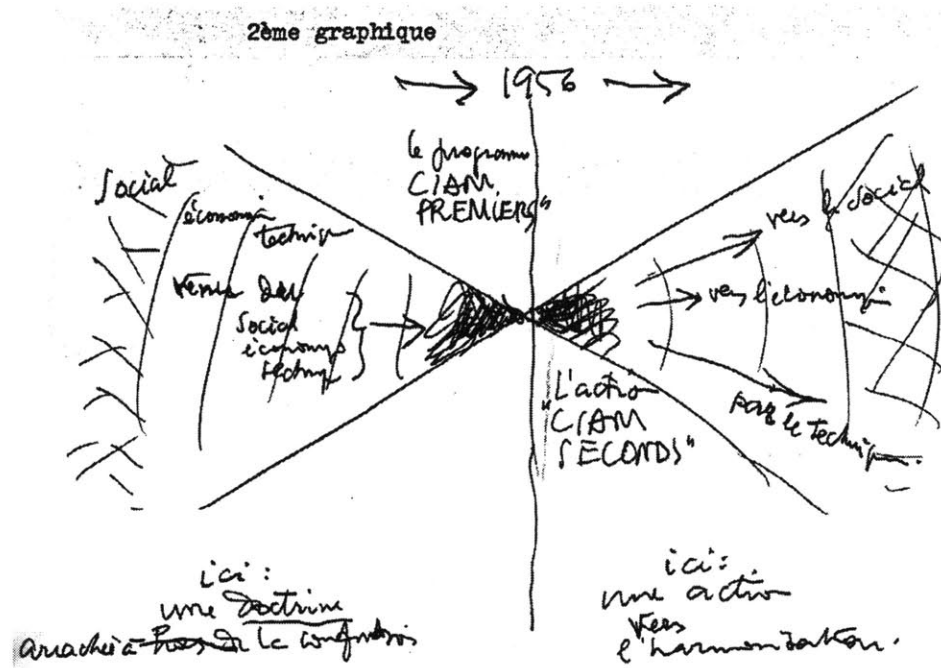


Fig. 34b

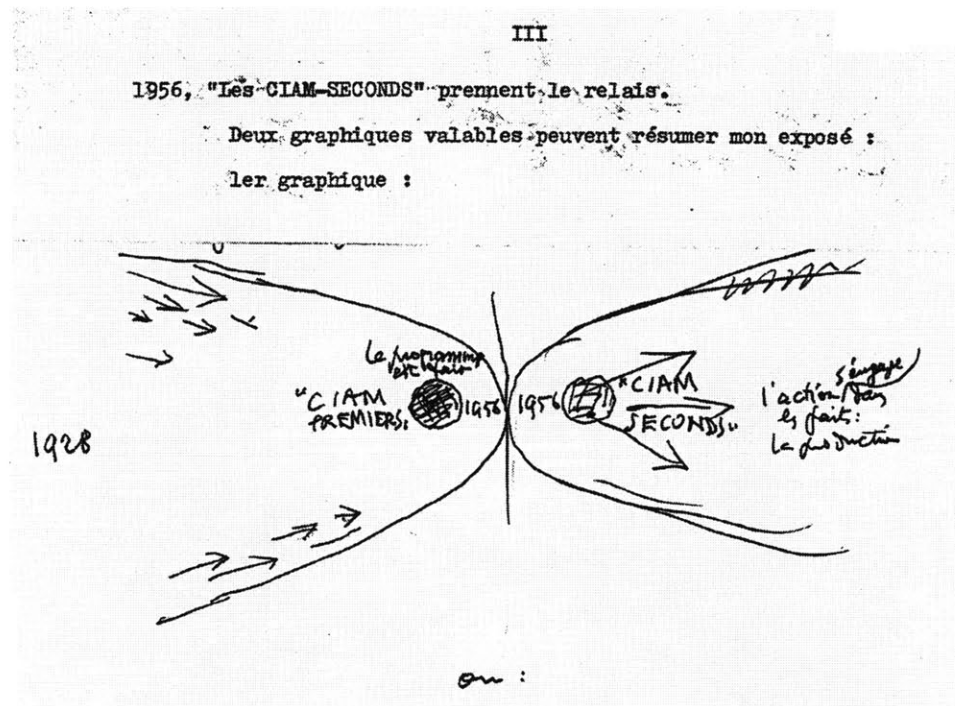


Fig. 35

CIAM '59 Congress, Otterlo, 1959. Peter and Alison Smithson, John Voelcker, Jacob Bakema, Sandy van Ginkel; below Aldo van Eyck, Blanche Lemco. (Source: Francis Strauven, *Aldo van Eyck*, p.347; cropped version, *Architectural Review* 127, February 1960, 78).



Fig. 36

Team 10 Meeting, La
Croupatière, Bonnieux, France,
June 1977. (Source: Alison
and Peter Smithson Office,
London).



APPENDIX I: MEETINGS BETWEEN CIAM 9 & CIAM 10

Aix-en-Provence	19-26 July 1953	CIAM 9 Congress
London	12 October 1953	MARS Executive Committee, 12 members attended; discuss dissatisfaction with CIAM 9; select a special Committee for CIAM X, Denys Lasdun as Chairman
Oostvoorne, Holland	7-8 November 1953	De 8 & Opbouw, Study Weekend, 32 members including Bakema, van Eyck, van Ginkel, Hovens Greve, van Bodegraven and van Eesteren; van Eyck adds the functions of relations and integration to CIAM's four functions (work, recreation, dwelling, and transportation); discuss having a meeting in Doorn in January 1954 to develop a "Statement of the Problem" [with CIAM and Athens Charter] and a new working method for the next congress.
London	24 November 1953	MARS Executive Committee Meeting; attended by: Fello Atkinson, Wells Coates, Trevor Danatt, William Howell, Denys Lasdun, J.M. Richards, Godfrey Samuel; the position of MARS group had changed and the function of the group i.e., their concern for modern architecture, was no longer felt to be important; minutes by Trevor Dannat.
Doorn, Holland,	29-31 January 1954	Younger members of MARS, and De 8 and Opbouw; organized by Sandy van Ginkel at the request of Bakema; prepare "Statement on Habitat" which is circulated to CIAM groups by Bakema, 1 March 1954.
London	3 February 1954	MARS Executive; 6 members in attendance
London	22 March 1954	MARS Group CIAM 10 Sub-Committee; chaired by Howell; discuss the Habitat Charter; <i>Bulletin</i> no. 1
London	23 April 1954	MARS Group CIAM 10 Sub-Committee; attended by John Voelcker, P. Smithson, Pat Crooke, Theo Crosby, Erno Goldfinger, Arthur Korn, Percy Marshall, Ove Arup, Michael Hennings, R.S. Jenkins, Monica Pidgeon, W. Beer; Voelcker and Smithson present the ideas in the "Statement on Habitat" prepared at Doorn and discussion by members; Korn suggests that Smithson prepare a statement of ideas of what could replace the Athens Charter which Bill and Gillian Howell, Alison and Peter Smithson, and John Voelcker produce in a document

called "Report on l'Habitat" 18 June 1954); Minutes of meeting by John Voelcker and Trevor Dannatt, May 1954.

- London 28 May 1954 MARS group CIAM 10 Sub-Committee; attended by: Bill Howell, Alison Smithson, Peter Smithson, John Voelcker, Pat Crooke, Trevor Dannatt, Erno Goldfinger, Gordon Graham; discuss statements received from Alison and Peter Smithson, Theo Crosby, Gordon Graham, and letter from E. Gutkind; discussion centered on criticisms of the Athens Charter on basis that it does not take into patterns of development and that no differentiation was being made between different size settlements; minutes by Voelcker, 7 June 1954; *Bulletin* no. 3.
- Rotterdam 10 June 1954 Opbouw; attended by: Bakema, Boer, van Gool, Hovens Greve, Oyevaar, Lotte Stam-Beese, Stokla, Stolle, van Tijen, de Vries, Zwart, and J. Johan Niegeman (Amsterdam); discuss the Doorn Statement; prepared a document for June 30 meeting of CIAM Council, titled "Suggestions for Method of Work in CIAM 10," June 1954.
- London 15 June 1954 MARS Group CIAM 10 Sub-Committee; rejection of Habitat Charter; many MARS members considering the implications of the Athens Charter for the first time, expressed anxiety at the idea of prematurely producing another charter; send Giedion a six-point letter titled "Statement by CIAM 10 sub-committee," 16 June 1954, prior to the CIAM Council meeting.
- Paris (UNESCO) 30 June-1 July 1954 CIAM Council Meeting and Delegates, attended by Council members: Sert, Le Corbusier, Giedion, Honegger, Tyrwhitt, Bakema, Candilis, Emery, Howell, Rogers, Steiger, Wogensky; Delegates: Albini, Aujaume (Paris), Fitschy, Hebebrand, Korsmo, Lasdun, Lods, Roth, Rotteir (Paris), van Eyck; Observers: M.F. Benacerraf (Venezuela), A. Blomstedt (Finland), L.G. Pineau (Vietnam) P. Smithson, Voelcker, P. Weiner (USA).
Theme of CIAM 10 Congress: "Problèmes de l'Habitat: Première Propositions CIAM. Constatations et Résolutions"; preparation of congress to be placed in hands of CIAM 10 Committee: Bakema, Candilis, P. Smithson, R. Gutmann in liaison with Advisory Group: Sert, Giedion, Le Corbusier, Gropius, Tyrwhitt; propose next publication to be "The Human Habitat" (never published); CIAM 10 to be held circa 12 September

1955 in Algiers; MARS Group propose a method of work ["Draft/Framework 3] for CIAM that would bring out the unique characteristics of particular situations; minutes dated 4 July 1954.

- Amsterdam** 14 July 1954 Meeting of De 8 and Opbouw; attended by: Bakema, Bodegraven, Boer, Elling, van Eyck, van Gelder, van Ginkel, Groosman, Hartsuyker, Kloos, Merkelbach, Neigeman, Ooyevaar, Rietveld, Ritter, Lotte Stam-Beese, Stoka, Stolle, de Vries, Wissing; summarize the meeting in Paris paying particular attention to Ernesto Roger's suggestion that they replace group membership with individual membership; minutes and reactions to meeting
- London** 29 July 1954 Meeting of Trywhitt and MARS CIAM 10 Committee; attended by: Tyrwhitt, A. Smithson, P. Smithson, William Howell, Gillian Howell; discuss the first Draft/Framework and previous drafts and "Statement on Habitat"; discuss method of work and method of presentation; minutes by Trywhitt dated 22 August 1954 sent to Sert, Giedion, Bakema.
- London** 28-29 August 1954 Meeting of "C.I.A.X." (CIAM youngers); attended by: Bakema, Candilis, van Ginkel, Gutmann, W. Howell, G. Howell, Richards, A. Smithson, P. Smithson, Voelcker, Wissing, Woods; focus of discussion was the "Draft/Frameworks"; minutes by Voelcker, 5 September 1954.
- Paris** 14 September 1954 Meeting of CIAM 10 Committee (Team X) with vice-president and secretary general of CIAM (representing the CIAM 10 Advisory Group); attended by: Bakema, van Eyck, van Ginkel, P. Smithson, A. Smithson, W. Howell, G. Howell, Candilis, Le Corbusier and Giedion; criticism of CIAM 9, and proposals for new commissions at CIAM 10. Young CIAM members first referred to as Team X/Team 10.
- Rotterdam** 20 November 1954 De 8 en Opbouw; attended by: Bakema, Boer, van den Broek, van Bodegraven, van Eyck, van Ginkel, van Gool, Hartsuyker, Hovens Greve, Kloos, Merkelbach, Neigeman, J. Reitveld, Stam-Beese, Stokla, van Tijen, de Vries, Wissing, Zwart; discussed the program for CIAM 10; minutes 25 November 1954 by H. Hartsuyker.
- December 1954 MARS members Draft/Framework 5, CIAM 10

Amsterdam	19 February 1955	Belgian and Dutch CIAM Groups; attended by: G. Baines, L. Braem, W. van der Meeren, P.E. Vincent, M. Wijnands (Belgium); Bakema, van Eyck, van Ginkel, Hovens Greve, Wissing (De 8 and Opbouw) and guest B. Merkelbach; discuss theoretical basis of the new work method for CIAM 10, i.e., relations, "greater reality of the doorstep," "aesthetics of number" and "growth and change"; minutes 21 February 1955 by Hovens Greve.
Cambridge, Mass. (Harvard)	2 March 1955	Meeting of Advisory Committee: Giedion, Sert, Gropius, Tyrwhitt; call meeting of CIAM Council X at UNESCO, Paris, in early July to establish the program for CIAM 10 Congress in Algiers, September 1955.
Paris (Candilis' Office)	12 April 1955	Meeting of Team X; Gutmann, Roth, Gardella, Albini are invited by Bakema, but did not attend; no minutes; produce two "commentaries": 1. Smithsons, Bakema, Candilis, "Commentary of the CIAM X committee" in "Summaries of reactions on 'Instructions to Groups' (Draft Framework 5)" (NAi/BAK, a25),5; circulated 28 April 1955; 'wrote answers to questions received from groups'. 2. "Commentary on the reactions received by CIAM X from the groups and some members of Council"; sent 28 April 1955 (NAi/BAK, a14[9]; CIAM, 42-JLS-9-36).
Paris (UNESCO)	4 July 1955	CIRPAC (Council and Delegates) and Team X; attended by: CIAM Council: Sert, Le Corbusier, Giedion, Tyrwhitt, *Bakema, *Candilis, Emery, *Howell, Rogers, Wogensky; Delegates: Benshoya (CIAM Algiers), J. Chemineau & Tastemain (GAMMA, Morocco), R. Gutierrez (Cuba), P. Fitschy (Belgium), Lods and Bodiansky (Bâtir), B. Merkelbach and *van Eyck (De 8), F. Albini, I. Gardella, L. Danieri, M. Zanuso (Italy), A. Korsmo and S. Fehn (Norway), V. de Lima (Portugal), A. Roth (BBZ, Switzerland); Delegates of Groups in Formation: R. Aujame, A. Blomstedt and P. Ahola (Finland); Individual member M. Ecochard; propose to meet at La Sarraz, 8-11 September 1955 to discuss the conclusion of the work from CIAM 9, i.e., "Charte du Logis" and the preparation for CIAM 10; Team 10 to work with M. Ecochard to develop the program for the meeting; * are listed as Team X members;
La Sarraz, Switzerland	8-11 September 1955	CIAM Council and Delegates, and Team 10.

Cambridge, Mass.	May 1965	Sert, Gropious, Tyrwhitt
London	May 1956	Team 10: write "Team X replies" for "Final Preparations Document," May 28, 1956: BAK: a20, or99; 42-JT-13-553.
Padua, Italy	2-3 August 1956	Council & Team 10; no minutes; Smithsons do not attend; among others, Voelcker does; Albini; Sert -preparation of final programme of work for CIAM 10
Dubrovnik (Lapad, Yugoslavia)	3-13 August 1956	CIAM 10 Congress
London	28 January 1957	MARS group; attended by: K. Capon, A. Cox, T. Crosby, T. Dannatt, E. Goldfinger, J.M. Grice, W. Howell, G. Howell, J. Killick, H. Konyi, D. Lasdun, J. Partridge, M. Pigeon, J. Richards, A. Smithson, P. Smithson, J. Stirling, J. Voelcker -MARS group dissolved due to dwindling interest on part of membership. MARS was never intended to be an institution and the changed conditions under which MARS was born rendered it useless
Holland	October 1957	De 8 and Opbouw; last meeting and dissolution of Dutch CIAM Groups

APPENDIX IIa

Draft, "Statement on Habitat,"
30 January 1954, Doorn,
Holland (NAi/BAK or 97).

Doorn, 30 Jan. '54 (evening)

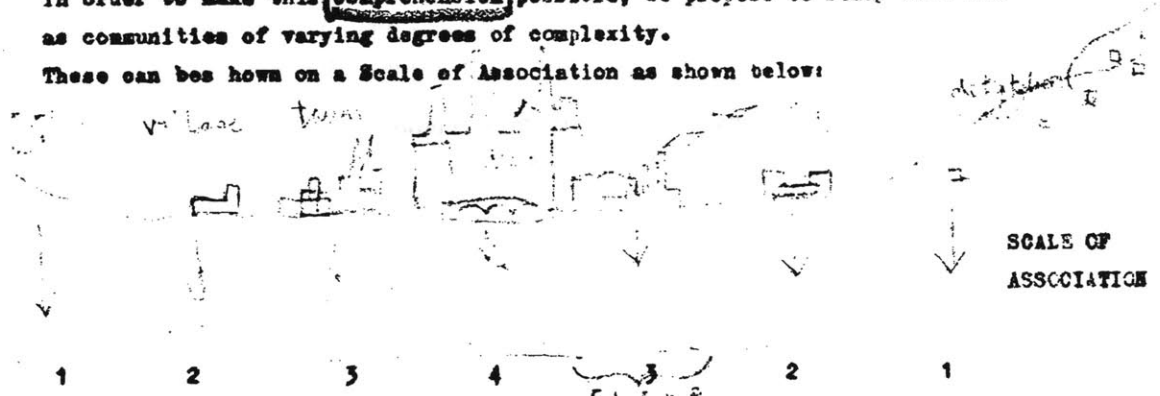
STATEMENT ON HABITAT

As a direct result of the 9th Congress at Aix, we have come to the conclusion that if we are to create a Charte de l'habitat we must redefine the aims of ~~new~~ urbanism, and at the same time create a new tool to make this aim possible.

Urbanism considered ~~undeveloped~~ in the terms of the Charte d'Athens tends to produce 'towns' in which vital human associations are inadequately expressed. To comprehend these human associations we must consider every community ~~in its~~ particular total complexity.

In order to make this comprehension possible, we propose to study urbanism as communities of varying degrees of complexity.

These can be shown on a Scale of Association as shown below:



We suggest that the commission operate each in a field (not a point) on the scale of association, for example, isolated buildings
villages
towns
study cities

This will enable us to ~~study~~ study isolate particular functions in their appropriate ecological field.

Thus a housing sector or satellite of a city will be considered at the top of the scale, (under City (4)), and can ~~then~~ therefore be compared with development in other cities, or contrasted with numerical similar developments in different fields of the Scale of Association.

This method of work will induce a study of human association as a first principle and of the four functions as aspects of each total problem.

APPENDIX IIb

Final version of "Statement on Habitat," Doorn, Holland, 31 January 1954 as published in, *The Emergence of Team 10 out of CIAM*, ed. Alison Smithson, 33-34.

DOORN MANIFESTO

C.I.A.M. MEETING 29 - 30 - 31 JANUARY 1954 DOORN

Bakema, van Eyck, van Ginkel, Hovens Greve, Smithson, Voelcker.

Statement on Habitat

1. La Charte d'Athene proposed a technique which would counteract the chaos of the 19th Century, and restore principles of order within our cities.
2. Through this technique the overwhelming variety of city activities was classified into four distinct functions which were believed to be fundamental.
3. Each function was realized as a totality within itself. Urbanists could comprehend more clearly the potential of the 20th Century.
4. Our statement tries to provide a method which will liberate still further this potential.

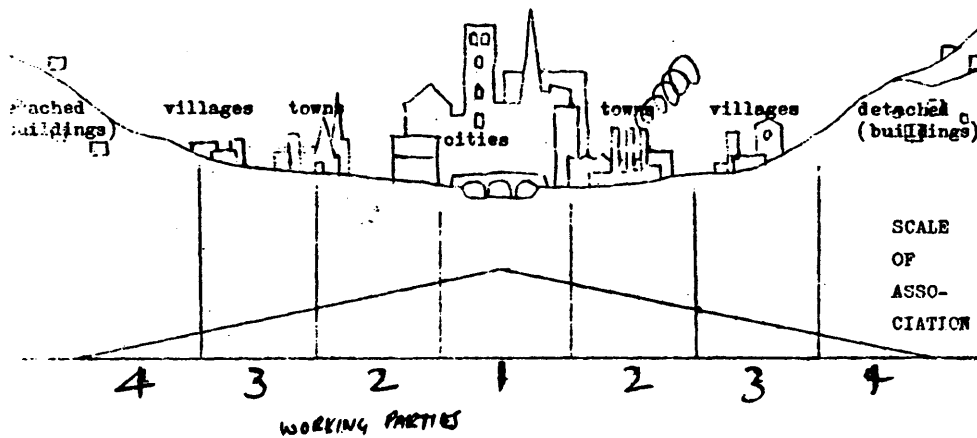
As a direct result of the 9th Congress at Aix, we have come to the conclusion that if we are to create a Charte de l'Habitat, we must redefine the aims of urbanism, and at the same time create a new tool to make this aim possible.

Urbanism considered and developed in the terms of the Charte d'Athene 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.

These can be shown on a Scale of Association as shown below:



We suggest that ~~the commissions~~ operate each in a field (not a point) on the scale of association, for example,

isolated buildings
villages
towns
cities

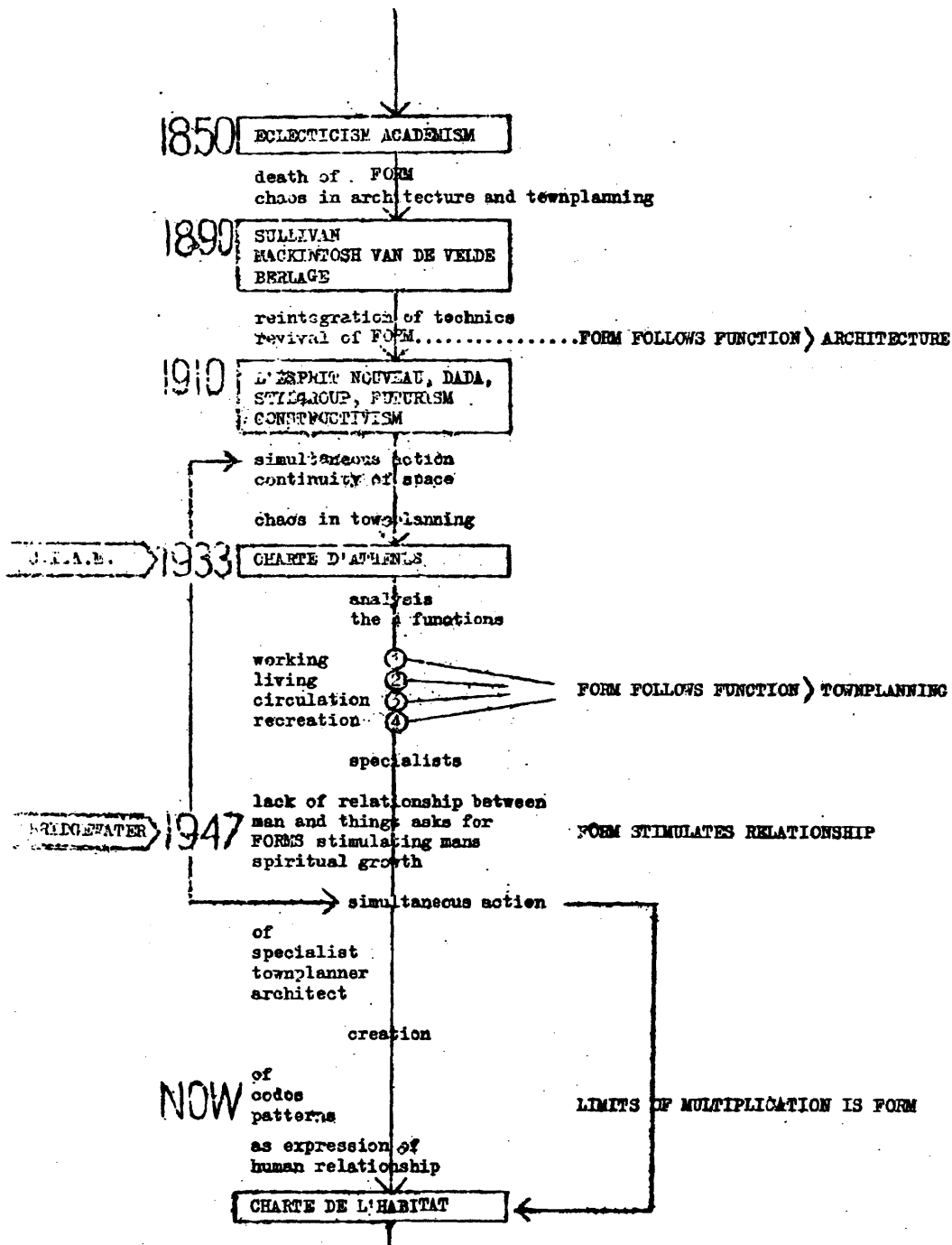
This will enable us to study particular functions in their appropriate ecological field.

Thus a housing sector or satellite of a city will be considered at the top of the scale, (under City, 1), and can in this way be compared with development in other cities, or contrasted with numerically similar developments in different fields of the Scale of Association.

This method of work will induce a study of human association as a first principle, and of the four functions as aspects of each total problem.

APPENDIX IIc

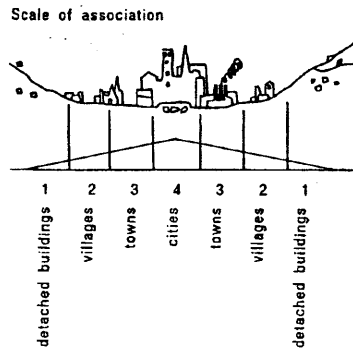
Document attached to
 "Statement on Habitat,"
 (Fondation Le
 Corbusier, Paris).



APPENDIX IId

“Statement on Habitat”
as published by Aldo
van Eyck, “The Story
of an Other Idea,”
Forum 7 (1959): 231.

the hierarchy of human association as primary principle



C.I.A.M. MEETING 29 - 30 - 31 JANUARI 1954, DOORN

Bakema, Van Eyck, Van Ginkel, Hovens Greve, Smithson, Voelcker.

Statement on Habitat

1. La Charte d'Athènes proposed a technique which would counteract the chaos of the 19th Century, and restore principles of order within our cities.

2. Through this technique the overwhelming variety of city activities was classified into four distinct functions which were believed to be fundamental.

3. Each function was realized as a totality within itself. Urbanists could comprehend more clearly the potential of the 20th Century.

4. Our statement tries to provide a method which will liberate still further this potential. As a direct result of the 9th Congress at Aix, we have come to the conclusion that if we are to create a Charte de l'Habitat, we must redefine the aims of urbanism, and at the same time create a new tool to make this aim possible.

Urbanism considered and developed in the terms of the Charte d'Athènes 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.

These can be shown on a Scale of Association as shown beside:

We suggest that the commissions operate each in a field not a point on the Scale of Association, for example

isolated buildings *)

villages

towns

cities.

This will enable us to study particular functions in their appropriate ecological field. Thus a housing sector or satellite of a city will be considered at the top of the scale, (under City, 4), and can in this way be compared with development in other cities, or contrasted with numerically similar developments in different fields of the Scale of Association. This method of work will induce a study of human association as a first principle, and of the four functions as aspects of each total problem.

*) These fields are sufficiently finite for general purposes but there may be new forms of association, new patterns of community which replace the traditional hierarchy.

APPENDIX IIe

“Doorn Manifesto”/
”Statement on Habitat,”
as published in
Architecture Culture,
1943-1968, Joan
Ockman, 183.

Doorn Manifesto—CIAM Meeting 29-30-31 January 1954, Doorn Bakema, van Eyck, van Ginkel, Hovens-Greve, Smithson, Voelker

Statement on Habitat

1. La Charte d’Athènes proposed a technique which would counteract the chaos of the 19th century and restore principles of order within our cities.
2. Through this technique the overwhelming variety of city activities was classified into four distinct functions which were believed to be fundamental.
3. Each function was realized as a totality within itself. Urbanists could comprehend more clearly the potential of the 20th century.
4. Our statement tries to provide a method which will liberate still further this potential.

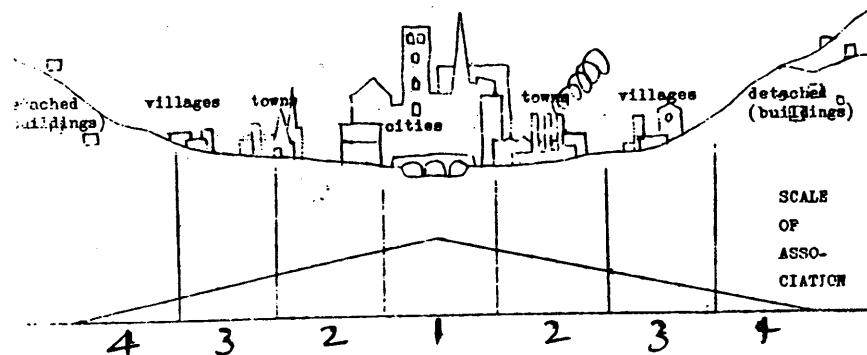
As a direct result of the 9th Congress at Aix, we have come to the conclusion that if we are to create a Charte de l’Habitat, we must redefine the aims of urbanism, and at the same time create a new tool to make this aim possible.

Urbanism considered and developed in the terms of the Charte d’Athènes 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.

These can be shown on a Scale of Association as shown below:



We suggest that the working parties [~~crossed out: "commissions"~~] operate each in a *field* (not a point) on the Scale of Association, for example: isolated buildings, villages, towns, cities. This will enable us to study particular functions in their appropriate ecological field.


Thus a housing sector or satellite of a city will be considered at the top of the scale (under City, 1), and can in this way be compared with development in other cities, or contrasted with numerically similar developments in different fields of the Scale of Association.

This method of work will induce a study of human association as a *first principle*, and of the four functions as *aspects* of each total problem.

APPENDIX III

"Habitat," by Alison and Peter Smithson, 2 February 1960, as published in *The Emergence of Team 10 out of CIAM*, ed. Alison Smithson, 13. Undated version in CIAM Archive, Zurich (CIAM, 42-JT-13-335).

" HABITAT " NO
2 FEB 1960 SMITHSONS

- 1) It is useless to consider the house except as a part of a community owing to the interaction of these on each other.
- 2) We should not waste our time codifying the elements of the house until the other relationship has been crystallised.
- 3) Habitat " is concerned with the particular house in the particular type of community.
- 4) Communities are the same everywhere. 1) detached house - farm.
2) Village.
3) Towns of various sorts (Industrial, Admin., Special).
4) Cities (multi functional).
- 5) they can be shown in relationship to their environment (Habitat) in the Geddes valley section.

- 6) Any community must be internally convenient - have ease of circulation, in consequence whatever type of transport are available, density must increase as population increases, i.e. (1) is least dense (4) is most dense.
- 7) We must therefore study the dwelling and the groupings that are necessary to produce convenient communities at various points on the valley section.
- 8) The appropriateness of any solution may lie in the field of architectural invention rather than social anthropology.

APPENDIX IIg

"Habitat"/"Doorn Manifesto,"
undated. Nederlands
Architectuur Instituut, Rotterdam
BAK, or104.

'DOORN MANIFESTO'
ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT

HABITAT *27 kms wide* *SCHILDEBOOM* →

IX UC

If it is useless to consider the house except as a part of a community
owing to the interaction of these on each other.

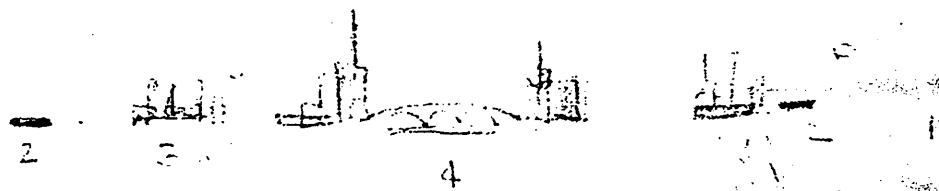
2) We should not waste our time codifying the elements of the house until
the other relationships has been crystallised.

3) Habitat is concerned with the particular house in the particular
type of community.

4) Communities are the same everywhere. 1) detached house - farm
2) Village.
3) Towns of various sorts (Industrial, Administration, Special).
4) Cities (multi functional).

bold manuscript ↓

5) They can be shown in relationship to their environment (Habitat) in the
Geddes valley section.



6) Any community must be internally convenient - have ease of circulation.
in consequence whatever type of transport are available, density must
increase as population increases, i.e. 1) is least dense, 4) is most dense.

7) We must therefore study the d alling and the groupings that are necessary
to produce convenient communities at various points on the valley
section.

8) The appropriateness of any solution may lie in the field of
architectural invention rather than social anthropology.

APPENDIX IIIh

"Habitat" document published by Alison Smithson as "Doorn Manifesto" in "Team 10 Primer," *Architectural Design* (December 1962); London: Standard, 1966, 30; Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1968, 75; *Team 10 Meetings, 1953-1984*, 21.

THE DOORN MANIFESTO

1. It is useless to consider the house except as a part of a community owing to the inter-action of these on each other.

2. We should not waste our time codifying the elements of the house until the other relationship has been crystallized.

3. 'Habitat' is concerned with the particular house in the particular type of community.

4. Communities are the same everywhere.

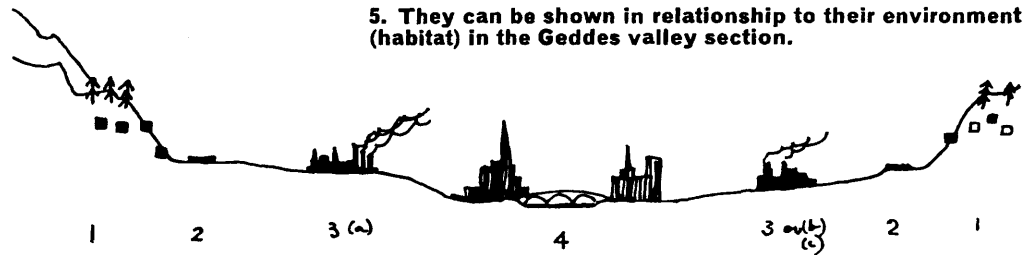
(1) Detached house—farm.

(2) Village.

(3) Towns of various sorts (industrial/admin./special).

(4) Cities (multi-functional).

5. They can be shown in relationship to their environment (habitat) in the Geddes valley section.



6. Any community must be internally convenient—have ease of circulation; in consequence, whatever type of transport is available, density must increase as population increases, i.e. (1) is least dense, (4) is most dense.

7. We must therefore study the dwelling and the groupings that are necessary to produce convenient communities at various points on the valley section.

8. The appropriateness of any solution may lie in the field of architectural invention rather than social anthropology.
Holland, 1954

It had become obvious that town building was beyond the scope of purely analytical thinking—that the problem of human relations fell through the net of the 'four functions'. In an attempt to correct this, the Doorn Manifesto proposed: 'To comprehend the pattern of human associations we must consider every community in its particular environment'.

What exactly are the principles from which a town is to develop? The principles of a community's development can be derived from the ecology of the situation, from a study of the human, the natural and the constructed, and their action on each other.

If the validity of the form of a community rests in the pattern of life, then it follows that the first principle should be continuous objective analysis of the human structure and its change.

Such an analysis would not only include 'what happens', 'the organisms' habits, modes of life and relations to their surroundings', such things as living in certain places, going to school, travelling to work and visiting shops, but also 'what motivates' the reasons for going to particular schools, choosing that type of work and visiting those particular shops. In other words, trying to uncover a pattern of reality which includes human aspirations.

The social structure to which the town-planner has to give form is not only different but much more complex than ever before.

The various public services make the family more and more independent of actual physical contact with the rest of the community and more turned in on itself.

Such factors would seem to make incomprehensible the continued acceptance of forms of dwellings and their means of access which differ very little from those which satisfied the social reformers' dream before the first world war.

APPENDIX III

"Statement on Habitat,"
January 1954, Doorn,
Holland, as published in
*The Emergence of Team
10 out of CIAM*, ed.
Alison Smithson 28-32.

Statement on Habitat - Doorn, January 1954
Peter Smithson

STATEMENT ON Habitat DOORN JAN 1954 /

As a direct result of the 9th
Congress at Aix, ~~it has been concluded~~ ^{we have come to the} _{conclusion}
that if we are to create a
Charte de l'Habitat we must re-
define the aims of urbanism
'b at the same time create a
new tool to make ~~the realization~~ ^{this aim}
possible.

28 Document written by P. Smithson at Doorn

Urbanism considered to developed in terms of the C d'A tends to produce 'towns' in which vital human ~~relations~~ ^{associations} are inadequately expressed

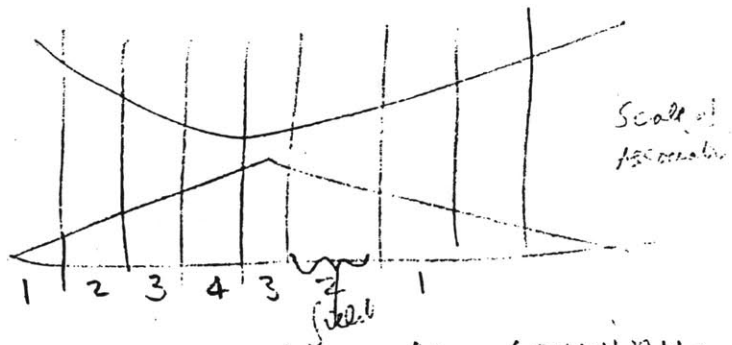
~~Human relations implies the consideration of every community in its particular complexity.~~

To comprehend these human ~~relations~~ associations we must consider every community in its particular total complexity. ~~To do this we must~~ ^{To do this we must} ~~to do this we must~~ ^{to} make this

contd
Statement on Habitat - Doorn, January 1954
Peter Smithson

Comprehension possible we
 propose to study urbanism as
 communities of varying degrees
 of complexity 2

these can be shown on a scale of
 Association or shown below.



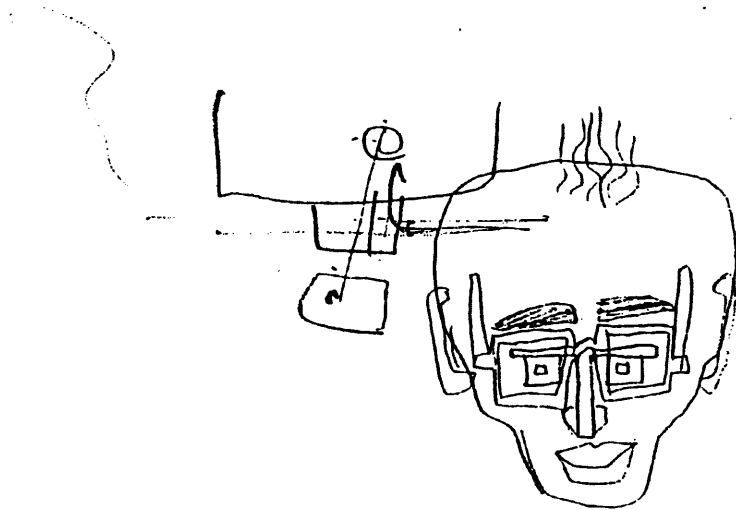
We suggest that the communities
 operate each in a field (not
 a point) ^{the association} ^{of} ^{various} ^{forms}
~~of~~ ^{of} ^{association} ^{of} ^{various} ^{forms}
~~of~~ ^{of} ^{association} ^{of} ^{various} ^{forms}

~~is of agriculture to be~~ }
~~considered~~
 in this abstract ecological
 field.
 For example a housing sector or
 satellite of a city will be
 considered at the same scale
 as the city (4) & can thus be
 compared with ~~the~~ development in
 other cities, or controlled with
 numerically similar development
 in different fields of the same
 association of ^{size or} ~~the~~

This method of work will

contd
 Statement on Habitat - Doorn, January 1954
 Peter Smithson

as a first principle to the
four functions as aspect of
each total problem.



APPENDIX III: "DRAFT/Frameworks"

Smithson's, "Draft/Framework for Discussion by CIAM 10 Committee" n.d. [June 1954]:

-version attached to Smithson's "Habitat," June 1954:42-JT-13-351; SMI: box "A"

-version attached to "Reactions to discussion, meeting of de 8 + Opbouw, July 14, 1954: BAK: or97.

-almost identical version, "London August/54": or97; 42-JT-13-405

-MARS Group suggested this method of presentation at the Sigtuna meeting ("MARS Group proposal for CIAM 9," June 1952, in "Les Documents de Sigtuna 1952" (CIAM, 42-AR-X-4), reworded in this draft:

MARS proposal is that each scheme provide the following information:

1. identification of author, locality, title.
2. brief or program including: the site, local conditions, transport, number of people to be housed, family groups, minimum standards of accommodation, communal facilities to be provided, building techniques, cost
3. solution: planning of units, overall organization, roads, structural system etc.
4. author's comments: reason for the solution, criticisms of the brief, imposed limitations

Smithson's version in Draft/Framework July 1954 reword the MARS version and specify that presentations be limited to 4 panels:

1. identification image: identification as city, town, village or isolate, name of community, geographical locations, population.
2. Development Pattern: essentially the program i.e., number of people provided for, gross density, reason for study
3. Development Type: plan, sections elevations, construction, finishes, cost
4. Significant Fragment: possibilities of realization, aspirations "(Villa Radieuse index")

Smithsons, "Draft Framework CIAM X--Instructions to Groups," n.d. [August 1954].

-discussed at London meeting, 28-29 August 1954

-responses to this draft from Viana de Lima (Portuguese Group) and Rolf Gutmann (Swiss CIAM) before the meeting, and from Bakema, Candilis at the meeting

Smithsons, "Draft Framework 3 CIAM X--Instructions to Groups," n.d. (NAi/BAK, a30, a12[6], vd4); French translation (NAi/BAK, a30).

-referred to in minutes of meeting in London, 29 July 1954

-prepared at meeting in London, 28-29 August 1954 and brought to Paris meeting, 14 September 1954: see minutes

-agreed to in principle by Advisory Group, Paris, 14 September 1954

-commented upon by van Eyck in letter to Smithsons, n.d. 5 pp.

van Eyck letter to Smithsons, n.d. [September 14 - October 10], photocopy (Francis Strauven

Papers, Brussels, Belgium)

- comments about all the "Draft Frameworks" to date
- suggested that they explain how they arrived at their position, include the Doorn Manifesto, and makes suggestions for a "new method of work" that would include the key problems of their time: A, doorstep; B, aesthetics of number; C, growth and change; D, ecological approach.

Smithsons, "Draft Framework 4 - CIAM X - Instructions to Groups," n.d. [September 14 - October 10] (Alison and Peter Smithson Office, "Team 10" box).

- new 4-page introductory section to "Draft Framework 3"
- incorporate van Eyck's suggestions in prose form
- sent to Bakema and Candilis for comments
- cover letter mentions that they will send any comments to this draft before 10 October.

[van Eyck], "October 24th document"/"Dutch Framework" with covering letter to Smithsons, 24 October 1954 (NAi/BAK, a14[7]), 8 pp.

- included: "Orientation"; "Organisation" with "Scale of Association diagram and an explanation of the concepts represented by the 4 "fields"; "Framework" (A, B, C, D); "Summary" (A, B, C, D); "Method of Presentation"; signed by Bakema, Candilis, Gutmann, Smithson
- circulated by Bakema to 22 members of CIAM with covering letter and covering letter to the Smithsons explaining what they meant
- response to the English inactivity to specify the tasks of the CIAM 10 congress
- incorporate all comments by van Eyck letter including A, B, C, & D
- represented view of De 8 + Opbouw meeting, 20 November 1954: see minutes
- mentioned in Jacob Bakema letter to Georges Candilis, 15 November 1954
- another version of "Orientation" exists without the "Dutch Framework," n.d. (NAi/BAK, a30).

Bakema, van Eyck, van Ginkel, Hovens Greve, Wissing, "Supplement," n.d. [after October 24] (NAi/BAK, or97), 4 pp.

- consists of "Framework" and "Summary" of "October 24 document"
- response to the emotional reaction of the English CIAM 10 Committee to the "October 24 document"
- referred to in Jacob Bakema letter to Georges Candilis, 15 November 1954

Aldo van Eyck for De 8 + Opbouw, untitled, [summary of "Supplement"], December 1954 (NAi/BAK, a25, or97, a14[11]); French version (CIAM, 42-JT-13-416), 1 p.

- sent along with the "Draft Framework 5" by English CIAM 10 Committee members: Jacob Bakema letter to Georges Candilis, 28 December 1954.

Smithsons, edited by Howell, "Draft Framework 5 - CIAM X - Instructions to Groups," 4 December 1954 (NAi/BAK, a30, or97); French version, c. January 1955.

- sent 21 December 1954 with "Dutch Supplement" and sample grille attached
- minor changes from "Draft Framework 3"

["Résumé des Propositions 5," 26 January 1955, photocopy (Francis Strauven Papers, Brussels, Belgium)

- summarized version of "Draft Framework 5" including "Suggestions des Groupes

Hollandais, De 8 et Opbouw."

"Summaries of Reactions of "Instructions to Groups" (Draft Framework 5, sent out to groups on 22-12-54)," 1 April 1955 (NAi/BAK, a25; CIAM, 42-JLS-9-43), 5 pp.

-sent to all council members

-principle reactions from the Swiss and Italians: Jacob Bakema cover letter, 1 April 1955.

Bakema, Candilis, and Smithsons, "Commentary of the CIAM X Committee" in "Summaries of Reactions of "Instructions to Groups" (Draft Framework 5, sent out to Groups on 22-12-54)"; English version, 12 April 1955 (NAi/BAK, a25), 5 pp.; French version, 28 April 1955 (NAi/BAK, or99), 7 pp.

-circulation list uncertain, probably all council members as 1 April 1955 version

-commentary written by Candilis, Bakema, and Smithsons meeting of CIAM 10 Committee at Candilis' office, Paris, 12 April 1955.

Bakema, Smithsons and Candilis, "Commentary on Reactions by CIAM X," 12 April 1955 (NAi/BAK, a14[9], a25); French version, 28 April 1955 (NAi/BAK, or99), 1 p.

-written at meeting of CIAM 10 Committee at Candilis' office, Paris

-a short commentary which incorporates beyond recognition some of the notions proposed by Bakema and van Eyck in the "Dutch Supplement."