

The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960

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town, not the tourist." Reay's comment that the Scottish climate "makes it almost impossible for people to gather in the open air" was answered by Giedion's invocation of the squares of Bloomsbury, adding "the important thing is that, even if the first things are small, they should be on the right spot."⁶¹

Among the contributions to the published volume, Neutra's "A New Community Core in California" is notable. It is a presentation of his and Robert Alexander's plan for the demolished site of a functioning, and by all accounts fairly vital, Mexican-American settlement called Chavez Ravine, which was to be replaced by a massive Los Angeles City Housing Authority project to be called Elysian Park Heights. The new project was to be a mixture of 163 two-story buildings and 24 thirteen-story slab blocks; the high buildings were justified in classic Corbusian terms as a way of creating urbanity while leaving the maximum possible amount of the site open. The community core of the new development was to be a large community hall facing a plaza, along with a "natural, bowl-shaped auditorium for thousands."⁶² Other significant contributions included London planner William Holford's detailed paper on "The Commercial Core of London," which noted that despite supportive planning legislation, in rebuilding London "hardly any opportunities have been matched with an architectural skill of equal calibre";⁶³ Le Corbusier's "The Core as a Meeting Place of the Arts," which discussed his recent design work; Gropius's "The Human Scale"; Ian McCallum's "Spontaneity at the Core," and the Swedish historian Gregor Paulsson's "The Past and the Present," which explained the need for the core from the viewpoint of human ecology.

For the later history of CIAM, the most significant parts of the CIAM 8 volume were probably Giedion's brief discussion of Van Eyck's Amsterdam playgrounds in "The Historical Background of the Core,"⁶⁴ and Dutch representative Jacob B. Bakema's often-quoted "Relations between Men and Things," in which he suggested that rather than being a specific space, perhaps the core that they all sought occurred

*when the isolation of man from things becomes destroyed: in that moment we discover the wonder of relationship between man and things. That is the moment of CORE: the moment in which we become aware of the fullness of life by cooperative action. . . . For us in CIAM the relations between things and within things are of greater importance than the things themselves. One can express this awareness of relationships, and one can also predict how they may develop.*⁶⁵

This emphasis on relationships rather than fixed forms began to open CIAM discussion to the ideas that Bakema and Van Eyck would contribute to Team 10, but were only barely present in the deliberations at Hoddesdon.⁶⁶

Though the definition of the Core remained vague, and numerous divergent comments were made in the open sessions and written reports submitted to the Congress, Tyrwhitt, Sert, Giedion, and Rogers continued to emphasize the "self-evident" need for a core in the published proceedings. *CIAM 8: The Heart of the City* concluded with a "Summary of Needs at the Core" by Giedion, which asserted that there should be only one main core in each city, and that the core should be secure from traffic. He also proposed that advertising in it should be organized and controlled, and that in planning it in cooperation with painters and sculptors, the architect should "employ contemporary means of expression," including mobile elements.⁶⁷

In theme the "Heart of the City" Congress was the most significant of the postwar Congresses, one of the earliest efforts to discuss the issue of urban public space in the transformed circumstances of modern architecture after the war. It was perhaps the first expression of what would become major preoccupations with architect-designed public gathering places in the work of Victor Gruen, Kevin Lynch, and many others in the following decades. CIAM 8 can be seen as a reference point for the new forms of public space, including shopping malls, renewed downtowns, and theme parks, that came to characterize urbanism in the rapidly decentralizing cities of the 1950s and later. As the first Congress after the beginning of the Cold War, CIAM 8 was also part of the postwar CIAM effort to find some new basis for an architecture of social collectivity other than socialism, a result in part of the declining appeal of Soviet Communism in Western democracies by 1950: In combining the Italian and Polish groups' focus on historic centers with Le Corbusier, Sert, and Wiener's fascination with the design of new monumental cores, CIAM 8 suggested a basis for modern architecture going beyond the design of social housing, one that looked both backward to the classical tradition and forward to a later generation's interest in reconstituting urbanity in late-twentieth-century cities.

In Search of "Habitat": Sigtuna, Sweden, 1952

CIAM 8 had ended inconclusively, a Congress described by Giedion afterwards as only a "light background sketch for a future painting."⁶⁸ It had not attempted to produce the Charter of Habitat called for by Le Corbusier at CIAM 7, although the Dutch Opbouw group, represented by W. Wissing and Hans Hovens Greve, had offered a suggested outline of principles for it at Hoddesdon.⁶⁹ Despite a postwar atmosphere favorable to modern architecture and town planning, in the six years since the end of the Second World War CIAM had been unable to regain its avant-garde role in Europe. At the same time it also appeared to be losing the participation of the Latin American groups.⁷⁰ No member of these groups was represented on the CIAM Council, the new governing structure put in place after CIAM 6.

with the exception of Emery and the new Danish member appointed at CIAM 8, Vilhelm Lauritzen.

The 1952 Paris meeting was pivotal. Under the heading "Future of CIAM," a circular letter signed by Le Corbusier, Giedion, and Tyrwhitt sent after the meeting stated that "the intention remains to give increasing responsibility for the control of CIAM to the new generation of architects." While no "dramatic steps" would be taken to "hand over" or "wind up" CIAM at CIAM 9, the letter stated "there might be a period of transition until CIAM 10 (1955)." The letter suggested that "special prominence might be given at CIAM 9 to the work of young groups," and that "the theme and organisation of CIAM 10 (1955)" would be "placed in the hands of a new generation of architects." The section concluded by saying, "In light of the work shown at CIAM 10, the Congress can then decide whether the new generation has the talent and the vitality to carry on the work of CIAM."⁷⁹

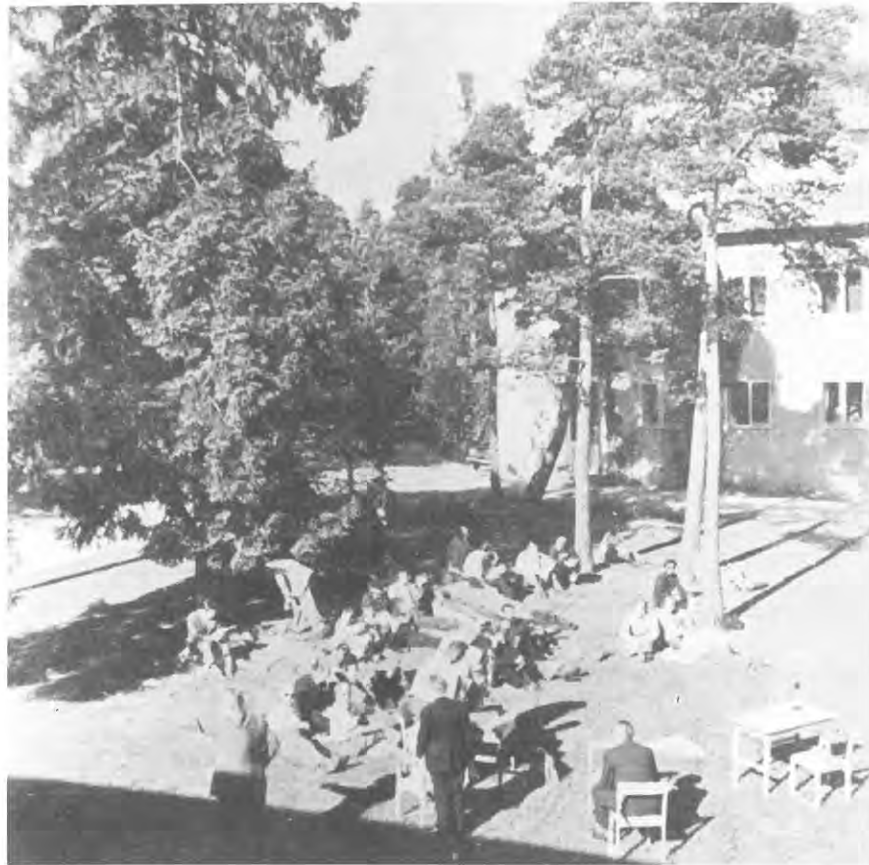
This shift in direction seems to have been prompted by doubts from Le Corbusier about the applicability of earlier CIAM ideas in the new postwar situation. In a letter to Sert that accompanied the report of the Paris meeting, Tyrwhitt wrote, "Corbu said also in the Council meeting that he no longer felt we could be confident about the way men should live in this changing world. He no longer felt he himself knew what 'a town' should be. The 'Habitat' is clearly an element of living space—Corbu is not sure 'urbanisme' is the correct word—but how it should be organized with the other elements is less and less clear."⁸⁰ The Tyrwhitt, Giedion, and Le Corbusier circular letter went on to discuss the formulation of the "Charter of Habitat," which was to be the theme of CIAM 9. Admittedly *habitat* in French was difficult to translate into English, as it meant both the living conditions of any creature and "dwelling" or "settlement"; in English, *Habitat* "meant something larger than 'housing' and smaller than 'neighborhood'—in other words, the setting of daily human life." The circular then asked all groups to send their suggestions for the program of CIAM 9 to Le Corbusier's ASCORAL associate André Wogenscky, including a statement "on the place of 'l'Habitat' in the human complex," and suggestions on the form of presentation at the next Congress.

Under the heading "The Ideology of CIAM," the circular letter also mentioned that "there were divergent views on the direction in which CIAM should go," and that this should be discussed at the Sigtuna meeting. Some CIAM groups not named specifically were reported to "contain germs of 'conformity'—even of 'academicism,'" but "the Council has welcomed the steps that are already being taken by a few groups to eliminate such germs in order to maintain the principles that continue to provide the underlying force of CIAM." The letter concluded by noting that an unidentified "defamatory article" was due to appear in the United States, and that the Institute of Architecture and Town Planning at Tucumán, Argentina, "the only progressive school in that country," was being closed.⁸¹

Probably in response to these concerns about "academicism," the MARS representative Wells Coates reported to Sert after the meeting that he had proposed that MARS be reorganized, as many members were concerned about "the actual *works* being carried out by certain MARS members," which made the younger people "loath to join MARS if certain people remain in it." At the same time, Coates was concerned about the "defeatism" expressed at the Paris meeting regarding the future of CIAM. As he felt the program for the Sigtuna meeting was inadequate for planning CIAM 9, he told Sert that he and Godfrey Samuel, the other Council member from MARS, had decided that the MARS group would not attend. Instead they had prepared a written statement to be delivered by Tyrwhitt, in her role as Secretary to the CIAM Council.⁸² Tyrwhitt herself wrote Sert saying she was "not hopeful" about Council attendance at Stockholm, as Le Corbusier, Sert, Gropius, and the MARS group had all indicated they would not attend. She reported that even Giedion was saying he was not going, as he wanted "to see how the thing will go on its own."⁸³ Sert, concerned about a split among the delegates, responded by writing to Giedion and suggesting that he "make an effort to go to Stockholm," using CIAM "funds still available for publications." Sert himself, however, also told Giedion that he found the five-day Stockholm program too similar to a regular CIAM Congress, and he was concerned that this more elaborate program would "take away energy and effort" that should have been given to CIAM 9.⁸⁴

Like the 1931 Berlin "Special Congress," the Sigtuna meeting was almost a CIAM Congress in itself. Held June 25–30, 1952, it was attended by around sixty members hosted by the Swedish group, which included Uno Åhrén, Fred Forbat, Olof Thunström, Gregor Paulsson, and others. CIAM Council members present were Van Eesteren, Lauritzen, Rogers, Wogenscky, Emery, Candilis, and Howell. Victor Bourgeois, no longer a Council member, also attended. The French, Dutch, and Scandinavian groups were well represented, as were the new groups from Germany and Portugal, the latter headed by Viana de Lima. Also notable was the presence of Michel Ecochard and other members of the Moroccan GAMMA group, Candilis, Elie Azagury (b. 1918), and Pierre Mas. The United States was represented by Konrad Wachsmann and a Professor James of New York, both attending simply as observers.⁸⁵

Notable at Sigtuna was the presence of the new "youth members," some of whom would form Team 10 two years later. In addition to Bakema and Candilis, these included Van Eyck and Hovens Greve from the Netherlands, Rolf Gutmann and Theo Manz from Basel, Switzerland, and Christian Norberg-Schulz from Norway, whom Giedion had asked to help organize a new Norwegian CIAM group in 1949.⁸⁶ In a report to the Sigtuna meeting on CIAM "Junior-Groups," Norberg-Schulz stated that forty architectural schools had been contacted about establishing such groups, but only four positive answers had been received, from Basel, Zagreb,



4.5 Commission session, CIAM Council Meeting, Sigtuna, Sweden, 1952; from *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui* 42–43 (August 1952): xv.

Paris, and Karlsruhe. He reported that material from the MARS junior-groups was expected “which should give the basis for the organization,” but had not yet been received. In Holland and Norway, young members were working with the ordinary groups, Bakema with Opbouw, Van Eyck with De 8, and Norberg-Schulz himself with PAGON. Because in the postwar situation the sense of CIAM’s common basis was not as strong, Norberg-Schulz said that he would like the members to make a clear statement to answer the question, “Why do we join CIAM?” He hoped that by CIAM 9 there would be an “effective organization for the junior-groups,” and that their work would reveal the problems “mostly needed as a Theme for CIAM 10.”⁸⁷

The Sigtuna meeting was the first CIAM meeting where the split between the younger and middle generation of CIAM first became evident. In the first session, the French-language minutes indicate that Wogenscky of ASCORAL began the de-

bate by stating that CIAM should try to set out directing principles for modern architecture to follow, with the focus on the everyday place where the family lives. This focus would include not only the dwelling itself, but also its extensions in the form of commercial, health, education, and social and administrative services. Instead of the term “Habitat” he suggested “dwelling” (French *habitation*) to better indicate an overall form or structure of living, “a Gestalt” in the sense of Gestalt psychology. He also proposed that dwelling be subdivided into three functions, “heath, activity, and thought.”⁸⁸ In contrast, Alfred Roth asserted that given the vast dimensions of the subject, the Swiss group would like a critical and realistic discussion on methods of presentation for CIAM 9, focusing on readability, comparability, and easy reproduction of graphic material. Candilis, as a representative of the younger generation, responded by stressing that dwelling, in the sense of the dwelling unit, had been discussed at the prewar Congresses, while “Habitat” was a important new conception. Lauritzen noted the “very serious” opposition between Roth’s and Candilis’s positions, but remarked that fortunately “for us the ‘dwelling’ of Wogenscky strongly resembled the ‘Habitat’ of Candilis.” Emery then reminded the group that three-quarters of the world’s population cannot carry out the function of “habitat,” and urged that the next Congress proclaim the “right to dwelling” (*droit à l’habitation*). Uno Åhrén said the Swedish group agreed with Wogenscky’s definitions, and made a practical proposal for the structuring of the Congress by days. The Greek representative, John Despotopoulos, suggested that the problem was both the lack of collective services in housing and also problem of “antisocial and inaesthetic forms of urbanism and construction.” This prompted Aldo Van Eyck to object to classicism as an erroneous interpretation of the dynamic conception of the Greeks. CIAM, he argued, is the dynamic and avant-garde affirmation of a new philosophy of time in architecture, which is conducive to a new form of society.⁸⁹ Van Eyck’s comments in the Sigtuna sessions were further developments of ideas he had expressed since CIAM 6, which would eventually form one strand of the discourse of Team 10, discussed by Strauven in his *Aldo Van Eyck*.

The Sigtuna discussions on the proposed Charter of Habitat continued over the next several days, interspersed with tours of new Swedish architecture and Markelius’s presentation of the plans for the new town of Vällingby. Debate was wide-ranging and unfocused. Among the many comments, Wilhelm Schütte of Austria suggested that the contemporary reality in democratic societies was such that traditional “family life no longer existed,” which seems to be the first time the issue of the rights of women as well as men to “Habitat” was mentioned. Schütte suggested that working women were now more than simply housewives, and that today the dwelling was more like a restaurant where each family member could have his own quick meal. Under these conditions he thought it was “imprudent” for CIAM to say they wanted to recreate family life.⁹⁰

The third Sigtuna session established two commissions, one to define "Habitat," chaired by Wogenscky, and the other on the "Habitat Grid," chaired by Bodiansky. During the fourth and final session on Habitat, the argument continued over the term "dwelling" versus "Habitat." Van Eesteren noted that "dwelling" in English has a more reduced meaning than the French "habitation." Candilis compared the conflict to one before CIAM 4 over the term "urbanist," arguing that one cannot use these words in a traditional sense, and that "dwelling is not habitat." Rogers found "Habitat" too vague, and suggested that the Italian version of the "Charte de l'habitation" should be the "Carta dell'Abitare." Emery thought the issue had already been resolved in favor of "Habitat," to which Roth energetically agreed. Lods pointed out that time was limited. Finally Wogenscky resolved the issue by agreeing to maintain "Charter of Habitat" as the theme for CIAM 9, with the understanding that the Congress would deal with "'dwelling' in the expanded sense discussed."⁹¹ The delegates then agreed to a form of CIAM grid presentation developed by Lods and Ecochard and supported by Emery and Roth, and further agreed that Wogenscky would remain in charge of organization for CIAM 9. He reported that a Mediterranean cruise would be too expensive, and instead suggested Le Corbusier's Unité in Marseilles and adjacent hotels and campgrounds as a location, or an abbey in Aix-en-Provence. Rogers approved of the Marseilles location "in homage to Le Corbusier."

The MARS group had sent in a proposal for CIAM 9, accepting the choice of "Charter of Habitat" as the theme with the idea that the emphasis would be on the immediate environment of the dwelling, "rather than on the dwelling itself." They objected to the idea of a universal "Charter of Habitat," saying that a "primitive African or Asian society" will require a different one from a "more materially advanced" society. They mentioned the problem of "unbearably repetitive and soulless" housing which sometimes resulted from large-scale planning, "whether it takes the form of a uniform sprawl of low houses or a concentration in high blocks." The MARS proposal emphasized that CIAM 9 should focus on related activities external to the dwelling, along with their spatial requirements. Given the vastness of the subject of housing, MARS thought it would be best "to limit the discussions at CIAM 9 to questions on which architects are likely to be able to give an imaginative lead." Though most of the projects to be presented were actual schemes, they also thought groups should be able "to present, in the same format, ideal projects free from any limitations."⁹²

The fifth Sigtuna session, "Life and Situation of CIAM Groups," chaired by Van Eesteren, was devoted to reports from national groups.⁹³ Åhrén reported that the Swedish group, with twenty-two members, was in an active phase. Emery's Algiers group, Djezirat, had about ten members, and was preoccupied with the question of housing for the large number of migrants from the countryside to the city, con-

cerns parallel to those of Ecochard's group in Morocco. Schütte's Austrian group also had about twenty-two members, but its activities were limited for financial reasons. He said it had sponsored some exhibitions, including a Neutra exhibition in Vienna in 1950. Paul-Amaury Michel (1912–1988) reported difficulties with acceptance of CIAM ideas in Belgium, and Wogenscky complained of the "incorrigible individualism" of ASCORAL's membership in France. Lods reported that his French group, Bâtir, was particularly concerned with gathering information and was studying Ecochard's work in Morocco. Hebebrand of the German group admitted that after long isolation he found it difficult to follow what seemed to him to be the "very philosophical" discussions at Sigtuna, but that he was glad that since 1946 he had been in renewed contact with Lods in CIAM. Rogers mentioned that in Italy, CIAM ideas were countered by Bruno Zevi's organic architecture, but that CIAM had influence in the schools of architecture. Merkelbach of De 8 and Bakema of Opbouw reported that their two groups were increasingly working together, with differences of opinion that made for animated discussions. They reported that Oud had briefly rejoined but had since left.

Ecochard reported that his Moroccan GAMMA group, organized by Candilis, had fifteen members, including geographers and sociologists. Korsmo mentioned the difficulties due to the large area and small population of Norway, but said PAGON was active. Roth's Swiss BBZ group was involved in the reorganization of architectural education in the federal polytechnic (ETH) system, and had organized an exhibition on protecting the beauty of natural sites in Switzerland. Roth also mentioned that there was another German-Swiss group, "which works most strictly in the spirit of CIAM," Otto Senn's in Basel. Honegger reported that his Geneva group's activities were too tepid and he hoped to improve the situation. Despotopoulos said the situation was difficult for his Greek group, after a period of enthusiasm during postwar reconstruction. Candilis, of Greek origin, reminded the group of Despotopoulos's great influence as a teacher at the Ecole Polytechnique in Athens, but said emigration of architects was a problem for the group. Viana de Lima reported that three members of the Portuguese group were professors at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts there, but that modern architecture in Portugal was constrained by government influence.

Professor James of New York, who presented himself as an observer and not a delegate, noted that young Americans were interested in abstract art and its relationship to architecture, and he said that CIAM ideas were being put forward in the journal *Transformation*, with the collaboration of Sert, Gropius, Papadaki, and others. This journal, whose full title was *Transformation: Arts Communication Environment*, was a cross-disciplinary "world review" that began publication in New York in 1950 under the editorship of Harry Holtzman. Martin James of Brooklyn College, the associate editor, was probably the "Prof. James" present at Sigtuna.⁹⁴

Tyrwhitt, who emphasized that she was present as a member of the CIAM Council and not as a representative of MARS, said the question of the moment was how to maintain standards for MARS membership. She suggested that continued membership might be based on a review of work every five years. Bakema noted the absence of the Polish group, and suggested a future Congress might be held in Warsaw. Schütte noted that forty Western architects had been invited to Warsaw for a meeting in July 1952 (which Bakema would attend).⁹⁵ Rogers responded to this by saying that while the "cordial understanding" between Eastern and Western European CIAM groups must continue, the Polish representatives should also come to the West.⁹⁶

Candilis chaired the sixth Sigtuna session, on "The Place of the Young Generation in CIAM Groups," replacing Norberg-Schulz. He began the discussion with a manifesto-like statement that appears to be part of the prehistory of Team 10. He said he noted at Bergamo the presence of what he called "two families: those who had founded modern architecture and those that worked on the base provided by the founders." CIAM 9 should "mark a frontier between two phases of the work of CIAM, and at the same time between two generations," and he expressed the hope that the Charter of Habitat would be as important as the results of the Athens Congress. After describing the efforts to include new youth members begun at CIAM 8 by Ecochard, the Italian group, and ASCORAL, Candilis said he believed it was possible "to dream of a CIAM Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris." He proposed that the youth groups should work totally independently; he had himself formed such a group of fifteen members, without any older members, to work on this basis. He reminded the delegates that the young members would be numerous at CIAM 9, and that at the recent meeting in Paris the CIAM Council had proposed that CIAM 10 be organized entirely by the young.

Rogers replied by stating he was "resolutely" against this division of the younger and older members, a position he would continue to hold even after the dissolution of CIAM was declared after CIAM '59 in Otterlo. CIAM, he said, "was a body which renews itself." He categorically rejected the proposal that CIAM 10 be organized by the young, and Wogenscky agreed with him. Tyrwhitt thought the distinction was "between creators and non-creators," and since there existed a "génération moyenne" (middle generation) which she believed did not have the capability to create, for this reason they had to make an appeal to the young. Roth thought the situation should not be dramatized. Schütte argued for a liaison between the generations, with the "young under the control of the older." Ecochard agreed with both Candilis and Rogers, saying that the easier "imaginative play" of the young members meant they should be given tasks in CIAM, even at the risk of their making errors. Van Eesteren stated that he was not taking sides, but that systematizing CIAM was preparing its decay: to say, "we are 25 years old, we must

make a [new] charter" was not CIAM. Candilis concluded the discussion by saying CIAM's future success depended on adding "true creators," and that this must determine its conduct in the future.⁹⁷

In the final Sigtuna session, chaired by Van Eesteren, Rogers answered the question posed by Norberg-Schulz, "Why do we join CIAM?" by saying that societies needed a motivating and unifying symbol, and "that for us it is the struggle for modern architecture." Although times had changed, "our goal does not change but our methods do." Although CIAM "cannot make laws," it must find "a method for the solution of our problems." Despite individual and national differences and temperaments, Rogers insisted "we can construct a free and democratic society."

Wogenscky reminded the delegates that they must prepare for CIAM 9, and Van Eesteren then concluded the meeting by identifying what he saw as two important issues in the discussions at Sigtuna: "the ideology of CIAM," which he thought must be discussed at future Council meetings, and the debate over the terms "Habitat" versus "Dwelling." He noted that Wogenscky had found this preparatory meeting for CIAM 9 "a little chaotic," but said that in CIAM this was normal, and that "the birth of an idea is more or less chaotic."⁹⁸

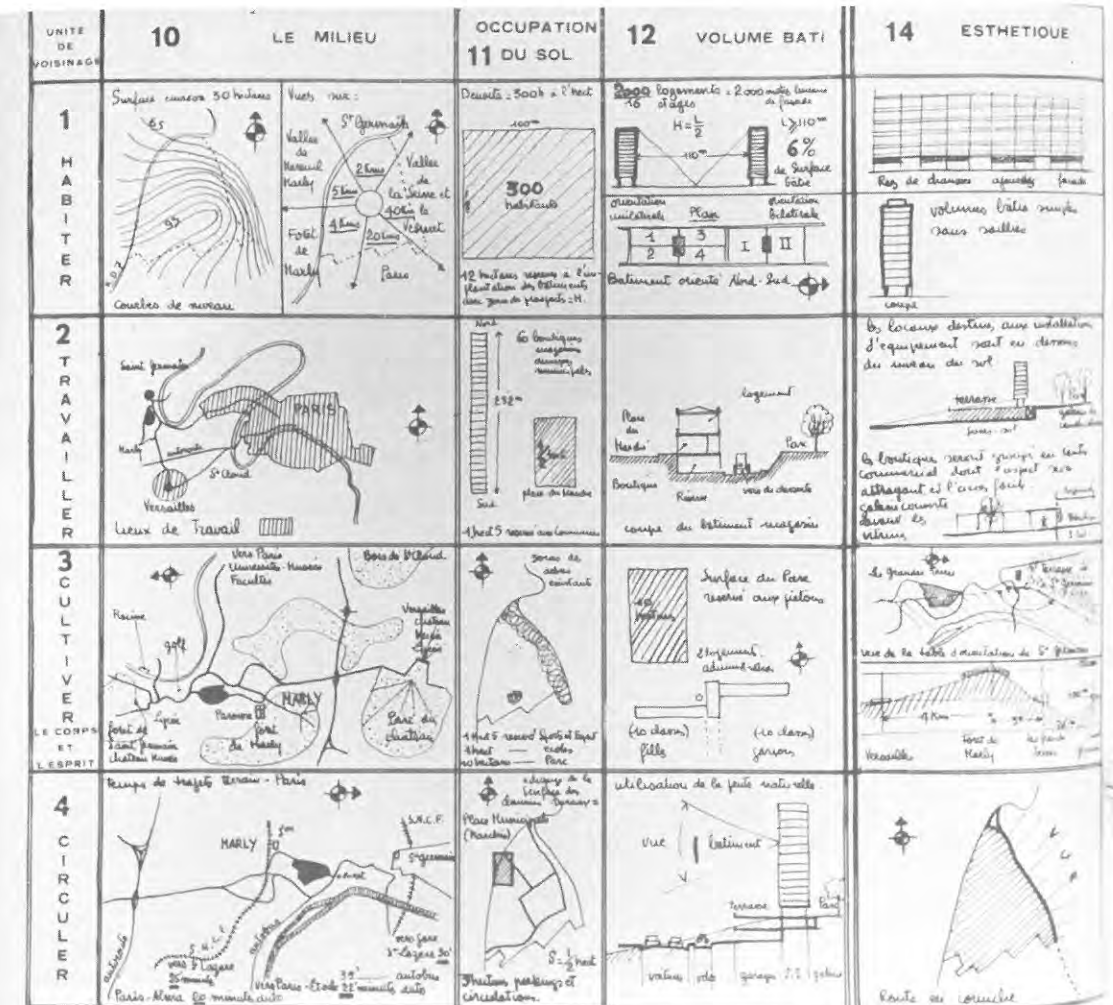
CIAM 9, Aix-en-Provence, 1953: The Charter of Habitat

At CIAM 9, held in the south of France in the summer of 1953, the split originating at Sigtuna between the "middle generation" of CIAM and the group of younger members that became Team 10 which began to be known within CIAM.⁹⁹ The Aix Congress was also where the Moroccan GAMMA group led by Georges Candilis presented its work and attempted to link the issue of "housing for the greater number," a theme of great concern to Ecochard, Emery, Bodiansky, and other architects in French North Africa in the early 1950s, to the proposed Charter of Habitat. It was both the largest CIAM Congress and the place where the young British architects Peter (b. 1923) and Alison Gill Smithson (1928–1993) openly challenged the CIAM discourse on the Functional City. At Aix the Smithsons questioned the continuing validity of the Athens Charter and proposed a new "hierarchy of human associations" to replace it. CIAM 9 was also attended by Jacob Bakema and Aldo Van Eyck, by Theo Manz and Rolf Gutmann from Switzerland, and by William and Jill Howell and John Voelcker, who were other British members of the "younger generation" of CIAM. Van Eyck later wrote, "The natural human association based on compatible conviction that led to Team 10 and its later extension grew at Aix-en-Provence." Van Eyck specifically named Blanche Lemco (later Van Ginkel); Voelcker; Alison and Peter Smithson, "apocalyptically loaded"; Howell, Candilis "the burning Greek"; Woods "often inspiringly silent"; and Bakema.¹⁰⁰

Unfortunately, given the importance of this Congress, Wogenscky and Giedion agreed after CIAM 9 not to publish detailed proceedings, which probably reflects the confusion and the disagreement over the proposed Charter of Habitat already evident at the Sigtuna meeting.¹⁰¹ The work program for CIAM 9 prepared by Wogenscky after the Sigtuna discussions and issued to members in January 1953 stated that "CIAM 9 will not resume the study of . . . [the] four functions but will concentrate upon *LIVING and everything that man plans and constructs for living*." The program emphasized that there was no intention of limiting the subject to the family dwelling, but instead the work should address "such things in the immediate environment as are necessary for a complete life." These the program termed "Extensions of the Dwelling," reflecting Le Corbusier's idea of "logement prolongé." The goal was to produce a "GRID OF LIVING," and to do this, "It is essential to study the function of Living before one can deduce elements that comprise a formal Grid." For uniform presentation the work program mandated that all material be presented in a CIAM Grid format of 21 × 33 cm panels, color-coded by function. The rigidly mounted panels were to contain a 6 cm vertical band on the right for title, a numerical key within the grid, and an explanatory caption. The drawings were to use standard colors, yellow for dwellings and footpaths, green for open space, blue for social services, and red for commercial services and main roads. Within the dwellings, work areas were to be colored in blue, circulation in yellow, food preparation in orange, meeting areas in red, hygiene in green, and maintenance in violet.¹⁰²

After the work program had been issued to the membership, a preparatory meeting for CIAM 9 with Giedion and Tyrwhitt was held in May 1953 at Sert's house in Locust Valley, on Long Island in the suburbs of New York City. The three discussed proposed themes for discussion at CIAM 9, such as "the walking radius [of the dwelling] as a universal problem"; "means of expressing the connection and interaction between the human cell and the environment"; "necessary degrees of privacy"; "value of vertical integration of age groups"; "advantages of compact planning versus continuous scatter"; the "relation of Habitat to the Core"; "means of expressing this continuity with the past"; and "need for gaiety in the Habitat." It was proposed that the results of these discussions would be the basis of a book to be called "The Human Habitat, CIAM 9," which would include "reproductions of interesting schemes shown at the Congress" and the completed "Charter of Habitat." Le Corbusier, Gropius, Rogers, Sert, Van Eesteren, Giedion, MARS, and Candilis would be asked to prepare papers for this publication of CIAM 9. A possible "CIAM Journal" was discussed, but it was decided that the time for this "was not yet opportune."¹⁰³

In England around this time, Wells Coates departed for Canada. The "youth members" whom Denys Lasdun described as "the new prime movers in MARS



4.6 Marcel Lods, Vladimir Bodiansky, et al., portion of CIAM 9 Grid showing factors of Les Grandes Terres de Marly project, 1953.

group affairs," William Howell, John Voelcker, and Peter and Alison Smithson, were elected to MARS membership in May 1953.¹⁰⁴ By 1953 the Smithsons had become active in the Independent Group, or IG, a group of young artists associated with the London Institute of Contemporary Art, which hosted a visit and accompanying symposium by Le Corbusier in May.¹⁰⁵

Under the title "La Charte de l'Habitat,"¹⁰⁶ CIAM 9 was held July 19–21, 1953 at the Ecole des Arts et Métiers in Aix-en-Provence, France, attended by an estimated

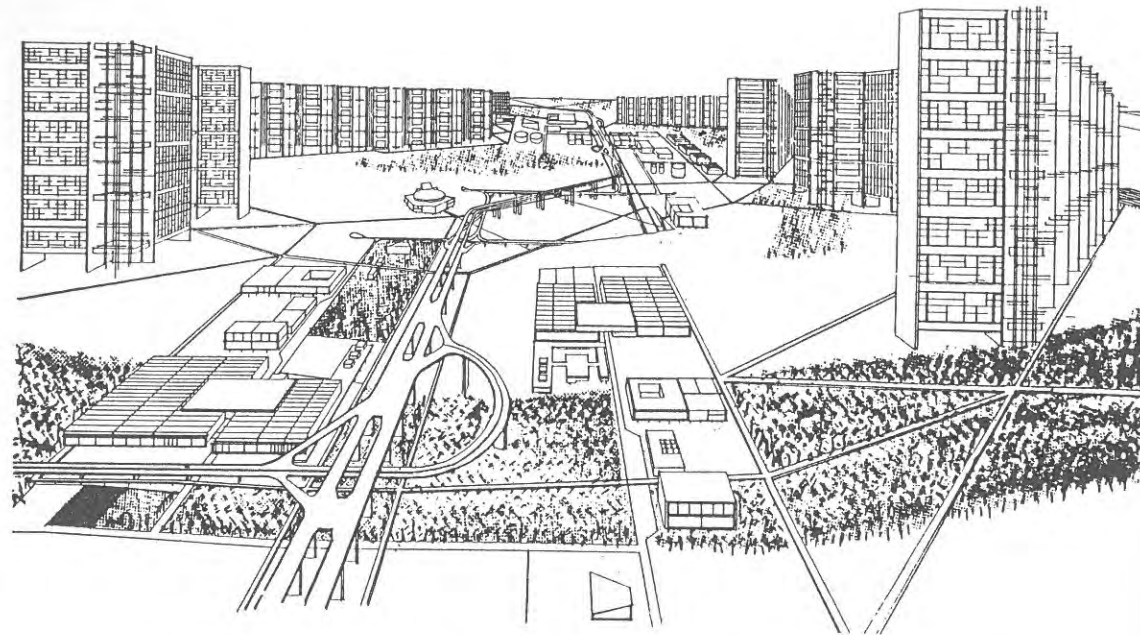
five hundred members from thirty-one countries, and by observers numbering in the thousands.¹⁰⁷ As part of the effort to “hand over” CIAM to the young generation on CIAM’s twenty-fifth anniversary, as discussed at CIAM 8, this was the last CIAM Congress attended by Le Corbusier and Gropius. Pierre-André Emery, one of the major participants, later described this Congress as both “the most important of all CIAM Congresses” and as “a sort of intellectual drugstore, where each person finds what he has come to seek.” He later noted the lack of “intellectual conciseness and the necessary discipline which had been the outstanding characteristic of the 1933 Athens Congress.”¹⁰⁸

The book proposed by Sert, Giedion, and Tyrwhitt on the Congress never appeared, and the archival documentation from CIAM 9 is incomplete, without the texts of talks given there, but it does include detailed minutes of the meetings of the six permanent Commissions. Commission 1, on “Urbanism,” was headed by Sert and divided into three subcommissions. Commission 2 “Visual Arts,” was chaired by Giedion, assisted by Van Eyck. Commission 3, “Formation of the Architect,” by Rogers; Commission 4, “Building Techniques,” was chaired by Coates and Bodiansky; Commission 5, “Legislation,” by Lods and Ecochard; and Commission 6, “Social Programs,” by Emery, Candilis, and Alfred Roth.¹⁰⁹ Delegates included most of those who had attended CIAM 8 and the Sigtuna meeting. Other notable attendees included Ernst May, whom Giedion had invited,¹¹⁰ attending for the first time since 1931 after practicing in British East Africa since 1934; Nicolas Quintana of the Cuban ATEC group; Minette da Silva of MARG, “India-Ceylon”; and Franco Albini (1905–1977) and Ignazio Gardella (b. 1905) of the Italian group, who were in charge of the CIAM Summer School in Venice. New “youth members” included E. Neuenchwander, a junior member of the Algerian group, and Rolf Gutmann from the Zurich group, who signed in “per A. Roth.”¹¹¹

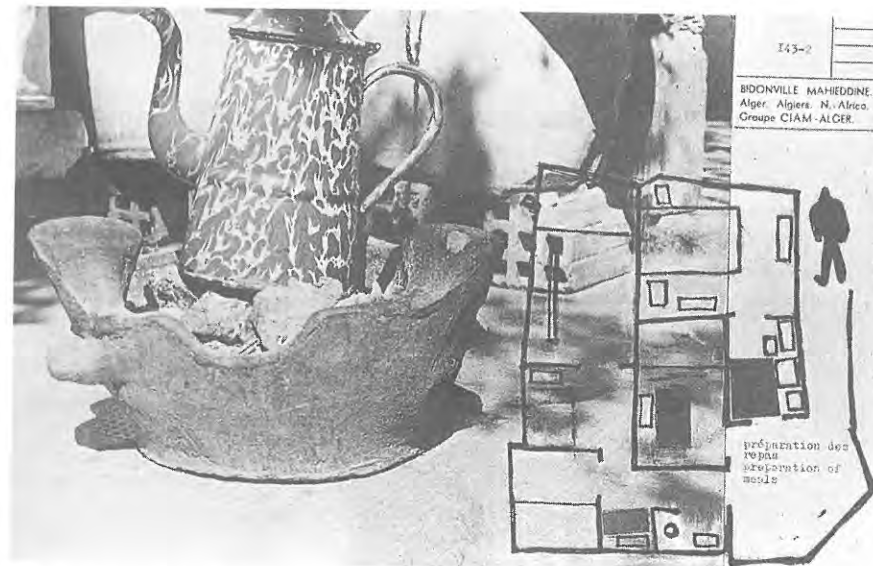
Approximately forty grids were displayed at CIAM 9, the most ever at a post-war Congress, and Sert had “hundreds” of photographs taken of these. Among those displayed were four actual projects and two conceptual schemes by “youth members” of the MARS group. The MARS projects were the Golden Lane redevelopment in London by Chamberlin, Powell, and Bon, and three London slab housing projects: the Hallfield Estate in Paddington by Drake and Lasdun; Churchill Gardens in Pimlico by Philip Powell (b. 1921) and J. Hidalgo Moya (1920–1994); and the Alton estate at Roehampton by a team that included J. Leslie Martin (b. 1908), William Howell, and John Killick.¹¹² The “youth” projects were a collaborative Architectural Association thesis called “Zone” by Pat Crooke, Andrew Derbyshire, and John Voelcker,¹¹³ and the “Urban Reidentification” grid by the Smithsons, discussed below.¹¹⁴ Other grids presented were “Les Grandes Terres de Marly,” a French slab project by Bodiansky, Lods, and Honegger;¹¹⁵ “Aluminum Applications” by Jean Prouvé (b. 1901); the Pendrecht district in Rotterdam by Bakema,



4.7 Powell and Moya, London County Council housing at Churchill Gardens, Pimlico, shown at CIAM 9, 1953.



4.8 John Voelcker, Pat Crooke, Andrew Derbyshire, "Zone" project grid panel from CIAM 9, 1953.



4.9 CIAM-Alger Group (Emery et al.), Bidonville Mahieddine, Algiers, Grid panel from CIAM 9, 1953, showing plan of informal housing and cooking pot.

Lotte Stam-Beese, Wissing, Hovens Greve, Croosman, and Romke de Vries;¹¹⁶ the plan for the Prince Alexanderpolder near Rotterdam by Bakema and the Opbouw group; two residential quarters in Basel by Otto Senn, Rolf Gutmann, and K. Wicker; the Bernabo Brea Unité in Genoa by L. Danieri; the Cesate quarter near Milan by Albini, Gardella, Galbricci, and BBPR; a plan for the Borgo Porto Conte in Sardinia by Figini and Pollini;¹¹⁷ a Norwegian residential quarter by Gregor Paulson and Sverre Fehn (b. 1924); the Grindelberg high-rise housing in Hamburg by Trautwein and others; and Gropius and TAC's Six Moon Hill subdivision in Lexington, Massachusetts.¹¹⁸

Analytical projects were also presented, including an analysis of an Algiers squatter settlement by Emery's group, which included Jean de Maisonseul;¹¹⁹ "L'Habitat Marocain," a combination of an analysis of Moroccan squatter settlements and new work by Ecochard, Bodiansky, Candilis, Kennedy, Piot, Woods, Godefroy, and Beraud; an analysis of Levittown by Robert Geddes (b. 1923), Blanche

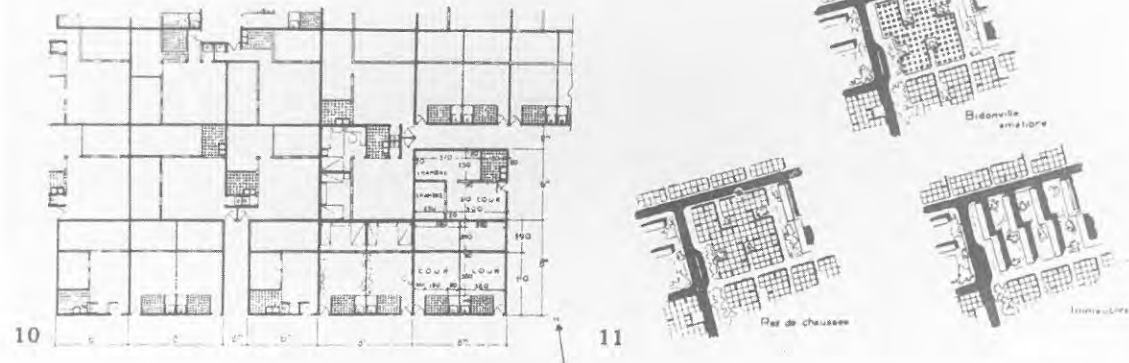


4.10 GAMMA Group, Morocco (Bodiansky, Candilis, Kennedy, Piot, Woods, Ecochard, Godefroy, Beraud), "The Moroccan Habitat, or Habitat for the Greater Number," Grid panel from CIAM 9, 1953, with aerial photograph showing constructed 8 x 8 meter courtyard houses.

10. DETAIL DE LA TRAME 8/8 TYPE.

11. LES TROIS ETAPES DE REALISATION DE L'HABITAT DE TYPE MAROCAIN.

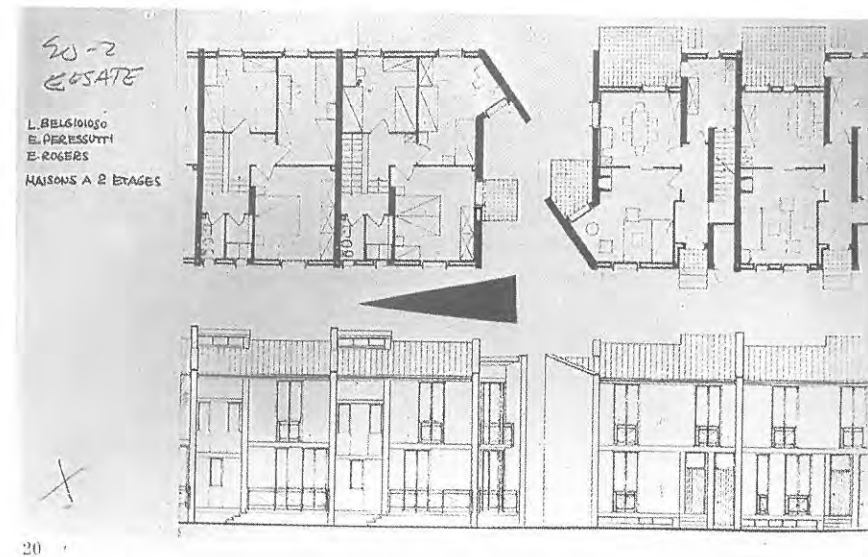
12. COMPARAISON DE DEUX SURFACES EGALES COMPORTANT CHACUNE 322 LOGEMENTS DE 3 m. x 8 m. La surface A comporte 22,4 m² de voirie pour un logement, tandis que la surface B n'en a que 7,8 m², mais par contre a 13,6 m² de surface commune libre.



4.11 GAMMA Group, Morocco, sample layout of 8 x 8 meter courtyard houses, and site plan diagrams showing modified squatter settlement, new grid layout of basic services, and future modern slab housing.

Lemco, and George W. Qualls (b. 1923) of the United States;¹²⁰ an analysis of the Neubühl after twenty years by two of its architects, Alfred and Emil Roth, and other Zurich members; and a study of low-cost housing in Chandigarh by N. S. Lhamba, working with Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew.¹²¹

Later accounts, many of them by the Smithsons themselves, have emphasized the importance of the Smithsons's "Urban Reidentification," grid, which seems to have been influenced by their association with the Independent Group.¹²² Much of what they presented had been developed in a competition project for the London Golden Lane site in 1952, which they discussed in a series of essays written in 1952–1953. In these essays they identified the task of their generation as "the reidentification of man with his house, his community, his city."¹²³ Their Golden Lane project had proposed Unité-type slabs joined by wide and continuous pedestrian pathways on their upper floors to create a new urban pattern. Although the scheme was a variation of the residential redent blocks that Le Corbusier had been projecting since the 1920s, particularly his "îlot insalubre numéro 6" project for Paris of 1937, it had a looser, more "organic" and less geometrical layout. The Smithsons called the duplex maisonette units of their scheme "houses" and the widened continuous gallery-access corridors "streets in the air."



4.12 Belgiojoso, Peressutti, and Rogers, Grid panel from CIAM 9, 1953, showing two-story row-houses at Cesate, Milan.



4.13 Alison and Peter Smithson, "Urban Reidentification" grid from CIAM 9, 1953.

At Aix the "Urban Reidentification" project was presented in a CIAM Grid format, but half the regulation-sized panels were filled with Nigel Henderson's photographs of children playing hopscotch and a colorful and playful human figure, which served as a kind of counterpoint to their nonorthogonal plan diagrams of the housing scheme. The grid was perhaps influenced by the Smithson's encounter with the work of artists like Jackson Pollock, who Peter Smithson later said had inspired him to believe that a "freer, more complex yet quite comprehensible idea of 'order' might be developed."¹²⁴ Not only Nigel Henderson's photographs but also the Smithsons'



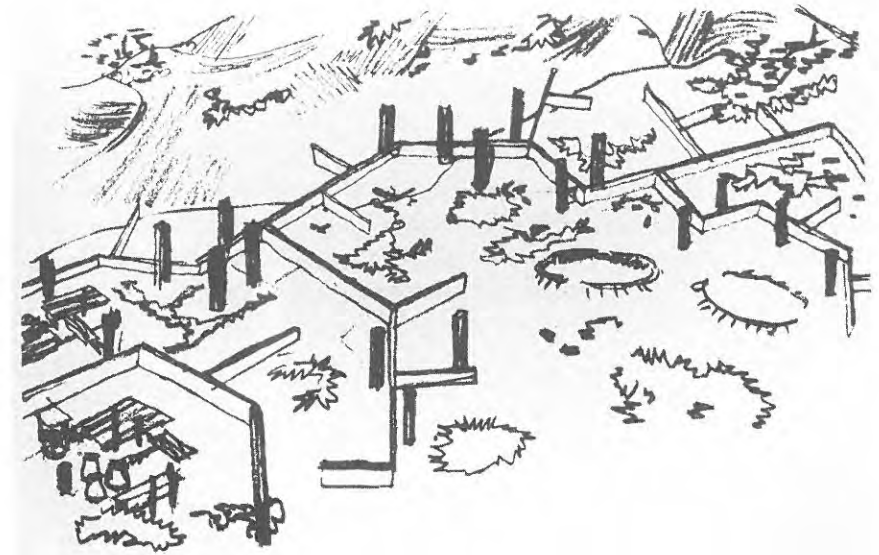
4.14 Alison and Peter Smithson, Grid panel from "Urban Reidentification" grid, "London Street, decorated with flags and text," from CIAM 9, 1953.

discussions with his wife Judith Stephen, an anthropologist conducting studies of working-class neighborhood life reminiscent of the prewar work of the Chicago School of sociology, seemed to inform the rhetoric of the project's presentation.¹²⁵

The text that accompanied the scheme stressed the theme of "Urban Reidentification":

This Grille is concerned with the problem of identity. It proposes that a community should be built up from a hierarchy of associational elements and tries to express these various levels of association (THE HOUSE, THE STREET, THE DISTRICT, THE CITY) algebraically. 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 in our new, non-demonstrative society. The problem of reidentifying man with his environment (contenu et contenant) cannot be achieved by using hierarchical forms of house-groupings, streets, squares, greens, etc., as the social reality they presented no longer exists. In the complex of association that is

a community, social cohesion can only be achieved if ease of movement is possible and this provides us with only second law [sic], that height (density) should increase as the total population increases, and vice versa. In a large city with high buildings, in order to keep ease of movement, we propose a multi-level city with residential "streets-in-the-air." These are linked together in a multi-level continuous complex, connected where necessary to work and to those ground elements that are necessary at each level of association. Our hierarchy of associations is woven into a modulated continuum representing the true complexity of human association. This conception is in direct opposition to the arbitrary isolation of the so-called communities of the "Unité" and the "neighborhood." We are of the opinion that such a hierarchy of human associations should replace the functional hierarchy of the "Charte d'Athènes."¹²⁶



4.15 Alison and Peter Smithson, Grid panel from "Urban Reidentification" grid, aerial perspective sketch of Golden Lane competition project, 1952.

Though it was never entirely clear what the Smithsons' "new equivalents" for houses, streets, and cities would be, beyond their modifications of already-familiar Corbusian proposals, at a polemical level their evocation of "human association" and mobility seems to have been a revitalizing element in what had become an established CIAM discourse based on the four functions. They seemed to be suggesting a way of reconfiguring the city without losing the vitality of working-class street

life, which the Smithsons were among the first to recognize as possibly superior to the kind of existence being brought into being by CIAM architects.

The Smithsons linked their work with the presentations of the French Algerian and Moroccan groups as pointing the way toward the elusive "Charter of Habitat." The presentations of Bodiansky, Candilis, Emery, and their associates showed photographs of conditions in the North African squatter settlements and described the demographic forces that gave rise to them. Alison Smithson recalled that "the presentation virtually conformed to the standard 'Grille' . . . quite impressive in itself. The CIAM ALGER 'Grille' had forty-nine vertical stripes, all the standard three and a half panels high and went round one and a half sides of a hall. The 'Grille' of GAMMA, Maroc, backed up the impression created by the Algerian . . . all so long it was difficult to make out where one story began or another ended."¹²⁷ This was one of the first major efforts by CIAM architects to call attention to the problem of rapid urbanization in developing countries, which Bodiansky called "Housing for the Greater Number," the title of a report he submitted to the U.N. Economic and Social Council in 1952.¹²⁸ The GAMMA panels displayed their 8 × 8 m grid projects for new settlements in Morocco, and Candilis, Woods, and Bodiansky presented a set of three new slab blocks they had designed in the Carrières Centrales settlement in Casablanca that adapted the Unité idea to Islamic conventions of privacy and enclosure.¹²⁹ These grids were accompanied by a report on "The Moroccan Habitat," which described the growth of squatter settlements in Morocco and asserted that housing intended for such populations must have an evolutionary, adaptive character suitable to local climate and technology.¹³⁰ For Bodiansky, Candilis, and the Moroccan group, "Habitat" meant the idea of housing as an evolutionary process, beginning with the provision of basic infrastructure and partially self-built housing and "evolving" toward more "advanced" housing solutions like the Unité d'Habitation. As Sert and Wiener had expected in Peru, they assumed that with a rising standard of living, the initial settlements of small courtyard houses would eventually give way to more expensive and technologically complex slab blocks, and they presented both types of projects at Aix. In a similar way to the Smithsons' presentation, the Moroccan group's conception of "Habitat" combined a changed attitude toward the urban design process with Corbusian prototypes inflected with a new awareness of local cultural realities.

Members of both the French North African delegations and the MARS "youth members," the Smithsons and the Howells, were members of "Commission Six," chaired by Emery, along with Candilis.¹³¹ The summary description of this commission on "Social Questions" noted that the majority of the world's population could not "dwell." Habitat, it asserted, "should be a permanent contract between society and the individual, with reciprocal rights and obligations." In their "Report of the English Group," the Smithsons and Howells insisted that the commission should

be "concerned with fundamental human association" and should "construct a hierarchy of human associations which should replace the functional hierarchy of the Charte d'Athènes." Instead of the four functional categories, this hierarchy would be based on their proposed categories of "house, street, district, and city."¹³² The Dutch group's report to the same commission, by Lotte Stam-Beese, principal designer of the Pendrecht district in Rotterdam, and by E. F. Groosmann, suggested that the task of the town planner was to identify "areas of contact" of the components of society. This identification will "open up the possibility of a new hierarchy based on the *interrelation* of fixed and changing contacts."¹³³ In a letter to Tyrwhitt after CIAM 9, Emery noted that he had decided not to combine the reports of "Howell and the English group" with the report of "Madame Stam-Beese and the Dutch group" in his final version of the commission report, and instead included both before his concluding section, which reaffirmed the "right of habitat" for everyone.¹³⁴

A subcommission of Commission 1, on "Urbanism," chaired by Bakema, did not promote specific solutions in its report but called attention to the rapidly increasing scale of the urbanization process, saying "the most urgent problem next to food and health is the provision of dwelling." The report continued, "Technically we are being asked to build millions of dwellings. It must be stressed that this is not a numerical problem *alone*. The multiplication of dwellings is limited by several conditions—sociological, economical, geographical, political and plastic. Any architectural or town planning proposals which ignore these conditions and do not give MAN HIS IDENTITY fail to meet the requirements of LIFE." This "identity" was to be found in the residential unit, in the community unit, in the town, and in the region, "in other words *in all stages of multiplication*." By differentiating between functions, as between "the dwelling and the residential unit," the "visual group" can be used to facilitate "belonging." This provides an "enriching sense of neighborliness," which can be measured visually, since "THE EYE IS A SURE MEASURE OF HUMAN SCALE," and "what can be seen at one glance is immediately recognized as an entity." The report emphasized that the "visual group has first an emotional basis": the grouping of units and elements was to facilitate emotional identification with one's environment.¹³⁵

CIAM 9 concluded with a visit to Le Corbusier's newly completed Unité in Marseilles, which *Architectural Design* reported made a strong impression on the delegates.¹³⁶ In the evening the French delegates arranged a strip-tease performance to conclude a party held on the roof of the Unité in Marseilles, which apparently scandalized some members of the Dutch delegation, and perhaps conveyed an image of lack of seriousness in CIAM by this point.¹³⁷ Giedion told Le Corbusier he thought this party was "splendid," and the beauty of the moon and sky gave the group the courage to discuss the theme "what does CIAM mean for us?"¹³⁸

The new directions evident in the work shown at CIAM 9, both that of the Smithsons and of the North African groups, combined with Jacob Bakema's emphasis on both the social and the architectural importance of the "relation between men and things," which he had first expressed at CIAM 6, began to suggest how a proposed "Charter of Habitat" might differ from the Athens Charter. But the basic issue of CIAM's ability to "guide" urban development in much of the developed or the developing world was not discussed for the most part at CIAM 9. Nor did participants consider the potential contradictions between a Corbusian formal vocabulary and the actual needs and desires of the population to be housed, an issue that would eventually discredit CIAM for later generations.

Team 10 and CIAM 10, Dubrovnik, 1956

In September 1953, shortly after CIAM 9, CIAM president Sert took up his new position as dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Design. According to Jerzy Soltan, a former associate of Le Corbusier, and later a Team 10 member and director of the Harvard architecture department, Oscar Niemeyer was the first choice for the position, but during the McCarthy era his Communist Party membership meant that he was not permitted even to enter the United States, much less direct an academic department. Ernesto Rogers, the second choice, turned down the offer.¹³⁹

In December 1953, the Howells, the Smithsons, and John Voelcker met in London for what the minutes called "Reflections on CIAM 9 and Proposals for Immediate work."¹⁴⁰ This document reported that despite the "Charter of Habitat" theme, at Aix "no concrete propositions for this Charter were made." The group decided that because no clear idea existed of what the proposed Charter should be, no attempt should be made to formulate it until after CIAM 10, then planned for 1955. The group concluded that the lack of definite conclusions from Aix was the fault of the administration of CIAM, and that "the accepted definitions and methods of work within CIAM are not adequate for dealing with the problems with which we are faced today."

To improve administration, the group proposed that smaller work groups, rather than "CIRPAC" (CIAM Council) members, keep in contact with each other between Congresses. The group acknowledged that the Athens Charter was of great historical importance, but also stated, "it is clear that the contents of the Charter are no longer instruments for creative development." Nor did they find the titles of the permanent commissions "relevant to the problem with which we are concerned." Rather than these "analytic" categories, the group proposed new "synthetic" categories, based on the terminology of Patrick Geddes's "Valley Section."¹⁴¹ This methodology was based on the observation that towns often developed in river valleys and it called attention to how members of traditional occupations,

ranging from fishermen at water level through gardeners and peasant farmers in the lowlands, to shepherds on the lower slopes and hunters, woodmen, and miners in the mountains, each occupied a specific topographical place.

A month later, in January 1954, a Dutch committee set up at CIAM 9 organized a meeting to further develop the emerging new directions in CIAM. This committee consisted of Bakema, Van Eyck, H. Daniel ("Sandy") van Ginkel, Mart Stam, and the Rotterdam social economist Hans Hovens Greve.¹⁴² What came to known as the "Doorn meeting" took place January 29–31, 1954, at Paddestoel, the country house of Lucia Hubrecht, at that time the wife of Van Ginkel, at Doorn in the Netherlands.¹⁴³ The "Doorn group" attending were Peter Smithson, Voelcker, Bakema, Van Eyck, Van Ginkel, and Hovens Greve. Also invited but unable to attend were Wogenscky, Candilis, Gutmann, and Lasdun; Smithson, not initially invited, attended in place of the latter.¹⁴⁴ According to minutes from the meeting taken by Amita Schumacher, checked by Van Ginkel, and published by Alison Smithson, Bakema opened the discussion by raising Wogenscky's concerns about the growing numbers of CIAM Congress attendees. He mentioned Sert's insistence that all members be part of the Congresses' work,¹⁴⁵ and Giedion's equally strong sense that the present pattern of work could not continue. Smithson asserted that Bodiansky and others would continue to be guided by the Athens Charter and would say the same things at the next Congress as they did at Aix. He reported that he and others in England were "working out [an] idea for [an] other organization." He then proposed the idea of "commissions of atmospheres" based on the Valley Section. These would be organized around (1) detached houses, (2) villages, (3) towns, and (4) cities, as he thought it was "wrong to build the same house" in all of these locales "as is done by now. [The] pattern of the house depends on the environment."¹⁴⁶

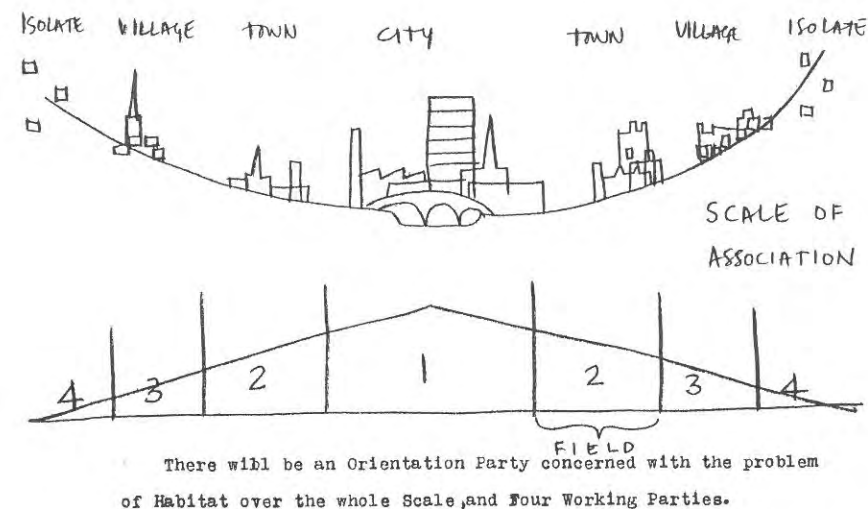
A few years later the MARS member Denys Lasdun wrote that at Doorn the "English and Dutch groups found their closest affinities." In the notes from the meeting, Bakema is quoted as saying that in the Netherlands the problem was a conflict between the new "simultaneous approach" and functionalism. He believed that the Athens Charter was too much the work of Rudolf Steiger, and "too little of Corbu." Van Eyck agreed that there was "too much science contra emotion" in CIAM, and reminded the group that "dadaism never dived in science, but combined art and life."¹⁴⁷

Also at the Doorn meeting Bakema showed his project for the recently completed Lijnbaan in Rotterdam, where he tried to combine the pedestrian shopping street with the proposed adjacent residential slab blocks into an overall set of social and visual relationships. After the meeting, the "Doorn group" of Bakema, Van Eyck, Van Ginkel, Hovens Greve, Peter Smithson, and Voelcker concluded by issuing a "Statement on Habitat," which explicitly rejected the Athens Charter, saying, "Urbanism considered and developed in the terms of the Charte d'Athenes tends to



4.16 Van den Broek and Bakema, De Lijnbaan Shopping Center, Rotterdam, 1953. Influential traffic-free pedestrian shopping street designed in coordination with the tall slab housing blocks adjacent (H. A. Maaskant, A. Krijgsman, H. D. Bakker, 1954).

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."¹⁴⁸ The Doorn "Statement on Habitat" was illustrated with Peter Smithson's sketch version of



4.17 Alison and Peter Smithson, sketch of "scales of association" from Geddes's Valley Section, to be used for CIAM 10 project presentation, from the "Draft Framework 3" guidelines for CIAM 10, 1954.

Geddes's Valley Section, which showed cities in the valley, towns and then villages on the lower slopes, and detached buildings on higher slopes. The statement suggested that CIAM "working parties" be set up to replace the commissions, each to operate in a "field" on this Valley Section "scale of association." Particular functions would now be studied within "their appropriate ecological field," as aspects of each "total problem" of human association.¹⁴⁹

After Doorn, the public emphasis of the young CIAM members was on the rejection of the Athens Charter. In April 1954, Lasdun quoted John Voelcker as saying, "The 'four functions' of the Athens Charter, living, working, recreation and transportation, neither correspond to the way in which urban problems present themselves, nor with the way in which one sets about solving them. The choice of the four functions is arbitrary, they are not homologous terms. The 'four functions' provide (at best) only a very approximate classification of Urban structure."¹⁵⁰ The first CIAM Council meeting after CIAM 9, held at UNESCO Headquarters in Paris on June 30, 1954, was where what became Team 10 was formally constituted as the "Committee for CIAM 10."¹⁵¹ At this point it was assumed that CIAM 10 would take place in Algiers in September 1955, and debate focused on whether CIAM 10 should actually attempt to write a "Charter of Habitat" or simply continue the discussion begun at Aix on the subject.¹⁵² On one side Emery, Tyrwhitt, Giedion, Lods, and Honegger insisted that such a charter was an "urgent necessity," and Steiger, Wogenscky and Roth agreed it was "essential to carry it through to a conclusion." Le Corbusier and

Sert, however, took the opposite position and argued instead that CIAM 10 should simply “give birth to an idea,” and proposed that the Congress be titled “Problems of the Human Habitat: First CIAM Proposals,” with the subtitle “Statements and Recommendations.”

It was then agreed that “the preparation of CIAM 10 should be placed in the hands of a small group of individuals, volunteering for the task,” and that the “graphic material produced for CIAM 10 should take the form of an ideal Habitat, fully cognizant of social and climatic conditions, but not curbed by existing laws or economic considerations.” The minutes of the 1954 Paris Council meeting further record that the permanent commissions would be reorganized, since “synthesis was more important than further analysis.” A “CIAM 10 Committee” was established, consisting of Bakema, Candilis, Peter Smithson, and Rolf Gutmann of the Swiss BBZ group. These four were to work together and maintain close contact with an advisory group consisting of Sert, Giedion, Le Corbusier, Gropius, and Tyrwhitt.¹⁵³ “It was agreed,” the minutes note, “that the subject of the Congress remained the ‘Habitat.’” Though the term “Charter” would not be used, the Congress would nevertheless attempt to develop “a series of definite statements and resolutions that would serve to orient and guide architects and officials working in this field.” The “CIAM 10 Committee,” not yet called “Team 10,” would “carry out these directives.”¹⁵⁴ Emery’s group would host the Congress in Algiers in September 1955, with participation limited to 150, “including students who can only be admitted as part of the Group delegations”; observers would not be allowed. A work program in French and English would be finalized in the fall of 1954, subject to Bakema’s approval, and it was decided that another preparatory meeting would be held in La Sarraz in May 1955.¹⁵⁵

In a subsequent meeting on July 29, 1954, in London, the Smithsons and Howells, meeting with Tyrwhitt, expanded the “CIAM 10 Committee” to include others from the Doorn group, which the minutes list as William Howell, Shadrach Woods, Van Eyck, Voelcker, “Stude” (possibly the Swiss architect André Studer, then working in Morocco), and E. Neuenschwander, possibly then still a member of the Algerian group, bringing the total to eleven. The report of this meeting written by Tyrwhitt and sent to Bakema, Sert, and Giedion also records that the “architect wives of Smithson and Howell, will certainly work with the Committee.”¹⁵⁶

The group’s agenda was to draft the program of CIAM 10, to be focused on the “ideal habitat.” The “Draft Framework 3” presented by the Smithsons for discussion noted, “We of the Yongers [sic] received a shock at Aix, seeing how far the wonder of the ‘Ville Radieuse’ had faded from CIAM.” It continued, “CIAM X must make clear that we as Architects accept the responsibility for the creation of order through form.” The Draft Framework proposed that the projects be presented according to Smithson’s Doorn “scale of association,” with “Working Parties” focus-

ing on the four fields of “1) city, 2) town, 3) village, and 4) isolate.” The goal would be “to induce a study of Human Associations as a basic principle of urbanism.” The Working Parties would try “to find if any general and useful laws can be deduced from the projects presented — archetypes, — universals, — trends” to form the basis of the “statements and recommendations” for CIAM 10. Each project was to be submitted on four standard 8 × 13 inch grille panels, with a 2.5-inch information strip down the left side. For exhibition these were to be photographically enlarged to 16 × 26 inches and mounted in a “T” formation, with three panels in a row and a “Significant Image” panel below the middle one. The four scales of human association were to be coded black for the city, brown for the town, green for the village, and blue for the “isolate,” or detached suburban building.¹⁵⁷ Le Corbusier’s Unité as situated within the plan of St.-Dié was selected as the test sample for the presentation guidelines. In her report of the meeting, Tyrwhitt concluded that she was “highly impressed with the seriousness and imagination with which the preparations for CIAM 10 are proceeding.”

On September 14, 1954, Bakema, Van Eyck, Sandy van Ginkel (listed as “van Winkl” in the minutes), the Smithsons, the Howells, and Candilis, met with Giedion and Le Corbusier at Le Corbusier’s apartment in Paris. The agenda was to discuss the CIAM 10 Committee’s “Draft Framework 3,” which the minutes note had been “prepared at an earlier meeting in London.” The Team 10 group criticized the present organization of CIAM and argued it should be a “working Congress,” limited to a small number of participants. The new group also thought there should be six rather than four days of work at the next Congress. It was critical of the “too personal” work exhibited at CIAM 9, although it did note the “interesting wider studies” of the Algiers group and Opbouw’s Alexanderpolder project. New commission titles were agreed to, within the “different scale-grouping of *Human Habitat*,” and the CIAM 10 Committee agreed to send out revised “Instructions to Groups.”¹⁵⁸ Le Corbusier suggested minor changes, and, according to Alison Smithson, Van Ginkel recalled his saying to the group, “If you want to continue, continue in your own way.”¹⁵⁹

The Dutch members seem to have found the “Draft Framework 3” instructions to groups too brief and open-ended. Bakema sent a “Dutch supplement” with twenty points he wanted clarified, and Van Eyck wrote an elaborate commentary proposing major changes, including the need for a historical introduction explaining Team 10’s quarrel with CIAM, and for a more complete explanation of the proposed new working method. He also suggested confronting CIAM 10 with three “fundamental problems”: the “greater reality of the doorstep [i.e., threshold],” or space of “in-between”; “time as a positive factor in plastic expression,” or “growth and change”; and the “aesthetics of number.”¹⁶⁰ The Smithsons ignored these suggestions, which led Van Eyck to develop his own version of the CIAM 10 guidelines, proposing four new working committees. Bakema agreed with Van Eyck’s new

version, and sent copies to all the Team 10 members and its Advisory Council. The Smithsons and Voelcker replied that they were “completely bewildered” by the Dutch criticisms, and insisted that “the Yongers [sic] group must abide by what we all decided in Paris.” They added that they felt “it would also be a disaster” if Bakema’s revisions were circulated to all the CIAM national groups. After further exchanges, which have been traced by Strauven, the Smithsons issued another Draft Framework in December 1954,¹⁶¹ but the advisory committee of Sert, Gropius, Giedion, and Tyrwhitt had criticisms of this as well. Although they acknowledged “the difficult task Team X took on its hands,” they were critical of the vagueness and inaccuracies they found in the presentation guidelines, adding

We consider that Team X’s criticisms of the Charte d’Athènes need setting in some perspective. . . . Its four functions still comprise an excellent body of doctrine, especially useful when drawing up a general framework for a master plan. Everybody is aware that the generalizations of the Charte d’Athènes need to be amplified when one gets down to details, and the Charte now needs to be developed and completed to include the concept of human association, which was introduced in CIAM in our studies of the Core.¹⁶²

Several months later, Candilis reported to Bakema and the Smithsons that “Giedion, bringing out his point of view which is certainly the same as Sert, Gropius and Tyrwhitt, is terribly worried about the spiritual and material organisation” of CIAM 10, and said Giedion found the Team 10 presentation guidelines unclear. In their reply, the Smithsons said “perhaps we should not find it surprising if the ‘old guard’ are worried,” and referred to the four as the “American professors,” whose personal schedules they thought were taking precedence over the “needs of the Congress” in postponing the May 1955 La Sarraz meeting.¹⁶³ In April 1955, Le Corbusier remarked to Giedion that “the ‘young’ do not have the strength to embrace the terrible complexity of the modern phenomenon. A ‘broad outlook’ may take the form here of the absence of outlook, or else adopting the attitude of debilitating negations and a verbal dilettantism.” He envisaged the Charter of Habitat not as a “new step” but as the “conclusion of 25 years of CIAM,” adding, “CIAM should bequeath a Charter and not draw up one.” He thought that Sert, as president of CIAM, dean of Harvard, a “Spaniard living among Anglo-Saxons (economical), and used to technical ([and] social) debate,” should compose the charter. It should be brief, like the Athens Charter, for the use of legislators in different countries and for the young, “to order, to keep in line, a weapon of attack and defense.”¹⁶⁴

On May 9, 1955, after Candilis had spoken with him about Team 10’s intentions for CIAM 10, Le Corbusier, in his self-appointed role as “CIAM Vice-President for Europe,” sent Bakema fifty copies for general distribution of an “Intervention”

concerning Team 10 along with the official invitation to CIAM 10, which was now to be titled “The Problems of the Human Habitat.” Le Corbusier’s intervention stated,

The propositions set forward by Team X are sound and perfectly acceptable. I have excepted the fact that (due to youth and inexperience) the phraseology has often been confused and the documents have been issued without any immediately visible reference to their contents. Also the papers have been sent out in English which makes them difficult if not impossible to understand for those who have not had to become well acquainted with that language. The French translations have always arrived very much later. I would like to take this opportunity of stating that English is not a world language: that, bilingualism—at the very least—is essential, and that this rule should be carefully observed by CIAM.¹⁶⁵

Another CIRPAC/CIAM Council meeting was then held in Paris on July 4, 1955. At this meeting, Franco Albini of Italy was critical of the vagueness of Team 10’s instructions, and Candilis admitted that the example of the grid for CIAM 10 that had been distributed had not expressed their intentions clearly. Emery thought that “the present political situation” did not require the cancellation of Algiers as the site of CIAM 10, “but that he was unable to predict what might happen in the next few weeks.” It was then decided that the next CIAM 10 preparatory meeting would be held at La Sarraz in September, organized by the Swiss group and chaired by Emery.¹⁶⁶ Team 10 and Ecochard were to “work closely with him on the preparation of the programme, but a suggestion that the Chairmanship of the meeting be shared was defeated.” It would be a “working reunion” limited to thirty participants, including “the members of Team X and their advisers,” and would consider the conclusions of CIAM 9 and the preparation for CIAM 10. The CIAM 9 grids collected by Tyrwhitt for exhibition in the United States would also be displayed.¹⁶⁷

This La Sarraz meeting was held September 8–10, 1955, and was attended by Rogers, Giedion, the Smithsons, Wogenscky, Van Eesteren, Roth and Gutmann (BBZ), Bakema (Opbouw), Fitschy (Brussels-Antwerp), Schütte (Austria), Gagnon (Canada), Howell (MARS), Hebebrand (Germany), Neumann (Israel), Thurnauer (Cité, France), Emery (Algeria), Saugey, and Max Bill (Switzerland).¹⁶⁸ Representatives of Czechoslovakian, Finnish, and Portuguese members not named were also present. Le Corbusier, Candilis, Ecochard, Gropius, Korsmo, Lods, and the Syrkuses all sent letters regretting their inability to attend. Alfred Roth opened the proceedings with “a short speech of homage” to Madame de Mandrot, who had died in 1948. The Charter of Habitat was now to be titled “The Dwelling: Statement of Principles.” A twelve-point table of contents for it was agreed upon, which, as Strauven has pointed out, drew upon some of the ideas of the younger members, even

though it was intended as a legacy of the old CIAM to the new one.¹⁶⁹ Demonstration projects for CIAM 10 by Team 10 were displayed on grids that Alison Smithson reported were modifications of the ones used for CIAM 8 and 9. These demonstrations seem to have been a set of projects by the Smithsons: Burrows Lea Farm, an isolated English country house; Galleon Cottages for a Yorkshire hamlet; Fold houses for a compact village; Close houses for an expanded town, and Terraced Housing for the city.¹⁷⁰ Giedion found not all of these examples “satisfactory,” objecting that they were not all “clear and simple, easy to compare with others and easy to reproduce for the CIAM book.”¹⁷¹

At La Sarraz it was regretfully announced that CIAM 10, now definitively titled “The Habitat: Problem of Inter-Relationships,” could not take place next year in Algiers due to outbreak of the Algerian revolt.¹⁷² Instead, after acknowledging the invitation of the Porto Portuguese group, the decision was made to accept the invitation of the “Yugoslav Group-in-Formation” to hold the Congress in Dubrovnik (now Croatia), in the second half of July 1956. Alfred Roth “was asked to follow this matter up.”¹⁷³

After this La Sarraz meeting, in December 1955, Tyrwhitt proposed that the various North American CIAM members be “loosely linked” into one group called “USA OMNIBUS,” which would include existing groups in New York, Boston, Philadelphia (GAI), and Toronto (COOL CROWD), as well as proposed new groups in Ann Arbor and Chicago.¹⁷⁴ Sert sent a letter to the membership asking that dues be paid on this basis to Tyrwhitt, then teaching at the Harvard Graduate School of Design. He asked that the members indicate whether they preferred this arrangement, or whether they wanted to retain the existing groups. A third option was to form “new groups based on the staffs of architecture schools,”¹⁷⁵ an early indication of the future influence of CIAM in architectural education.

The detailed preparations for CIAM 10 were carried out by Alfred Roth and the Yugoslav delegate Drago Ibler. In a circular letter of May 1956, Roth wrote, “Everybody expects from CIAM that the Xth Congress has to produce at this occasion a document on the habitat, similar in quality to the *Charte d’Athènes*,” adding that “the Charte shall be formulated during our CIAM X sessions,” and asking the national groups to submit proposals for it. Noting the “appallingly weak” response to the minutes of the 1955 La Sarraz meeting, Roth mentioned that the “council and Team X” had received a letter from Marcel Lods dated March 26, 1956, which expressed “his discontent that CIAM had merged into ‘Byzantine discussions.’” Complaints were also being made that the CIAM 9 material “had not yet been used in a publication,” although Sert was talking with Harvard University Press about splitting the material up “into small publications.”¹⁷⁶ A circular letter issued by Tyrwhitt on June 11, 1956, reported that she and Sert would attend CIAM 10, and that Group USA Omnibus would be represented by Paul Lester Wiener and Gabriel

Guévrékian, then still teaching at the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana. The Toronto group, no longer referred to as the COOL CROWD, would be represented by Frank R. Chapman; the Boston group by Sert’s associate and former ATBAT member Joseph Zalewski; and the Philadelphia Group GAI by Blanche Lemco. Tyrwhitt described Lemco’s Philadelphia group as the “one active official CIAM group in being in the USA,” and noted that it and the Boston and Toronto groups-in-information would present grids at CIAM 10.¹⁷⁷

The CIAM 10 program, commission structure, and schedule were finally set at some last-minute Council meetings in Padua, Italy, on August 2 and 3, 1956. Though called by Sert, these meetings were chaired by Giedion, acting as chairman for the absent Sert, whose ship from America had been delayed by the sinking of the *Andrea Doria*. Bakema, Candilis, Emery, Gardella, Honegger, Roth, Steiger, Syrkus, Tyrwhitt, Voelcker, and Woods were present, but not the Smithsons. In three meetings, the group agreed that CIAM 10 had three tasks: (1) to prepare the Charter of Habitat, (2) to extract new material on relationships from the new grids for the Charter, and (3) to determine the future of CIAM. The minutes note agreement that “all the main work for the Charte de l’Habitat must be completed before the end of CIAM X.” Giedion had written a “Prolegomena for a Charter of Habitat” as a suggested table of contents for the Charter, and this was “accepted as a basis for the Congress discussions.”

In what appeared to be a way of accommodating both the “middle generation” and Team 10, two types of commissions were set up for CIAM 10, which were to work in parallel. One group would work on the Charter of Habitat, and the other on “the extraction of new material from the Grilles (Relationships).” Each commission would make a general report to a daily General Assembly of the delegates. It was agreed that “all generalities, repetitions, and ‘philosophic’ discussion, etc., [will] be excluded and only direct statements be permitted in the reports.” In the end, three commissions were established for CIAM 10. “Commission A, Study of the Charte de l’Habitat” was subdivided into three subsections of five to seven people: “A.1 The Formulation of the Charte,” “A.2 The present situation of the Habitat: a critique,” and “A.3 To select extracts from earlier work of the CIAM with relevance to the Habitat.” The parallel “Commission B, Study of the Grilles” was divided into four sections of ten to fifteen people that reflected the issues being raised by Team 10: “B.4 The problem of organic unity,” “B.5 The problem of mobility,” “B.6 The problem of growth and change,” and “B.7 Urbanism as part of the Habitat.” There was also to be a Commission C, a group of four people devoted to public relations, who would also “wander between the various Congress Commissions” and report “directly to the President.”¹⁷⁸

CIAM 10 was held in the Dubrovnik Modern Art Gallery, August 3–13, 1956. With about 250 members present from fifteen countries, it was intentionally a

smaller event than CIAM 9. Many of the members of the CIAM Council, including Le Corbusier, Gropius, Van Eesteren, and Wogenscky, did not attend, but Sert, Giedion, Bakema, Candilis, Emery, Howell, Rogers, Steiger and Tyrwhitt were present, as well as Viana de Lima and Fernando Távora (b. 1923) from Portugal.¹⁷⁹ Other delegates included Louis Miquel (1913–1987) and others from Algeria and Morocco; Nicolas Quintana of ATEC from Cuba; Takamasa Yosizaka and Shoichi Kawai from Japan; Wilhelm Schütte, Eduard Sekler, and others from Austria; Godfrey Samuel, the Smithsons, and Voelcker from MARS; Reima Pietilä (1923–1993) and Aulis Blomstedt (1906–1979) of the Finnish PTAH group; Ernst May and Hubert Hoffmann from Germany; Merkelbach and Van Eyck of De 8, and Willem van Tijen, Romke de Vries, and others of Opbouw from the Netherlands; Jerzy Soltan of the ASP group and Szymon Syrkus from Poland; Josef Havlicek and K. Stranik from Czechoslovakia; and Drago Ibler from Yugoslavia. None of the CIAM “individual members,” Aalto, Niemeyer, Helena Syrkus, Josef Fischer, Ecochard, or Ernest Weissmann, attended CIAM 10.¹⁸⁰

Sert opened the Congress proceedings on August 6, 1956, by reading a “Message of Le Corbusier” to CIAM 10. It posed the question of “crisis or evolution?” for CIAM, and contrasted the “generation of 1928,” which had formulated the Athens Charter, with the “generation of 1956,” which will now “take command.” This generation should now enter into “practical action,” taking account of “urgent world-wide needs . . . to design, express, and even predict” the future. Le Corbusier insisted that the new generation “wants to take on the baton, can take it, should take it,” and for this reason he chose not to be present at CIAM 10. Time itself, he continued, provides a “line of conduct,” and the generation born around 1916, then forty years old, were, he believed, “the only ones capable of feeling actual problems personally, profoundly, the goals to follow, the means to reach them, the pathetic urgency of the present situation period. *They are in the know. Their predecessors no longer are, they are out, they are no longer subject to the direct impact of the situation.*” He termed CIAM before this point the “First-CIAM,” and said that its doctrine of the four functions would be transmitted to the “Second-CIAM,” which could apply it by the “useful and necessary” methods of standardization, “complete use of modern techniques,” and “complete use of world organizations.” He concluded by invoking his “three human establishments,” the “unit of agricultural exploitation,” the “linear city of industrial transformations,” and the “concentric city of exchanges: government, ideas, distribution of merchandise.” The harmonizing action of the “Second CIAM,” which “carries in its thighs the fertilization of the ‘First-CIAM,’ will now ‘take the relay.’” His message concluded, “Act so that the CIAM continue in their creative passion, in disinterest, reject the opportunists or hot heads. Good luck. Long live the SECOND-CIAM! Your friend, LE CORBUSIER.”¹⁸¹

Sert then continued the proceedings by noting the difficulty of the journey to Dubrovnik, and introduced the theme of the congress as “the future structure of the

human habitat.” He invoked the history of CIAM since CIAM 3, saying “the idea then was to develop the ‘Athenes Chart’ [sic] in each of its fundamental chapters.” After Bergamo, “Le Corbusier’s Grille system was tested and enthusiastically accepted,” and the succeeding Congresses continued research in the same direction, “following the consistent CIAM line.” CIAM 8 added a “new and basic chapter” to the Athens Chart, but at CIAM 9, though the “material presented in graphic form was very good,” there were too many people meeting in too short a time for a working congress. But “after long debates,” a new approach to habitat based on “human relation[s]” has been developed, and “the last La Sarraz meeting is a proof that CIAM is over the difficulties and has found a new line that is a continuation of the old.” Sert called the Team 10 grids “remarkable documents” proving that CIAM continued to explore new grounds and approaches, and was “finding new directives” that will “influence the future, as they have done in the past.” He noted that positive results from CIAM were expected “by students of architecture and city planning in the major universities,” and that Arne Korsmo of Norway had suggested a CIAM organization of university groups. Sert then turned to the question of the need for changes, saying “in agreement with our statutes, the CIRPAC should elect a new council.” He concluded by thanking “Group X” for their outstanding job in formulating the program of CIAM 10, and thanked the Algiers group, Roth, and Ibler for the Congress organization.

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As at CIAM 9, analytical grids were displayed as well as design work. From the United States, the Group GAI, Philadelphia—Robert Geddes, Romaldo Giurgola, Blanche Lemco, and George Qualls—showed a grid on “The problem of the relation of the automobile and home ownership in a suburban habitat.” The Boston group’s grid was by Colin Davidson, H. Morss Payne, Maurice Silvy, and Vincent Solemita, and presented a “packaged” neighborhood for an American satellite town.¹⁸⁴ The

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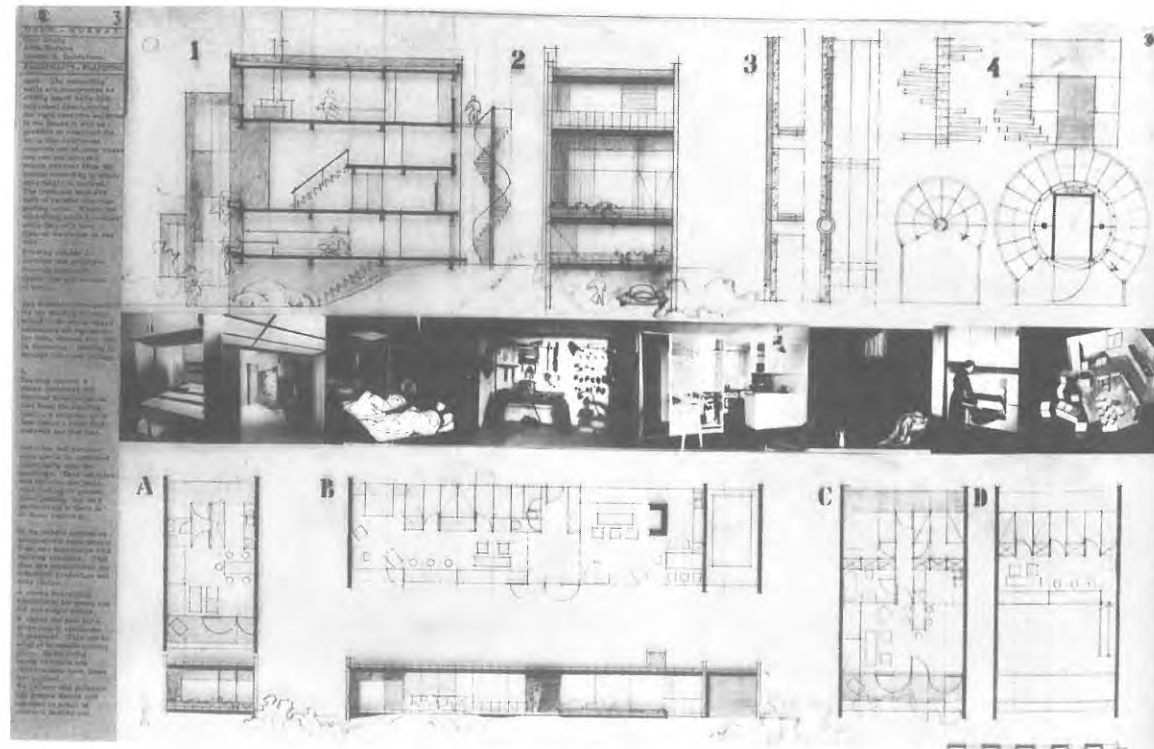
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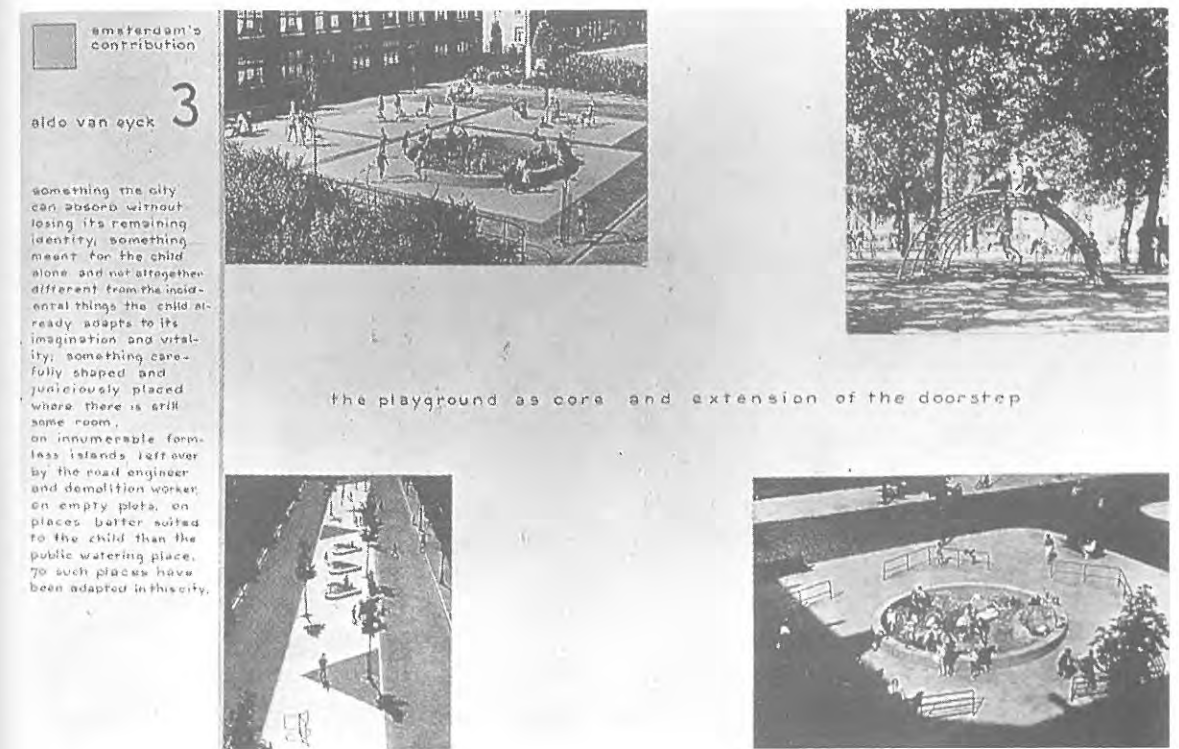
New York group's grid, by J. de Chiara, Sidney Katz, Patrick Kaspante, and Richard Stein, was on the problem of "developing a satisfactory urban alternative to the mirage of suburban living." Wilhelm Schütte's Austrian group presented a grid on "The problem of the relation of tourism and permanent residence in an historic city," Vienna,¹⁸⁵ and Brera and Waltenspühl analyzed the relationship between urban circulation and urban vitality in Geneva.¹⁸⁶ Pietilä and Blomstedt from Finland presented a two-part project, which examined both "socio-economic relations in an urban setting," and "the possibilities of living underground in the arctic," and Frank Chapman, Peter Goring, Fraser Milne, Ross Anderson, and Peter Stokes of Toronto also looked at the arctic habitat. Grung of Norway presented a grid of "a flexible housing group," based on Korsmo's flexible row housing on Planetveien in Oslo.¹⁸⁷ ASCORAL presented a project on the "habitat of the student in the city," and Cité (Roger and Edith Aujame and Guy Rottier) one on a youth hostel. Bottoni presented a project, listed as "not in grid format" on "the road (promenade) as a neighborhood core"; PORTO a hillside village; and Markelius the plan of Vällingby, Sweden. Neubühl was revisited



4.18 Geir Grung, Arne Korsmo, and Gunnar Gundersen, Grid panel for flexible housing, Oslo, from CIAM 10, 1956.

again in a presentation by Swiss members, and two housing analysis projects from Israel were presented, one by Eli Tauman. From Czechoslovakia, Josef Havlicek presented a project for miners' housing near Prague, and K. Stranik a housing survey.

The Dutch Team 10 projects at Dubrovnik were two by Van Eyck, one on "the child in the city: the problem of lost identity,"¹⁸⁸ and the other on Nagele, "the problem of the isolated settlement";¹⁸⁹ and two by Bakema and Stokla, one on a residential district, probably the Pendrecht in Rotterdam,¹⁹⁰ and other on the evolution of the Rotterdam Alexanderpolder plan from 1949 to 1956.¹⁹¹ The British Team 10 projects were a project for a village extension by John Voelcker;¹⁹² William Howell and J. A. Partridge's housing for retired people; and the Smithsons' grids for housing in different situations determined by Patrick Geddes's Valley Section, some of which seem to have already been displayed at La Sarraz in 1955. These examined "relations between size of population and architectural forms."¹⁹³ The non-Team 10 projects from the MARS group listed were Drake and Lasdun's Claredale Street cluster block housing; Peter Ahrends's design for a forestry settlement in Argyllshire,



4.19 Aldo Van Eyck, Grid panel from "Lost Identity" grid, "the playground and extension of the doorstep," from CIAM 10, 1956.

CIAM HOLLANDE
GROUPE OPBOUW
la ville

*interrelation de la
ville Rotterdam et
le paysage du polder
avec un quartier
d'habitation
composé des unités
répétantes horizontales
et verticales*

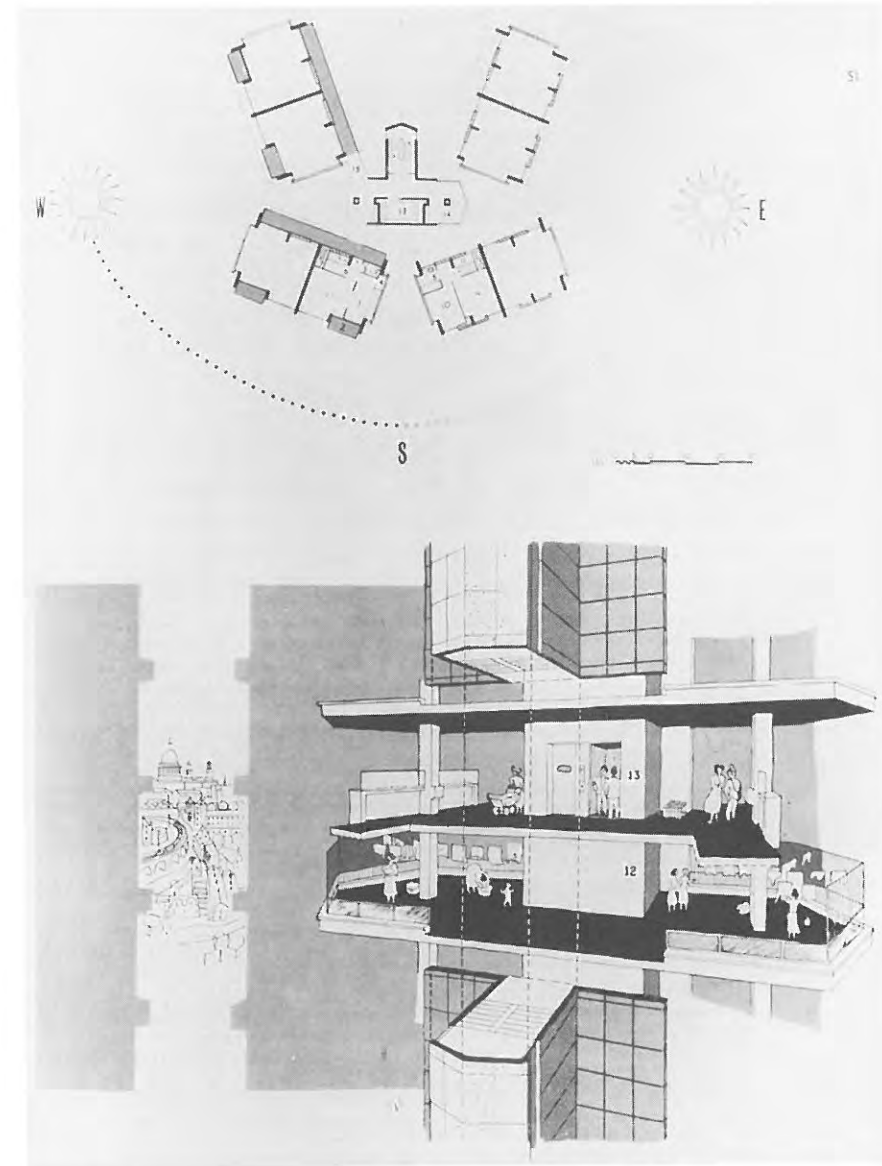
G4



4.20 Opbouw (Bakema and Stokla), Grid panel from Rotterdam Alexanderpolder, with analysis, probably from CIAM 10, 1956.

Scotland;¹⁹⁴ an Australian housing study by John Bicknell, and an Architectural Association student project on bringing “desolate quarters back to life.”

Although not indicated in the detailed records of membership and work of each of the CIAM 10 subcommissions in the CIAM Archives, informal accounts suggest that at CIAM 10 the Congress split into two factions, between Team 10 members and the “middle generation of Giedion, Sert, Rogers, and others.”¹⁹⁵ The three subcommissions of Commission A, “Study of the Charte de l’Habitat” used a document Giedion had prepared, “Prolegomena pour une Charte d’Habitat” as a starting point for their proposals for aspects of the Charter. Commission A.1, whose members were listed as Giedion, Aujame, May, Sert, Soltan, Tyrwhitt, and Takamasa Yosizaka of Japan, developed a provisional set of headings for it.¹⁹⁶ On the other hand, Commission B, on the study of the grids, represented Team 10’s interests, though of its four subcommissions only Commission B.4, “Cluster,” was identified as “Team X” in the CIAM report.¹⁹⁷ This report stated that “the problem of cluster is one of developing a distinct total structure of each community, and not one of sub-dividing a community into parts.” It called for a “new discipline” to “relate the parts of a



4.21 Drake and Lasdun, Grid panel from Claredale St. Cluster Block, London, from CIAM 10, 1956.



4.22 Unidentified grid presentation, probably from CIAM 10, 1956.

community into a total cluster," in extending and renewing the existing patterns.¹⁹⁸ The other "B" commissions also used Team 10 terminology. Commission B.5, on "Mobility,"¹⁹⁹ resisted any effort to define the term specifically, but thought it was "suggestive of a new field of study." They found that the problem "resolved itself into two aspects," physical mobility and mobility of the spirit. The ability of a "new thing in an old situation," such as Georges Brera's (b. 1919) highway bridge for Geneva,²⁰⁰ to "change and revitalise the old" was mentioned, and the minutes noted that Brera would write a short paper on mobility of the spirit. Issues of what the "man going to work in the morning" sees as he travels, "the link between house and car," different kinds of vehicles, the sensation of movement, and "comprehensibility" of the pattern of circulation were also discussed, without any definite conclusions being made.

Commission B.6, on "Change and Growth,"²⁰¹ found that these phenomena are an essential aspect of Habitat. It identified the responsibility of the "architect-

urbanist" as maintaining the relationship between the constant life-span of the individual and "life-tempo through the built forms of the Habitat." Under "Needs," the report listed the needs to develop the "habitat through built elements" that have their own identity; to respond to the "accelerating tempo and extending space of the situation, to facilitate the right of people to move or to remain in one place"; to build for the "greater number," which "is still the critical problem of the situation"; to transform and reanimate existing expressions of habitat; and to "find means which will stimulate the spontaneous expression of identity," among individuals and groups. The report proposed that the "architect-urbanist" should develop a discipline "analogous to that of the road-engineer or bridge builder" to control the size and growth of the habitat. This new discipline of "architect-urbanist," which Bakema would also call for in his 1957 article, "Architecture by Planning, Planning by Architecture,"²⁰² would design "built elements, which are, in themselves, complete expressions of habitat." These should include "elements of reference" through which people in motion "may experience a sense of location in the world," as well as "elements which can be changed" by individuals and groups "to express their separate identities." Korsmo's grid for flexible housing in Oslo was cited as an example (see figure 4.18). The architect-urbanist would also "integrate in plastic form" the results of scientific investigations of the extensions of the habitat through "automation, mass communication, and the automobile." Grids cited by this commission as examples were Bakema and Opbouw's Alexanderpolder project, and the Toronto and Boston groups' grids.

The "Change and Growth" commission report continued by stating that the "Master Plan" must be superseded by the "concept of building elements which are both total, achieved plastic expressions and, at the same time, instruments of research into the development of the specific habitat." Examples given were the Architectural Association students' grid of a project to transform a "dying locality" with the "transformed habitat" of a "large building element," the Brera and Paul Waltenspühl (b. 1917) "Mobility" grid for Geneva, intended to "reintegrate the city in terms of the automobile," and Van Eyck's "Lost Identity" grid, which provided a focus for children to "re-orientate the life of the community." The report concluded that the architect-urbanist "must re-establish the power of his discipline" to the level of "that of the economist and politician of the present time."²⁰³

Commission B.7, "Urbanism as part of the Habitat," chaired by Candilis,²⁰⁴ examined issues relating to the Charter of Habitat by extending the Athens Charter and the work of earlier CIAM Congresses. Alison Smithson later recalled that since French was used in many of the deliberations, the British Team 10 members could understand little, and she suggested that perhaps this was deliberate on the part of "the middle generation, knowing that we could not partake."²⁰⁵ Her account of CIAM 10 emphasizes that the ostensible work of the Congress on the commissions

was overshadowed by tensions between Team 10 and the “middle generation,” which for her sometimes included Bakema. She recalled that when she and Peter arrived to meet the CIAM boat arriving from Venice in Dubrovnik, it seemed obvious that “many discussions as to how to continue CIAM had gone on on board.” She found Jaqueline Tyrwhitt “quite bossy,” ready to argue with Team 10 over “every bit of terminology,” and she recalled that “the behavior of the middle generation at Dubrovnik—a very large Italian contingent—was basically the reason why the full force of my wrath descended upon them at Otterlo.”²⁰⁶ Commission B.7’s French-language report called for research “on the continuity of the Habitat, negotiating linkages between living tradition and the future,” and for “research concerning spatial composition with the notion of continuity.” It noted that “the corridor street has disappeared with the Athens Charter. Now, it is the corridor space which must disappear.” To illustrate these ideas, the Commission mentioned Bottoni’s revisions of the 1947 Plan of Milan, where a “too narrow” application of the Athens Charter had not had positive results, as people had preferred to live in their “more lively” existing social environment. In his revised plan, Bottoni had examined the organization of these more lively Italian urban districts, and then proposed linear “core” elements, which would engage “the free and active participation of the private sector.” In connection with the problem of the “corridor space,” which was replacing the corridor street, Candilis made reference to his own recent work, probably the urban extensions of Bagnols-sur-Cèze.²⁰⁷ The report concluded by continuing to insist that the Charter of Habitat should proclaim the “natural right of humanity to housing, work, and leisure.”²⁰⁸

After the conclusion of the commission meetings, several general assemblies on the future of CIAM were held. The text of Sert’s address of August 11, 1956, begins with a reminder to the delegates that this might be last time that he would address them as president of CIAM. He noted the large increase in the size of CIAM and the interest of his students “from every part of the world” in the organization. He felt that the international character of CIAM should be stressed, and he thought the CIAM 10 grids were “too much restricted to one area of the world.” He believed that in the future “Japan and perhaps India and other places in the world will want to have their own CIAM meetings, and the new organization should provide for this.” He also noted the “tremendous problem of shelter today” and the need to apply modern techniques outside of Europe. In addition to the vehicles of congresses, books and articles, and even television, “a media that lends itself excellently to the expression of our ideas,” he thought that CIAM’s greatest “source for the future” was “architectural and planning education.” He then listed the CIAM members involved in architecture and planning education in 1956: Korsmo in Norway; Samonà, Bottoni, Rogers, Belgiojoso, and others in Italy, some of whom were involved with the CIAM Summer School in Venice; Samper in Bogotá; Giedion in “Zurich and else-

where”; Leslie Martin at Cambridge University; Neumann in Haifa; Mies in Chicago; the Syrkuses and Soltan in Warsaw; Van Eesteren and Van den Broek in Holland; Blanche Lemco in Philadelphia; Smithson in London; Schütte in Vienna; Brera in Geneva; Guévrékian in Illinois; Ibler in Zagreb; Takamasa at the University of Waseda (which Sert called “one of the best architecture schools in the world at the moment”); and himself, at Harvard. He advocated establishing closer contacts within this “tremendous network,” helping students by “giving them a recommendation from friend to friend,” and perhaps someday exchanging professors.²⁰⁹

Emery then presented the report of the newly appointed CIAM Reorganization Committee, which comprised himself, Rogers, Roth, Bakema, Howell, Peter Smithson, and Shadrach Woods. The report stated that the CIAM Council and CIRPAC would resign on December 31, 1956, and that CIAM after that date would again become a “congress of individuals.” It would resume “the original form which was decided at La Sarraz in 1928.” The existing national groups would become “entirely autonomous,” and the CIAM Council and three members of the Reorganization Committee would draw up a list of “thirty architects who as individuals will form CIAM”—not necessarily as members of an existing group. These members were to submit a proposal for the handing over of the functions of CIAM. The report suggested that “some form of continental grouping” be undertaken, with CIAMs for different continents.²¹⁰

In his “Concluding Remarks,” Sert asked the delegates to vote on the preparation of the Charte de l’Habitat, the question being, “Are you agreed that the work of completing the Charte should be done at Harvard University?” The minutes record that this passed.²¹¹ After the conclusion of CIAM 10, Emery later recalled that



4.23 Giedion reading a statement at CIAM 10, with Jaqueline Tyrwhitt on left and Sert on right.

"the delegates separated with a dim hope of inventing a newly structured organization, better adapted to circumstances."²¹² But though CIAM technically existed in name until after the 1959 meeting at Otterlo, in fact Dubrovnik marked the end of CIAM for its national groups and most of its members.

CIAM '59 in Otterlo and the End of CIAM

In April 1957, Sert took the first steps toward shifting his interests in CIAM toward the Harvard Graduate School of Design with the "Urban and Housing Design" conference, to which Bakema was invited. Following CIAM 10 the previous August, Emery had distributed a questionnaire in November with a proposed list of thirty members for the reorganized CIAM. Candilis had proposed that Team 10 respond collectively to this, suggesting a number of changes. In December, as Bakema understood it, Peter Smithson recommended abandoning the name CIAM, as for him it was too associated with the term "Modern." He suggested "Teams" and "Team Meetings" instead. Around the same time, Emery reported that only Le Corbusier, Gropius, Bakema, and Smithson had responded to the reorganization questionnaire.²¹³ In February 1957, a meeting was held at Sert's house in Cambridge with Gropius, Giedion, and Tyrwhitt. They proposed that CIAM continue, divided into three parts: Europe, the Americas, and "the East." They also proposed a special branch of CIAM "to maintain regular contact with CIAM members in teaching positions," and they listed their proposed "group of thirty" for CIAM. Officers proposed were president, J. B. Bakema; vice-president, E. N. Rogers; general secretary, P. A. Emery; assistant secretary, Roger Aujame; and treasurer, Alfred Roth.²¹⁴

During the first Harvard Urban Design conference in April 1957, Sert, Gropius, Giedion, and Tyrwhitt met again, this time with Bakema in attendance. In the minutes, Giedion remarked that he "was nearly alone in Dubrovnik when I voted for the dissolution of CIAM. But Ernst Mai [sic]—whom I let in—made a speech that made it seem that I was breaking CIAM." Gropius argued there was a "certain reverence" for an "organization that has made a dent in the world," and that "it would be foolish to throw away the power that has been accumulated." Bakema countered this by saying it was "better to say to ourselves that CIAM has had its day." Sert said that "there is tremendous faith in CIAM," and invoked "the feelings and consciousness of India, Japan, South America," insisting that "the big line has to be continued." Giedion described Peter Smithson as "the man who makes problems," to which Gropius replied "They think they are asked to do the same as us"—that is, challenge existing, institutional authority, as the Modern Movement had done in the 1920s. Giedion then said, "In La Sarraz Mark Storm [sic, for Mart Stam] treated old Berlage very rudely. I believe Smithson is another [such] youth talent." Bakema agreed that he liked Smithson's "courage to attack his own environment." To resolve

the issue of the use of name CIAM, Sert proposed "CIAM Exchange of Information," adding "later CIAM can disappear." He concluded by suggesting a letter to the membership be sent saying that "CIAM as a Congress" would be "entirely dropped," but that the initials would be continued "as a trade-mark: center for exchange of information on visual problems of the human habitat." In the meantime, there would be an "exchange of teaching personnel in schools."²¹⁵ These decisions were then confirmed in a letter of April 19, 1957, from Sert, Gropius, Giedion, and Tyrwhitt to Bakema.²¹⁶

A month later, Giedion wrote to Alfred Roth that Smithson had spoken about the "collapse of CIAM" at a meeting of the Royal Institute of British architects, and that he had received a letter titled "The Dissolution of CIAM" from Smithson, Howell, Lasdun, and Voelcker. He added that he had thought that the "spirit of CIAM, as it is represented by us, should be carried on, but without a label and on a highly selective basis at the Universities and Institutes of Technology."²¹⁷ At the end of May, Sert, Gropius, and Giedion informed Bakema that they could not agree to his suggestion that the CIAM Council "remain in being for some time," and proposed a CIRPAC meeting in September in Switzerland, organized by Roth. In August, the invitation was issued by Bakema for yet another La Sarraz meeting, to consider the question of whether CIAM should be continued or not. Attached to this was a list of names proposed as individual CIAM members.²¹⁸

On September 1–2, 1957, the Committee of Reorganization and CIAM Council met at La Sarraz, the last CIAM meeting to be held there. Giedion, Tyrwhitt, and Wogenscky represented the Council, and Bakema, Rogers, Roth, and Voelcker, noted as "deputizing for P. Smithson and W. Howell," were listed as the Reorganization Committee. Delegates Albini, Brera, Fitschy, Gardella, Hebebrand, Hoffmann, Ibler, Korsmo, Stranik, and Szymon Syrkus also attended.²¹⁹

Fourteen reports from delegates were made to the meeting, and the group concluded with a second "Declaration of La Sarraz," which stated that "*The aim of CIAM will be to study social and visual inter-relationships and to draw conclusions of practical use.*" CIAM would continue, but would be composed of individuals "without consideration of place or nationality," and a Committee of Co-ordination was appointed: Bakema, Roth, Rogers, Voelcker, and Wogenscky. The minutes note that this committee would have the power to "coopt Grung, Soltan, and Trautwein" in preparing the next working Congress, and "to lay before the participants a system of regulations." The "present Groups, Commissions, and Council" of the old CIAM was unanimously dissolved, and the new CIAM was given the subtitle "CIAM: Research Group for Social and Visual Relationships."²²⁰

After this a further meeting was held by the "Coordinating Committee" in Brussels in January 1958 with the three additional "consultants." This group planned the first Congress of the new CIAM, to be held in September 1959 at the