PLANNING HISTORY

BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY SOCIETY

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PLANNING HISTORY
BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY SOCIETY
CONTENTS

EDITORIAL

MICHAEL HARRISON, UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL ENGLAND

1994 has been a busy year for the International Planning History Society. Successful international conferences were held in London and Hong Kong and national groups seem healthy and strong. As the new editor I have been pleased to receive reports of these (and other) events, and I have been happy to publish appropriate material emanating from these sources. Robert W. Taylor's article on Burnham's Philippine Plans, for example, first saw the light of day at the Hong Kong Conference and the next issue of *Planning History* will bring together (under the Guest editorship of Robert Freestone) some interesting recent work done by planning historians in Australia.

The fact that this issue of the bulletin is longer than the previous issue is due largely to the fact that I am receiving more material, and I am thus in the position to pass on more information to members. It also suggests that readers have taken on board the fact that *Planning History* has a new editor. Members will also note that we are being asked whether we, as a Society, want to travel along "the information super-highway".

In this issue readers will find a varied but, hopefully, useful and interesting collection of material. Society business can be found alongside notices of the work of other groups and organisations; abstracts of relevant books rest alongside conference reports. In this edition the views of two correspondents, Peter Uyttenhove and David Whitham, on the important exhibition, 'La Ville', held in Paris and Barcelona this year, have been included. The two views of one major exhibition are nicely complemented by the report of one scholar, Volker Welter, on the conference on Social Utopias held at two venues, Dessau and Tel Aviv. The programme of seminars and visits explored the impact of the Bauhaus on housing schemes in Germany and Israel (see illustration below).

This issue also contains an interesting and challenging research report on 'Women and Planning'. It is very important to address the issue of gender in planning history, and I hope Clara Greed's report (and book) will stimulate a healthy debate on this issue and encourage further contributions in this area.

While trying to encourage contributions from far and wide, it is also helpful, on occasion, to try to achieve a certain thematic unity in the articles published in the bulletin. While the articles in this issue of *Planning History* describe competitions, plans and building programmes in Romania, the United States and the Philippines, they all recount the history of 'grand plans' and explore the relationship between architecture, planning, power and money. Robert W. Taylor and Carroll Brentano show how the City Beautiful style could be utilised in the cause of colonialism and education at the turn of the century. (Readers might like to compare Carroll Brentano's study of the Berkeley Campus of the University of California with Jeremy Whitehand's account of the growth of the University of Birmingham,England published in *Planning History* 13(2) 1991.) Maria de Betana Cavalcanti carefully recounts how, like a latter-day Haussmann, Nicolae Ceaucescu dramatically and self-consciously transformed the centre of the ancient city of Bucharest in more recent years. All these schemes were concerned with imposing order, either on a relatively open site or on the pre-existing urban fabric. Whilst Burnham, to a certain extent, accepted elements of the local architectural scene, the Berkeley promoters sought to firmly establish the Beaux Arts style in California. Ceaucescu was altogether more brutal—he simply sought to eradicate the past and create an appropriate form for his totalitarian regime.

My U.C.E. colleagues and I have been gratified by the favourable comments we have received about the new format for *Planning History* . I, myself, would like to thank members and scholars who have submitted, or channelled, material to me. Keep it coming! May I conclude by wishing everyone a happy and fruitful new year.
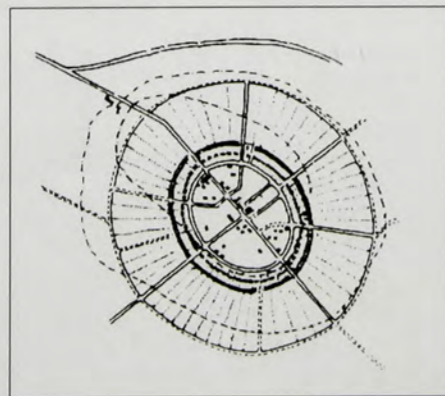
A cooperative moshav designed by Richard Kaufman

ACCOUNTS

DAVID W. MASSEY, UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL, U.K.

Treasurer's Report for 1993

1. It is my sad task to report to Members that Mr E. Elms, the Planning History Group's Hon. Auditor for the past few years, died during 1994. Mr Elms had agreed to undertake a similar function for the International Planning History Society, but was unable to take up this task because of ill health. The Society is very grateful to Mr Elms for his carefulness in auditing the PHG accounts year by year and for his advice on related matters.

2. I am pleased to report that Mr G. Ramsell has accepted the IPHS Management Board's invitation to become the IPHS Hon. Auditor and would like to thank him on the Society's behalf for checking our inaugural (1993) accounts.

3. Income for 1993 held up well compared with 1992, especially in terms of Annual Subscriptions (up by £370), although Bank Interest was down from its 1991 peak. Representing the Society's new status, the Accounts no longer distinguish between U.K. and Overseas subscriptions. Anticipating the new multi-annual subscription facility to be introduced in 1994, however, new lines in the Income side of the Accounts have been introduced covering advance subscriptions (i.e. for 1994 and 1995).

4. On the expenditure side of the accounts the main feature of 1993 was Development Fund activity related to the establishment of the new Society and the maintenance of relations with our Inaugural Affiliates. The Seminar Fund supported the Planning History Seminar held in Sydney and funds were advanced for publicity for the April 1994 Seminar to be held in London.

5. Work on the Thesis Directory Project was also completed. Both the Thesis Directory and Development Funds have consequently been wound up and their balances tranferred to the General Fund and the General Reserve Fund respectively. In view of outstanding printing bills for *Planning History* a further £1500 has been added to the Bulletin Reserve to be carried forward to 1994.

6. Leaving aside the Advance Subscriptions Fund, the Society's overall Balances as at 31 December 1993 were about £200 up on the 31 December 1992 figure, representing a relatively satisfactory outcome.

14th November 1994

INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY SOCIETY
Accounts for 1993

BALANCE at 31 December 1992 represented by:

Giro a/c	2.48
Bank Current a/c	7.26
Bank Deposit a/c	7,076.21
Bank 90-day a/c	5, 265.67
	£12, 351.62

INCOME		EXPENDITURE	
Subscriptions 1992	58.49	Membership Mailing	494.26
Subscriptions 1993	2,673. 63	Administration	156.98
Subscriptions 1994	210.50	Bulletin Production	1,013.00
Subscriptions 1995	10.00	Seminar Fund	277.12
Leaflet Distrbution	50.00	Development Fund	966.18
Interest on Accounts	373.93	Thesis Directory Fund	75.00
Back Issue Sales	20.00	Surplus Inc./Expend	414.01
	£3,396.55		**£3,396.55**

Balance at 31 December 1992	12,351.62
Surplus of Income over Expend.	414.01
Balance at 31 December 1993	12,765.63

BALANCE at 31 December 1993 represented by:

		ALLOCATION TO FUNDS at 31 December 1993	
Giro a/c	133.61	General Fund	869.22
Bank Current a/c	3.06	Seminar Fund	1,930.28
Bank Deposit a/c	5.216.26	General Reserve Fund	2,233.82
Bank 90-day	7,418.82	Bulletin Reserve Fund	7,511.81
	£12,765.63		**£12,545.13**

ADVANCE SUBS FUND:	
1994	210.50
1995	10.00
	£12,765.63

IPHS and Electronic Networks: A Call for Contributions

Among the items discussed by the IPHS Council at its meeting in the University of Hong Kong on 24 June 1994 was that of electronic networks. The recent general growth of electronic mail together with the related opportunities for information provision and communication has potentially much to offer a small and widely scattered community of scholars and practitioners. It was agreed that the Society needed to explore and make use of such new opportunities.

E-mail allows for the fast transmission of messages to individuals or groups; other services allow access to library catalogues, bulletin boards, databases and information servers. Discussion lists allow users to discuss issues of current concern (e.g., research proposals, enquiries and draft papers) and can also hold easily accessible files and archives. At present, however, the means of electronic communication is still not that generally available, is a rather technically specialist form of communication for many (even where it is available) and, aside from inter-personal exchange, requires some institutional framework and support mechanisms to enable its wider use.

Thus, although there was enthusiasm in the IPHS Council discussion for the new possibilities, this was tempered by the need to undertake an initial study of the specific applications which might be of use to the Society's members and provide recommendations as to what future action might be desirable. While the discussion in Hong Kong was necessarily limited, IPHS has recently been very well informed about this topic through Wendy Plotkin's note on 'H-Urban: An Urban History Electronic Network' in *Planning History*

Vol. 15(3), p.38.

Wendy, who is an IPHS member, has kindly agreed to an invitation to chair a Working Party on Electronic Networks to review the position and report with recommendations to the Council. The Working Party, whose membership will be reported in a later issue of *Planning History*, is looking for the widest possible participation in its work by IPHS members in terms of evidence, comments and suggestions as well as through discussion. It is also hoped that there will be active representation and participation in this task by our Affiliates—the Society for American City and Regional Planning History, and the Urban History Association.

The terms of reference of the Working Party are to consider and report on:
1. The objectives of an electronic component to IPHS;
2. The elements of such a component;
3. Whether only IPHS members would be eligible for an IPHS list as part of IPHS membership;
4. Whether the component would be moderated (all messages screened by a moderator) or open for posting by all IPHS members without intervention;
5. The location of the site of a possible electronic component.

The Working Party is now calling on IPHS members with an interest in electronic networks to send in their comments and suggestions in relation to the items listed in the terms of reference which they would like considering bt the Working Party to Wendy Plotkin. Please also send your E-mail address to Wendy so that an IPHS E-mail directory can begun. *Wendy Plotkin can be reached at the Department of History, University of Illinois, M/C 198, 851 s. Morgan, Chicago IL 60607-7049, U.S.A.*
Fax: 312-996-6377; E-mail: U15608@uicvm.uic.edu.

VIth International Conference 'Underground Space and Urban Planning', EUS 95, Paris, September 1995.

The first large-scale underground works were undertaken in Europe. These proliferated in the urban environment throughout the industrial period, their purpose being either to improve flows (e.g. of water and public transport) or to provide shelter (e.g. for storage or civil defence).

Underground planning has since acquired the technology to expand into the design and accomplishment of city-centre developments, large-scale infrastructure projects, stations and transport networks, deep road tunnels and so forth. Advances in the technology of tunnelling and excavation, changes in the urban environment and scarcity of space have all been factors re-awakening interest in underground urban planning. In industrialised countries the economic impact of underground developments is colossal, yet developers and public authorities alike often fail to appreciate the relationships between underground urban planning and its natural and cultural setting. This is the theme of the International Conference, which follows similar events in Tokyo in 1991, in Delft in 1992, and those previously instigated by the Underground Urban Centres Study Group GECUS, founded in Paris in 1933.

'Underground Space and Urban Planning' is being organised by Laboratoire Theorie des Mutations Urbaines and will be held in Paris in September 1995. For information contact: Laboratoire Theorie des Mutations Urbaines, EUS 95, Institut Francais d'Urbanisme, 4 rue Alfred Nobel, Cite Descartes, F-77 420 Champs-sur-Marne, France. Tel.(1) 64 68 91 62; Fax. (1) 64 68 96 87.

Real Estate Development in Mediterranean by North Europeans: The Case of Greece and Spain

The real estate market in Europe has been in depression during the last three years. In this context, it is known that real estate agencies in Britain have declined in number from 16,000 in 1988 to about 12,000 in 1992. Similar problems have also arisen in other northern European countries, such as Sweden.

Although the domestic real estate markets of the northern European countries have been in decline, an opposite tendency has developed in the corresponding markets of the Mediterranean countries, where investments are being made in the tourist sector. Available information suggests that this is due to a continually increasing number of north Europeans wanting to spend their vacation with their families (as opposed to individuals or couples). This development has increased the demand for buying holiday houses on the coasts of the warmer Mediterranean European countries, a demand facilitated by the legislation of the European Union.

This tendency is prominent in the Greek islands in the Aegean and Ionian Seas, where a great number of sales of plots of land and of old buildings have been realized during the last few years. An alternative type of investment to the above has also appeared: big complexes of houses in the form of separate villas in large estates are being constructed by private building societies. There are estates of this kind in the Cycladic Islands (Greece), Corsica (France) and Majorca (Spain). Of especial interest are two new complexes of houses under construction on the south-east coast of Majorca, near Palma: the first one named *Santa Ponsa Nova* and the second, *Las Abubillas*. Besides the houses, the Santa Ponsa Nova complex

contains two golf courses, three marinas for sailing boats, horse riding facilities and twenty-one tennis courts. It is financed mainly by a group of Spanish commercial banks and by a Germann bank. Las Abubillas contains 116 villas and is being devloped by a private British building society. The demand for both these tourist housing complexes comes mainly from Germans, but they are also popular with Swedes and Britons.

Dr Emmanuel Marmaras, working as a Senior Research Fellow in the European Union Human Capital and Mobility Programme, is in charge of this project. He will be based in the Department of Geography at King's College London until November 1995. It is expected that the research findings will not only be useful for the study of real estate development, but also for the formation of appropriate policy in the context of the European Union.

EAR 21 Edinburgh Architecture Research Vol. 21 1994

The 1994 issue of EAR, Edinburgh Architecture Research, the annual journal published by the postgraduate research students of the Department of Architecture at the University of Edinburgh, is out now. The following articles are to be found in the latest volume:

T.M. Russell, 'Architecture and Lexicographers. Three Studies in 18th Century Publications: Part II; Ephraim Chambers and the Cyclopaedia'.

Yinong Xu, 'The City as Sacred Cosmos. Symbolism in the Construction of the Wu and Yue Capitals'.

Tajuddin Mohamad Rasdin, 'The Meaning of Iktikaf in Islam and its Implications for Mosque Design'.

Clarence Epstein, 'The Development of Sulpician, Jesuit

and Recollet Churches in the City of Montreal during the French Regime'.

Ross E. Sweetland, 'Medieval Perspectives on Beauty expressed in Bothwell Church'.

Jason Cornish, 'The Perspective of the 'Ideal City' Painting'.

Volker M. Welter, 'The Republic of Patrick Geddes'.

Sebastian m. Greenall, 'Narrative (Non) Space and the (Human) Body'.

Hiroki Aso, 'Dead Tech: The Aesthetics of Shin Takamatsu'.

Iain Boyd White, Fiona and Ewen McLachlan, 'The Sign of the Future—Graz 1993'.

Roger Talbot, 'The Challenge of Sustainability: Directions for Practice and Research in Architecture'.

Ahmad Al-Gilani, 'Ecocentrism versus Technocentrism: Reviewing the Ideological Struggle in Environmental Theory'.

Copies are available from the Department of Architecture at £7.00 each (Students £4.00). Subscriptions for EAR 22 1995 are invited now. Cheques for £10.00 (including postage and packing) should be made payable to The University of Edinburgh, and sent to: The Editors, EAR 22, Department of Architecture, University of Edinburgh, 20 Chambers Street, Edinburgh EH1 1JZ, U.K., Tel. 0131 650 2306, Fax 0131 667 7938.
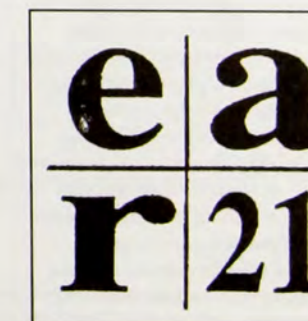
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The Tokyo Metropolitan University's Center for Urban Studies was established in April 1977 as an institution annexed to the University for the purpose of conducting interdisciplinary research into urban problems and urban policy.

In the 1960s, the urban researchers of all the faculties at Tokyo Metropolitan University formed a group, and receiving funds from the Ministry of Education, began to collaborate on their research. Consequently, the Tokyo Metropolitan Government created a special framework for grants for co-operative research on urban problems, and by extending grants on a continuous basis, supported the group, which afterwards became the Center for Urban Studies. For some time after its foundation, however, the Center had no full-time research staff, and the organisation's work consisted of co-operative research conducted by urban researchers drawn from the University's faculties. In 1982 a plan was drawn up with the aim of upgrading the Center to a fully-fledged research institute with 7 divisions and 14 full-time staff. The first full-time staff took up their positions in 1984, and their number has slowly expanded since that time. The Center for Urban Studies was transferred to Tama New Town in 1991, with the intention of creating a base for new developments. The Graduate School of Urban Science was opened in April 1994. (A Doctoral Programme is planned for 1996.) The Graduate School offers students chances to study urban issues ranging over many fields of study at Master's level. Foreign students willing to study Japanese urban problems or conduct comparative studies of cities can apply to the Graduate School of Urban Science.

The Center of Urban Studies is made up of the Office Division and seven Research Divisions. Professor Yorifusa Ishida is the current institute head, and the Office Division has four full-time staff, as well as a few part-time personnel. Each of the seven Research Divisions has two full-time researchers. The divisions are arranged as follows:
(1) Urban Administration/Planning Division; (2) Urban Residents/ Community Division; (3) Urban Disaster Prevention/Safety Division; (4) Urban Systems/ Economic Division; (5) Comparative Urban Studies/Urban Culture Division; (6) Urban Structure/Environment Division; (7) Community Health Care/ Welfare Division.

The Center is currently involved in two other major research projects. The first is entitled 'Comprehensive Studies on the Changing Urban Economic Structure and Conservation of the Urban Environment'. The other is an 'International Comparative Study of Land Use and Urban Land Policy'.

Presently, the Center for Urban Studies uses three types of publication to make public its research results. The Sogo Toshi Kenkyu (Comprehensive Urban Studies) is a bulletin issued three times a year, in which research findings are announced. (Most articles are in Japanese, but English language summaries are attached.) A series of books, 'Toshi Kenkyu Sosho'(Urban Studies Series), is designed by the Center and published by Nihon Hyoron Sha. These books are intended to make available to the public the Center's research findings and are widely available. Finally, there are the 'Kenkyu Hokoku'(Research Reports) which take the form of research papers based on surveys conduucted by Center staff. These are published as the occasion arises and when funds are available.

Further information about the work and publications of the Center can be obtained from Tokyo Metropolitan University Center for Urban Studies, 1—1 Minami-Ohsawa, Hachioji, Tokyo 192-03, Japan. Tel. 0426-77-2351, Fax. 0426-77-2352.

The Urban History Association

The Urban History Association is conducting its sixth annual round of prize competitions for scholarly distinction.
1. Best doctoral dissertation in urban history, without geographic restriction, completed during 1994.
2. Best book, North American urban history, published during 1994 (edited volumes ineligible).
3. Best book, Non-North American urban history, published during 1993 or 1994 (edited volumes ineligible).
4. Best journal article in urban history, without geographic restriction, published during 1994.
*Deadline for receipt submissions is 15 June 1995. To obtain further information about procedures for submissions, please write to: **Professor Carol A. O'Connor**, Department of History, Utah State University, Logan, UT 84322-0710 U.S.A. Do not send any submissions to Professor O'Connor.*

Bournville Village Centenary

The centenary of the model village at Bournville, founded by George Cadbury a hundred years ago, is to be celebrated in a programme of events organised by the Bournville Village Trust in 1995. Full details of these events will appear in the next issue of *Planning History*. A book commissioned by the Trust, and written by Judy Hillman, and a video are already available. An exhibition of 'Images of Bournville' will be held at the Selly Manor Museum, Bournville in February and March 1995.

"STATELY AND GLORIOUS BUILDINGS": THE ORIGINS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA'S CAMPUS PLAN

CARROLL BRENTANO, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

The Berkeley campus of the University of California, even today, with its many white granite Beaux Arts buildings, dating from the first two decades of the 20th century, has the look of a "White City", like that of the Chicago World's Fair of 1893. This essay will attempt to account for the look that the Columbian Exposition inspired, both in style and in principles of planning. The 1893 Fair mirrored, among many other things , the American need to rival Europe; California, in turn, yearned to escape from what it considered its provincial past. So, not surprisingly, much of the informed comment, as well as the popular rhetoric, surrounding the competition for a campus plan, dwelt upon the ideals, as well as the accomplishments, of the Exposition.

Paul Turner in his book, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition*, appraising the era of the Beaux Arts campus plan, points to its three characteristics: orderliness, urbanity and dependece on the new philanthropy.[1] These, at least the first two, were also the aims of the Columbian Exposition, and were also often proclaimed by the proponents of the new campus. The "City of Learning" was one ideal, a campus cleared of its collection of heterogeneous styles and materials was another, and yet another was the classical style itself, which seemed to embody the highest ideals of education and beckon to would-be donors.

The campus of the University of California began with a plan. In 1865, the small, underfinanced College of California, originally founded ten years earlier in a grove of oaks on the east shore of San Fransisco Bay, purchased 160 acres of empty (except for cows) hillside land a few miles to the north. Following the example of other entrepreneurs of that period (including several colleges), they planned to sell residential lots to pay for the buildings of the growing College. The College Homestead Association's sub-division (the first in the, as yet, un-named town), recorded with the county in
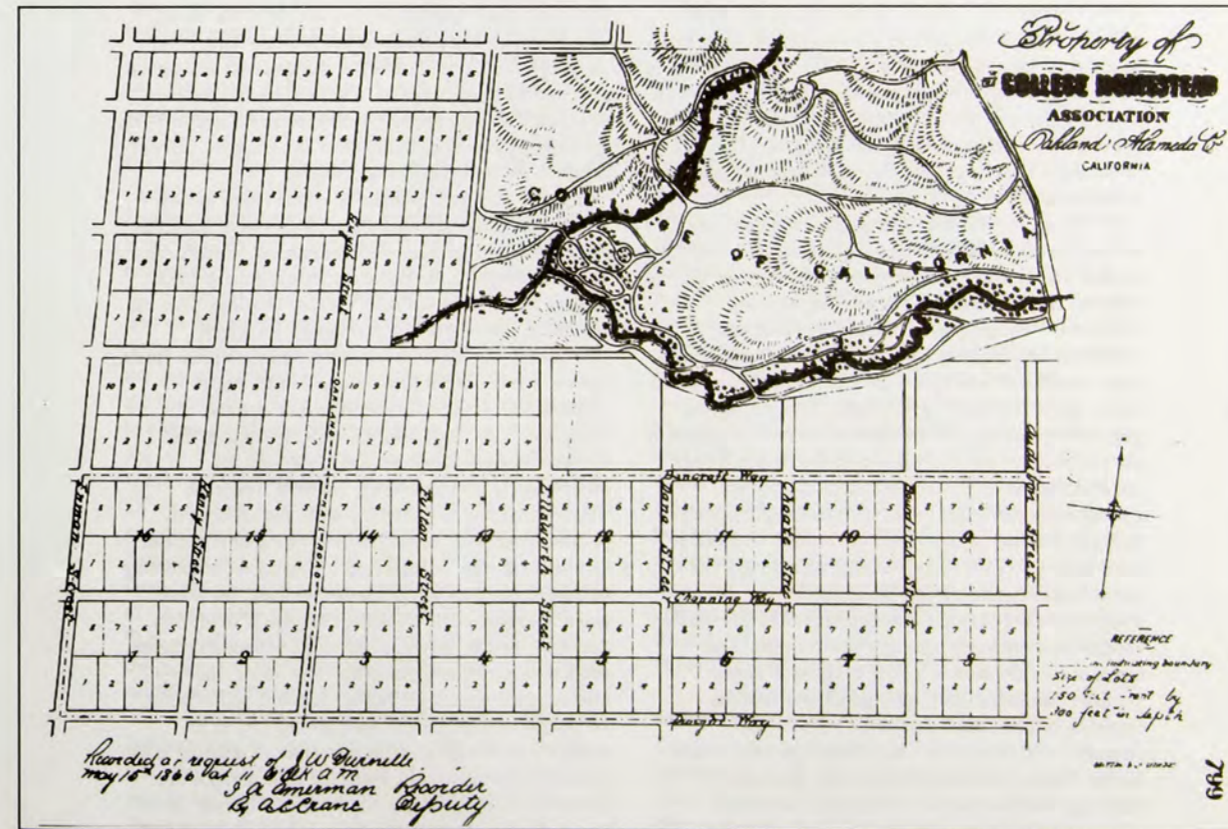

Fig.1. College Homestead Association Map, 1866 (Courtesy of Berkeley Architectural Heritage Association)
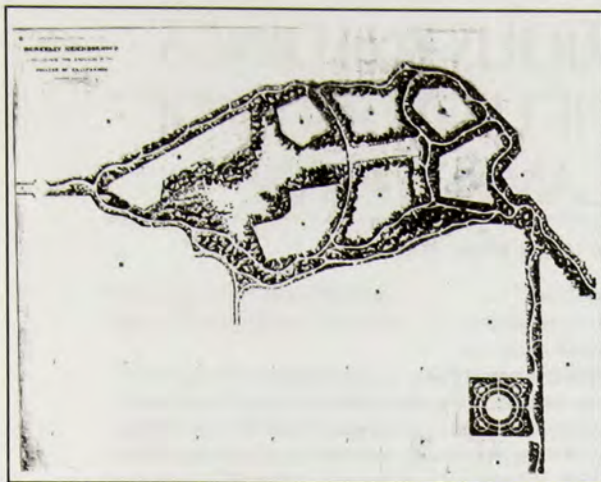
Fig. 2. *Berkeley Neighbourhood Map, Frederick Lay Olmsted, 1866 (Bancroft Library, UCB)*

Fig. 3. *University of California plan, Wright and Sanders architects, 1869 (UCB Archives)*

Fig. 4. "Proposed Plan..." *Bernard Maybeck, San Francisco* Examiner, *April 30 1896*

May 1866, is the first plan of the University-to-be and gives a pretty good idea of what the site looked like (Fig.1). It sloped sharply to the west, was marked by abrupt changes in elevation, and was totally bare except for oaks, laurels and thick vegetation along two creeks which joined in the south-west corner.

The main topographic feature of the College site was the presence of two roughly parallel depressions running east and west. It was around the northern one that the first planner chose to organise his design (Fig.2). Fredrick Law Olmsted presented his plan to the Trustees of the College of California in the summer of 1866.[2] Like his Central Park plan, it shows a mall with formally arranged buildings (two only) at one end, and a more rural, meandering drive at the other. Only the area in the central space were to be the college grounds, the other precincts were to be residential lots. Copies of the plan were offered to prospective buyers but nothing was done to implement it.

Then, in 1868 the College gave itself and its acreage in the settlement, now named Berkeley after the bishop who had written "Westward the course of Empire takes its way", to a newly created University of California.[3] The all-powerful regents of that new institution immediately held a competition for a campus plan, which was won by a local architectural firm with a rather grand scheme (Fig.3).[4] Unlike Olmsted's, this plan set the buildings at the head of the more southern of the two valleys, and this was where the first buildings were erected in 1873, sealing the site-plan of the University securely for the next 30 years and, actually, for ever. Meanwhile, however, the regents with one of America's greatest college presidents (as founder of Johns Hopkins, after he left Berkeley in discouragement), Daniel Coit Gilman (1872-75), made another move towards a comprehensive plan. They hired, or he volunteered, a young engineer named William Hammond Hall, who gained much of his expertise by correspondence with Frederick Law Olmsted.[5] Hall was to lay out a landscape plan which did not follow a symmetrical and axial placement of buildings, but situated them along the roads that followed the modulations of the terrain. Some of the roads, but few of the buildings, were constructed.
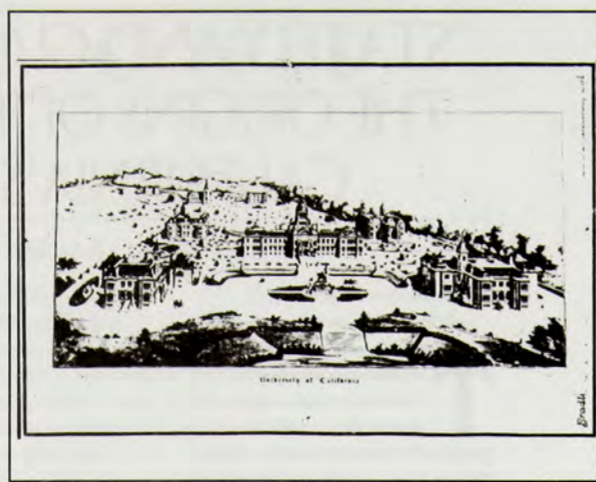
The 1880s were bad times for the University: presidents lasted only two or three years, declining revenues and student numbers, academic and fraternity scandals and a board of regents rent by party politics contributed to the problems. Even so, the campus slowly acquired new buildings, plants, roads and paths. Its small-town, even bucolic, site became a little bit venerable, a little bit loved. Nonetheless, a student wrote of the "inadequacy of our humble university home" and a newspaper of a "wretched crazy quilt of discordant buildings". Furthermore, the rival institution, Leland and Jane Stanford's new university, was, by 1888, rising grandly and provocatively in nearby Palo Alto.[6] Although in its first 25 years, California had had a great educational leader, Gilman, and two capable planners, Olmsted and Hall, nothing had happened. Then, in 1895, two remarkable men, an architect and a lawyer, arrived on the scene and everything changed.

The architect, Bernard Maybeck, born in New York to a German cabinet maker, was sent to learn this craft in Paris at the age of 20. He entered, instead, the atelier of André at the Ecole des Beaux Arts in 1882. Maybeck shared rooms with Thomas Hastings, later the partner of J.M. Carrere, a partnership for which Maybeck worked in Florida on the Ponce de Leon Hotel, before arriving in the Bay Area in 1890.[7] As an employee of A. Page Brown, who had won the competition for the California State Building at the Columbian Exposition, Maybeck was sent, as supervisor, to Chicago during 1892-93. There, he remembered that he "liked the scale and vigor of its buildings" and was proud of the showing of American "ability in design".[8] Beginning a long career in Berkeley designing and building houses for himself, his friends and a widening circle of clients, Maybeck, in the '90s, was described as "like a lovable high-school art teacher; adept at inspiring novices to his lofty ideals, sage yet modest, experienced yet earthy...humble, self-effacing yet determined to convert those around him to his visions".[9] In this guise, as an instructor of drawing at the University from 1894, he made the acquaintance of a new university regent, the San Fransisco lawyer, Jacob Bert Reinstein. In 1895 Maybeck was 33, Reinstein 42. Except for the University of California connection the two men might never have met. Reinstein, we can learn from his long, and often amusing, letters was a bright, eternally busy, very short bachelor with the gift of the gab.[10] He was a graduate of the University in its first cohort, the 1873 "Twelve Apostles", and subsequently a president of the Alumni Association. His devotion to his alma mater and all its work was total. Like Maybeck, he had great energy and the ability to inspire enthusiasm in others. We do not know whether he knew, or cared, anything about architecture or landscape planning, but immediately upon his appointment as regent in October 1895 he was placed on the Buildings and Grounds Committee. There, he soon presented to the full board of regents an offer of 100 iron settees and some drinking fountains for the campus and another offer, from the superintendent of Golden Gate Park, John McLaren, to come over and direct the landscaping of the campus.[11]

At this stage, what Reinstein was recommending was the beautyification and lighting of the grounds and paths, and the preservation of the creeks. He also asked the city not to block the view from the railway station of the University's west entrance (which he also proposed to enhance with gates). On December 23, he reported to the board that he had already asked the president and faculty for written suggestions and had sent a circular to all the graduates. What was most needed was a plan, and he cited Maybeck who had "suggested setting aside a sum sufficient to obtain the services of the best landscape gardener and the greatest architect available" to lay out a plan within a year. Reinstein concluded, "Let us build...buildings which shall rival the dreams of the builders of the Columbian Exposition..."[12] Maybeck and Reinstein had joined forces.

Two other men now allied themselves. One was law professor William Cary Jones, dean of the faculty and, within four years, aspirant to the presidency. He was an 1875 graduate and past president of the Alumni Association, and a Phi Delta fraternity brother of Reinstein. Jones, a frequent correspondent of local newspapers, wrote, that December of "two gentlemen who are filling a large place in the public eye...," one of whom was regent Reinstein " whose purpose is to devote himself to the betterment of the university in all directions". The other was the governor of the state, James H. Budd, another of the 1873 "Twelve Apostles".[13]

Governor Budd, elected in 1895 as a Democrat, had the support of the Democratic San Fransisco Examiner, and more importantly, perhaps, the friendship of that newspaper's owner, William Randolph Hearst. Hearst's mother, Phoebe, widow of Senator George and inheritor of his Comstock Lode fortune, had been a minor benefactor of the University of California since the mid-1880s, paying for a small building and giving some scholarships.[14] Later, in February 1896, she donated the lighting of the library and the campus. It may have been in connection with this gift that Jacob Reinstein caught her attention, or it may have been after an abortive attempt to have Bernard Maybeck supply a mining building as a memorial to her husband, "sometime in 1896", as he later remembered, that Phoebe Hearst decide to ally herself.[15] By this time, the idea not only of a plan for a new campus, but also a competition to choose an architect for that plan, had been proposed by regent Reinstein. He had, by the beginning of 1896, circularized both the presidents of important colleges and universities to prove how important a general plan would be, and leading architects on the advisability of open competitions. (Of the latter, Louis Sullivan was against, Van Brunt and Howe, Hastings and Carrere were in favour.)

In February, Reinstein led the university men students in what was to become a traditional "Labor Day" of work on the campus roads, work which he ensured was well photographed and widely publicize. In his speech to the students, Reinstein told them that the regents would soon "consider having a competition of all the great architects of the country for the final
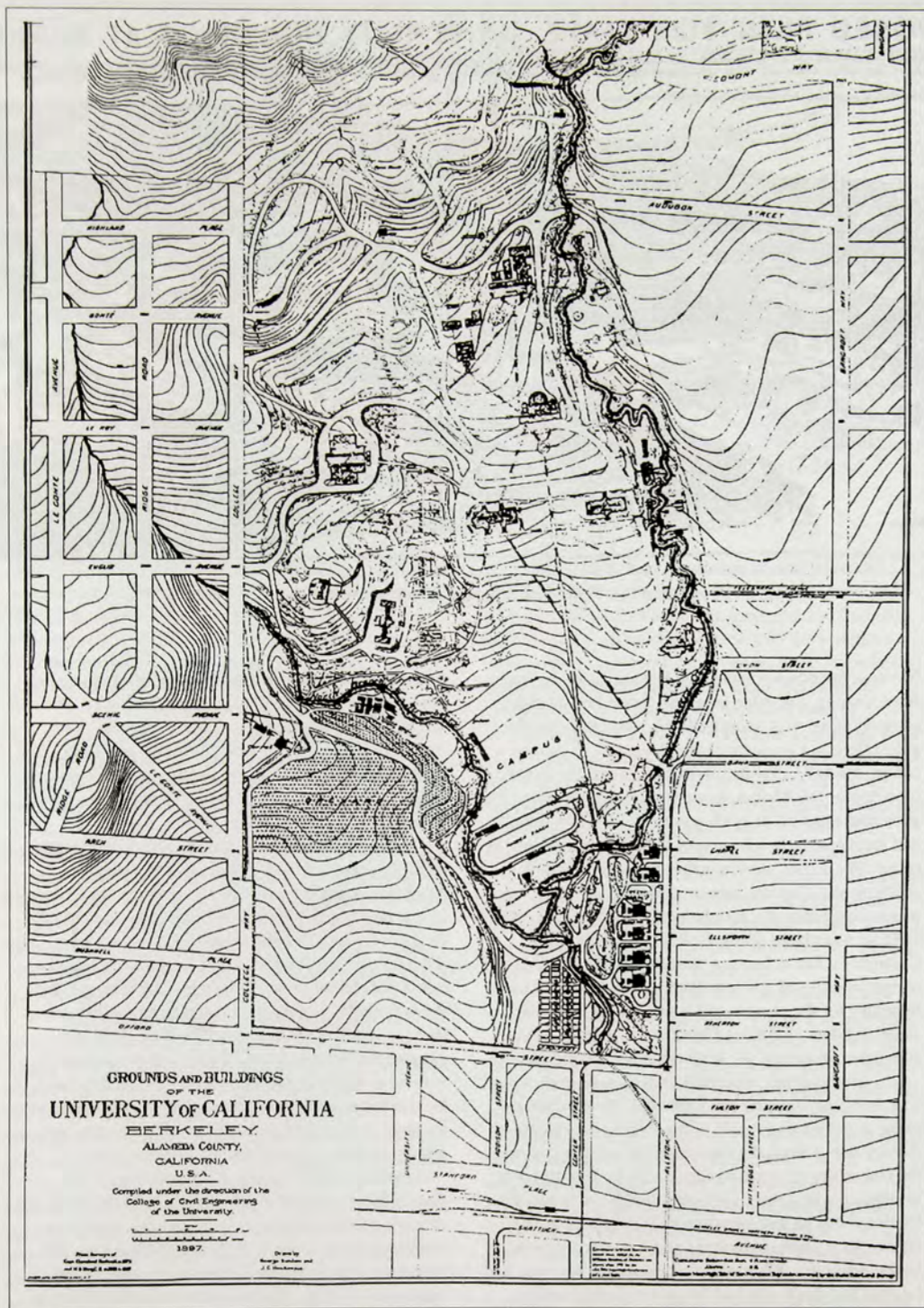
Fig. 5. *University of California topographic map, 1897 (UCB Physical and Environmental Planning)*

arrangements of the grounds and buildings".[16] The students responded with a 600 name petition to the governor to have Reinstein made a full-term regent. In April, by order of the president, the faculty was preparing a list of needed facilities, and Reinstein told his fellow regents that Maybeck, "an exceptionally capable man in his line...would consult the heads of departments and ascertain what buildings would be first required".[17] The way was cleared.

Two months later, Maybeck gave form to Reinstein's dream and the readers of the San Fransisco *Examiner* were told "an effort will be made in the near future to put [this] into execution"(Fig.4)[18] Reinstein had just made a long and forceful speech to the full board of regents wherein he cited the advice of the architect, Frank Maynard Howe, who, Reinstein boasted, was one of the five architects chosen to plan the Chicago World's Fair. The advice, based on Van Brunt and Howe's

Fig. 6. *Hearst Competition entry, Howard and Cauldwell, fourth prize (International Competition, 1899)*

experience at American University, and echoed by all of Reinstein's correspondents, was to plan for 25 years and build in stone and marble. Reinstein also related the counsel of Charles Eliot Norton who called Harvard's unplanned campus a "mournful warning". To stiffen his position, Reinstein laid great stress on the danger of having state funds then available go to individual buildings by different architects (a big mistake that had just been made with the University's affiliated colleges in San Fransisco). He also argued that with a plan in place, private donors would be more likely to come forward. Finally, regent Reinstein had the timetable of his proposal worked out: a program was to be put together by Maybeck, competing architects were to submit their projects, judging was to take place with from 5 to 15 winners, time was then to be allowed for revision and then a final choice of a winner and two runners-up would be made. The competition was to be international and the whole process was to take about a year.[19] The board of regents passed the resolution unanimously, though some questioned what was to become of the existing buildings (economic concerns probably prompting them rather than sentiment).

If the necessity of a long-range plan, and an architectural competition, international in scope, to obtain it, was clear, what was lacking? Only money. Probably, though this is not explicit in the sources, Phoebe Hearst was being kept involved as she continued her usual travels around the world during these months. Nonetheless, it was a journalistically noteworthy event when this benefactress (described by a visiting professor as "a real lady [with] real millions") wrote an open letter to Reinstein on October 22, 1896 offering to pay for the whole thing.[20] One who reacted to this news was Frank Norris, then editor of a colorful San Fransisco magazine, who put the whole thing cogently: "If you can, imagine 31 of the buildings of the [Chicago] World's Fair made over to suit the requirements of a university and at the same time constructed of enduring marble and stone and grouped together upon the wonderful site...".[21]

Immediately, the "International Competition for the Phoebe Hearst Architectural Plan for the University of California" was set in motion. Maybeck, his wife,

Annie, and Reinstein set out for the east coast and then to Europe. During 1897 they travelled everywhere, calling on architects and officials and spreading the 8000 printed copies of the Programme and the topographical map of the site as widely as possible (Fig.5). The Maybecks spent most of that year and the next in Paris, where he, with his Beaux Arts background, his good French and German and his unlimited enthusiasm for the project, enlisted the help of Jules Pascal, doyen of the Ecole, and the Beaux Arts theorist, Julien Gaudet. They helped him draw up the prospectus for the competition, and with their aid he named four international jurymen: Walter Cook, Norman Shaw, Paul Wallot and Pascal (who later became chairman). Mrs Hearst did not stint on anything; the letters to her from the Maybecks and Reinstein are filled with evidence of their gratitude for the chance to carry out to the full their splendid scheme: with banquets for city officials and architectural associations, first class travel for themselves, and largesse to be spread among the California students in Paris (one of whom was Julia Morgan).[22]

In August of 1897 the prospectus was published: "The purpose is to secure a plan to which all the buildings that may be needed by the University in its future growth shall conform," with "landscape gardening and architecture forming one composition." The prospectus announced: " It is a city that is to be created—a City of Learning—in which there is to be no sordid or inharmonious feature." Although it was accepted that new "developments in science" might require future alterations, it was proclaimed that there would be no more need of " remodelling its broad outlines a thousand years hence, than there would be of remodelling the Parthenon."[23] (Berkeley was often referred to by its boosters as the Athens of the West.)

By December 1897 the Programme was sent out with a description of the competition rules and schedule, and a list of the departments, services, communications and estimates of the number of staff and students. Photographs of the site were included. The competitors, in the interests of future economy, were requested to respect the topography of the grounds and avoid unnecessary grading. By the closing date in July, 105
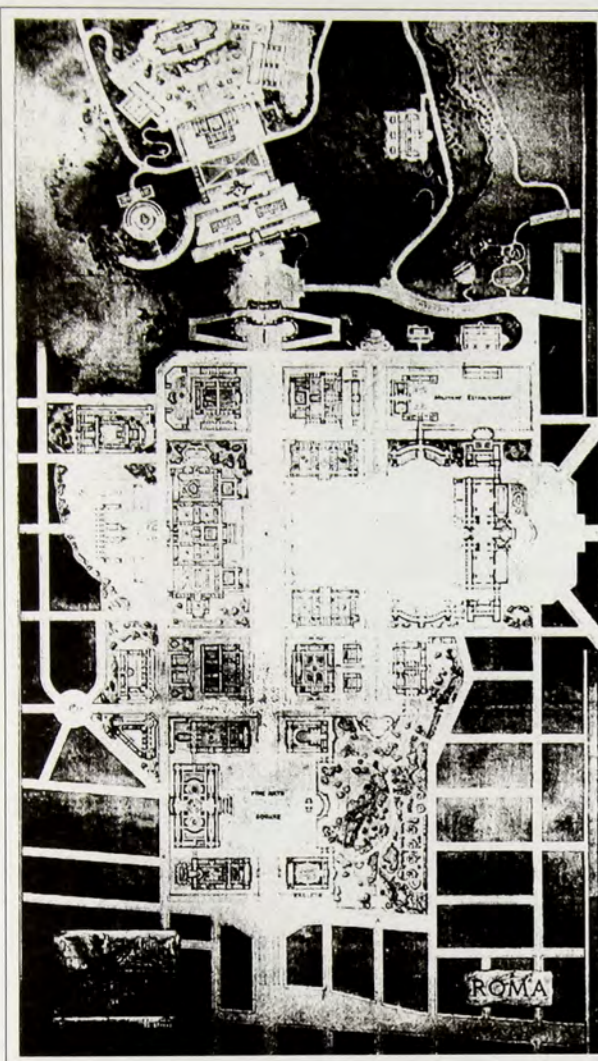
Fig. 7. Hearst Competition entry, Emile Bénard (under name 'Roma'), first prize (International Competition, 1899)

Fig. 8. Plan for the University of California campus, John Galen Howard, 1914 (Bancroft Library, UCB)

entries were received, and the jury met in Antwerp in September 1898, amid splendid civic celebrations. Jacob Reinstein and Phoebe Hearst were there. Of the eleven chosen as winners, four were from Paris, four from New York and one each from Boston, Vienna and Zurich. First Prize went to Emile Bénard, recent winner of the Prix de Rome and a recognized member of the French establishment. Subsidized by Mrs Hearst, most of the winners went to see the Berkeley site before modifying their designs for final judging. Reinstein and Maybeck were again busy with receiving, guiding and entertaining them and the jury members.

In September 1899 the entries were put on display in San Fransisco's Ferry Building, and 60,000 people came to view them. The jury stated the conditions on which they would make the first five awards: one, the buildings should represent a university, not just an architectural composition; two, the educational sections should be conveniently grouped and adapted for expansion; three, "the purpose of the several departments should be clearly defined"; and, four, the architecture
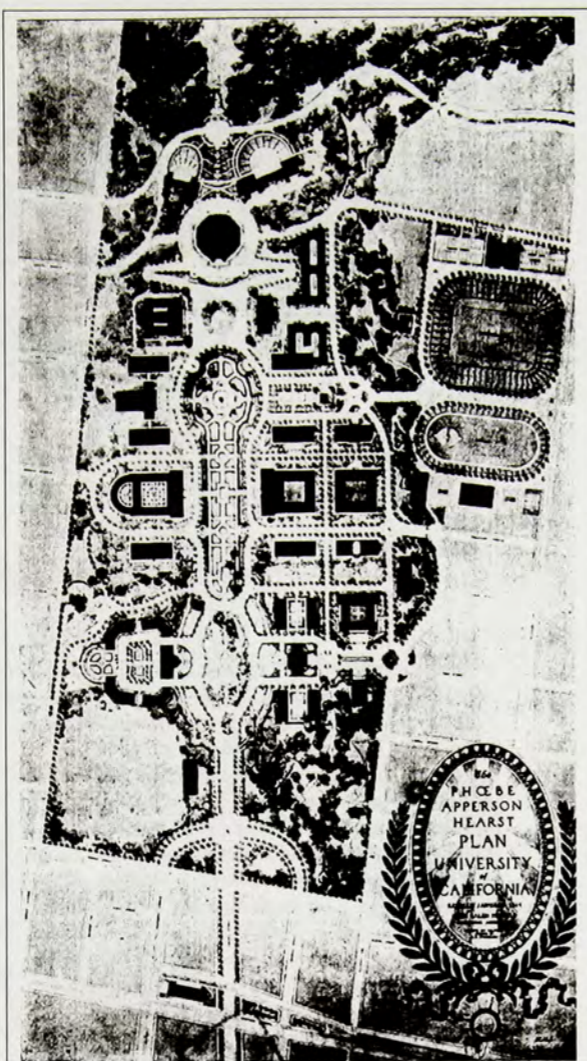
should be adapted to the "configuration of the grounds" and its natural beauties preserved.[24] Fourth place went to Howard and Cauldwell of New York (Fig.6), third to Despradelle and Codman of Boston, second to Howells, Stokes and Hornbostel of New York, and first, again, was Emile Bénard (Fig.7). Bénard's design, in addition to fulfilling the requirements, impressed the jury with its beauty. Another who was impressed, a Berkeley student who lauded the contest and its winner in the Class of 1900 yearbook, concluded that the Hearst Competition had "found the man, not the plan". He was, however, wrong about the man himself. Bénard did come back to Berkeley in the winter of 1899 with a plan further modified to suit the requests of the faculty, and he claimed to be ready to go to work. But, despite the ministrations of the faithful Reinstein and the Maybecks, and more of Mrs Hearst's hospitality, the Frenchman proved to be such a difficult collaborator that he was handsomely paid off and, to the chagrin of Pascal, tactfully removed.

The student was, however, right about the "man" in the sense that Bénard gave the Californians something from the great tradition of the Ecole des Beaux Arts. This was just what the moment and the place called for. The consummate authority of his plan, comprehensive, inclusive, lucid and still just informal enough to reassure, was coupled with a style of architecture, classical but not frigid, baroque but not imperial—the Beaux Arts look that America had fallen in love with at the Columbian Exposition.

The local results of the Hearst Competition were: one, the state legislature did come to the financial rescue of the University; and, two, the fourth-place winner, John Galen Howard, hired in 1901, built over 20 Beaux Arts buildings on the campus in his 28 years as head architect, modifying several times, but never disposing of, the Bénard plan (Fig.8). The national consequences of the result were summarized by Charles Mulford Robinson in his 1904 book, Modern Civic Art, or the City Made Beautiful , where he concluded that the "movement for comprehensive planning's first permanent conquest in the United States was probably in the University of California".[25] Bernard Maybeck mentioned Robinson's statement to Phoebe Hearst in a fond birthday letter in 1913, calling "her" Competition "the beginning of the modern movement in town planning".[26] In turn, a case can be made for the enormous, if perhaps not decisive, contributions of the determined lawyer, Jacob Reinstein, and the visionary but canny architect, Bernard Maybeck, to the beginnings of American city planning? After all, in an 1898 speech Reinstein said of the University's plans: "Little things die from their very smallness. Great things grow quickly greater because they are great."[27] Daniel Burnham hardly said it better.

NOTES

[1] P. Turner, Campus: An American Planning Tradition, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1985, p.167.
[2] V.P. Ranney (ed.), The Papers of Frederick Law Olmsted, Volume V, The California Frontier, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990, pp.546-73 and 'College of California' passim.
[3] The best survey of the University of California is still V. Stadtman, The University of California, 1868-1968, New York: Mcgraw-Hill, 1970.
[4] This plan, by San Fransisco architects John Wright and George Sanders, exists only in a small photograph of a drawing in the University Archives. I have written a paper entitled 'The Man on Horseback', referring to the rather bizarre inclusion of an equestrian statue in front of a university library, that will be published shortly.
[5] Hall was the original planner of San Fransisco's Golden Gate Park (1871). For both projects see: K. Watson, The Original 1873 Berkeley Campus Plan by William Hammond Hall, a soon to be published M.A thesis, University of California, Berkeley.
[6] For the history of the Stanford campus, and F.L. Olmsted's part in it, see P. Turner, The Founders and the Architects, Stanford, California, 1976.
[7] The best introduction to Maybeck and his work is R. Longstreth, On the Edge of the World, Four Architects in San Fransisco at the Turn of the Century, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1973.
[8] K. Cardwell, Bernard Maybeck, Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Books, 1977, p.31.
[9] Longstreth, op. cit., p.316.
[10] Reinstein's letters and newspaper accounts of his speeches are in the University of California, Berkeley (UCB) Archives, Phoebe A. Hearst Papers, California University Competition. He has, as yet, no biography.

[11] UCB Archives, Regents' records, Buildings and Grounds Committee, November 12 and December 10 1895.
[12] California Architect and Building News, January 1896.
[13] Berkeley Daily Advocate, December 23, 1895.
[14] The papers of Phoebe Hearst are in the Bancroft Library of the University of California, Berkeley. There is a new biography of her: J. Robinson, The Hearsts, Newark, University of Delaware Press, 1991.
[15] K. Cardwell and W.C. Hays, 'Fifty Years from Now', California Monthly, April 1954, p.20.
[16] Berkeley Daily Advocate, March 2, 1896.
[17] San Fransisco Call, April 29, 1896.
[18] San Fransisco Examiner, April 30, 1896.
[19] Berkeley Daily Advocate, May 2, 1896.
[20] J. Robinson, op. cit., pp. 271-72.
[21] The Wave, October 1896.
[22] Julia Morgan (1872-1957) was the first female engineer to graduate from the University of California and the first woman graduate of the Ecole des Beaux Arts. She did not accept the offer of aid from Mrs Hearst, but later designed the famous San Simeon mansion for her son, William Randolph Hearst.
[23] W.C. Jones, Illustrated History of the University of California, Berkeley,1901, p.235. Jones, who was part of the proceedings, includes a lengthy description and many documents relating to the Competition.
[24] Ibid., pp.258-60.
[25] C.M. Robinson, p. 275.
[26] Bancroft Library, P.A. Hearst Papers, Box 34, Maybeck to P.A. Hearst, December 2, 1913.
[27] J.B Reinstein, Address of Regent Jacob Bert Reinstein at a Special Meeting of the Regents of the University of California, San Fransisco, 1898, p. 29.

THE BEST OF BURHAM: THE PHILIPPINE PLANS

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When discussing the success or failure of the City Beautiful, writers often fail to mention, or give only passing notice to, the Burnham plans for Manila and Baguio. Generally, discussions of Burnham's planning seem always to centre on his plan for Chicago. Yet, there are many aspects of Burnham's Manila Plan which make it stand out in his body of work. For one, it was the single plan which attempted to adapt itself most graciously to local historical and climatic conditions. Also, while comprehensive in nature and considering urban growth, it sought flexibility in design and tried not to impose geometric patterns on the city when possible. Lastly, it advocated the creation of an architectural design which was clearly the most innovative and indigenous of any of the City Beautiful schemes.

Two reasons which can help to explain why little scholarly attention has been paid to Burnham's Plans in the Philippines are: first, the Philippines are relatively far removed from the United States and a remote destination for scholars; and second, the Plans were the product of American foreign adventurism. Despite these drawbacks, unlike other Burnham plans, the Plans for Manila and Baguio were largely implemented, since they had the advantage of governmental fiat. No mobilizing of local support or organizing of local opinion was necessary. What might not have been possible in the United States was possible in the Philippines. For instance, in order to extend the ocean boulevard south along the waterfront on reclaimed land, it was necessary to condemn some of the mansions of the wealthy. The approval was given in 1909 and the first mile of the Esplanade was completedimmediately. This public seizure of the private property of the wealthy for the furtherance of a public project would, I believe, probably never have been politically acceptable on the mainland.[1]

At the time of Burnham's Plan of Manila, the city had approximately 230,000 residents, with 100,000 living in Intramuros, the old Spanish walled city.[2] The plan, similar to Burnham's previous plans for Washington and Cleveland, followed his basic principles. It provided for the development of the waterfront and location of parks and parkways throughout the city. It superimposed broad diagonal streets over the grid, similar to Washington, so that direct communication could occur between every quarter of the city. It provided for a site for future government buildings, wide plazas, broad boulevards and spacious parks facing the bay.

Specifically, the Manila Plan made use of the expansion of the Bayfront in Manila which, as previously stated, was the result of landfill created from the dredging of the Port. This area of landfill would become the Luneta Extension which was to house hotels, clubs, recreation areas, a pavilion and, to the south, the U.S. Governor's Headquarters, which today is the location of the American Embassy. The old Spanish Park, the Luneta, and Wallace Field, an area which was kept free of development due to its military function, were to become the setting for the Government Group of buildings in the Plan. An ocean boulevard, presently called Roxas Boulevard, was to be created from the landfill which was to extend from Luneta Extension all the way south to Cavite, a distance of twelve miles.

While the Manila Plan follows much the same recipe as Burnham's other work, both before and after the Manila Plan, it has some particularly noteworthy deviations which make it unique among his plans and one of his strongest undertakings. Firstly, his plan exhibits a strong emphasis on preservation of the existing built environment, a continuity with the historical past. Burnham was impressed by the old Spanish architecture, a style characterized by second storey overhangs and red tiled roofs which he found "unusually pleasing" in its overall effect.[3] He claimed, "The old Spanish churches and the old Spanish government buildings are especially interesting, and in view of their beauty and practical suitability to the local conditions could be profitably taken as examples of future structures."[4] Burnham was particularly fascinated by the walled city of Intramuros. He wanted to preserve its beauty and charm, and recommended that the walls be pierced only with openings to let in the air and provide for the traffic requirements of the Intramuros district.

Secondly, he advocated the preservation and the rehabilitation of the estero system or waterway canals which meander throughout Manila. These waterways, often filled with stagnant water, would, he stated "appear at first sight to be undserirable adjuncts to the city" yet, "they are of the utmost value for transportation purposes",[5] In the tradition of merging utilitarianism with aesthetics, Burnham argued, "The estero, it should be remembered, is not only an economical vehicle for the transaction of public business; it can become, as in Venice, an element of beauty. Both beauty and convenience dictate a very liberal policy toward the development of these valuable waterways."[6]

Thirdly, Burnham stated that the 'first consideration in determining architectural style is the question of adaptability to local conditions'. In Manila, he believed, that this principle applied with 'especial force'. He was quick to recognize that 'monumental structures' might be too costly and not in keeping with the local environment. "In a tropical climate costly structures put up with granite, marble or other building stones in the manner of public buildings in Europe and America," he maintained, "would be out ofplace. Flat walls, simply built of concrete (with steel re-inforcing rods to resist earthquakes) and depending for their effect upon beautiful proportions rather than upon costly
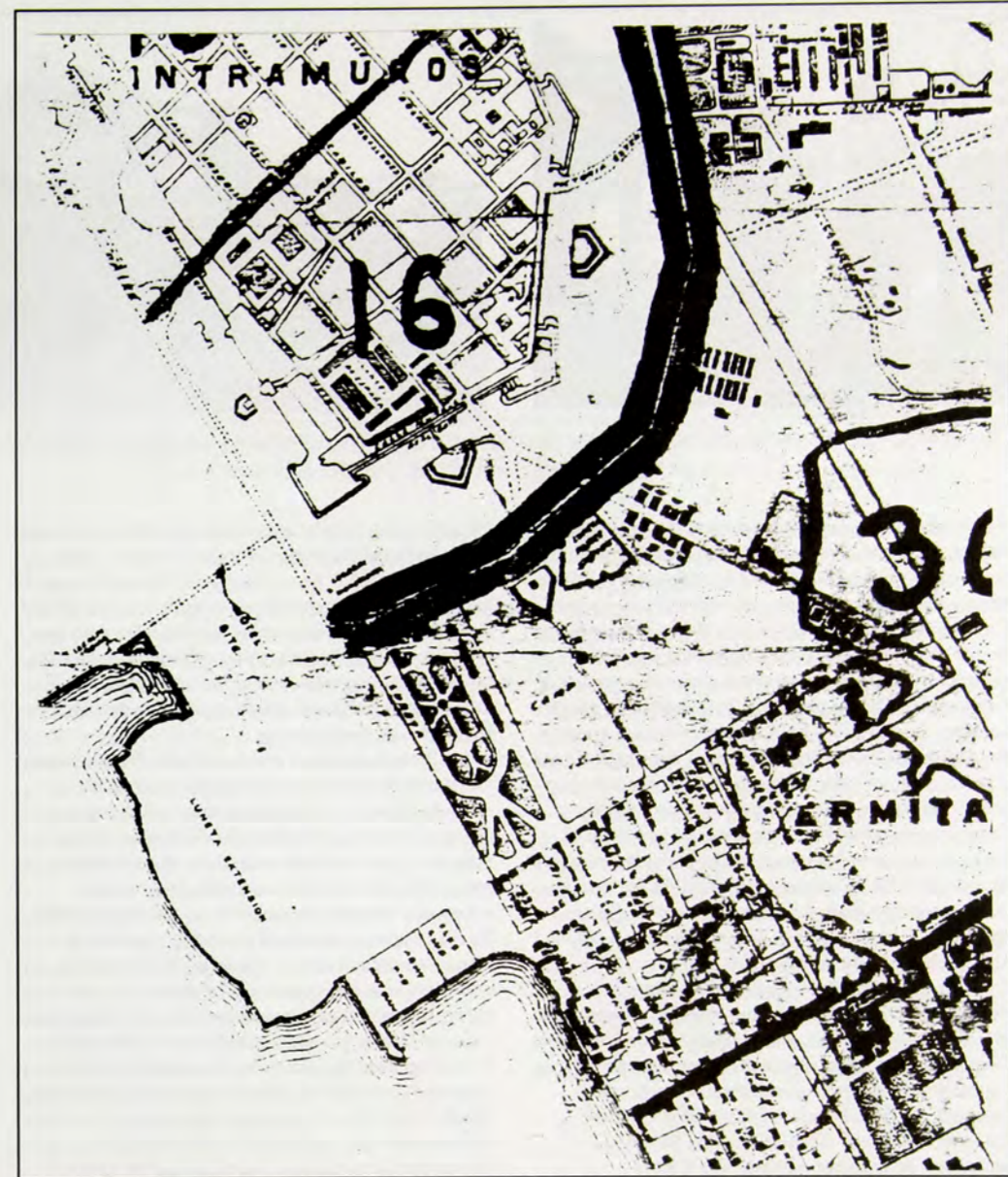

Fig.1. Map of the city of Manila from original surveys, 1904-09. Source: Office of Drafting and Surveys, Dept. of Engineering and Public Works, 30th June 1909, National Library Archives, Manila.

materials are fom all points of view most desirable for Manila."[7] He viewed the old Spanish buildings in Manila as a good example of architecture for a tropical climate.[8]

Fourthly, the Plan anticipates the future growth of metropolitan Manila and tries to plan for it. The Plan predicted that "the population of Manila may be expected to increase rapidly and the introduction of surface transportation will ultimately scatter this enlarging population over a greater territory".[9] While the Plan did not specifically mention the future impact of the automobile on the city, it did provide for wide boulevards which have provided for more efficient passage of automobiles throughout the city. These boulevards contrast sharply with the narrow and congested streets off the boulevards.

Fifthly, the Plan took into consideration the climatic environment of Manila which was subject to "protracted periods of intense heat during which all exertion is accomplished at excessive cost of physical strength".[10] Burnham sought to utilize Manila's greatest resources, its ocean bay and river, to ameliorate the debilitating effects of the climate. The esplanade of the ocean boulevard would be 'available for all classes of people' who would be protected from the elements by shady palms and bamboo trees. In the parks, fountains provided a cooling effect.

While the Manila Plan was more of the order of a redevelopment plan, the Baguio Plan was to be something different: a plan for a new town situated in a mountainous area which would provide a challenge for both engineers and planners. Baguio was located approximately one hundred and fifty miles north of Manila in the mountains of Benguet Province. It nestled in a pine forest five thousand feet above sea level and had an average temperature of sixty five degrees

Fig. 2. Two buildings which exemplify William Parson's architectural style. (Left) The Army-Navy Club. (Right) The Manila Hotel.
(Source for Figs 2 to 5: Robert W. Taylor)

Fahrenheit. It was the perfect location for a summer capital. In this relatively uninhabited area, Burnham produced his blueprint for a city for a population of twenty five thousand people. He outlined a plan where commercial activity would occupy the level floor of a meadow approximately half a mile wide and three-quarters of a mile long, and where national government buildings would face municipal buildings along axis at an imposing elevation. As was characteristic in most Burnham designs, streets and avenues were planned and districts were set aside for residential and recreational use as well as governmental and business activities. Country clubs, churches, a comprehensive system of parks and playgrounds connected by parkways winding in and out of the valleys and following the courses of streams were planned. As a recent account suggests, Baguio "remains to this day a charming remnant of the U.S. presence in the Archipeligo".[11]

In analyzing the role of the City Beautiful movement in the Philippines and Daniel Burnham's plans it is relatively easy to acquiesce to the writers who have attacked it for its imperialistic impulses and its visual representation of governmental power and centralized colonial control. Peter Hall in his book, *Cities of Tomorrow*, discued the City Beautiful movement in a chapter entitled, 'The City of Monuments'.[12] When discussing how Burnham applied the three objectives of planning that Abercrombie identified in 1933, Hall maintains that to Burnham

"beauty clearly stood supreme, commercial convenience was significant, but health, in its widest sense, came almost nowhere".[13] Yet, in Burnham's Manila Plan, a key component of the plan was to drain the moat around the old town and convert it into a usable recreation area precisely because it was a source of disease. In fact, the Manila Plan was simply one aspect of a public infrastructure project in Manila to improve the public health through public works.

Perhaps, the most severe attack on Burnham and the Manila Plan has come from Robert Goodman in *After the Planners*.[14] Goodman states that the primary concept behind the City Beautiful Movement, that of maintaining architectural uniformity, was a "dubious notion" because "architectural uniformity is not necessarily beautiful, desirable or an appropriate model for the complex activities of urban life". Instead, "a democratic architecture would search for forms that could evolve from a complexity of design interests rather than submerge into a unified theme".[15] Goodman criticizes Burnham's concept of hierarchy because he divides the city into various land use categories. He is particularly critical of Burnham's use of hierachy in the Manila Plan where the governmental group of buildings dominates the site. Goodman sees the Manila Plan 'as the appropriate architectural dressing for the spoils of America's imperialistic ventures following the Spanish-American War, and is appalled at Burnham's concern that "governmental activity must be readily accessible

Fig. 3. Where the Central Mall of Burnham's Manila Plan meets the main Esplanade along the Bay, Roxes Boulevard.

Fig. 4. An overview of the Bay Esplanade, Roxes Boulevard, that emanates southward from the Central Mall.
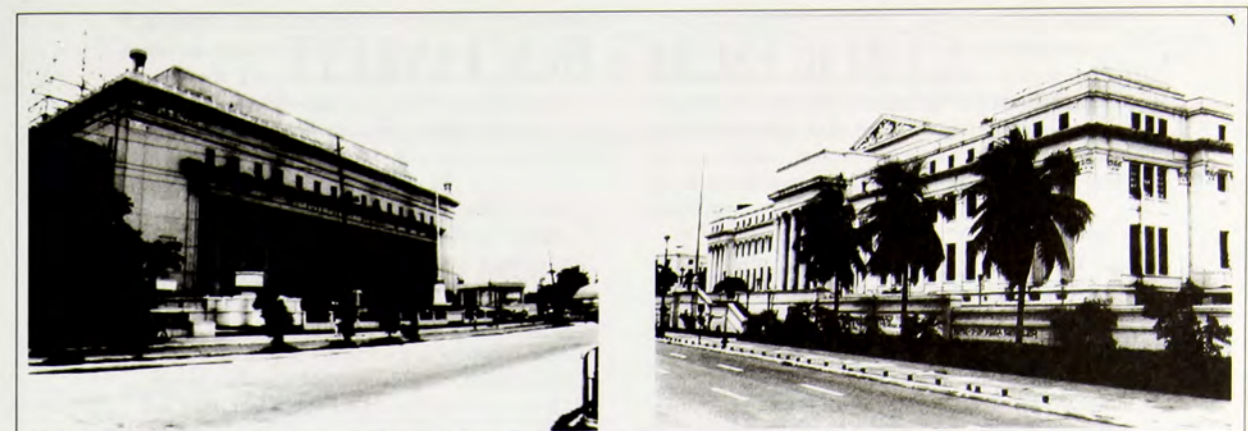
Fig. 5. In contrast to Parson's relaxed architectural style which adapted to Philippine conditions, later architecture followed the severe classicism of the City Beautiful. (Left) The Post Office Building. (Right) The Congress Building

from all sides" and "every action of the Capital City should look with deference toward the symbol of the Nation's power."[16] Goodman's argument, while strong, weakens when he states that Burnham, by separating the 'Hall of Justice' (Supreme Court Building) from the rest of the Government Group, is in effect, showing the oppressive nature of justice in a colonial society. Instead, it can be argued that Burnham's intention was to show that justice was, as he maintained, the "highest function in a civilized society", and, therefore, should be given a special place. Indeed, when the history of the Philippines is studied, a case can clearly be made that the corrupt Spanish colonial court system was replaced by a relatively fair and impartial one by the Americans.

Where Burnham's Plans for the Philippines differ significantly from other City Beautiful plans is in their concern for local conditions and traditions and in the flexibilityof their implementation. One of the criticisms of the City Beautiful is its preoccupation with neo-classical architecture.[17] In the Manila Plan, Burnham emphasized that the architecture should be related to local conditions and climate. By recommending the appointment of William Parsons as Chief Architect to

implement his plans in the Philippines, Burnham knew very well that he was selecting a person who would follow his spirit and work in an architectural style particularly suited to Philippine conditions. The Manila Hotel, the Army-Navy Club, the Elks Club and the Philippine General Hospital, all Parsons' designs, displayed an architectural style which contrasted greatly with the neo-classical designs of later public buildings in Manila. Parsons' style was relaxed, eclectic, indigenous and utilized modern techniques of pre-fabrication. The Manila Hotel, for instance, was a large "white-washed concrete building with green-tiled steep roofs, wide eaves, with a lobby formed by twin Doric columns of white plaster and separated by arches,with two grand staircases which lead to a mezzanine floor".[18] Perhaps it was the exotic nature of the Philippines which relaxed Burnham and Parsons so that a 'less formal architecture was created, avoiding the grandiose Beaux Arts neo-classicism that marred Burnham's other plans'. Whatever the reason, "the City Beautiful would realize its greatest architectural success," as Thomas Hines noted, "not on American but on foreign, colonial soil".[19]

NOTES

1 W. Cameron Forbes, *The Philippine Islands*, Cambridge,Mass., Harvard U.P., 1928, p.406.
2 Charles Moore, *Daniel H. Burnham: Architect and Planner of Cities*, New York, Da Capo Press, 1968, pp.177-202 for Manila and Baguio Plans.
3*Ibid.*, p.179.
4*Ibid.*
5*Ibid.*, p.193.
6*Ibid.*
7*Ibid.*, p.195.
8*Ibid.*
9*Ibid.*, p.180.
10*Ibid*
11 Stanley Karnow, *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines*, New York, Ballintine Books, 1989, p.214.

12 Peter Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1992, pp.174-202.
13*Ibid.*, p.183.
Robert Goodman, *After the Planners* , New York, Simon and Schuster, 1971.
15*Ibid.*, p.99.
16*Ibid.*, p.101.
17 William H. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement* , Baltimore, Johns Hopkins U.P.,1989, p.290.
18 Visitacion R. De La Torre, *Landmarks of Manila 1571-1930*, Manila, Paragon, 1981, p.45.
19 Thomas S. Hines, *Burnham of Chicago:Architect and Planner*, Oxford and New York, Oxford U.P., 1974, p.213.

CEAUCESCU'S BUCHAREST

MARIA DE BETANIA CAVALCANTI, RECIFE.BRAZIL.

Until 1965, when Nicolae Ceaucescu was appointed General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, Bucharest's townscape was largely the result of an urban experience responsive to diverse political processes each of which endowed the city with spatial forms and symbols expressing particular political ideologies and vested interests. Under Ottoman rule, from the early 16th century to 1828, the city gradually developed outwards from its central core, forming an organic and concentric morphological pattern along its main thoroughfares. Bucharest's building typology in this period was marked by a strong Byzantine influence mostly expressed in its religious buildings such as churches and monasteries.

Modernization of the physical-spatial structure of Bucharest started after the Turkish withdrawal of 1828 and took the form of great public works and urban changes introduced by the *Regulamente Organice* which endowed the picturesque city's built environment with its first boulevards, parks and infrastructure. The last decades of the 19th century conferred upon the city a Parisian atmosphere as a result of the Haussmann-style boulevards and Neo-Classical buildings of marked Western influence which greatly transformed Bucharest's townscape. This was achieved by means of an urban reconstruction operation according to which wide and straight boulevards were inserted over the city's fabric, necessitating the clearing of living urban tissue. The boulevards built in that period, played an important functional rôle in the city's urban development since they became the main axes carrying traffic and public transport as well as integrating the city centre with its outskirts.

The total unification of the three Romanian territories (Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania) into a single state, accomplished in the aftermath of World War I and political developments favouring capitalist vested interests were to imprint on the city a built environment dominated by large single-family houses in northern Bucharest to accommodate the ruling class and bourgeoisie. The outcome of World War II and the move towards the Communist ideology of a classless society led Romania to embrace, as national priorities, policies favouring the provision of housing for the working class, mass culture and industrialization, thus minimizing the development of the commercial central core of the city. Massive dwellings were initially built on the outskirts of Bucharest, then in its central inner districts, transforming the eclectic dominantly bourgeois-built social fabric into a modern socialist built environment. The cult of Stalin in Romania, as in many other Soviet satellites, was to influence the architecture of monumental public buildings expressing the new political order. Despite these political developments, the city's historic core was left virtually intact along with its historic monuments of both religious and civil architecture, which were adapted to new functions in line with socialist ideology.

In 1965, Nicolae Ceaucescu came to power after the death of the First Secretary Gheorghiu-Dej and ruled Romania for twenty-four years. The course of Romanian political, economic and social developments were to be greatly changed as well as Bucharest's urban history, which was radically altered during the late 1970s and 1980s as a result of Ceaucescu's plan for converting the former Byzantine city into the first socialist capital in the world.

Greater changes in the built environment of the Romanian capital followed the official announcement of Ceaucescu's intention of constructing a new Civic Centre in Bucharest immediately after the 1977 earthquake. Ceaucescu disclosed his plans for the radical reconstruction of the capital rather than concentrating efforts on restoring the damaged areas throughout the city. Government officials argued that the city centre had been devastated by the earthquake so that the restoration of Bucharest would be followed by the construction of a new political-administrative centre.[1] This proved to be mere political rhetoric. The Uranus quarter and Dealul Spirea, the area designated by Ceaucescu to accommodate the new complex, were the least affected by the earthquake.[2]

As Sergiu Celac explained:

"Ceaucescu wanted the Civic Centre and his own residence to be located in a safe area which was not to be affected by future earthquakes. That is one of the reasons **he chose** the least affected area of the city to construct the new Civic Centre."[3]

On 28 March 1977, at the Joint Meeting of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, Ceaucescu emphasized the need to rebuild the capital city concomitantly with the concentration of the various State and public institution buildings into a *new* political-administrative centre.[4] The construction of a political-administrative centre in the capital city was proclaimed by Ceaucescu to be the great objective of the 1980-1985 Five Year Plan, in which he called the attention of architects and builders working in the capital city to their special responsibility of turning Bucharest into a **modern city** capable of 'lending a new and prosperous outlook... worthy of the age of the multilaterally developed socialist society'.[5]

After Ceaucescu's trip to a number of Asian countries in 1971, particularly to North Korea, the political régime in Romania began to incorporate characteristics of 'totalitarianism', and underwent substantial changes such as to lead the President to assume absolute power and complete control of the political, ideological and socio-cultural developments shaping Romanian society. As Turnock noted, radical changes in the built form of Romanian cities 'was inspired by Ceaucescu's visit to Asian Communist countries whose totalitarian programmes he admired'.[6]

Architecture and physical planning were included among the many projects personally overseen by Ceaucescu, whose individual will prevailed in technical matters as well as in relation to Bucharest's social and urban needs. The decision to carry out the urban reconstruction of Bucharest's historic centre resulted from Ceaucescu's individual will, rather than a compromise between the Romanian state leadership and the planning institutions.

"**The historical decision** for building a new centre [in Bucharest] **belongs to Comrade Nicolae Ceaucescu**... Architects, town-planners, engineers and constructors benefit from the permanent and precise instructions of Comrade Ceaucescu, who dedicates great part of his precious time to personally direct the activity of construction, architecture ans systematization in Bucharest."

By exercising absolute power he could determine the course of social, political and economic as well as urban and architectural developments in the country. This was the means by which he brought into effect his intention of modernizing the pre-existing built environment of Bucharest, to celebrate the Ceaucescu epoch, eventually turning it into an instrument of his cult of personality. Ceaucescu's individual will was to influence, if not determine, planning, urban and architectural concepts and to give the capital city the form envisaged by the President.

Decisions of all kinds in Romania are made at the top, implemented by decree and often changed at the will by the Leader [Ceaucescu]... All others are reduced to mere executors of the [Ceaucescu] clans' decisions.[7]

The site of the new administrative and political centre headquarters, comprising the seat of the Romanian government power - the *Victoria Socialismului* Civic Centre, was personally chosen by Ceaucescu. Dealul Spirea or Uranus hill was designated by Ceaucescu because of its historical symbolism and importance, its higher location and dominant position in the city's geographical landscape.[8]

In the urban reconstruction of Bucharest for the construction of the *Victoria Socialismului* Civic Centre, planning was carried out within the context of a highly centralized decision-making process, whereby Ceaucescu exercised absolute power over architectural and urban design matters and over the mechanisms used to achieve them. The decision-making was controlled by Ceaucescu and his will was transmitted in the form of decrees, official regulations or planning directives, re-assertion is based on the comprehensive examination of the planning mechanisms used by Ceaucescu to determine the course of architectural and urban design developments as well as the large-scale demolition, expropriation of land and financial operations.

The institutional planning framework in Romania derived from the Systematization Law 58\1974 which established a set of rules and procedures to be followed in the urban reconstruction of cities, towns and villages in Romania. Plans for Bucharest and other localities in Romania were to comply with this official planning framework, which assigned specific rôles to the various government bodies involved, arranged in an hierarchical structure. Thus, in the case of the urban reconstruction of Bucharest's historic centre to make way for the *Victoria Socialismului* Civic Centre, it was expected that similar legal mechanisms and planning procedures would be observed.

However, the existing official institutional framework underlying planning operations in Romania was overruled by Ceaucescu, who personally directed and decided the course of architectural and planning developments relating to the reshaping of Bucharest. Ceaucescu overruled the existing mechanisms set up by the National Assembly (Law No.58/1974) and imposed his own views, concepts and personal preferences on professional experts in matters of architecture and town planning.

As the architect, Doina Butica, from *Institutul Proiect Bucuresti* revealed:

"Usually Ceaucescu approved or rejected the decisions of the Council of the Ministers. The formal procedure was to be: Institutul Proiect Bucuresti would provide the documents approved by the Section for Architecture and Planning from the People's Council of Bucharest, followed by the approval of the Committee for the Problems of thePeople's Councils. After that, the plans or projects were to be sent to the Council of Ministers and to President Nicolae Ceaucescu, who would formalize his approval in the form of a government decree. However, what actually took place was very different: there were working meetings in which Ceaucescu dictated his views on the plans presented by professionals from the planning institutions, specially in Bucharest... All plans, projects and related documents provided by *Proiect Bucuresti* were shown to Ceaucescu **before** they were revealed to the diverse planning institutions to follow the hierarchical mechanisms and procedures for approval... **Only after Ceaucescu approved the plans they were sent to the planning institutions to get the "formal approval".**[9]

Unrestricted power enabled Ceaucescu to dictate the course of city planning according to his own will at the various stages in the planning process underlying the urban reconstruction of Bucharest's historic centre. Ceaucescu's laws and decrees brought about the dissolution of government institutions and the overriding of existing laws concerned with the protection of national cultural heritage and their replacement by new ones closely controlled by state officials supporting the reconstruction policies of the systematization programme throughout the country, and in particular in Bucharest. Moreover, the urban reconstruction of Bucharest's historic centre for the construction of the *Victoria Socialismului* Civic Centre was carried out in strict accordance with planning directives personally given by Ceaucescu in the form of decrees, regulations and *indicatiile* (directives). The planning directives were applied with the force of law regardless of the existinginstitutional framework for urban and architectural activities in Romania. Documents, stamped with the words *Secret de Serviciu* or 'State Secret' and the following heading:

"DIRECTIVES given by Comrade Nicolae Ceaucescu, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, with regard to the systematization of the city centre of Bucharest",

illustrate Ceaucescu's personal rôle in the planning operations relating to the reconstruction of the Romanian capital and absolute control of every single detail concerning matters of architecture and urban design.

In addition to this, when Ceaucescu announced the plans for the *Victoria Socialismului* Civic Centre, Mariana Celac, a distinguished Romanian dissident, made a 'public statement' in the form of a letter addressed to Stefan Andrei, a member of the higher echelons of the Romanian Communist Party, who was in

Fig.1. Plan of the Victoria Socialismului *Civic Centre showing the area affected by the urban reconstruction of Bucharest's historic centre.*

charge of construction work in Bucharest. The consequences of her protest against the demolition operation in central Bucharest were related in an interview given to the author, some of which is worth quoting in full:

"I was fired in 1977, ten days after sending the letter to Stefan Andrei. In 1984, I lost my position at *Centrul de Sistematizare* and in 1987, at the ISLGC. From September 1979, my correspondence was put under [police] control. From November 1987, I practically lived under house arrest... My telephone was disconnected, my mail cut off. I was repeatedly questioned by the police and for a long time I had a policeman in uniform placed at my doorstep."[10]

Ceaucescu also used terroristic tactics by means of his secret police (*Securitate*) to either intimidate or force the Romanian people to comply with his policies, plans and projects. As Durandim and Tomescu have recorded, in the case of the demolition operation clearing the site for the construction of the *Victoria Socialismului* Civic Centre, people were told to evacuate their houses within twenty-four hours and, in general, received the equivalent of the Romanian minimum wage as compensation for the expropriation of their houses.[11] The press never mentioned any problem arising from the large-scale eviction of Bucharest's citizens despite numerous reported cases of suicides among people reluctant to leave their homes. The severe censorship and control of the media by the government made it impossible for Romanian society to address any issue relating to the urban reconstruction of Bucharest's historic centre.

The *Victoria Socialismului* Civic Centre

Initially, the *Victoria Socialismului* Civic Centre was to be on a much more modest scale. The project took on

greater proportions as a result of the difficulty Ceaucescu experienced in trying to understand and interpret the urban and architectural scale of his own plans for Bucharest. 'As the area was cleared of buildings, Ceaucescu realized that it was not big enough and [he] wanted to make it larger'.[12] This view is endorsed by Damian, who argues that, although Ceaucescu had taken the Champs-Elysées as the model for the *Victoria Socialismului* Civic Centre project, as he 'designed urban projects by going out into the streets, he never had a real perception of the whole ensemble.[13]

The scheme eventually selected by Ceaucescu consisted of a grandiose government building complex superimposed on the existing organic morphological pattern of the city, necessitating the large-scale demolition of living urban tissue, including outstanding listed monuments and historic ensembles. (Fig.1) Entire traditional quarters like Uranus, Vacaresti and Calarasi mostly occupied by single-family houses with spacious courtyards and a great part of the original road structure of Bucharest were virtually completely destroyed.[14]

Construction work on the *Victoria Socialismului* Civic Centre began in 1984, in accordance with Ceaucescu's decrees No.405 of November 29, 1981 and No.309 of September 5, 1984. Its three principal elements were *Bulevardul Victoria Socialismului* (Fig.2), *Casa Republicii* (Fig.3), and the government building ensembles (ministries, embassies, cultural buildings, hotels, etc.). Another important component of the Civic Centre was the series of residential blocks constructed alongside the boulevard and surrounding areas to house people from the upper ranks of the Communist *Nomenklatura* and *Securitate*.

Bulevardul Victoria Socialismului, the spinal column of the new centre, is a 92m wide axis 3.5km in length beginning at Piata Semicirculara in front of *Casa*

Fig.2 Bulevardul Victoria Socialismului. *Photo by the author (1990)*

Fig.3 Casa Republicii. *Photo by the author (1990)*

Republicii, big enough to assemble half a million people, and is lined with ten-storey buildings. Its layout consists of: a central strip of land 8m-wide which runs along the longitudinal axis of the artery, on which 17 fountains are located; two lanes for traffic with ornamental paving made of coloured concrete mosaics; two 8.5m-wide green areas lined with lime, oak and fir trees; and two pedestrian promenades 5m wide, also paved with decorative mosaics. Because of its ceremonial character, *Bulevardul Victoria Socialismului* was designed for the occasional official traffic of Ceaucescu and his entourage; it could not bear the heavy flow of public traffic.[15]

Bulevardul Victoria Socialismului was conceived as a ceremonial axis whose main character was aesthetic rather than functional; its purpose was to provide a monumental approach to *Casa Republicii*, the main

element in the urban composition of the new Civic Centre. In short its two main features can be described as its monumental urban scale and its axial and rectilinear pattern, crossed at right angles at strategic points where vast urban spaces were created.

In the south-eastern zone of the Uranus quarter, on what was left of Dealul Spirea, the government headquarters and presidential residence, *Casa Republicii* was erected, an architectural complex of more than 300,000 sq.m., overlooking *Bulevardul Victoria Socialismului. Casa Republicii*, designed by architect Anca Petrescu, is one of the largest political-administrative buildings in the world: 86m. high with façades 276m. long, occupying 6.3 ha. of land. Its layout consists of a rectangular plan with four symmetrical, semi-detached corner towers, 700 offices, meeting rooms, restaurants, libraries and assembly halls

for 1200 people (the Romanian Hall, 66 x 30 m.; the Banquet Hall, 55 x 42 m.; and the 64 m. cylindrical domed Congress Hall).

The design of *Casa Republicii* combines Eclectic and Neo-Classical elements such as the long range of 28m high attached columns with Corinthian capitals on the main façade. Its oversized volumetric composition confer upon it a gigantic scale similar to the architectural structures produced by totalitarian régimes in Europe during the 1930s which favoured the Classical mode.

According to Beldiman, the resulting architectural vocabulary of the new Civic Centre was an eclectic mixture of styles in the Neo-Classical manner, which derived from Ceaucescu's preference for the 'opulent, over-decorative and kitsch'.[16] There was never a master plan aiming to integrate the distinct components of the new building complex with the existing city structure. The plan developed according to Ceaucescu's personal directives and his 'on site' appraisal of the monumental urban scale he wanted to accomplish. For this reason basic problems such as traffic, road structure and infrastructure were never taken into account because of Ceaucescu's immediate interest in the rapid construction of the monumental political-administrative centre. Although the new Civic Centre was never fully completed because of the Revolution of December 1989 which drove Ceaucescu from power, the greater part was constructed between 1984-1989.

The Impact of the *Victoria Socialismului* Civic Centre on Bucharest's Historic Centre

The urban reconstruction of Bucharest's historic centre, to make way for the *Victoria Socialismului* Civic Centre, brought about a radical break with the urban and architectural manifestation of past periods of history regardless of the cultural, social, symbolic and political meaning of the existing city's built form. The urban and architectural structure of Bucharest's historic centre was virtually annihilated as a result of the construction of the *Victoria Socialismului* Civic Centre. As Lungu argues, 'there was a clear intention [on the part of Ceaucescu] to destroy the links of the people of Bucharest with its centre, with its historic heritage and with monuments of its historic past'.[17]

The replacement of the old built forms of Bucharest's historic centre with new ones derived from the *Victoria Socialismului* Civic Centre greatly affected the city's street pattern. This new building complex was inserted into Bucharest's city centre without being adapted to the pre-existing network of streets. It involved the construction of new arteries which drastically changed the city's physical-spatial structure. *Bulevardul Victoria Socialismului* was cut through the existing Bucharest's city fabric dominating its street pattern and razing an immense area of living urban tissue representative of diverse periods in the city's urban history. The urban pattern of Bucharest's central area, which included part of the original road structure, was largely destroyed by the superimposed building forms of the new political-administrative centre.

The formerly harmonious and winding centre of Bucharest was split into many sections, causing the disintegration of the whole urban structure and forming numerous "gaps" between the old and the new city fabric. This generated a conflict between these two utterly different types of urban tissue. Fragments of the existing city fabric were spared from demolition but, as the project for the new Civic Centre did not address the question of merging of old and new urban forms, the remaining 'islands' of old urban tissue were either isolated from the original road structure or disconnected from the new street system. Eventually, they were either screened by the built barrier of new blocks raised along the boulevard or surrounded by an urban void totally unrelated to the new city core. Furthermore, *Bulevardul Victoria Socialismului*, running through Bucharest's central area, broke the integrated road pattern of the city causing severe problems for the transport network. This new axis disconnected all existing links between the streets which carried public transport in the area affected by the Civic Centre as well as cutting off links between the city's main thoroughfares and traffic arteries.

Large-scale remodelling of Bucharest's urban pattern through radical surgery and the razing of its architectural and urban forms was necessary for the development of the new centre. The demolished area was the equivalent to one quarter of Bucharest's historic centre or approximately 100ha. The insertion of new built forms of great proportions into the pre-existing pattern of development of Bucharest necessitated large clearing operations and devastated the central area of the city. Entire densely built up old quarters, representative of a predominantly 19th-and early 20th-century building typology simply disappeared to make way for the new political-administrative centre. (Fig.4) The remaining building forms were overshadowed by the colossal architectural structures of the *Victoria Socialismului* Civic Centre. This created an imposing built environment, dominated by the massive building of *Casa Republicii* and the triumphal axis of *Bulevardul Victoria Socialismului*. This radically changed Bucharest's physical-spatial structure from its radial concentric pattern to a predominantly axial development. The completely different scale of the new superimposed built form of the Civic Centre, whose building heights were far greater than those of their older surroundings, interfered drastically with the old city's urban scenery.

Firstly, *Casa Republicii* came to be the dominant component of Bucharest's cityscape dominating the entire city skyline and shattering the scale of the old centre. Secondly, *Bulevardul Victoria Socialismului* and the massive building structures running through it formed a built barrier between the old and the new city's architectural and urban developments. This divided the city into two well-defined and segregated sectors.

The first, a symbolic, orderly, modern, uniform, rectilinear and monumental civic space, imbued with a celebratory and heroic character designed for political ceremonials, parades and public rallies, aimed to display the power, "victory", prestige and greatness of *Epoca Nicolae Ceaucescu*. (Fig.5) Within this area, *Bulevardul Victoria Socialismului* played a major rôle as an aesthetic element in the building composition of the city, dividing the old and new sectors of the city according to political interests. The wider social and urban needs of the population and the functioning of the city were ignored in favour of political aesthetics as this monumental axis was not to be part of the city's transportation network, neither to be used by ordinary citizens. The use of *Bulevardul Victoria Socialismului* was restricted to Ceaucescu's entourage and party officials. Likewise, the dwellings comprising this area were to be inhabited by the higher ranks of the Communist *Nomenklatura* and *Securitate*.

The second sector consists of run-down old areas, scattered by widespread demolition, totally disconnected from the city's physical-spatial structure, lacking basic infra-structure and screened by high-rise blocks positioned along *Bulevardul Victoria Socialismului*. (Fig.6) These areas continued to be occupied by their original inhabitants, who were exempted from the compulsory expropriation and evacuation operations, and had to adjust themselves to living on the fringes of the new complex. These areas were screened and segregated by the massive structures of the new buildings of the *Victoria Socialismului* Civic Centre, which created built barriers further isolating these two distinct building forms.

Fig.5. The Victoria Socialismului *Civic Centre - A monumental architectural setting for political ceremonials of Ceaucescu's epoch. Photo by the author (1992)*

Fig.6. *Fragments of Bucharest's historic building fabric after the demolition works to clear the way for the new Civic Centre. Photo by the author (1990)*

Fig.4. *The razing of Bucharest's old building fabric. Photo by Prof. Sorin Vasilescu (early 1980's)*

The antagonism between the massive new built forms of the *VictoriaSocialismului* Civic Centre and the old structure of Bucharest's city centre indicates how the new building complex was intended to eclipse former landmarks of the city.[18] The old cityscape of Bucharest was entirely overshadowed by the monumental built forms of the *Victoria Socialismului* Civic Centre, whose prestigious buildings and triumphal axes shaped a capital befitting the 'most enlightened era in the country's history' and turned the city into a symbol of prevailing political interests at the service of *Epoca Nicolae Ceaucescu*.

Finally, the urban reconstruction of Bucharest's historic centre to build the *Victoria Socialismului* Civic Centre brought about the destruction of significant historic buildings representative of Romania's cultural heritage. A large number of historic buildings were either demolished or moved to a new place and screened by the high-rise buildings of the new Civic Centre (Fig 7).

Fig.7. (Left) Brincovenesc Hospital (XIX century) and the church of Dominita Balasa. Photo by Prof. Sorin Vasilescu (early 1980's) (Right) The same area as it is today. The hospital buildings were demolished and the church screened by ten-storey buildings from the Victoria Socialismului *Civic Centre. Photo by the author (1992)*

NOTES

[1] Interview with Architect, Vasile Mitrea, 1992.
[2] These areas suffered a seismic intensity of VII to VIII on the MSK intensity scale. S. Balan, I.Cornea and V.Cristescu, *Cutremural de Panint din Romania (De la 4 Matrie 1977)*, Bucharestt, 1982, p.234. According to S.V. Medvedev and W. Sponheuer, *MSK Seismic Intensity Scale*, New Delhi, 1964, this level is moderate in terms of damage to buildings.
[3] Interview with The Romanian Ambassador to the United Kingdom, Mr Sergiu Celac, 1993. Author's emphasis.
[4] N. Ceaucescu, *On the Way of Building Up the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society. Reports,Speeches, Interviews, Articles*, Vol.14, Bucharest, 1977, p.145.
[5] *Ibid.*, p.146.
[6] D. Turnock, 'Romanian Villages: Rural Planning under Communism', *Rural History*, No.2, 1988, p.90.
[7] T. Gilberg, *Nationalism and Communism in Romania. The Rise and Fall of Ceaucescu's Personal Dictatorship*, San Fransisco, 1990, p.71.
[8] Interview with Professor Ascanio Damian, Institutil de arhitectura Ion Mincu, Bucharest, 1992.
[9] Letter to the author from Architect Doina Butica, 12 October 1993. Author's emphasis.
[10] Interview with Dr Architect Mariana Celac, Uniunea Arhitectilor din Romania, 1993. According to Dr Peter Derer, Director of Comisia National a Monumentelor, Ansamblurilor si Siturilor Istorice (Interview 1992), Mariana Celac was one of the few architects to manage to make a protest against the demolition of historic buildings in Bucharest's historic centre.
[11] C. Durandin and D. Tomescu, *La Roumanie de Ceaucescu*, Paris, 1988, p.61.
[12] Interview with Dr Architect Mariana Celac, 1993.
[13] Interview with Professor Ascanio Damian, 1992. Ceaucescu wanted to make something similar to the Champs Elysees. He even asked Damian the width of the Champs Elysées. This was the point of refernce for his project.
[14] M. de B.A.U. Cavalcanti, 'Totalitarian States and their Influence on City-Form: The Case of Bucharest', *Journal of Planning and Architectural Research*, Vol.9, No.4, Winter 1992, p.279
[15] Interview with Chief Architect Constantin Enache, Primaria Bucaresti,1992.
[16] Interview with Chief Architect Alexandru Beldiman, Institutil Proiect Bucaresti, 1992.
[17] Interview with Dr Stefan Lungu, Institutil Proiect Bucaresti, 1992. According to Lungu , Dealul Spirea was the greatest symbolic place in the city because it had been the *voivodal* court and the place where Mihai Viteazul had built the Mihai Voda monastery.
[18] According to D. Lasswell, *The Signature of Power: Buildings, Communication and Policy*, New Jersey, 1979, p.53, 'the winners in many power situations do not always feel secure, and one strategy for the insecure is to destroy the structure that tends to restore dispositions to a previous system'.

DIVIDED REALITIES: A RESEARCH REPORT ON 'WOMEN AND PLANNING'

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Following my previous efforts to disentangle the story of women in surveying and other private sector property professions (Greed,1991), I have undertaken research over the last three years on 'women in planning', past and present, in order to fill in another bit of the puzzle as to how the imprint of gender relations on the built environment comes about, resulting in the book, *Women and Planning: Creating Gendered Realities* (Greed,1994a). The research centred on the importance of 'belief' (that is on understanding how planners imagine the world to be) in shaping urban policy and thus in creating urban realities. The study was concerned with the situation in Britain, but draws on material from international sources too. One of the central themes is that planners seem possessed by a 'zoning mentality' — that is, they seem to have a propensity to solve every problem by dividing opposites, usually to the disadvantage of the weaker group involved, as manifest in pedestrian/vehicular segregation, and *par excellence* in land use zoning. I argue in the book that I do not consider it mere coincidence that land use zoning, as incorporated in the early town planning acts, just happened to make life problematic for women, but I see it as an inevitable outworking of ancient 'beliefs' about the importance of keeping women under control and 'separate'.

The research was undertaken from a feminist perspective and my style is polemic (albeit carefully referenced throughout), but this does not imply that in examining the historical record I automatically assumed 'all lads are bad' or that 'all girls are good'. The situation proved highly complex, not least because of differences in class, individual beliefs, and generational perpectives; and as a result of the changing historical position of women. I adopted a qualitative, sociological approach, investigating both the historical record, and undertaking ethnographic (anthropological) observation of the current state of play (the methodology is discussed in Greed, 1994b). In a profession in which women are in a minority (see Table 1), it was important to investigate the views of the male majority. Much of the material proved peopleless, let alone womanless, but for my purposes what, and who, was left out was as significant as what was included. It was possible to build up a picture of the 'beliefs' of the planning tribe from what was taken as 'given', or so 'obvious' as not to deserve a mention or any further explanation, and from who 'we', 'everybody', 'the citizen' and 'society' referred to in the literature. I scoured the sacred, malestream writings of the planning tribe, including

Date	Total*	Corporate	Percentage of Females	
			Corporate	Students
1920	200			
1930	400			
1940	1000			
1950	2500			
1960	4000			
1970	8000	4424		
1971			5.4	9.9
1975			6.5	14.3
1978			7.2	16.3
1980	12500	7600		
1983			10.5	19.6
1986			12.6	28.6
1990	15956	12071	15.0	37.0
1991			16.5	38.5
1992	17109	12809	17.8	40.9

* Total membership including students and corporate members by decade.
Source: RTPI records. (Earlier figures approximations owing to wartime loss of files for 1914-38 and non-gender specific records.)
It is estimated that there was a gradual growth in the number of women members from under 1 per cnt in 1920. In real terms this was just a handful of notable individuals, **but** many women were active in the wider town planning movement outside of Institute membership.

Table 1. Women members of the Royal Planning Institute

memorable governmental publications, seminal textbooks, journals and a wide range of cognate material 'looking for women' and considering the implications for women of the policies and theories propounded. For example, I perused every copy of the Royal Town Planning Institute's journal from its inception, choosing this as representative of literature read by planners working in local government (who constitute 70 per cent of the profession in Britain). Also, Icast the net wider, drawing on a range of materiial from disparate academic realms in order to understand the origins of the key beliefs of the planning tribe.

Hayden (1981) and Pearson (1988) have already chronicled aspects of the lost urban feminist past in North America and Britain. My intention was not, primarily, to unearth 'lost women planners', although I did find some new ones. Rather, I was drawn to investigate the social construction of the planning subculture. But, in an attempt to 'prove' the historical pedigree and respectable antecedents of the modern 'women and planning' movement there is the danger of assuming that participants in the first wave of urban feminism were motivated by the same value systems and concerned with similar issues as we are today. This was not necessarily the case, as aspects of the first wave of urban feminism were inspired by eugenicist and classist assumptions and were by modern standards politically incorrect. My research on first wave feminism provided a gateway to other neglected paths in the planning forest, leading down to dank underground caverns and silent hidden springs, running under the pristine, scientific, shiny surface of modern town planning. Not only had past associations with feminism been buried, but other 'embarrassing' components of early town planning movement were excluded from the modern planning discourse, such as eugenics, occult geomancy, colonialism, evangelicalism, spiritism and homoeroticism (all of which were entwined with urban feminism in the past).

One often hears that the first wave 'failed'. But, Isuspect that if first wave feminists could see the modern manifestation of the women and planning movement, far from judging it as a sign of progress, it might be seen as but a pale shadow of what went before, trapped within governmental structures, and aligned to purely patriarchal forms of political ideology. Some first wave feminists, motivated by a religious vocation to build the new Jerusalem (or at least a model housing scheme) would be mystified by the secular, amoral, humanist agenda of modern, bureaucratic, 'equal opportunities' policies. First wave feminists were freer in that they were addressing urban problems *prior* to the creation of statutory town planning system, whereas we are contending with a worsening urban situation replete with motor cars and an established professional planning fraternity. I found modern women

planners' personal lives were riven by paradox, as they sought to change a patriarchal governmental system of which they were part, and which provided their main livelihood (a problem past lady planners of independent means would not have had to face in a society in which the ladies/women class division was more significant in shaping life chances, relatively speaking in some instances, than the male/female gender divisions).

In investigating the historical 'story', I concluded that 'town planning' can be anything you want it to be. Its discourse may be seen as a hall of mirrors reflecting and distorting outside intellectual movements, the profession appropriating currently 'trendy issues' in order to legitimate its existence (Greed, 1994b). As Alonso commented (1965), the city planning profession, like most adolescents, likes to strike a pose, and rapidly adopts and discards heroes according to current fashion. But heroines were not even in the running. The 'women and planning' movement is often presented as being 'new' to excuse the fact that it is only of late that planners have become aware of women's demands. However, there is some acknowledgement in the textbooks that a few women did contribute to the development of British town planning, such as Henrietta Barnett and Octavia Hill. But they are presented as exceptional indviduals, rather bourgeois, and of only secondary importance (Greed, 1994a). On the contrary, I argue from my research that the first wave urban feminist movement at the turn of the century was as productive in ideas, literature and actual building as were the male town planners. It should not be forgotten that the suffrage movement itself could muster marches of a quarter of a million women, and many 'suffragette' campaigns were not vote-related, but concerned with what were effectively urban planning issues, especially in relation to public health, housing, employment, transport and social provision (Tickner,1987). Two processes are in evidence. Firstly, the work of certain 'founding fathers' has been elevated out of all proportion, overshadowing all around. This is particularly noticeable in the planning textbooks where men such as Ebenezer Howard and Patrick Geddes achieve almost godlike importance. Secondly, the contribution of women, both individually and as members of planning movements and 'think tanks', is rendered invisible. For example, Howard was but one member of a coterie of thinkers, dreamers and writers, both male and female. He was an internationalist, advocate of Esperento, vegetarianism, spiritualism and to some extent feminism — so hardly a straight planner. But the image of such 'heroes' is cleaned up, and shorn of any mystical, unprofessional, non-scientific or feminist associations.

For example, mention of Howard's enthusiasm for co-operative housekeeping, a favourite urban feminist cause, was gradually edited out of the historical record. Hayden notes (1981) that Purdom had written at

Dronfield Pioneer Housing Scheme by Marianne Walter, Sheffield Star, *26th June 1956*

length on this aspect in the 1913 edition of his book on the garden city movement, but reduced it to two pages in 1925 and three paragraphs in the 1949 edition, robbing the post-war reconstruction generation of planners easy access to a key link to the contribution made by first wave urban feminists.

To see the 'women and planning' movement divided into two waves may also be patriarchal trap and a false dichotomy. Instinctively, I take the view that if there is a 'great silence' *vis a vis* women in the historical record, this is a clear sign that something momentous was really going on. I sought hard to find out what happened in the 'in between years' between the 1930s and the 1950s. The officially acceptable 'type' of mid-twentieth century woman planner, reported in the journals, albeit infrequently, was one who confined herself to housing issues and to the needs of the non-working housewife. But many women did work, in all social classes, and the problem of combining work and home had always been a key issue among urban feminists. Co-operative housekeeping, and other means of collectivising consumption, and industrialising food production, housework, laundry and childcare had been a key feature of women's model towns as documented by Hayden. (See also Pearson, 1988) Likewise the lack of employment opportunities within the residential area was a major problem for women located in new town and outer urban housing estates in the 1950s.

Far from the movement dying away at mid-century, I found examples of dynamic women planners who had achieved amazing exploits, who had been rendered invisible in their own lifetimes. For example, Marianne Walter became Sheffield's first woman town planner in 1949, and also personally designed and built the Dronfield Pioneer Housing Scheme (Fig.1) for a grass-roots, non-governmental voluntary group (Walter,1985, and personal correspondence). Likewise,

policy issues which had been promoted by women planners have long since been rendered invisible (for example, the need for links between preventive medicine policy and town planning). This was manifest in the construction of the Peckham Health Centre, London (long since closed), neighbourhood health clinic provision, kindergartens and public toilet provision. I have now moved on to research the latter subject as so many have said to me, 'Women and planning? It all comes down to toilets in the final analysis.' (Greed,1994c) I am now pursuing the fascinating linkages between public health, sanitary reform, townplanning and the women's movement, past and present.

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**Third International DOCOMOMO Conference,
Barcelona, 14-17 September 1994.**
David Whitham, Carlisle,U.K.

As reported in the last number of *Planning History*, the
Third International Conference of DOCOMOMO was
held in Barcelona in September. Some 200 participants
representing 29 national and regional working groups
from virtually every European country, Russia, and the
Americas, gathered to address the question, 'What
aspects of the cultural legacy of the Modern Movement
live on in contemporary architecture?' The venue was
the Casa Macaya (1898-1900) a former industrialist's
palace designed in exuberant Catalan art nouveau by the
architect, historian and politician Josep Puig i Cadafalch
at a focal point in Cerda's Eixample; now converted to a
cultural centre by the Caixa de Pensions, the Barcelona
savings bank.

Professor **Hubert-Jan Henket**, welcoming
participants on behalf of DOCOMOMO International,
recalled that the last conference, at the Bauhaus in
1992, had raised the need to accommodate criticism
of the Modern Movement, a theme taken up by **Carles
Marti** presenting the conference, realising the concern
about the Modern Movement over the last 20 years,
exemplified by reaction to the destruction of les Halles.
MoMo was seen as contemptuous of history, an agent
of destruction, and was now faced by an anti-Modern
front. There had been an error in the interpretation of
history, the error of eclecticism — history as a
repository of material — buy what you need. Marti
called for a 'new conscience' for architecture and the
city, realisation of the city as 'sediment' (place +
memory = sediment) and a different definition of
modernity.

'Modern' attitudes to the city formed the themes
of the other principle speakers, **Antonio Monestiroli** on
the virtues of the 1890s classics, Sitte, Stubben, Howard
(sic), against MoMo themes, the demise of the street, the
demolition of the block, the dismantling the C19 urban
process; **Dennis Sharp**'s account of the debate between
CIAM and Team Ten; and **Kenneth Frampton** on
mega-form in the late modern city, leaving many of us
wondering whether the key question actually was being
addressed. Professor **Gerard Monnier**, of the
Sorbonne department of art history introduced a long
and sometimes heated discussion on the international
register. The production of 'a selective inventory of
MoMo architecture', launched at the Bauhaus in 1992,
had made real progress. The objective had been to
assemble up to 50 reports from each working group,

with a 'top ten' to be considered for possible inclusion
in the ICOMOS World Heritage list: so far 534 fiches
had been received from 21 groups, in a standard form
prepared by the specialist committee. The submissions
on display, as yet unindexed, could only be randomly
sampled, but showed wide variations in interpretation of
the brief: periods for selection had been decided locally;
Italy's list extended from 1902 to 1957, and argument
arose about 'style'. Italy, again had included 'fascist'
public buildings and the Scottish group was accused of
submitting a 'gothic' church. Quite properly,
submissions included sites and neighbourhoods,
Perret's le Havre redevelopment for example, and large
enginering projects, which pose problems of standard
presentation. The register so far assembled was
officially accepted by DOCOMOMO council. The next
step is for working groups to press for recognition and
protection of these monuments by local effort and
publicity. The Slovakia group set an admirable
example by producing a small, illustrated booklet in
time for the conference.

Questions raised by the register formed one of
four themes pursued in parallel sessions, along with
education, architectural history and technology. What
did emerge in pursuing the elusive initial question was
that the Modern Movement, far from being a
recognisable international style, has numerous cultural
reflections. This was clear in contributions and
literature from Italy, from Quebec and particularly from
Latin American and Eastern European groups, and was
confirmed by delegates decision in council that the next
conference should be hosted in 1996 by the Slovakia
National Group at Bratislava, to pursue regional and
national themes, rather than at Oxford, to discuss 'The
City'.

Long days in conference were followed by late
evening receptions in the Barcelona tradition, hosted by
the Centre of Contemporary Culture at the exhibition
reported below, the School of Architecture, and the
Mies van der Rohe Foundation, sponsors of the
conference, who entertained us in the reconstructed
German exhibition pavillion of 1928, a splendid
conclusion to an exhausting but fascinating event.

DOCOMOMO is presently forming international
working parties on The City, and on Modern Landscape
and Gardens. Members interested in these themes or in
the activities of DOCOMOMO should write to
DOCOMOMO International, c/o Eindhoven University
of Technology, BPU Postvac 8, P.O. Box 513, 5600 MB
Eindhoven, The Netherlands.

**'La Ville': Art et Architecture en Europe 1870-1993,
Centre Pompidou, Paris, February-May 1994.**
I. *Pieter Uyttenhove, Paris, France.*

The exhibition ''La Ville': art et architecture en Europe
1870-1993' presented over 250 town planning projects
through 700 original drawings and includes about 600
works of art and photographs together with a few
examples of video art.It took up the whole gallery on the
fifth floor of the Centre Pompidou. This huge space was
divided into two roughly equal halves. One of them was
devoted to architecture and presented a single long
'street' over the entire length of the gallery between
white walls that were covered to a height of three or four
metres with drawings in large and small frames. Because
they were so high, many of the drawings were hard to
read. Transparent nets were hung across the street to
divide it into compartments and prevent the space from
becoming monotonous. At the beginning of the street a
neon sign against a white wall read '1870'; at the other
end '1993' could be seen against the fascinating
background of the vista of Paris that exerted an
irresistible attraction straight through the glass wall of
the Centre. There five video screens were positioned
outside, beyond the glass and before Paris. Six well-
known architects (Orioll Bohigas, Andrea Branzi, Rem
Koolhas, Leon Krier, Pierluigi Nicolin and Jean Nouvel)
talked about Paris.

The other half of 'La Ville' dealt with art and
consisted of a simple labyrinth of rooms in dark pastel
colours in which the works were conveniently hung at
eye level under spotlights. In contrast to the street,
which was bathed in a cold light, the atmosphere there
recalled hushed, velvet salons. (Was the cold light and
the colourless street perhaps intended as a comment on
inhuman architecture? Did the warm labyrinth reflect the
inner imaginative world of the artist?) The exhibition
was chronologically structured into three main periods.
The two world wars marked the dividing lines. But these
periods remained in the background, perhaps so that the
continuous line of thinking about the city could emerge
more clearly. Seven passages between the two halves of
the exhibition were provided at regular intervals, gaps
without doors. Above each one was an inconspicuous
list of the themes found in the rooms ahead or the text
panels in the street. Was the plan of the exhibition a
reference to a two-part structure in the city?

'La Ville' was intended to be the calm epicentre
of a dazzling multi-media event with the same title
which took over the Centre Pompidou from February to
May 1994. The exhibition was originally to be called
'Visions urbaines'. Sad to say this was changed to 'La
Ville'. 'The city' is not a real subject. It is too big. It is
everything and nothing. Nor was the title of the
exhibition very enlightening. City! Europe! Art!
Achitecture! From 1870 to the present! This was licence
to do whatever they wanted. Moreover, great play was

made of the fact that this was the first time that so many
original documents had been brought together and that
this was the largest exhibition ever held on this subject.
The list of participating artists was indeed breathtaking,
as was that of the architects, and the catalogue was a
goldmine (J.Dethier & A. Guiheux (eds), *La Ville. Art et
Architecture en Europe 1870-1993* , Centre Georges
Pompidou, Paris, 1994pp.,FF 440). The effect was
stunning, but not very surprising.

Exhibitions such as 'The Image of London 1550-
1920' (London, 1987), 'Stadtbilder' (Berlin, 1987), 'Ich
und die Stadt' (Berlin,1988) and 'L'Age des metropoles:
les annees 20' (Montreal, 1991) were more limited in
scope, but made a deeper impression bcause of that.
Wide-ranging exhibitions have their own merits— as
was amply shown in 'La Ville'—but taking on a 'big'
subject does not necessarily guarantee a 'good'
exhibition.

One can only agree with the organizers when they
called the fate of the city one of the greatest challenges
of our age. But what exactly is the nature of this
challenge? They said that the Centre Pompidou should
promote this debate. We were then entitled to expect
them to take a firm position rather than adopt the vague,
catch-all formula that the metropolis is 'the total
artwork'. For then , at best, art is being extended to
mean urban culture, or, at worst, as in 'La Ville', the city
is being reducedto the level of a 'problem area' for art.
Architecture and planning, professional practice, the
political and economic background and everyday life
seemed to hold little interest to the organizers, or at best
figured in a history of ideas. This is important for
another reason because, if the city itself is a work of art,
what is the status of a work of art about the city? Meta-
art? Reproduction? Kitsch? And what about the artist?
An imitator? A critic? An illustator? Or a visionaryof the
urban essence? The architect is in a different position.
He is, of course, one of the authors of the total artwork
constituted by the city, and hence an artist!

Alain Guiheux, in charge of the architecture
section, provided a corrective when he wrote, 'Can't we
look on the city as an intellectual, artistic and craft
product, in short as a work of art, as we do monuments
and paintings? A work of art, however, which is by
'someone'—as the embodiment of the sum of
individuals—and not one person. This was a well-
intentionedstructuralist attempt to put all the creative
work that goes into the creation of a city on the same
footing as that of great architects and artists. The
contradiction was that 'La Ville' consisted almost
exclusively of the great names of architecture and town
planning, and only presented iconographic documents
which reinforced the mainly visual logic of the architect-
planner and paid no attention to other modes of
production in the city. In other words, the contradiction
of 'La Ville' was that the traditional quartet of art
historical categories- author- idea-oeuvre-document, was

confirmed after all. The supposedly nonchalent bazaar of drawings in which a Stubben, a Le Corbusier or a Tchernikhov disappeared in relative anonymity, made little difference. At the Centre Pompidou the exhibition solidified into what will no doubt be the future museum of the twentieth century. A similar approach could already be seen in the exhibition 'Images et imaginaires d'architecture' put on by Jean Dethier at the Pompidou in 1984. Then the subject was architecture. On this occasion art history assimilated the city.

'La Ville' placed architecture alongside art, treating both as ways of dealing with the city. The first presented itself as active, deliberate, the primary source of the city; the second presented itself as reactive, emotional, susceptible to experiences of the city. The architect gives to the city and conceives; the artist takes and perceives. This made for too formal division between project and representation, between reason and emotion. Moreover, the osmosis which should have taken place between the twin hlaves of the exhibition did not come about; the contrast between the light of the street and the darkness of the labyrinth was suggestive but not very fertile because there was no interpretation of their mutual influence. This was probably due in part to the fact that each part of the exhibition had its own organizer and designer. At times the works seemed to be little more than illustrations of a preconceived, chronological and thematic exhibition concept taken over wholesale from the literature.

Besides this artistic division of the city, still another line of thought seemed to be at work in the background. In this exhibition the architect became an artist through his oeuvre. The artist in turn became a

visionary through his view of the city as a work of art. The visionary was thus presented as the potential, ultimate architect of the city. According to Jean Dethier, at the end of the twentieth century, architects have tended to give up their ambition to have overall control of urban development and left planning to others. From the fifties, artists began to use town plans as the basis for a new art, developing a different perception of the metropolis. Perhaps this heralds a blurring of the distinction between architects and artists and their impending 'symbiosis in the city'.

The exhibition did not win everybody's admiration, as was shown by the reaction of the architecture critic, Frederic Edelmann, in *Le Monde* (11 February 1994). He accused the architecture section of 'La Ville' of failing to provide any guidance for the public becuase of 'hermetism' and 'pure enjoyment of forming a collection' on the part of those responsible. Furthermore, in the case of the drawings it was far from clear whether they were theoretical discourses, utopias, unrealized designs or completed projects. Edelmann said the exhibition typified the approach of academics who are out of touch with the world and for whom the city was not life but the subject of theses and symposia. He believed an opportunity had been missed to explain, in the current urban crisis, how reflection on the city developed, what the effect of paranoid projects had been and how much patient effort was required to erase the memory of these nightmares.

On the white wall at the beginning of the exhibition was a grafitto, 'Meanwhile SARAJEVO', signed by the artist 'Rancillac'. Painfully misplaced, it made the above remarks all the more meaningful.

II. *David Whitham, Carlisle, U.K.*

This remarkable exhibition, seen earlier this year in Paris, was the result of co-operation between the Centre Georges Pompidou and the Centre of Contemporary Culture in Barcelona. It set out to exhibit, in parallel sequences, the visions and expressions of architects and artists of the European city from the beginnings of modern urbanism to the present day.

The essential ingredient of the modern view of the city was the innovation of effective street lighting, bringing with it, 'not only a revolution in social habits and customs in a noticeably safer urban environment but also an urban view that was brighter and more optimistic'. The exhibition was divided into three sections, divided by the two World Wars. The first, with street lamps strung along the Paris embankments and bridges and the brightly lighted boulevards, opens in the 1870s and 80s in a city recently transformed by Hausmannian reconstruction, rationalised provisioning and servicing, and a developing public transport system. Early photographs are here, rich in detail of les Halles,

and of the first Vespasian pissoirs, both the work of architect Charles Marville; of the Avenue de l'Opera, a heroic scene of destruction and reconstruction, with carefully posed demolition workers. As the painters move to impressions of suburban and industrial scenes, we turn to the opposite wall where almost every planning document ever thought of is displayed; Cerda's Barcelona of course; Stubben's plan for extension of Cologne, 1880; Berlage's for South Amsterdam; a manuscript page by Sitte. Then back with the artists, not all of them celebrating the modern city, Dore working in London in the 1870s, and later, apocalyptic drawings by James Ensor display its miseries and poverty. There are so many strands to pursue; the frenzy of the city, expressed in futurist art and its explosion in the Great War, set against the disciplined architectural fantasies of Sant'Elia, poles apart from the placidity of the contemporary garden suburb; the development of photography during and after the war; the phenonomen of Italian aeropainting and its effect on architectural illustration. 1919-1945 is depicted as the architects' city with images and realities by le Corbusier, by Wagner

and Taut in Berlin, Oud at Rotterdam, and Leoidov's proposals for Magnitogorsk. This period ends with Speer's plans for New Berlin and construction drawings of death camps. Then 1945-1993, recent history but actually as long as 1870-1919, though enlivened by Smithsons' housing and Berlin schemes, and Archigram's megastructures, is arid and hardly optimistic: you know the story. I apologise for lapsing into present tense, for, tragically this exhibition is as far

as I know, no longer to be seen. It deserves a permanent site, a museum of its own. A large and expensive accompanying book, not really a catalogue but a symposium of specialist articles on aspects of the exhibition, can be purchased at the Beauborg [see above]; a better buy, if still available is the Pompidou's petit journal, *la Ville* for 30 francs. 'La Ville' was like no other exhibition I have ever seen, and I was lucky to see it twice.

Sixth International Planning History Conference
'Cities and their Environment: Legacy of the Past'
Hong Kong, 21-24 June 1994
Robert Home, University of East London

The first time the Planning History Group held its international conference outside Britain was in Tokyo in 1988, so it was appropriate to return to the Far East for the first biennial conference of the new International Planning History Society, inaugurated in 1993 as the successor body to the Planning History Group. (IPHS is fortunate indeed to have marshalled not one but two international conferences in 1994, since the Hong Kong venture was preceded in April by another, 'one off' conference of the IPHS in London, as reported in the last issue of *Planning History*). A long time in gestation, the Hong Kong conference was organized by **Kerrie MacPherson** (Dept. of History, University of Hong Kong) under the auspices of the University's Centre for Urban Planning and Environmental Management (Director, **Peter Hills**). It took place in the University's K.K.Leung building in necessarily air-conditioned accommodation during a hot and steamy Hong Kong week. About fifty academics assembled to hear thirty papers presented, and by careful time management it was possible to timetable all papers at plenary sessions over nearly four days.

The conference lived up to the society's international title, with a wide geographical spread of papers and delegates from every continent. On the first day colonial themes predominated. **Ben Hyman** (Ministry of Interior, Israel) presented a paper, based upon his Ph.D. thesis for the London School of Economics (which happily he successfully defended a few weeks later), on the British planners during the Mandate period in Palestine: McLean, Geddes, Ashbee and Holliday. **John Archer** (University of Minnesota) presented a lengthy and fascinating paper on the cultural values behind British civic improvements in 19th century Calcutta. **Jonathan Lim** (University of Singapore) gave an entertaining and well-illustrated presentation on the evolution of the building form of the shophouse in South-east Asia, or the 'shophouse Rafflesia', as he called it from its establishment in Stamford Raffles' Singapore. **Ghafar Ahmad** (Universiti Sains Malaysia)

showed the practical difficulties and legal constraints in protecting British colonial buildings in Peninsular Malaysia, based upon his own survey of 70 significant buildings for his Ph.D. thesis. **Robert Taylor** (Montclair State University) discussed the relatively little known impact of American rule upon urban development in the Philippines after 1898, including Daniel Burnham's Plan for Manila. **Brenda Yeoh** (National University of Singapore) gave a fast-paced but enthralling account of the Singapore's Government's impact on urban landscape through the relocation of Chinese burial grounds to release urban landscapes. She will be organizing a conference on historical geography in Singapore in July 1995 which might also interest planning historians (details from her at Dept. of Geography, Singapore 0511). **Robert Home** (University of East London) traced the rise and fall of ethnic segregation in British colonial planning, from Raffles' Singapore through the Indian Mutiny and Indirect Rule to the origins of apartheid in South Africa; this will form a chapter in his forthcoming book on British colonial town planning. **John Muller** (Witwatersrand University) explored the British influences on post-war South African planning, particularly Holford, in a thoroughly-researched and well-illustrated paper; he also is organizing a symposium for the lively and new South African Planning History Study Group in Pretoria in October 1994 (following similar ventures in Johannesburg in 1992 and Pietermaritzburg in 1993). **Peter Robinson** (University of Natal) provided a fascinating insight, based upon practical experience, into the problems of replanning the post-apartheid city, with an account of the Cato Manor district of Durban.

Asia, and more particularly Japan, was well represented, although regrettably there were no delegates from Taiwan or Korea. **Yorifusa Ishida** (Tokyo Metropolitan University) presented his usual thought-provoking paper, this time on the history of urban agriculture in Tokyo since the 1850s. **Norioki Ishimaru** (Hiroshima University) discussed the post-war reconstruction of Hiroshima after the first atomic bomb, and **Junichi Hasegawa** (Osaka City University) compared British and Japanese experiences of replanning blitzed cities. **Takashi Yasuda** (Setsunan University) explored the development of garden suburbs

in Osaka during the interwar period. **Shun-Ichi Watanabe** (Science University of Tokyo) compared the Japanese City Planning Act of 1919. **Tingwei Zhang** (formerly from Shanghai, now at University of Illinois) provoked a thoughtful paper on the idea of the water-based city, comparing Suzhou and Bruges. **Anthony Yeh** (University of Hong Kong) produced a thorough account of the impact of the well-known Hong Kong land-leasing system upon its urban form, while **Li Changlin** (Fudan University, Shanghai) discussed the environmental consequences of the vast Three Gorges project to dam the Yangtse River.

In spite of the distance factor, the Europeans were also well represented. **Mervyn Miller** (private consultant) explored the English urban conservation paradox. Green issues were explored by **Daniel Mattern** (German Historical Institute, Washington, D.C.), tracing the influence of metropolitan reorganization upon open space provision in Berlin, while **Maurits van Rooijen** (formerly at Rotterdam, now University of Westminster) continued his work on the emergence of green planning, and **David Massey** (University of Liverpool) traced the less fashionable history of sewage disposal on Merseyside. **Jeffrey Diefendorf** (University of New Hampshire) developed his major work on post-war reconstruction with a paper on the international planning history competition for the rebuilding of central Berlin in 1956-7. **Donatella Calabi** (University of Venice) traced environmental issues in post-war Venice. **Philip Gunn** (University of Sao Paulo, Brazil) traced the Fabian strand in the garden cities movement. **Jurgen Lafrenz** (Hamburg) traced the influence of pre-industrial patterns upon urban morphology. **Helen**

Porfyriou (Venice) compared the town planning approaches of different Nordic countries in the early twentieth century.

To complete the geographical circle, **Ilan Troen** (University of the Negev) explored European influences upon the Zionist planning of Israel. **John Lea** (University of Sydney) traced the historical background to the serious urban problems of contemporary South Pacific cities, showing that their idyllic image is not matched by reality. **Jenny Gregory** (University of Western Australia) provided a needed gender dimension with a paper on the character of Australian suburban environments; she is also organizing a historical geography conference in Perth for July 1995, following on from the warm-up in Singapore. **Peter Smith** (University of Calgary) examined the Canadian Government's short-lived attempt at large-scale urban renewal. **Helen Meller** (University of Nottingham) compared the French and British approach to garden suburbs from examples in Birmingham and Lyon.

In the closing session, **Gordon Cherry** (University of Birmingham and IPHS President) provided a keynote address pulling together the many strands of the conference in typically synoptic style. There was an enjoyable conference dinner, and a post-conference tour of Hong Kong. (Apologies for not having papers for **Robert Freestone** and **Jeffrey Hanes** at the time of preparing this conference report.)

The next IPHS conference is planned for Thessaloniki in 1996. Contact: Vilma Hastaoglou-Martinidis (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki). No date yet, but keep your eye on *Planning History*.

Paths towards Utopia
Volker M Welter, University of Edinburgh, U.K.

'Social Utopias of the Early Twentieth Century - Bauhaus, Kibbutz and the Vision of a New Society' was the rather lengthy title of a two part conference held at the Bauhaus in Dessau, Germany, at the end of August, and at Beit Berl College near Tel Aviv, Israel, at the end of October. The organisers, the Tel Aviv branches of the Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation and the Goethe-Institute, and the Willy-Brandt-Pedagogical-Centre for European Studies in Beit Berl, intended to bring together historians, art and architectural historians, town planners and sociologists to discuss utopian models of the Modern movement in architecture and town planning and its immediate predecessors. The garden city movement, the origins of the Bauhaus in Germany, and the influence of both on the Zionist project in Palestine between the late 1920's and 1940's stood at the centre of the conference.

Although the Bauhaus was founded in Germany, its work in that country was confined to relatively few buildings and housing estates. This is different in Israel. In Tel Aviv alone nearly 4000 Bauhaus buildings form the centre of the first Jewish city. Strictly speaking, not all of these buildings derived from the Bauhaus, for in Israel this term includes every white cube derived from Le Corbusier to Gropius. The architects or builders for these projects came mostly from Europe. They went to Palestine either as Zionists during the 1920's or they escaped German National Socialism during the 1930's and 1940's.

The first part of the conference was dedicated to visionary models in Germany, but some of the papers read already gave a brief overview of the situation in Palestine. The small group of participants allowed for an intensive site-visiting programme, the main feature of the conference. The idea was to study, on site, the results of the attempt to *build* a rational, mostly socialist, or at least social democratic, new society. To organise such

an event in the Bauhaus building in Dessau was not only appropriate because the conference took place in the first purpose designed building for the Bauhaus school, but also because despite the claim of the Bauhaus to break radically with all history and all tradition, the city of Dessau and the surrounding country show that the Bauhaus and its ideas emerged in an environment particularly rich in historical vestiges of man's continuos endeavours to create his own better world.

Here the enlightened ruler Franz *Fürst* began to build his garden realm Dessau-Wörlitz during the eighteenth-century based on Stourhead in England, with the essential addition of a strong educational factor both cultural and agricultural. It is astonishing to see how Gropius's houses for the Bauhaus teachers are set back from the edge of the street so as not to disturb the axial view onto a small garden pavilion from 1764 built by the architect Friedrich Wilhelm von Erdmannsdorf.

Around the corner from the Bauhaus school lies a small garden suburb, the *Siedlung Hohe Lache*, from 1919. The central octagon square, surrounded by small terraced houses, transformed into a built form the vision the architect Theodor Overhoff had of a cosy *Gemeinschaft* (community) within a cold *Gesellschaft* (society). Also not far away is the *Siedlung Dessau Törten*, probably the most famous example of a Bauhaus-inspired settlement, designed by Walter Gropius in 1926-1928. Today, only two houses still display the original rather austere and sober design. Not a central square, but a moderate high rise block with co-op shops on the groundfloor dominates the settlement as a symbol of the priority of the material, everyday needs, over any assumed spiritual needs of the inhabitants. The labour exchange by Gropius in Dessau city centre, probably his best building ever, reminds one of the gap between the reality of the Weimar Republic and the vision of a new perfect society without unemployment and poverty.

In Weimar, the town where the story of the Bauhaus in 1919 originally began, the participants visited the old *Kunstgewerbeschule* (1906) by Henry van der Velde, the first location of the Bauhaus. The *Haus am Horn* (1923) by George Muche, based on an idealised Palladian plan, is the only house of a planned *Bauhaussiedlung*, which was actually built. In immediate vicinity lies Johann Wolfgang Goethe's gardenhouse, another ideal house: its high pitched roof, small windows behind wooden shutters and its location in a garden full of plants and vegetables turned it into the German *Urhaus* admired by supporters of the garden city movement and the architects and planners of the blood and soil architecture of National Socialists.

Most of the papers read by the participants concentrated on topics in the fields of art, architecture and planning history. Dr. **Magdalena Droste** from the *Bauhaus Archiv* in Berlin, **Wolfgang Thörner** from the *Bauhaus* in Dessau, and Dr. **Margret Kentgens-Craig**

set a general historical background by introducing the history of the Bauhaus and its reception in former West and East Germany, and in the United States. Particularly interesting was the little known story of the Bauhaus in the USA during the 1920's where it was first of all received as a threat to the Neo-classical architecture of the East Coast. From there it was a long way to the positive appreciation of the Bauhaus in the America of the 1950's and 1960's.

Modern Zionism had less problems with adopting the latest ideas in architecture and planning. One of the first planners the Zionists employed after the Balfour Declaration (1917) was the Scotsman Patrick Geddes, who planned over subsequent years the region of Palestine as a *polis* crowned by the Hebrew University as a Temple of Life; the topic of a paper contributed by **Volker M Welter** (University of Edinburgh). But this did not match the needs of the Zionists, who required a concept immediately dealing with housing problems and offering economical possibilities by avoiding the social problems of the European cities. The garden city suited the Zionists much better and this concept made its way to Palestine from Great Britain via Germany, although it changed considerably from a plan for the relief for congested European cities into a planning concept for a country which was perceived as a virgin territory.

Dr **Emanuel Tal** (Tel Aviv University) showed in a detailed study of the history of various garden suburbs in Palestine the close links between the German garden city movement and the Zionist Organisation. Franz Oppenheimer, a leading Zionist economist, wrote the preface to the first German translation (1907) of Ebenezer Howard's *Garden Cities of To-morrow*. The architect Richard Kauffmann, who worked with Georg Metzendorf on the settlement *Margaretenhöhe* for workers of the Krupp factories in Essen, was later among the outstanding Zionist architects and planners in Palestine. There he designed the *moshav Nahalal* in 1921, a nearly perfect embodiment of Howard's circular diagram.

Dr **Ita Heinze-Greenberg** (Technion Haifa) focused on the emergence of the early *kibbutzim* and *moshavim*, the two settlement types developed by the Zionists. The early settlements were financed either by philanthropic European Jews or by the Zionist organisation. Franz Oppenheimer, for example, founded Merhavia in 1910, the first ever co-operative settlement in Palestine. Economically, Merhavia was based on a model colony Oppenheimer had established earlier close to Berlin. Architecturally, it derived from a German farm estate where all buildings were located around a central yard. Ideologically and financially, however, it depended on its founder and this caused, as in other early settlements, problems with the settlers. They came mostly from Russia or Eastern Europe and were less interested in patronising Zionists, than in

running their own life in their own settlements. This was the moment the *kibbutz* emerged as a settlement based on common ownership. The table in the dining room was virtually the centre around which the *kibbutz* (= group) evolved.

Site visits were also the main feature of the second part of the conference in Beit Berl College by Tel Aviv. The vestiges of the modern movement and the Bauhaus in Haifa, Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and various *kibbutzim* in the North of Israel were the destination of four one-day tours. Prof **Gilbert Herbert** (Technion Haifa) guided a tour through Haifa. Of particular interest was the so-called copperhouse, a prefabricated house made from sandwich elements covered with copper sheets. This house was a project of a German company which asked Walter Gropius, among other architects, in the 1920's to design a prefabricated house; an idea somewhat similar to the steelhouse (1926) by Georg Muche and Richard Paulick in Dessau. After 1933, one of the few possibilities for emigrating German Jews to transfer some of their property to Palestine was to take German goods with them as the transfer of money was forbidden. This was how a few copperhouses came as German products to Haifa. It was also in these years that the Bauhaus finally arrived in Palestine and quickly became the dominant style as Dr **Edina Meyer-Maril** showed on her tour through Tel Aviv, the so-called white city. The main focus was co-operative worker's housing projects, for example in Frishman Street or along Spinoza Street, designed in the late 1930's by Arieh Sharon, a former Bauhaus student, in co-operation with other architects. Most of these housing blocks are located in the northern part of Tel Aviv, facing picturesque narrow streets lined with trees, but squeezed so close to each other that the feeling of openness and ease typical for Bauhaus settlements in Germany does not exist.

Today's central area of Tel Aviv was designed in 1925/26 by Patrick Geddes as a garden suburb north of the old Tel Aviv, itself only founded in 1909. The increasing number of refugees during the 1930's and 1940's demanded the expedient construction of cheap
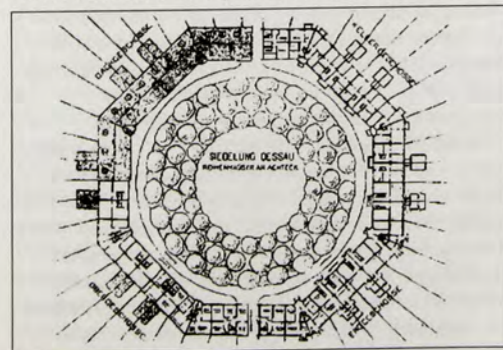
The Hohe Lache estate, Dessau, 1921

and rational housing. Geddes's street layout was left unchanged, but three or four storey cubes were substituted for his intended two storey detached cottages. This was more than a switch from one architectural style to another, it was a change in ideology. Where Geddes envisioned village green-like vegetable and fruit gardens as the centre of cottage groups, suddenly common greens with clothes-horses and dustbins announced that Vienna's *Karl-Marx-Hof* or Berlin's *Hufeisensiedlung* had come to Palestine. No longer the petit-bourgeois dream of a house with a garden, but the self-consciousness of the Jewish working class building their own socialist state found its architectural expression in urban streetfronts rhythmically structured with balconies and *brise-soleil*.

Papers read to conference by non-architectural historians provided the wider context of utopian thinking. Prof. **Dieter Hassenpflug** (Hochschule Weimar) concentrated on the reconciliation between man and nature expressed in nineteenth-century utopias. Some of the earliest demands to renew this relation came from intellectuals of the French Revolution dreaming of France as a garden with holy mountains, republican parks, and villages, but no metropolis. Later utopias, like Howard's Garden City, relied increasingly on modern technology. This was the topic of the paper read by Prof. **Günter Gottman** (Museum for Traffic and Technology Berlin). He emphasised the change of the importance of technology, from being merely a subordinated means serving social progress, into the all-dominating power towards which societies after the First World War became oriented. Prof. **Bernd Faulenbach** (Historical Commission of the Social Democratic Party of Germany) pointed out that today's ecological problems are paralleled by a loss of confidence in technology. But this is not the end of utopia, which he considered as an essential part of societies. The working class movement found its utopia partly in the social democratic state, without renunciating utopia as the vision of a better tomorrow. Even the totalitarian Soviet-Union could not do without utopias, despite the claim that communism will be the fulfilment of all utopias. Lenin himself, for example, commissioned the publication of utopian novels in the years immediately before 1917.

Today's consideration of the Bauhaus as essentially concerned with aesthetic phenomena seems to reflect the lack of any vision for tomorrow in Western societies. The contributions of the Bauhaus especially to the Zionist new society showed however, that the Bauhaus was primarily engaged in creating a better society and an improved environment for mankind. Both aims demanded, and demand, more than a revolution in aesthetics.

A publication of the papers is in preparation. Information can be obtained from Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation, Tel Aviv. Fax: 972-3-6964205.

Carl Abbott, Deborah Howe and Sy Sadler, *Planning the Oregan Way: A Twenty Year Evaluation*, Oregon State University Press, !994, 328pp., ISBN 0 87071 381 7, cloth $29.95.

This book explores and evaluates the innovative Oregan planning programme from the 1970s to the 1990s. This is a programme that depends greatly on citizen participation. This study both acknowledges many of the successes of the planning programme while also identifying its flaws and shortcomings. (Irving Hand, Penn State, Harrisburg)

A. Cox, *Sources for the Study of Public Housing: A London Archives Guide*, London: Guildhall Library and the London Archives Users' Forum, 1993, 71pp., ISBN 0 900422 36 X or 0 9521781 10 9, paper £4.95.

The main body of this work is taken up with source descriptions and locations of national and local government and private archives on social housing in the former Greater London Council area. There is also an historical introduction to public housing in London, a short bibliography, alist of the main Housing Acts and three short case studies of development, showing what can be achieved through patient local investigation.

John D. Fairfield, *The Mysteries of the Great City: The Politics of Urban Design 1877-1937*, Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1993, 320pp., ISBN 0 8142 0604 2, cloth $58.50.

This book explores the debate in the United States about the nature and possibilities of urban life between 1877 and 1937, a debate influenced by two competing intellectual traditions. One, the so-called 'romantic tradition', that had its roots in ante-bellum republican and free labour ideology. the other, labelled the 'realist tradition', became most

associated with Robert Park and his fellow Chicago sociologists. (Patricia Mooney-Melvin, Loyola University of Chicago)

Larry R. Ford, *Cities and Buildings: Skyscrapers, Skid Rows and Suburbs*, Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994, 304pp., ISBN 0 8018 4646 3, cloth $55.00, ISBN 0 8018 4647 1, paper $19.95.

The book evaluates ordinary buildings, such as houses, offices and stores, in a spatial context, emphasizing how they fit together in a larger urban pattern. It effectively relates the basic components of city structure and the evolution of building types.

Christian Henriot (translator, Noel Castelino), *Shanghai 1927-1937: Municipal Power, Locality and Modernization*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, 288pp., ISBN 0 520 07096 8, cloth $42.00.

This book provides a new perspective on a city often viewed as rough and seamy. It argues that the municipal administration appointed by Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist government came to grips with some of Shanghai's most serious problems and represents a significant achievement in the history of Chinese urban administration. (Kristin Stapleton, University of Kentucky)

Mary Hommann, *City Planning in America: Between Promise and Despair*, Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1993, 168pp., ISBN 0 275 94473 5, cloth $45.00.

The book attempts to place professional planning within the context of urban development in the United States. It links the success and failure of planning in the United Statews to speculative capitalism, explaining how the past has affected the present. The book includes an examination of three urban problems, urban redevelopment, housing and traffic

and transportation, and discusses how planners could alleviate them if not for speculative capitalism. (Don Parsons, Thousand Oaks, California)

G. Kearns and C. Philo (Eds.), *Selling Places: The City as Cultural Capital, Past and Present*, Oxford: Pergamon, 199-, 316pp., ISBN 89413854, cloth $93.00, £58.00, ISBN 80413846, paper $36.75,£22.95.

This book addresses the competitive marketing of places as commdities to attract investors, mobile industries, shoppers, tourists, etc. It is particularly concerned with developing a critical and theoretical edge to the discussion of place marketing, dreiving perspectives especially from the new discipline of cultural studies. The individual contributions cover a very wide range of detailed subject matter, including material on British, French and American experiences.

Francois Maspero, *Roissy Express*, London, Verso, 1994, 270 pp., ISBN 0 86091 698 7, paper £12.95. (First published Paris 1990)

A travel book with a difference. The author and photographer companion leave comfortable quarters in Paris to travel for a month from end to end of RER Line B, stopping at every suburban staion, finding food and lodgings, living off the land.

If you love or hate rapid transit systems; if you have dared, or would dare, to board an RATP bus with a three-figure number at the Metro terminus, and tolerate its eccentricities; if you have resolved to seek out those elusive buildings, markets and intriguing activities glimpsed from the airport coach but never had the time, get out your Michelin Map 101, *Outskirts of Paris*, and read this book.

Rich in information and insight about planning, politics,

PUBLICATIONS

work and poverty in suburban Paris, a month on the RER, as the cover blurb says, teaches more about France than a year in Provence. (David Whitham, Carlisle,U.K.)

Evan McKenzie, *Homeowner Associations and the Rise of Residential Private Government*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994, 237pp. ISBN 0 300 05876 4, cloth £25.00.

This book explores the development of common-interest developments (CIDS) which have become the model for new large-scale residential communities across the United States. Included in the discussion and evaluation of CIDS is an attempt to provide a historical context to these new developments going back to Ebenezer Howard's concept of the Garden City. (Sidney Brewer, University of Maryland)

Clay McShane, *Down the Asphalt Road: The Automobile and the American City*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1994, 288pp., ISBN 0 213 08390 4, cloth $29.95, £25.00.

This important volume is one of the very few treatments of urban automobile history which takes technology seriously while at the same time bringing front and centre the transformation in public attitudes which made possible the rise of the automobile in America. One of the book's more interesting arguments is that many City Beautiful and City Efficient plans were, in fact, covert motorization plans, since planners thought cars could thin out popoulation and eliminate slums. (Paul Barrett, Illinois Institute of Technology)

Colin Pooley (ed.), *Housing Strategies in Europe 1880-1930*, Leicester University Press, 1992, 361pp., ISBN 0 7185 1415 7, cloth £49.95.

This volume contains thirteen well-researched chapters providing accountsof the development of housing, and especially housing for lower income groups in eleven European countries; Sweden Denmark, the Netherlands, Belguim England and Wales, Scotland, Ireland, Germany, France, Portugal and Greece. Generally, the book as a whole tends to emphasise the international similarities in the evolution of housing strategies in different countries, though different chapters tend to stress different aspects.

Alejandro Portes and Alex Stepick, *City on the Edge: The Transformation of Miami*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, 281pp., ISBN 0 520 08217 6, cloth $25.00.

Based on studies of Cuban and Haitian immigrants and interviews with immigrant, Anglo and black community leaders, this book explores the nature of the immigrant experience in this twetieth century sunbelt city. The authors argue that Miami has experienced 'acculturation in reverse, and bears little resemblance to traditional assimilation models or recent descriptions of the city as a 'social mosaic'. (Robert J. Kolesar, John Carroll University)

J.V.S. Soane,*Fashionable Resort Regions: Their Evolution and Transformation*, Oxford: CAB International, 1993, 331pp., ISBN 0 85198 854 7, cloth £40.00.

An exploration of the historical development of fashionable holiday resorts, using Bournemouth, Nice, the resoerts of Los Angeles county and Wiesbsaden as case study examples. The basic argument of the book is that the dynamic

resorts, at least, are evolving into fashionable resort regions that offer a blueprint for post-industrial urban form. YThe book contains a great deal of empirical detail about the history of the resorts examined.

S.J. Watanabe, *The Birth of Urban Planning: Japan's Modern Urban Planning In International Comparison*, Kashiwashabo, Tokyo, 1993, 294pp., ISBN 4 7601 0921 8, cloth Y3600.

With the declared aim of placing Japanese urban planning in an international context, and highlighting some distinctive Japanese social and technical features, Watanabe focuses on the origins of the 1919 City Planning Act—the first general planning legislation in modern Japan. The account (in Japanese, with a two page English summary) is grouped into three parts: the impact of modern Western planning on Japan; the formative process of the 1919 Act; and the realities of the 1919 Act planning system.

O. Yiftachel,*Planning a Mixed Region in Isreal: The Political Geography of Arab-Jewish Relations in Galilee*, Aldershot: Avebury, 1992, 367pp., ISBN 1 85628 255 4, cloth £37.50.

This study concentrates on the way in which planning policy and its implementation within the Galilee region is framed in such a way as to assert control over the Arab population. This has been carried out through policies of territorial containment, political subordination and economic dependence. Public ownership of over 90 per cent of the land in Isreal enables government to use land use policies and zoning as a major component of its political agenda.

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

The prime aim of *Planning History* is to increase awareness of developments and ideas in planning history in all parts of the world. In pursuit of this, contributions (in English) are invited from members and non-members alike for any section of *Planning History*. Non-native English speakers, please do not worry if your English is not perfect. The editor will be happy to help improve its readability and comprehension, but cannot unfortunately undertake translations.

The text for PH is prepared by using MacWrite II and the journal is designed in Pagemaker v.4.2. Contributions on disk compatible with this software are encouraged along with accompanying hard copy.

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These should be in the range of 2,000-3,000 words. They may be on any topic within the general remit of IPHS and may well reflect work in progress. Illustrations should be supplied as Xerox copies for line drawings or as good quality black and white photographs where there are half tones. Articles should normally be referenced with superscript numbers and a full reference list at the end.

OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS

Other types of contribution are also very welcome. Research reports should not be more than 2,000 words. They need not be referenced, but any relevant publications should be listed at the end. Illustrations where provided should conform to the above notes. Similar short pieces on important source materials, aspects of planning history practice (e.g. conservation) are also encouraged. Abstracts of relevant publications originally published in a language other than English are requested. They should follow the format in this issue.

NOTICES OF CURRENT EVENTS

These are welcome from any part of the world. Organisers of events should, however, bear in mind that PH is only published three times a year, normally in April, August and December. Please try to ensure that Calls for Papers etc. are notified sufficiently in advance for inclusion. Later inserts are possible, at the time of dispatch, though sufficient copies, folded as required, must be supplied by the event organiser. Nothing larger than a single A4 sheet will be accepted. Every effort will be made to include such inserted news material without cost. However, the Editor reserves the right to charge for such material at normal advertising rates.

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