

Giorgio Ciucci

Translated by Stephen Sartarelli

1 (frontispiece) *Third CIAM*,  
Brussels, 1930: 1) Max Ernst Haefeli,  
2) Richard Neutra, 3) Elena Syrkus,  
4) Cornelius van Eesteren, 5) Henry  
van de Velde, 6) Mies van der Rohe,  
7) Karl Moser, 8) Sigfried Giedion,  
9) Gino Pollini, 10) Piero Bottoni,  
11) Rudolf Steiger, 12) Victor  
Bourgeois, 13) Carl Hubacher,  
14) Gabriel Guevrékian, 15) José-  
Lluís Sert, 16) Madame de Mandrot,  
17) Garcia Mercadal, 18) Le Corbusier,  
19) Pierre Jeanneret, 20) A. Boeken,  
21) Walter Gropius, 22) Hugo Häring.

Between 1925 and 1928, in only three years, there emerged in Europe the idea that in the field of architecture an "irreversible" transformation had taken place, one which no longer concerned only small avant-garde groups but had actually taken shape in the public mind in numerous countries. If Walter Gropius proclaimed the birth of an *Internationale Architektur* in 1925, it was still thought necessary to prepare new instruments for exchanging, comparing, and testing ideas and positions: some reviews closed down (*L'Esprit Nouveau* in 1925, *De Stijl* and *ABC* in 1928), while others opened up (in 1926, *Die Form*, the publication of the *Deutscher Werkbund*, as well as *Das Neue Frankfurt*). In 1927, the Stuttgart publisher Julius Hoffmann inaugurated a new series, *Die Baubücher*, and that same year saw the publication of Richard J. Neutra's *Wie Baut Amerika?* and Ludwig Hilberseimer's *Internationale neue Baukunst* and *Grossstadtarchitektur*. In 1926 the "Ring" group was reorganized, inspiring the Weissenhof enterprise in Stuttgart (1927). In Italy "Gruppo 7" was formed in 1926; at Frankfurt in 1925, the *Stadtbaudezernent* of Ernst May invited non-German architects to plan several districts of the *neue Frankfurt*; while in 1928 in the Soviet Union the competition for the *Centrosoyuz* was won by Le Corbusier. Also in 1928 came Gropius's decision to leave the Bauhaus, a move that was indicative of his professional concerns and made possible by the new cultural climate. The summoning of an international congress of modern architecture in 1928 seemed to confirm a "unity of goals," whose most solid and tangible result was precisely that "irreversible transformation" of architecture as a whole.

A sense of this unity of intentions and of architectural languages has induced many architectural historians to look for similarly unified, common foundations in the development of modern architecture, starting with a new role for the architect within society, a new professional figure who was to work toward the construction and organization of the living space of city inhabitants, and who would become aware of this new professionalism precisely in the latter half of the 1920s. This new understanding of construction and organization, involving a "reform" of the city and therefore of society, has induced historians to

554 formulate a coherent line of development for "modern" architecture that takes into account the social imperative of the architect joined to a commitment which, even when not directly or indirectly public, grows out of an enlightened vision of society. Enlightened, that is, from a social point of view, as in the case of the great industrialists, or from a cultural point of view, as in the case of private citizens.

This line of development, initially traced by Nikolaus Pevsner in 1936 in his *Pioneers of the Modern Movement from William Morris to Walter Gropius*, has remained, despite variations and adjustments, essentially unchanged up to the present day, although many have pointed out the need to verify that unity of goals and languages which has come to be included generically in the formula "Modern Movement."<sup>1</sup>

One of the focal points for the construction of the traditional ideology of the Modern Movement is without doubt the development of the CIAMs, the Congrès Internationaux de l'Architecture Moderne. Historians have tended to see in these Congresses a progression, starting with the first meeting at La Sarraz in 1928, through the 1929 Frankfurt Congress and the 1930 Brussels Congress, up to the long celebrated voyage between Marseilles and Athens in 1933 on the boat the *Patris II*. The result of this latter Congress was the formulation of an "urbanistic charter," named, in 1962, the *Athens Charter*.

In the immediate postwar period this *Charter* was to come under discussion in the CIAM itself, when the "old guard," which wanted to test through concrete application the methods of participation presented in the *Athens Charter*, found itself confronted by the younger members of Team 10, for whom the *Athens Charter* was "too rigid" and full of "categorical imperatives," and gave no consideration, in its "mechanical concepts of order," to "the responsibility for the creation of order through form [and to the] responsibility for each act of creation, however small."<sup>2</sup> This conflict led finally to the disbanding and the end of the CIAMs,<sup>3</sup> but it, too, in attacking the Modern Movement, also created a unified and homogeneous image of it. In the

same way Leonardo Benevolo, in defending the validity of the *Athens Charter*, presented it as the most important product of an effort of research and study which, begun in 1928 with the founding of the CIAM, had developed in the various Congresses according to the following progression: from the general unifying principles (first CIAM), to the problem of *Existenzminimum* housing (second CIAM), to the rational district (third CIAM), to the rational city (fourth CIAM).<sup>4</sup> This is a progression which, though it may have existed in the minds of some of the Congress participants, does not in fact reflect the real debate that opened up within these Congresses between 1928 and 1933.

Similarly, it has often been uncritically repeated that the general principles elaborated at the first meeting in La Sarraz were the direct result of the success enjoyed by the Weissenhof—which was fostered by the German Werkbund and directed by Mies van der Rohe, and in which the unity of goals and languages seemed unquestionable<sup>5</sup>—as well as of the consensus among modern architects in condemning the decision of the jury in the competition for the palace of the League of Nations in Geneva—which had rejected Le Corbusier's project only to entrust the task of construction to five "academic" architects.

At this point it might be of interest to reexamine briefly some of the events that took place between these two episodes and the first CIAMs. Without pretending to reconstruct a "true" and "complete" history, which in any case is impossible, I should like only to underline several points, examine a few facts, make comparisons and suggest relationships, discuss traditional hypotheses, and try to find connections that are not already taken for granted. By following and making use of, when necessary, contemporary archival research, it will be possible to reconsider historically a debate cut short more by economic problems, technological realities, and ideological differences than by Nazism, Fascism, or Stalinism. It is a debate which ranges from the meaning of architecture to the role of the architect, from aesthetic problems to moral beliefs, from political ideas to social attitudes.



The Weissenhof district undoubtedly represented a moment of testing and comparing new ideas and languages. However, the unity of goals and languages of which the historians have spoken is in fact fictitious and exists only among a few individual architects. For this reason, the absence of some architects and the presence of others among the Weissenhof planners is significant: out of sixteen, seven belonged to the "Ring" and five were foreigners (Le Corbusier, J. J. P. Oud, Mart Stam, Victor Bourgeois, Josef Frank); missing were Hannes Meyer and Hans Schmidt, who together with Stam and El Lissitzky put out the review *ABC*; also missing were Ernst May and Otto Haesler, both of the "Ring" but at that time occupied in Frankfurt and Celle, respectively. The Berlin group was thus dominant in the Weissenhof project, while, contrary to Sigfried Giedion's assertions,<sup>6</sup> aesthetic concerns prevailed over the new ways of considering the housing problem and despite the prominence of urbanistic concerns.<sup>7</sup> The variety of solutions itself counters any illusion of a unity in the research on minimum typologies or on aggregated elements. Ernst May's criticism of the houses built by Le Corbusier for the Weissenhof, in which he said that they were too radical ("But who should inhabit those houses?" asked May), complements that of Lissitzky, who, even while extolling Le Corbusier's talent, denounced its "antisocial, individualistic origins," and criticized this "architecture of appearance" and this "system [which leads] to results diametrically opposed to our vision of the world."<sup>8</sup>

On the other hand, one need only compare the architects of the Weissenhof to the participants in the first meeting at La Sarraz to realize that although there undoubtedly are connections between the two events, there are also profound differences.<sup>9</sup> Thus, among the Weissenhof participants, apart from Le Corbusier, only Stam, Frank, and Bourgeois (note, all foreigners) were present at La Sarraz, and of the "Ring" group, only the secretary Hugo Häring and Ernst May were present, both of whom were absent from Stuttgart. But their presence here was probably a decision made by the group to offset the letter sent by Mies to the Congress, in which he curtly declined the invitation to participate.<sup>10</sup> Also absent from La Sarraz

was Gropius, who only a few weeks before the start of the Congress had left the Bauhaus to Hannes Meyer without succeeding in having Mies declared his successor.

The Weissenhof and the first CIAM, rather than representing the aggregation and institutionalization of modern architects, were more like obligatory episodes in which each participant played his own hand, where many did not have clear ideas, and where positions were only gradually defined although they sometimes led to irreparable splits. On the other hand, the fact that older architects—such as Tony Garnier (born 1869), Auguste Perret (born 1874), Karl Moser (born 1860), and H. P. Berlage (born 1856)—were invited to the first CIAM helps clarify Häring's claims regarding the avant-garde role of the "Ring" and his request for space in a congress on modern architecture, whose participants all belonged to a generation which included Häring himself (at forty-six the "oldest" of this generation) and Alberto Sartoris (the youngest of the Congress at twenty-seven).<sup>11</sup>

At La Sarraz, the only one to represent the past generation was Berlage, who was seventy-two, and his presence there was virtually proof of the continuity between generations that the Congress had hoped to assert. Moreover, his invitation was an homage to the firm position he had taken as a jury member in favor of Le Corbusier in the final vote on the projects presented at the competition for the palace of the League of Nations at Geneva. The other vote in favor of Le Corbusier, cast by the Swiss architect Karl Moser, had consolidated this idea of continuity between generations, to the point that Moser, although not present at La Sarraz, was appointed honorary president of the Congress.

Berlage, like Moser, remained a point of reference only at this first meeting: in 1930, at the third CIAM, when Van Eesteren succeeded Moser to the presidency, Berlage submitted an entry for the exhibition developing the Transvaalbuurt in Amsterdam, accompanied by these words: "transposition of the forms of past cities into the modern city, game of forms, lack of a constructional direction applied to the period." From this brief example

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et  
les 26, 27, 28, 29 et 30 Juin 1928

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*la liste des  
commissaires*

*CHATELAIN  
SARRAZ*

**First CIAM, La Sarraz,  
Switzerland, 1928**

2 Sketch illustrating the six  
questions established by Le  
Corbusier.

3, 4 Program. Final and draft  
copies.

5 Standing, l. to r.: Stam, Chateau,  
Bourgeois, Haefeli, Jeanneret,  
Rietveld, Steiger, May (half face),  
Sartoris, Guevrékian, Schmidt,  
Häring, Zavala, Florentin, Le  
Corbusier, Artaria, de Mandrot,  
Gubler, Rochat, Lurçat, von der  
Mühl, Maggioni, Hoste, Giedion,  
Moser, Frank. Sitting: Mercadal,  
Weber, Tadevossian.

6 Standing, l. to r.: Bourgeois,  
Sartoris, ?, Zavala, Weber, ?,  
Berlage, Lurçat, de Mandrot, von  
der Mühl, Guevrékian, Meyer,  
Rietveld, Moser, Steiger, Stam (with  
lampshade). Sitting: Mercadal,  
Hoste.



we can already discern, within the CIAMs, positions that renounced in some way the guiding role of certain masters. The instrumental use of Moser and Berlage takes us back to the second event that has always been associated with the founding of the CIAMs, the competition for the palace of the League of Nations. This affair, which has already been sufficiently studied,<sup>12</sup> took place between 1926 and 1927, with a continuation in 1928–1929. In the first phase, Le Corbusier was on the verge of victory when he was defeated. Nevertheless the game continued, for two principal reasons: the final project was to be the result of the common efforts of the five winning architects, and therefore a definitive project had not yet been arrived at; moreover, in September of 1928 the projected location of the palace was changed from the banks of the lake to a site slightly more inland, the Ariana, thus necessitating a variation in the project being carried out. This final episode, which took place shortly after the La Sarraz Congress, provoked a letter from Madame de Mandrot, the hostess of La Sarraz, in which she requested that they accept for the project the architects who, although honored with awards, had not participated in the final project: this was of course an unmistakable invitation to reconsider Le Corbusier's project one more time. A few months later, in April of 1929, all possibilities for Le Corbusier's participation were defeated.

However, despite Le Corbusier's attempts to introduce, from the start, the subject of the Geneva competition as a topic of discussion at La Sarraz, it would be unfair to believe that he manipulated the first Congress to serve his own ends. The aim of his polemic was more general: the attack upon the "academies," which appears both in the initial program and in the final declaration of La Sarraz, had as its goal to strip these "academies" of a good deal of the "ascendancy" which monumental architecture exerts on political power in society. Paragraph 5 of Article IV of the final declaration drawn up at La Sarraz, titled "L'Architecture et ses rapports avec l'Etat" ("Architecture and Its Relations with the State") reads, "5. Academicism seduces governments into spending considerable sums for the construction of monumental edifices, against the dictates of wise management, flaunting

an outdated luxury to the detriment of the more important tasks of urbanism and housing."<sup>13</sup>

If we bear in mind Le Corbusier's polemic regarding the competition, which was based on an aesthetic critique and an evaluation of costs—the latter always very high in academic projects—the above paragraph will be seen to reflect this polemic in a clear manner. But what also comes through is the goal of the polemic: to establish a direct relationship with the power of the State, which for Le Corbusier was the entity to which all of the efforts of the CIAMs should be addressed. In the large colored panel that welcomed the participants into the castle of La Sarraz, Le Corbusier had indicated even more explicitly the role of the CIAMs: it was an organization which, through the Haut Comité International de l'Extension de l'Architecture à l'Economique et au Social (HCIEAES) and the Comité Central International des Groupements Nationaux de l'Architecture Moderne (CCIGNAM), should align itself with the special institutions—Bureau International de Travail (BIT), Institut International pour la Coopération Intellectuelle (IICI), Institut International d'Organisation Scientifique du Travail (IIOST)—which, as autonomous bodies, worked for the League of Nations with the task of developing international cooperation in particular fields. In the large colored panel all of these organizations come together in a crenellated tower symbolizing the State, that authority which particularly at that time Le Corbusier saw as the political power alone capable of realizing the technician's ideas.

The two themes of the academy and the relationship between architecture and the State take us right into the atmosphere of the first Congress. The debate, on which Jacques Gubler and Martin Steinmann have written at great length,<sup>14</sup> was impassioned. But the confrontations that took place were precisely the factors which, on the one hand, gave substance to the Congress and on the other brought out the differences within and different perspectives on the Congress itself as well as on Le Corbusier's actions.

The discussion focused in particular on four of the six



issues which Le Corbusier presented to the participants: "The Architectural Consequences of Modern Technology," "Standardization," "General Economics," and "Urbanism," while the problems of "Domestic Education in Primary Schools" and the "Relationships between Architecture and the State" were dealt with only in passing, in spite of the fact that Berlage's lecture was concerned with precisely this latter issue. In the final declaration, both these latter issues were treated in much the same way as they had been presented by Le Corbusier in the introductory statement, while the first four points were condensed, with considerable changes from their earlier formulation, into two: "General Economics" and "Urbanism."

The debate, therefore, was principally concerned with the themes of economics, urbanism, the meaning of architecture, and the role of the architect: on one side we have the figure of Le Corbusier, who drew up the program, flanked by, among others, André Lurçat, Alberto Sartoris, Pierre Chareau, and the Spaniard, A. J. Mercadal; on the other side the antagonists seem to have been Stam, Schmidt, and Meyer, who shortly before had closed down the review *ABC*, asserting in the final issue their commitment to carry on elsewhere their denunciations of the contradictions of capitalist economics and industry.

In the name of a social commitment, these three energetically opposed the position represented by Le Corbusier in the large colored panel. Against Le Corbusier, who pointed to a strong State as the ultimate goal to which the efforts of the Congresses should strive, they proposed a course of action aimed at changing the structures of society. In opposition to Le Corbusier's talk of *mechanization*, Stam, Schmidt, and Meyer asserted the importance of the collective nature of society and class conflict. In response to the need to recuperate the surplus value of land through adequate legislation, as Le Corbusier himself proposed, these three went so far as to demand the abolition of land revenue altogether; as an alternative to urbanism as an instance of reform (the preference of many in this debate), or as an alternative to urbanism as a step toward rearranging the city's appearance, these three proposed an urbanism as pure technique, which would

organize the functions of collective living. In addition, with regard to the themes which Le Corbusier would later specify as the functions of urbanism—that is, inhabiting, work, recreation, circulation—these architects, particularly Stam, placed the emphasis on the organization of transportation as the base of the territorial order. Moreover, in reaction to the formal elements so important to Le Corbusier, the "five points of a new architecture"—that is, in reaction to the introduction of a form that would modify the structure of the city and elements that would set the terms for the standardization of the building industry and direct industrial organization—Stam, Schmidt, and the other "radical" architects fought for the eradication of aesthetic convictions in urbanism and the building industry: we must replace aesthetic concerns, they declared, with more general interests.

Jacques Gubler has already pointed out some of the differences between the articles of the initial program drawn up by Le Corbusier and the final declaration, using as an example the disparity between the respective paragraphs on urbanism.<sup>15</sup> Venturing further in this direction, we can see a difference, almost a second version, simply by comparing the German text with the French one, especially in the first section, which is in fact the declaration of the program, to which are tied the four explanatory points. In the French text one reads,

"Aware of the profound disturbances that mechanization has brought upon the social structure, [the participants in the Congress] recognize that the transformation of the economic order and the present way of life inevitably involve a corresponding transformation of the phenomenon of architecture.

"The common purpose that brings them all together here is that of achieving the indispensable and urgent harmonization of the elements that are present, by putting architecture back into its real sphere, which is the economic and sociological sphere; for this reason architecture must be torn away from the sterilizing grip of the academies, the preservers of outdated formulas."

Here is the corresponding German text:

". . . [The participants in the Congress] are well aware of





*Second CIAM, Frankfurt. October, 1929*

*7 Book cover, Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum (Stuttgart, 1933).*

*8 "Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum" exhibition.*

*9 L. to r.: Guevrékian, Le Corbusier, Giedion, Jeanneret.*

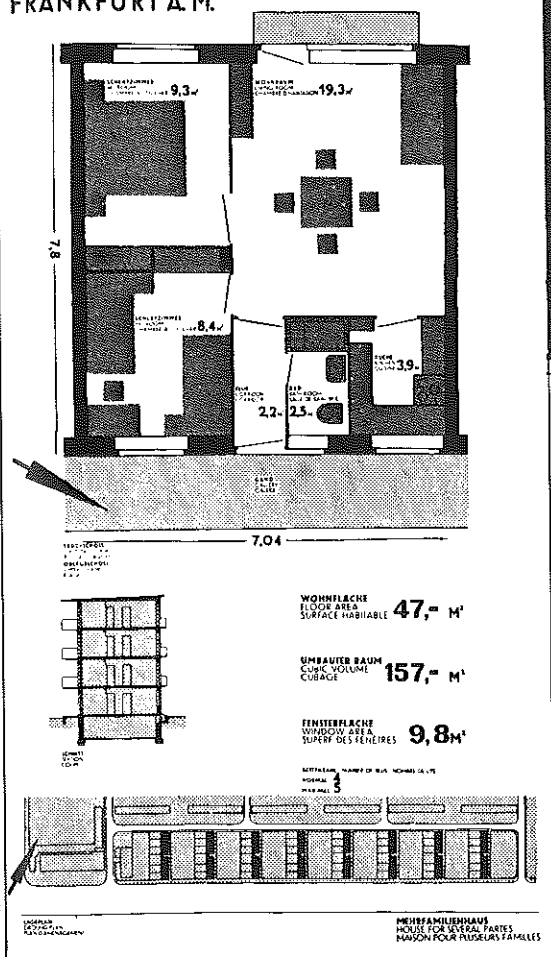
*10-13 Examples of house types shown in the exhibition.*



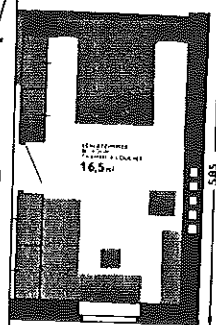
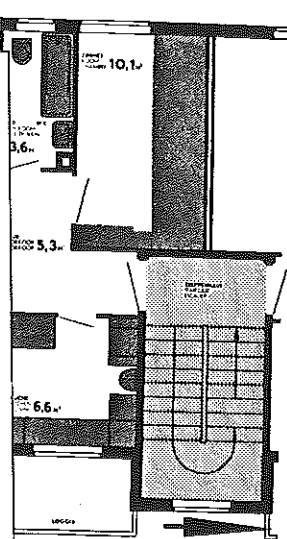
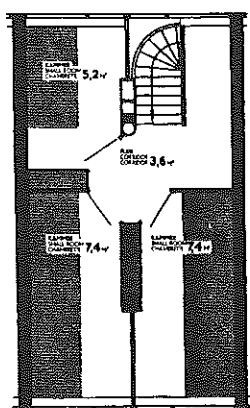
## BERLIN

## ROTTERDAM

## FRANKFURT A.M.



10-13

WOHNFÄCHE  
FLOOR AREA  
SURFACE HABITABLE 58,4M<sup>2</sup>UNBAUTER RAUM  
CUBIC VOLUME  
CUBAGE 220,1M<sup>3</sup>FENSTERFÄCHE  
WINDOW AREA  
SUPERF. DES FENÊTRES 12,6M<sup>2</sup>

WITZBAUM, NAME OF BLDG. NUMBER 4, 1/2

HOHN 4

MEHRFAMILIENHAUS  
HOUSE FOR SEVERAL PARTIES  
MAISON POUR PLUSIEURS FAMILLES

WITZBAUM, NAME OF BLDG. NUMBER 4, 1/2

HOHN 4

MEHRFAMILIENHAUS  
HOUSE FOR SEVERAL PARTIES  
MAISON POUR PLUSIEURS FAMILLES44,- M<sup>2</sup>155,- M<sup>3</sup>64,- M<sup>2</sup>MEHRFAMILIENHAUS  
HOUSE FOR SEVERAL PARTIES  
MAISON POUR PLUSIEURS FAMILLES

the fact that the structural changes carried out in society are also carried out in architecture, and that the transformation of the norms comprising our whole intellectual life applies as well to the concepts comprising architecture. Because this becomes so evident to them, they turn their particular attention to the new materials for construction, the new constructions, and the new methods of production; and they address their concerns to all the problems which, in the realm of their profession, make one hope that their work should progress."

In the German version, the French text's emphasis on *mechanization* has disappeared, as well as its emphasis on the cause and effect relationship between mechanization and social transformation, a theme very important to Le Corbusier, who in the initial program had precisely stated that iron and cement were the most efficient means for realizing an architecture and an urbanism corresponding to the profound social and economic revolution brought about by mechanization. And contrary to the idea of "putting architecture back" into the economic and sociological sphere, the German text asserts that architecture is an integral part of the economic structure.

What is here reflected in the two texts is not simply a difference in the use of words—although this too would be indicative of the fundamental difference—but differing conceptions of society. In this light, paragraphs 6 and 7 of the "General Economics" section<sup>16</sup> are significant and illuminating.

The French version reads as follows:

"6. The collapse of artisanry following the dissolution of the guilds is a *fait accompli*. The inevitable result of mechanization has been the new methods of industry, which are different from and often opposed to those of artisanry. Until recently the concept of architecture, because of the teaching of the academies, was more directly inspired by the methods of artisanry than by the new industrial methods. This contradiction explains the profound disorganization of the art of building.

"7. It is urgent that architecture abandon outdated conceptions tied to artisanry and base itself henceforth on

the present-day realities of industrial technology, even though such a course of action will probably lead to results fundamentally different from those of past epochs."

In the German version we find some similar phrases, some different ones, and, on the whole, concepts of a different order:

"6. The demands made today on production have not only become much greater than in the past—production itself has changed so much that today we no longer have to reckon with past production organized by guilds, but with present production organized by industry.

"7. The undermining of artisanry through the abolition of craftsmen's guilds resulted in the profound disorganization of the building trade. This disorganization necessitated the regulation of the building trade through special laws. The industrial development which today is making itself felt requires a restructuring of these building laws, because on the one hand industry demands the freedom of movement necessary to technological development, and because on the other hand industry itself provides the necessary regulation of its products (standards of quality, factory brands)."

In this case as well, we see that in the German version any hint of the notion that the "inevitable result of mechanization has been the new industrial methods" has disappeared, while the considerations on the outdated conceptions of architecture tied to artisanry become, in the German text, a more general observation on past production organized by guilds; in addition, the present-day realities on which architecture must base itself become "present production organized by industry." Furthermore, in the German text we do not find any of the comments present in the French concerning that conception of architecture which, because of the academies, was more inspired by the methods of artisanry than by the methods of industry—and which would explain the disorganization of the art of building; in the German text, the disorganization of the building trade, the consequence of the abolition of the guilds, was overcome by legal regulation: therefore, the text states, industrial development led to the reorganization of building laws because of the need

for freedom in technological development and regulation in production.

We could continue to enumerate the differences between these two texts, especially with regard to the architect's role, which in the French text is understood to be that of a technician who, in associating himself with industry, moves beyond the academic tradition, while in the German version the problem is rather how to fit him into the productive process. But I think that the heart of the conflict should by now be clear.

For Le Corbusier, transformation in architecture had to correspond to economic transformations: the house could be produced like an automobile; the new technology required an architectonic unit based on an autonomous framework which freed the ground plane (*pilotis*), permitted the standardization of the elements (and hence the industrialization of the building trade) independently of the interior distribution of the building (free plan) and independently of the load-bearing walls (free facade); this made possible the introduction of the *fenêtre en longueur* and thus made the roof superstructure unnecessary (giving rise to the roof plans, whence the roof garden).<sup>17</sup> These five points developed by Le Corbusier were "objectively" the result of the new technology and industrial materials, and they made the architectonic unit possible. For others, particularly Hans Schmidt, the problem of form was secondary: technology was inexorable; it was entirely logically and rationally determined, and the only problem was that of finding an optimal use for the technical knowledge of building. In 1928, Schmidt wrote,

"The defects in the present-day building trade are for the most part the inevitable consequence of the costly inefficiency of the work done on the construction site. It is therefore in our best interests to have the initial, most important part of construction work done in the factory. This idea has almost unlimited possibilities in the case of the standardized house furnished by a warehouse and according to a catalogue. . . . But the premise here is the single house. A fundamental tendency of contemporary life, however, is to do away with individual ownership of the house. . . . For the moment, therefore, we find our-

selves faced with a limitation which we can overcome only by furthering the rational and planned organization of social life in general, through the collective management of production, land use, and urbanism."<sup>18</sup>

Schmidt's political evaluation differed from that of Le Corbusier, and it was accompanied by a different idea of industrialization.

In the program for the first Congress, Le Corbusier had written,

"... construction has been industrialized and most aspects of the masonry are done *in the factory* and later transported to the construction site for assembly. Such is the solution of the '*maison à sec*' . . . it seems wrong to produce in the factory (by standardization) a *type of house*. This is nipping architecture in the bud.

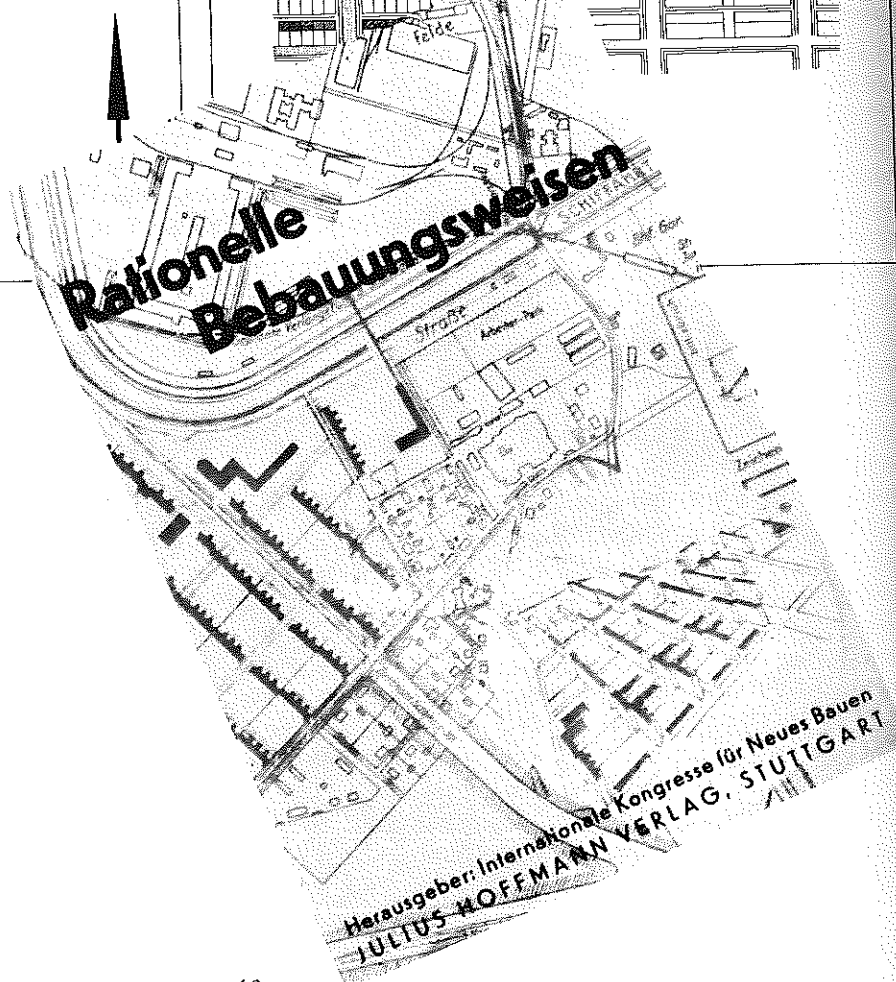
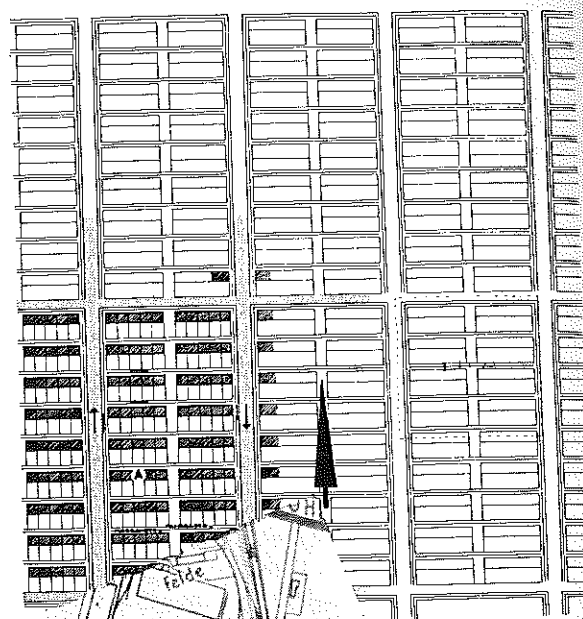
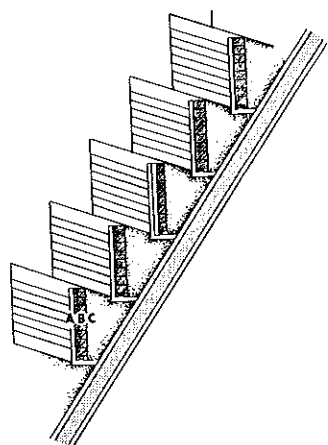
"One should produce in the factory (by standardization) a *residential unit*, which is a complete element of the structural system (beams and floor boards), whose measurements are chosen in such a way as to allow useful and varied interior arrangements."<sup>19</sup>

Maison Dom-ino and Maison Citrohan (let us not forget that one of the two houses built by Le Corbusier at the Weissenhof was a Citrohan) were the proposals implicitly presented in the discussion at La Sarraz; but Schmidt, in a passage written for the "neues Bauen" exhibition, reduced the idea behind these houses to a search for the standardized house, where standardization meant unvarying and optimized selection, designed to include all the essentials which could be put in a catalogue.

It therefore may not be surprising that at a certain point in the discussion at La Sarraz Le Corbusier should have wanted to abandon the Congress, or that, writing in 1933 about the attack of the "Germans" at that first Congress, he should say, "I did not accept definitions that would obscure the truth of architecture."<sup>20</sup>

The differences that were manifest at that first meeting seemed to fade during the course of the second CIAM, which was held at Frankfurt from the twenty-fourth to





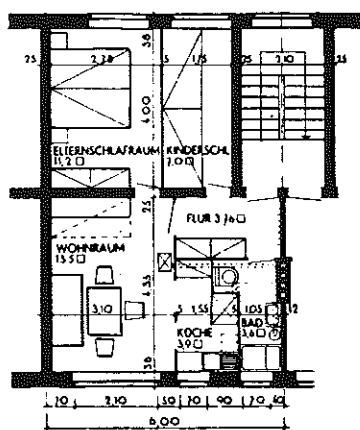
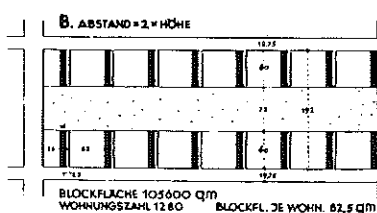
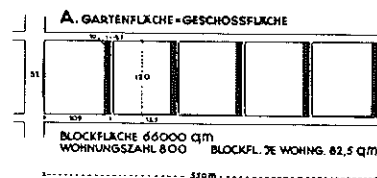
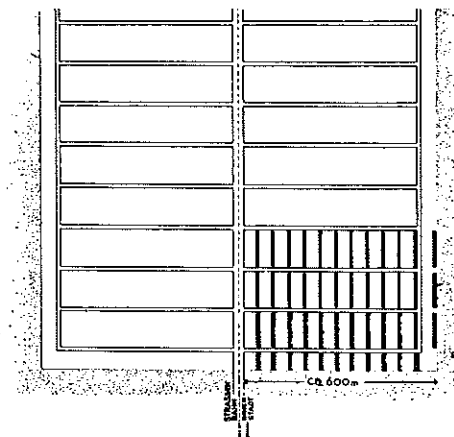
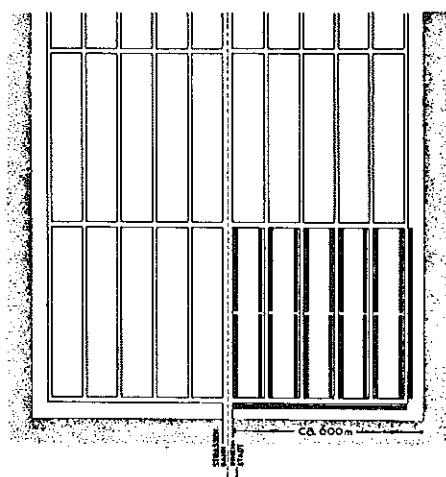
Third CIAM, Brussels. November, 1930

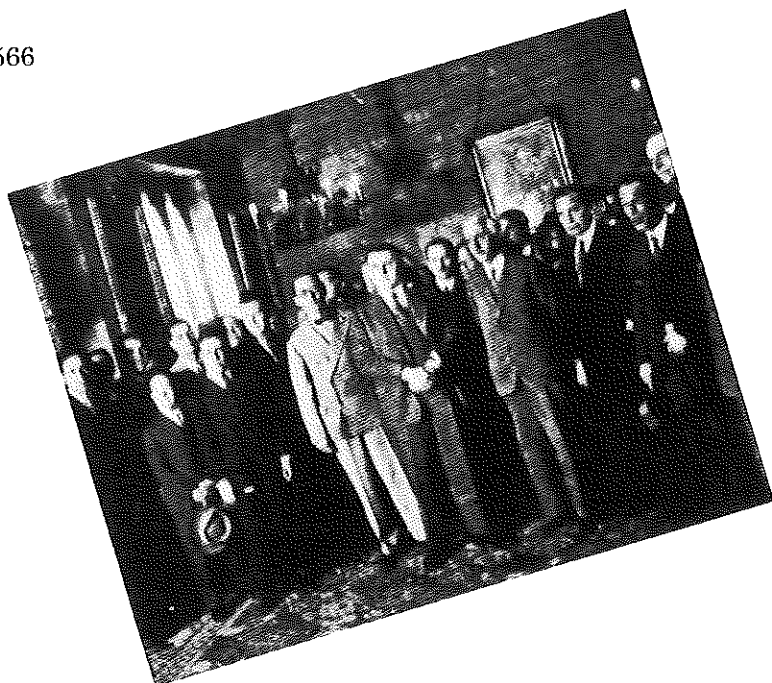
14, 15 "Rationelle Bebauungsweisen" exhibition. Planning proposals for Abo, Finland, by Alvar Aalto and for Utrecht, Holland, by Gerrit Rietveld.

16 Book cover, Rationelle Bebauungsweisen (Stuttgart, 1931).

17 "Rationelle Bebauungsweisen" exhibition. Herbert Boehm and Eugen Kaufmann's studies of building costs for two- to twelve-story building types.

565





the twenty-sixth of October, 1929, and revolved around a precise theme: *Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum* ("Existenzminimum" housing). The choice of Frankfurt as the site for the Congress, attributable to Ernst May, irreversibly tied this CIAM to the experiment that May had conducted as *Stadtbaudezernent* of the city. But the second Congress also had another peculiarity: the absence of Le Corbusier, who was traveling in South America during the course of its proceedings.

1929 was an important year for Le Corbusier: the renewed possibility of his taking part in the project for the palace of the League of Nations (January 1929) and the subsequent refusal (September 1929) of the CIAM leaders to support his polemic regarding the competition;<sup>21</sup> the project for the Mundaneum, which came out of Paul Otlet's idea to build a world center of science, information, and education serving international organizations and therefore complementary to the purpose of the League of Nations; the subsequent plan for the "world city," which included, in addition to the palace of the League of Nations and the Mundaneum, the "economic city," the "garden city," and the "*cité hôtelière*" northwest of the Ariana Park (February 1929); the contract to build the Centrosoyuz in Moscow (May 1929), and the subsequent trip to the U.S.S.R. (June 1929); the long sojourn in South America, from October to December, where he held conferences in Buenos Aires, Montevideo, São Paulo, and Rio, and where he executed, from a hydroplane and from an airplane, the famous designs for those cities: all this inspired him to write, at the close of his 1930 book *Précisions*<sup>22</sup>—which contains the text and the drawings of the ten Buenos Aires conferences, with an American prologue and an appendix on Paris and Moscow—the following note, entitled *A parté*:

"I believe that these ten Buenos Aires conferences will be the last ones for me on the subject of 'the architectural revolution created by modern technology'.

"The world—Buenos Aires, São Paulo, Rio, New York, Paris, the U.S.S.R.—is straining toward the fulfillment of urgent tasks; it trembles at the hour of the '*grands travaux*'. *The Moment of Great Works* is the theme which, in my opinion, at present imposes itself on our reflections.

'THE PRESENT HOUR, or THE EQUIPPING OF MECHANIZED CIVILIZATION', such is the book which, before long, we should think fit to write."

The debate that developed, still in 1929, around the Frankfurt experiment and around German architecture in general, was only relatively speaking of interest to Le Corbusier, who otherwise had his sights on other goals. In April of the same year he wrote in *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* of "the recent attitude on the part of the German architects who for a while have been preaching the principle of the usefulness of the 'new objectivity', . . . with an enthusiasm that verges on fanaticism." According to Christian Borngräber, Le Corbusier's manuscript also contains the following sentence, later deleted in the actual printing: "For a year or two I feel I have been denounced like a poet, like a lyric poet without rules, like a man lost in his time."<sup>23</sup>

With the absence of Le Corbusier at Frankfurt, the presence of the young, intransigent faction became all the more visible. Gropius's general account of the proceedings was in part directly influenced by Hans Schmidt's notes for the topics of the second Congress,<sup>24</sup> which concerned the aims and the realization of "*Existenzminimum*" housing. Mart Stam, who had just begun building the Altersheim complex in Frankfurt (with Pieter L. Kramer and Werner Moser) and planning the *Siedlung Hellerhof*, was the head of the commission in charge of the exhibition on "*Die Wohnung für das Existenzminimum*." This exhibition consisted of large panels on which were drawn the plans of the dwellings, sometimes with minuscule sections and generally with schematic site plans, and with no reference to the facades or to formal solutions. Out of ninety-seven plans for residences, the plan of the *Maison Loucheur* (and a variation thereof) was the only work of Le Corbusier's represented. It was therefore no surprise when Le Corbusier, at the February 1930 meeting in which the arrangements for the third CIAM were decided upon, was rather critical of the results of the Frankfurt Congress.<sup>25</sup>

A chronology of the events that followed one another

between the time of that first preparatory meeting in February 1930—when one finds gathered together with Le Corbusier in his studio Victor Bourgeois (the third Congress was to take place in Brussels under the auspices of Bourgeois, who with Ernst May had also become vice-president of the CIAMs), Hans Schmidt, Mart Stam (both entrusted with the task of preparations for the Congress), and Sigfried Giedion, the CIAM secretary—and November 27 of the same year, the first day of the Congress, should itself be enough to give an idea of the difficulties, the unexpected changes, and the compromises in which just about all of the major participants became involved.

The first dates projected for the third Congress were from the second to the fourth of October, 1930; the theme, which became specified in the course of the preparatory meetings, was "*Rationelle Bebauungsweisen*" ("rational building methods").<sup>26</sup>

In March, Le Corbusier went to the Soviet Union, where the work on the Centrosoyuz had begun; in May and June he answered the questionnaire sent by Gorny on the transformations of "Greater Moscow," and during the next two months he prepared the plans that would become *Ville Radieuse* and be published in 1935. On September 25, during an important meeting of CIAM delegates, Le Corbusier suggested presenting these plans in a special exhibition at the third Congress, but Gropius and other delegates deemed it inappropriate that such an exposition be presented alongside, and contrasting with, the official expositions on "*Rationelle Bebauungsweisen*." Le Corbusier might even have won out here if in fact, at that September meeting, the problems had not lain elsewhere: the question of whether or not to hold the Congress at all was under consideration. In fact, less than two weeks before the initially established opening date of the Congress, the situation was unexpectedly and completely changed.

On August 1, Hannes Meyer had left the Bauhaus<sup>27</sup> and his place was taken by Mies. Less than two and a half months later, Meyer left Germany for the Soviet Union. But he was not the only one to leave: around the same



**Fourth CIAM, Patris II/Athens.**

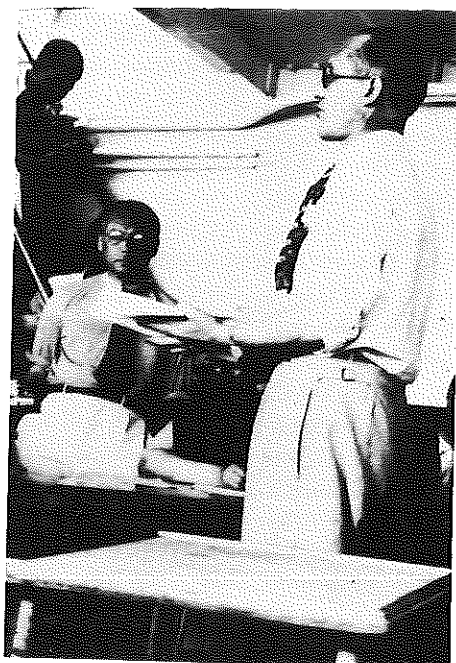
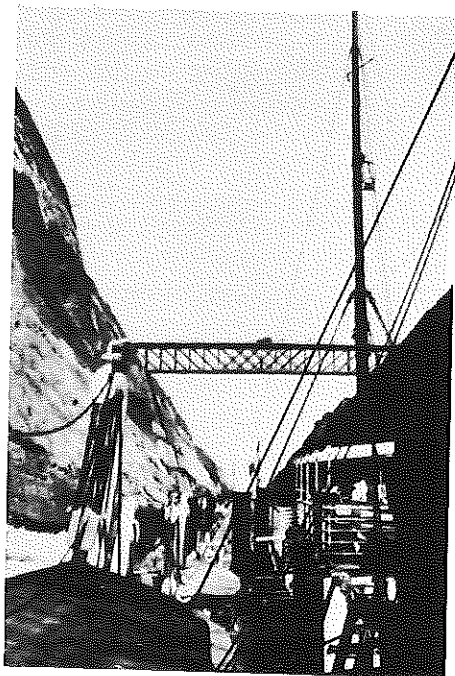
**July/August, 1933**

19-22 Journey from Marseilles to Athens aboard the Patris II.

23 Le Corbusier aboard the Patris II.

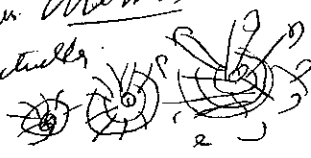
24 From l. to r.: Le Corbusier, Saporta, Terragni, Bottoni (in front), Renata Pollini.

25, 26 Le Corbusier's sketches made on board the Patris II. They illustrate his theme of "air-sound-light" developed as a lecture.



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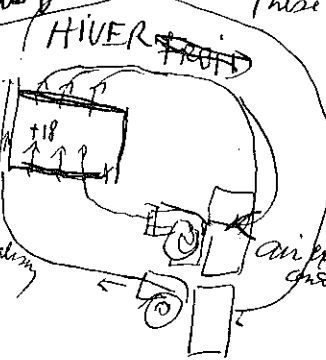
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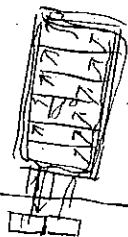
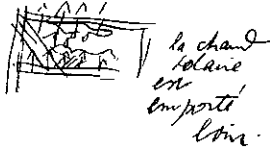
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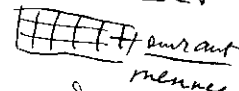
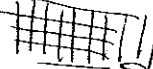


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Armees 1000 a. 2  
Permetteurs

Paralle Suisse

populistes construction



Mais elle determine un ordre  
de grandeur d'initie thermique = signature  
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27 Cover design by Herbert Bayer for José Lluis Sert's book "Can Our Cities Survive?" which dealt with the issues raised at the fourth CIAM, 1933. It was not published.

28 Table of population and industrial pollution in Dessau prepared by Bauhaus students and presented in the "Functional City" exhibition, fourth CIAM.



time, Ernst May left Frankfurt for Moscow, and joining him were about twenty collaborators, among whom were Mart Stam and Hans Schmidt. This abandonment of Germany for the Soviet Union was one of the repercussions of the crisis of 1929, which by now had begun to affect all of Europe, closing off too many areas for the solid commitment of architects like Hannes Meyer, Ernst May and his group, Hans Schmidt, and Mart Stam to be sustained. These men chose to work in a situation that they deemed more congenial, where they thought it possible to fit the dwelling-city relationship into a comprehensive economic plan, and where theoretical debate was not an impediment to practice.<sup>28</sup>

The September 25 meeting at Frankfurt, in the wake of the news of the imminent departure for the U.S.S.R. of those who had been in charge of preparations for the Congress, therefore had to address this situation and determine its implications, to reorganize the Congress, and to revise the program: for practical reasons, they decided to favor the theme of "small, medium, or tall houses," a subject already treated by Gropius in his lecture at the second CIAM.<sup>29</sup>

The connection between the second and third CIAMs was therefore somewhat different and certainly more limited than what had originally been desired, especially in terms of expanding and developing the theme of *Existenzminimum* into a debate on rational methods of construction. On the other hand, Le Corbusier's explicit critique, presented at the Congress held at Brussels from November 27 to 29, pointed out how the theme of "small, medium, or tall houses," compared to the questions of *Existenzminimum* or to that of rational methods of construction, did not fall within the range of his present interests.<sup>30</sup>

The absence of May brought Gropius, together with Bourgeois, to the vice-presidency. The presidency was assumed by Van Eesteren, who as chief of the urban planning department of Amsterdam was in the process of preparing the plan for that city.

Van Eesteren's presence served to orient the subsequent

debate at the Brussels CIAM toward the problem of the administration of urban development as implemented through town planning schemes: the problems of the preliminary surveys, of statistical studies on population and housing, of collective needs, etc., all found a first definition in the Amsterdam plan.

The official request, made at the close of the Congress, to hold the fourth CIAM in Moscow; the assumption of the responsibility for this next meeting by May, who in June of 1931 spoke in Berlin of his own experiences in the U.S.S.R., where he had met with great success;<sup>31</sup> the entrusting of the preparation for the Moscow Congress to Schmidt once again—all these facts seem to indicate a desire to reestablish unity between the divergent elements of the first CIAMs, or at least to resume the debate which seemed to have been interrupted. But instead, the very choice of Moscow as the site of the Congress would be the factor to aggravate that tension which from the start had created conflicts at La Sarraz. Conflicting positions became more firmly entrenched, and the event of the competition for the Palace of the Soviets heightened, with the victory of Boris Iofan's "academic" project, differences regarding the understanding of what themes and preferences should be given expression by the Congress. The outcome of the competition proved to be only a sign, although an important one, of the complex situation taking shape in the Soviet Union at the moment in which the slogan "Socialism under one state" implied the revival of an indigenous and therefore *real* matrix of expression and a rejection of the "unreal" images that came from or even simply referred to the West.<sup>32</sup>

The European architects working in the Soviet Union increasingly began to feel themselves to be participants in a planning process with definite ties to political power, while the various forms that power was beginning to assume in Europe did not help to clarify such ties. Only Le Corbusier seemed to have taken a firm position, distinguishing in the architect the technician who worked out ideas, programs, and plans, all to be passed on to the "authority" which must realize them. It was the same idea that was expressed at the first CIAM at La Sarraz in the



large colored panel which represented the State as the interlocutor to whom one must appeal.

In response to the suggestions expressed by Le Corbusier, Giedion, and Van Eesteren for the fourth Congress, the Soviet architects and the European architects who were now living in the U.S.S.R. set down certain conditions: they agreed to broach the subject of the "functional city," which was to become in fact the primary concern of the fourth CIAM, but they chose to center the debate on the social forces that come together in the formation of a city's built structures, and to prepare a plan for population, a plan for industry, and a plan for culture; they chose to discuss, therefore, problems of cost, to address the problem of infant mortality, to examine political and social structures in connection with urban planning. On the other hand, they stated, whoever had it in mind to propose single models that would always be valid and applicable in every social and political condition, and to adapt in particular the model of Amsterdam, would encounter difficulty, not so much in changing the direction of the debate as in modifying the procedure of participation to be used; thus, the Soviet proposals were miles away from the "Mediterranean" hypothesis so dear to Le Corbusier.

Every attempt at mediation, particularly that of Giedion and Van Eesteren, proved to be useless. In response to the continual postponements proposed by Moscow, it was decided to hold the fourth CIAM in another place, and the choice was an ocean liner to cruise between Marseilles and Athens. The story is already well known.<sup>33</sup>

It is however worthwhile to underline the fact that on the *Patris II* the more intransigent faction which had enlivened the first Congresses was missing, and that Gropius as well was absent, whereas the visible presence of Swiss and French architects (almost half of the participants) reflected the predominant influence of Giedion and Le Corbusier in the sending out of invitations. The echoes of what was happening in many countries at this time seem not to have reached the Congress. Le Corbusier had by now become the undisputed protagonist.

Despite the numerous and significant absences, the nature of "modern" architecture and urbanism, starting with the Athens Congress, began to take shape according to tendencies directed more to mythifying events and individual figures than to grasping the complexity of experience. The ratification, a few years after, of the idea of the Modern Movement symbolized the suppression of any contradictions in favor of a unified vision devoid of compromise and profound conflict. Thus was born the myth of the continuity of the CIAMs, which we have come to see as representing a hypothetically interconnected sequence of themes running from the residential unit to the urban district to the city as a whole.

I believe it is important to remember Le Corbusier's lecture at Athens and how this fully reflected the irreparable break that was established with those absent. Le Corbusier, using the terms of a questionnaire that had been prepared for the third CIAM, spoke of "air," "sound," "light"; he opened his lecture to the Congress with a memory of the Acropolis, of the "irreducible truths" discovered during his 1911 "voyage to the East," and he closed it by invoking the *esprit* which prevails over that place, the invisible thread that connects the ocean liner passing by at sea (an allusion to *Patris II*?) with the Parthenon; the last words of his speech were an invitation to his traveling companions to hasten "toward adventure, beautiful adventure! Architecture and Urbanism." Le Corbusier here decidedly broke with the various hypotheses advanced at the first CIAMs and, expressing himself in the language of exact principles and infallible feelings, gave the floor to Van Eesteren, whose lecture concerned technical matters. Van Eesteren presented a large-scale plan for testing the complex operation taking place in Amsterdam and, at the same time, defined the concrete purposes of the CIAMs.

Through Van Eesteren's presentation, the Amsterdam plan became symbolic of the sort of activity that the CIAMs now intended to develop; it also represented a response to the positions taken by the European architects who were working in the Soviet Union. The more than thirty plans for cities discussed at the fourth Con-

gress all were presented—in the drawings, in the range of planning priorities, in the use of preliminary investigations—in the same way as the Amsterdam plan. In fact, the result of this CIAM, the *Athens Charter*, was the work of Le Corbusier in terms of its general programmatic outlines, while in terms of its more technical guidelines it was bound up with Van Eesteren's work in Amsterdam.

Both Le Corbusier's poetics and Van Eesteren's work of mediation between, on the one hand, architects tied to the Mediterranean world and, on the other, German-speaking architects therefore came to define the common lines of development of "modern" architecture and urbanism. The assertion of the unity between architecture and urbanism was taken up again in subsequent years, at the 1937 CIAM at Paris (still focused on the theme of the "functional city") and later; Van Eesteren's Amsterdam plan and Le Corbusier's four points of urbanism were at the center of the debate. When in 1935, in Amsterdam, on the occasion of the exhibition on the "functional city" prepared at the 1933 CIAM, Van Eesteren brought up some of the themes treated at previous Congresses, he mentioned neither the discussions which had been had regarding such themes within the Congresses nor the existing conflicts between the architects who had participated in these Congresses. Van Eesteren expressed the conviction that a well-housed people possesses health and a bright future, and he gave special emphasis to urbanism's solution to society's problems: "The knowledge of urbanism," he said, "[must be] the common heritage of all, so that we might find the all-important balance between general interest and individual freedom. . . . The architect of city-planning schemes must cooperate with others. But the final form of the plan is given by the architect."<sup>34</sup> The hypotheses concerning the purpose of architecture, the role of the architect, the master plan as an element of equilibrium, were all taken up again on this occasion, in the wake of what had been concluded at Athens. The complexity of the problems, which had induced a number of architects to come together at La Sarraz in spite of the difference in their positions, as well as the substance of the conflict, which had set certain young "leftist" architects against Le Corbusier, were now flat-

tened in the search for a balanced vision, a vision that would be devoid of contradictions yet rich in compromises. It was the beginning of the great myth of the Modern Movement, which explains and reconstructs events, includes and synthesizes all positions, and finally becomes a historical conjecture with its own beginning and its own linear development, without breaks in continuity. It is a historical conjecture within which there was room, and there still is today, for many "histories," however diverse among themselves, which attempt to interpret, positively or negatively, the unity, the meanings, the values, and the concepts of "modern" architecture, with the purpose of providing a frame of reference within which to operate and a "correct" line to follow, often neglecting the imprints left behind by the various protagonists themselves, imprints which sometimes lead us outside of the obligatory paths which the various "histories" charted in the thick of events.

Source Note: A shorter version of this article appeared in Italian in Casabella 463/464, Nov./Dec. 1980.—Ed.

1. See, on the formation of the myth of the Modern Movement, M. Maniera Elia, *William Morris e l'ideologia dell'architettura moderna* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1976). Only the most recent research, particularly that conducted by young scholars in Germany, Switzerland, France, the United States, and Italy, has begun to shed light, through archival research and rigorous historical analysis, on many of the events considered to be important in the formation of this myth of the Modern Movement. Without the pressure to support or demonstrate any particular tendency, this research, as a starting point, has led to a new historiography which does not strive to be in some way "operative criticism" (here this term is used in the sense attributed to it by Manfredo Tafuri in "The Historical Project," *Oppositions*, 17, summer 1979), but instead claims a specificity in the knowledge of history independent of any preconceived plan, and effects a reinterpretation of traditionally accepted connections and interrelationships.
2. R. Banham, "CIAM," *Encyclopedia of Modern Architecture* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1963), pp. 70-3, perhaps the best summary of the development of the CIAMs written from the viewpoint of a general vision of modern architecture. It makes an early attempt to understand the moments at which the first Congresses were conceived.
3. With the tenth Congress, held in Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia, in 1956, the CIAMs came to an end as a result of the activities of Team 10 (Jacob B. Bakema, Georges Candilis, Gutmann, Alison and Peter Smithson, William Howell, Aldo van Eyck, and John Völker) which in 1953, on the occasion of the ninth Congress at Aix-en-Provence, had already exposed their uselessness. See *Team 10 Primer*, a special issue of *Architectural Design*, vol. 32, no. 12, Dec. 1962.
4. See L. Benevolo, *Storia dell'architettura moderna* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1977 [7th ed.]), pp. 534-7; hypothesis reconfirmed in L. Benevolo, C. Melograni, T. Giura-Longo, *La progettazione della città moderna* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1977), "Lezione 1," in particular pp. 22-3.
5. R. Banham, in *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1980), p. 288, writes that the maturity of the new architecture "was confirmed at Weissenhof when the buildings were seen, and seen to be internationally unanimous in style, and with its international maturity the style became explicable, to some extent, in verbal terms, with the result that Weissenhof triggered off a spate of books by German authors that aim to deal encyclopedically with the materials, the history, or the aesthetics of the new style."
6. "This settlement marks the moment when contemporary architects from different countries had an opportunity to show for the first time, not by words but by building together upon the same site, that a new approach to the housing problem had been developed." S. Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1954 [3rd ed.]), p. 550.
7. See M. Tafuri and F. Dal Co, *Modern Architecture* (New York: Abrams, 1979), p. 189, in which the Weissenhof experiment is seen in the light of the more general urban politics of

Weimar Germany.

8. Cf. C. Borngräber, "Le Corbusier a Mosca," *Rassegna*, vol. II, no. 3, July 1980, pp. 79-88, in particular p. 80.
9. Of importance here is J. Gubler's observation, in *Nationalisme et Internationalisme dans l'architecture moderne de la Suisse* (Lausanne: L'Age d'Homme, 1975), p. 147, regarding the criteria upon which the invitations to La Sarraz were decided: "... in no case do personal affinities or enmities come into play. A politics of strict rationality is adopted, in accordance with the actions of the Zurich Werkbund. It is striking to note that the majority of the architects invited to La Sarraz have published one of their works, whether project or realization, in the brief encyclopedia of the new architecture by Ludwig Hilberseimer, *Internationale neue Baukunst*, which first appeared in Stuttgart at the Weissenhof exposition. This book could very well have constituted a sort of 'useful reference'."
10. Mies writes, "I am sincerely grateful for your kind invitation, which arrived only a few days ago. Unfortunately I am unable to accept your invitation, as I cannot make myself available for the dates set aside. Yours with the greatest esteem, Mies." Reproduced in *CIAM, Dokumente, 1928-1939*, ed. M. Steinmann (Basel-Stuttgart: Birkhäuser, 1979), p. 23.
11. On May 16, 1928, a little more than a month before the opening of the Congress, Häring wrote to Giedion, "We have enlarged the group of our members that little bit that we thought necessary to make it more active. . . . The outcome has proved us right; in that the success that we have enjoyed in Germany had been thought impossible when we had limited the 'Ring' to a very small group. Should an avant-garde emerge from the participants because of the Congress, it would be equivalent to the dissolution of the 'Ring'." Letter quoted in Steinmann, *CIAM . . .*, p. 22.
12. See M. Steinmann, "Der Völkerbundspalast: eine 'chronique scandaleuse,'" and S. von Moos, "'Kasino der Nationen'. Zue Architektur des Völkerbundspalast in Conf." *werk-archithese*, 23-24, Nov.-Dec., 1978, pp. 28-31 and 32-6; especially see C. L. Anzivino and E. Godoli, *Ginerva 1927: il concorso per il Palazzo della Società delle Nazioni e il caso di Le Corbusier* (Calenzano: Modulo, 1979).
13. In the German version, paragraph 5 becomes paragraph 3 (paragraph 3 of the French text disappears altogether) and it is slightly different: "Academicism induces governments to spend great sums for monumental building enterprises and in this way it favors the survival of work which is rewarded with the neglect of the most urgent urbanistic and economic problems." From the very beginning the two versions were published separately: the German was published in *Werk*, 9, 1928; *Schweizerische Bauzeitung*, 3, 1928, and *i 10*, 14, 1928; the French in *Architecture*, 112, 1928. On the differences between the German and French versions see below.
14. J. Gubler, *Nationalisme et Internationalisme . . .*, pp. 145-61, on the La Sarraz Congress; Steinmann, *CIAM . . .*, on the first five Congresses.
15. J. Gubler, *Nationalisme et Internationalisme . . .*, pp. 155-7.
16. In the French version, "Economie général," and in the German, "Allgemeine Wirtschaftlichkeit."

This series is explicitly mentioned in the program prepared by Le Corbusier for the La Sarraz Congress.

I. Schmidt, in *Beiträge zur Architektur. 1924-1964* (Berlin: Verlag für Bauwesen, 1965).

Le Corbusier, "Standardization," second article in the program prepared for the first Congress, quoted in Steinmann, *CIAM* . . . , p. 18.

Steinmann, *CIAM* . . . , p. 30. Le Corbusier's sentence is "Défense de l'Architecture," *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, 10, 1929, p. 39, note 1.

In a Sept. 4, 1929, letter to Giedion Le Corbusier suggested for the Frankfurt Congress, which was to begin in a month and a half, assert that in effect the five planners of the palace of the League of Nations had committed plagiarism by copying the geometry of his project. The suggestion was not carried out.

A. Steinmann, *Der Völkerbundspalast* . . . , p. 30. See also Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret, *Oeuvre Complète 1910-1929* (Zurich: Girsberger, 1967, [9th ed.]), p. 173.

Le Corbusier, *Précisions sur un état présent de l'architecture et de l'urbanisme* (Paris: Vincent Fréal & Cie., 1929), repub. 1960.

Le Corbusier, "Die Baukunst in Moskau," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, April 9-10, 1929.

For Gropius's account, see Steinmann, *CIAM* . . . , pp. 56-9. H. Schmidt's text, see *Beiträge* . . . , pp. 83-6 (of the Italian translation).

Cf. C. Borngräber, "Le Corbusier a Mosca," p. 83.

See Steinmann, *CIAM* . . . , pp. 74-5.

On this affair, cf. H. Meyer's letter to Mr. Hesse, mayor of Frankfurt, published in *Das Tagebuch*, Aug. 16, 1930, cited in H. Wingler, *Das Bauhaus* (Cologne: Gebr. Rasch & Co., 1975, [3rd ed.]).

On the European architects in the Soviet Union see the most recent work of C. Borngräber, "H. Schmidt und H. Meyer in Moskau," *werk-archithèse*, 23-24, Nov.-Dec., 1978, pp. 37-40. M. de Michelis, "Città funzionale e città sovietica: l'impossibile accordo" in J.-L. Cohen, M. de Michelis, M. Tafuri, eds., *La Città, l'architettura* (Rome-Paris: Officina-Verlag, 1979), pp. 93-111.

Cf. Steinmann, *CIAM* . . . , p. 74.

Le Corbusier began his lecture: "The question raised by this Congress is limited to low, medium, or tall constructions. The problem is to be able to change the municipal regulations in the various cities around the world. First of all, I maintain that this Congress represents only part of the general problem of modern urbanization. Nowadays comprehensive viewpoints are more indispensable than ever; it would be dangerous henceforth to concentrate our attention on a particular argument which new questions, raised immediately afterward, would render useless." The lecture, therefore, was not to change regulations, but to formulate proposals to present the political authority. The lecture ended on this certainty: ". . . the specifications must form their own proposals. Authority will spring forth. Let us not be seduced by a conception that is not in the normal order of things, but, is, by the aspiration to an authority that will immediately appeal to the technicians." See C. Aymonino, *L'abitazione razionale. Atti dei congressi CIAM. 1929-1930* (Padua: Marsilio,

1971), pp. 102-12.

31. Cf. Borngräber, "Le Corbusier a Mosca," p. 84.

32. On the competition for the Palace of the Soviets, see G. Ciucci, "Concours pour le Palais des Soviets," *VH-101*, 7-8, spring-summer 1972, pp. 113-33.

33. See the special issue of *Parametro*, "Da Bruxelles ad Atene: la Città Funzionale," 52, Dec. 1976, and Steinmann, *CIAM* . . . , p. 113 ff.

34. Quoted in G. Fanelli, *Architettura, edilizia, urbanistica. Olanda 1917-1940* (Florence: Papafava, 1978), p. 505.

#### Figure Credits

1 Photograph by Dick Frank.

1, 24-26 From *Parametro*, 52, December 1976. Special issue on the CIAM, "Da Bruxelles ad Atene: la Città Funzionale."

2, 3, 5-7, 9, 10-17, 19-23, 27, 28 From Martin Steinmann, ed., *CIAM Dokumente 1928-1939* (Basel-Stuttgart: Birkhäuser, 1979).

4 From Le Corbusier, *Oeuvre Complète 1910-1929* (Zurich: Girsberger, 1946).

8, 18 From *Casabella*, 463/464, Nov./Dec. 1980. Special issue, "Il dibattito sul Movimento Moderno."