CIRCULATION
SITUATION
CONFRONTATION
INTERPRETATION
INVOCATION 1:
INSTALLATION

OPEN: A BAKEMA
CELEBRATION

IMPROVISATION
COMPLICATION
RECREATION
INFORMATION
DEMONSTRATION
PROVOCATION
RELATION
INTERRELATION

2: OPEN

Open
Guus Beumer and Dirk van den Heuvel

When Het Nieuwe Instituut was established as a transdisciplinary merger between three separate institutes it also inherited the archive of the former Netherlands Architecture Institute, one of the largest collections of architecture in the world. The question of how to open up this rich historical material had to be newly addressed. The specificity of the archive and its hundreds of thousands of drawings, sketches, models, building documents, photographs, and letters requires the development of an equally specific research program, in terms of scholarly qualities as well as artistic practices. Thanks to the collaboration with TU Delft and the decision to jointly establish the Jaap Bakema Study Center this ambition has become a reality.

In connection with the research agendas of the two organizations, a flexible program has been developed consisting of three main subjects: Structuralism, Global Housing, and the Production of Knowledge. The research is situated at the crossing points of societal issues of conflict and innovation and the changing roles of the state, the market, architects, designers, and the individual citizen. The decision of Rem Koolhaas, curator of the 14th edition of the Venice Architecture Biennale, to devote this edition to a century of global modernization offered the opportunity to use the collection as a starting point for the Dutch contribution, while it also offered the possibility to present a first indication of things to come from the collaboration between TU Delft and Het Nieuwe Instituut.

Koolhaas proposed that the various national pavilions addressed a common theme: 'Absorbing Modernity: 1914–2014'. The observation behind this question was that due to globalization processes national characteristics had universally been erased in favor of a single modern language of architecture. In response to this provocative statement, the Dutch contribution involves a revisiting of the work of Jaap Bakema (1914–1981) and his ideas for the open society. Together with the collection of his office Van den Broek en Bakema, Bakema's collection of CIAM and Team 10 correspondence and his own private collection are held at the archive of Het Nieuwe Instituut; they are among its foremost items.

We are interested in revisiting the achievements of Bakema and his ideas for an open society for many reasons. Not only did Bakema succeed in positioning architecture and urban planning at the heart of the political and cultural debates on the future direction of Dutch society, but together with the office of Van den Broek en Bakema he also exemplified a practice that integrates design and research. Then and now, such integration seems necessary to achieve the innovation needed in times of change. At the same time Bakema's correspondence archive, especially the so-called 'Post Box for the Development of the Habitat', which Bakema initiated at the end of CIAM in 1959, is a wonderful and still inspiring example of the exchange of ideas between architects who sought to contribute to the ideal of open and inclusive societies. Therefore, next to the installation proper and this paper publication, a contemporary post box will go online during the Venice Biennale: the 'Post Box for the Open Society', which will be open for anyone to participate in debates and to contribute designs to counter the problems of societies today.

Such 'updating' of history is justified, we believe, because many of the questions of today are framed by larger, more continuous questions such as the one of the open society. Today, the economic and political situation is quite different from the so-called 'trente glorieuses' of the welfare state. Therefore, no one is proposing to return to the top-down planning of that period, nor the architectural solutions that belong to such an approach. Many of its institutes have been either ended or transformed. We see all sorts of new concepts emerging from 'bottom-up' ideologies to the ones of 'creative commons' and the 'participation society'. At the same time, behind these new concepts we see similar questions pertaining to the ideal of an open society, ranging from the new digital systems and surveillance techniques controlling the spaces we live in to the massive construction of the fast expanding mega-cities in the world outside Europe. It is from such observations we seek to critically address this larger issue of the open society anew. To see our history in a new light perhaps, but also to use history to see our own time, its anxieties and challenges in a different perspective, to open it up as it were and to find new ways into the future.

open.jaapbakemastudycentre.nl

3: TOWARDS AN OPEN SOCIETY

Towards an Open Society:
The unfinished work of Jaap Bakema
Dirk van den Heuvel

'Building for an Open Society' was the title of a rather large exhibition of the work of the office of Van den Broek en Bakema at the Rotterdam museum Boymans-van Beuningen in 1962. It was organized for the occasion of the Prix de la Critique in 1961, which was awarded to Van den Broek en Bakema with a special mention to Bakema himself as a leader of the so-called 'Otterlo-group' or better-known as 'Team 10'. The jury praised Bakema and the office for their achievements in modern architecture, how they had found a balance between the 'emphasis on human relations' on the one hand and the 'possibility for personal freedom and intimacy' on the other. The jury report concluded their design work was a major contribution to a 'functional, human and democratic art of building'.[1]

'Building for an Open Society'
(installation view), Museum
Boymans-van Beuningen,
1962

As evidenced by the jury report, it was Bakema who had become the leading voice of the office, the ultimate public figure who presented a comprehensive history of the office as a corner stone of the Dutch tradition of functionalism and modern architecture. The 1962 exhibition too was designed as a step-wise progression from the first establishment of the office by Michiel Brinkman in 1913, to the various partnerships with first the son Johannes Brinkman and Leendert van der Vlugt, and then to the partnerships with first Jo van den Broek and finally Jaap Bakema. A succession of classic, ground-breaking projects from the history of Dutch modernism – the Spangen housing-block, the Van Nelle factory, and the Vroeselaan housing-block – led the visitor to the contemporary work of the office with such highlights as the Hansaviertel apartment tower block in Berlin and the town hall for the German city of Marl. A final room showed plans for the future, among which was the monumental Aula building for TU Delft.

Around 1962 the slogan 'Building for an Open Society' became key for Bakema. In the famous lectures 'Van Stoel tot Stad', which he presented in 1962–63 on Dutch national television, he asked the question: "What will be the art of building an open society?" Bakema answered the question himself straightaway: "Surely, at the very least the shapes that we build, will make clear that everybody has a right to a conviction of life that is suitable to himself."[2]

In 1962 the very phrase 'open society' was loaded with Cold War associations, even when Bakema would not explicitly refer to this larger geo-political situation. Yet, he must have been quite aware of these connotations, since from August 13th 1961 the Soviets had started constructing the Berlin Wall. Just a few years before, Bakema and his office had participated in the famous competition Hauptstadt Berlin (1957–58) organized by the then mayor of Berlin, Willy Brandt, as part of the public campaign to overcome the division of the occupied German capital. The Van den Broek en Bakema office had also contributed to the West-Berlin Hansaviertel building exhibition in 1957 with a tower block of a most innovative split-level typology. It was Bakema's Team 10 friends Alison and Peter Smithson who would most explicitly deploy the term 'open society', also in relation to the Hauptstadt Berlin competition and how Berlin could be re-imagined as an 'open city' for a new kind of mobility, both physically in terms of car mobility, and socially in terms of a new post-war egalitarian society, which ideally combined the Swedish social-democratic model with the new consumer culture of the United States.

Yet, for Bakema the notion of the open society was probably more philosophical or even existentialist, as it was primed in his wartime experience as a prisoner of a German camp.[3] The term 'conviction of life' should also be understood in the context of a Dutch society, which was still largely religious and divided into so-called 'pillars', or communities of the various protestant and catholic denominations. Bakema had always explained his ambition as an architect in terms of societal responsibility, an awareness that one was operating within a larger, even cosmological context. This was not unrelated to the fascination of the early Dutch avant-garde for theosophy, including Bakema's predecessors Brinkman and Van der Vlugt, who built a theosophic meetinghouse in

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Amsterdam, and Bakema's wife's family who were also touched by this interest in theosophy.

To overcome divisions and to think in terms of relations was at the heart of Bakema's project for an open society. In Otterlo in 1959 at the last CIAM conference, organized by himself, Bakema also spoke of the open society, but here the notion of 'democracy' was much more prominent in relation to personal freedom, capitalist production, and collective responsibilities.[4] Thus, in the writings and thinking of Bakema the notion of the open society was a container term capable of absorbing a multitude of divergent positions moving beyond ideology or any other dogma. Ultimately, for Bakema the idea of the open society evolved around the relationship of the individual toward the larger whole, be it the neighborhood, the city, society itself, or what he called 'total space'. Architecture then was to enable the individual to become aware of his or her relationship to this larger whole, while the open society should be so generous and tolerant as to allow for the individual's self-realization. In the post-war period, in the Netherlands, it was the welfare state system that was to accommodate such lofty idealism.

Building the welfare state

In many ways the work and ideas of Jaap Bakema epitomize the best of the architecture of the post-war Dutch welfare state: its unapologetic modernity as well as its ambition to be all-inclusive and egalitarian. The monumental schemes for complete new towns and regional planning are demonstrations of an unrelenting determination to overcome the economic misery of the pre-war era and the utter chaos of the Second World War by way of a combination of optimistic rationalism and the logic of production put to good use for all. The enormous projects show an ambition that entailed nothing less than a reconceptualization of the Dutch landscape and identity: a vast expansion of the flat, horizontal, man-made polderscape interspersed by a syncopation of elementary verticals that denote the housing units, the so-called 'visual groups', which comprised a micro-cosmos of typologies to accommodate households of all walks of life.[5]

The 1964 Plan for Pampus summarizes Bakema's project for the Dutch welfare state in its most rhetorical grandeur. Between the old city of Amsterdam and the vast, new, and then still empty Flevopolder, a city extension was proposed for 350,000 people. Pampus was to be built into the water along a spine that integrated traffic-ways with all sorts of program for work, culture, leisure, and housing – a linear city model that was both a critique of the CIAM Functional City ideal and a continuation of Le Corbusier's call for 'soleil,

espace, verdure' for the modern city. At the end of the spine, the new city spine bends around the old existing island of Pampus and thus creates a new city core around an inner lake with harbors, boulevards, and quays. It is a majestic gesture that acts as a gate to the new Flevopolder just as it is a salutation back to the old inner city of Amsterdam and its canals. The project was presented as an alternative to current planning practices, a demonstration of the latent, underused possibilities behind the logic of mass-production and the welfare state redistribution system of land, resources, wealth, and property. An exhibition was put up in the Stedelijk Museum; and a symposium was organized at the town hall of Amsterdam with representatives from the city, the ministry, and other governmental bodies involved.[6] Eventually, nothing came out of this, but it shows how the office and Bakema were operating at the forefront of innovations in planning and housing development at the time.
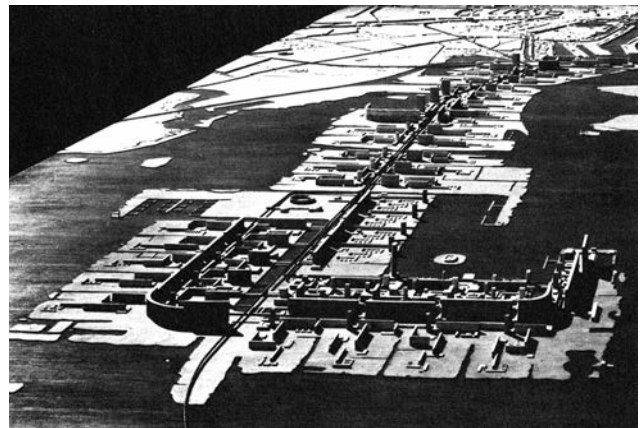
Plan for Pampus
(scale model), 1964

At this point it should perhaps be noted that Bakema's position was much more complicated than the one of the avant-garde architect on the periphery; although driven by ideals and producing the most visionary sort of schemes, he succeeded in firmly positioning his office and its production at the heart of the Dutch welfare state system: and as an architect Bakema was to become the ultimate representative of the Dutch welfare state. Not only did he, together with the office and with Jo van den Broek, succeed in developing a systemized approach toward housing and planning, integrating design, construction, and advanced typological research, he also presented the construction of the Dutch welfare state as the opportunity *par excellence* to recast Dutch society as the epitome of a forward-looking,

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humane, modern, and rationalist welfare state society within the new global realities of the Cold War.

Such broadcasting of a new progressive identity was also quite characteristic of Bakema's projects for expos, and world expos in particular. After having organized and designed the Dutch pavilion for the Brussels Expo in 1958 (with many contributors such as Rietveld), Bakema was also in charge of the Osaka Expo 70 pavilion, which in Bakema's view was to broadcast the idea of an 'open society'.[7] From his notes and sketches one reads: "a country is planning [its] change. an open society. open economy." Such a country integrated 'planning, education, science, art'. Bakema also forged a tradition of Dutch identity summed up by the foursome of 'Rembrandt, Mondrian, Van Gogh, Provo'.[8]

That the anarchism of Provo was included as a part of the hegemonic tradition by Bakema is key here. The Provo-movement caused high waves in 1960s Amsterdam and Holland, with all sorts of ludic 'happenings' against environmental pollution, against consumer culture, in support of women's liberation and lifting drug prohibition, even advocating free sex and the dismantling of the police force. Bakema would absorb Provo's experimentalism and recast it in a new story on Dutch identity of tolerance and openness, pragmatics and rationalism. At the same time it shows how a new Dutch cultural élite, to which Bakema belonged, embraced both modernity and counterculture, something that would be unimaginable today.

As one final, more anecdotal example of the way Bakema and his office were part of the new post-war establishment of the Netherlands, perhaps once again the relationship with the new TV-culture and the creation of a new, classless welfare state audience might help here. Bakema's appearance on television, talking to the nation while standing in front of a blackboard with a piece of chalk in his hand, has already been mentioned. The show was directed by Leen Timp for the Dutch broadcast organization AVRO (a liberal organization, not a left-wing, social-democratic one like the VARA). Timp was one of the foremost Dutch TV directors, married to one of the most popular TV hosts, Mies Bouwman. Bakema would design a house for the couple (1960, not built), while Mies Bouwman would host the national TV-show 'Open het Dorp' ('Open the Village') in 1962; a show to raise money for the special project 'Het Dorp' that was to house disabled people in such a way they could live on their own while supported by all sorts of welfare facilities. The design of this community village was in the hands of the office of Van den Broek en Bakema and it was a demonstration of all the familiar Team 10 concepts like cluster, network, doorstep-philosophy, and streets-in-the-air with raised pedestrian walkways to negotiate the landscape. It was designed and built between 1963–69.
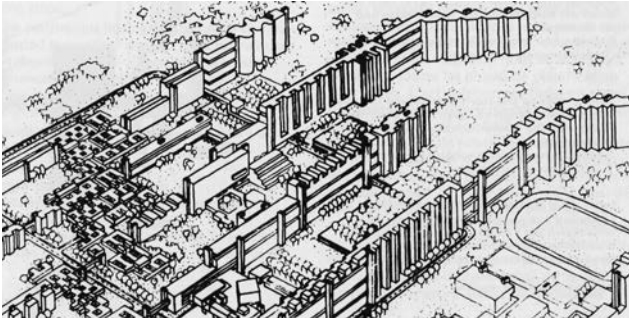

Lost in participation?

That Bakema included the anti-authoritarian Provo movement in his 1970 definition of the open society might already indicate how the notions of open, democracy, and tolerance would take a different turn. Within the Team 10 debates one can already observe an ambivalence toward the bureaucratic and paternalistic state apparatus that makes choices for the individual all in order to secure and negotiate a proper redistribution system. However, by the late 1960s, for instance in the new edition of the *Team 10 Primer* from 1968 and its new preface, we see how all Team 10 members loudly complain about the state of affairs, while also accepting having to build under the new conditions of the welfare state. In 1974, at the Rotterdam meeting, when among others the Terneuzen town hall was visited, Alison Smithson called it a monument of an already by-gone era – when the people still trusted the authorities to hire an architect to build a new town hall of a strong formal character just outside the old town, between the historic city and the new modern districts. Implying that in the 1970s – after the student revolts, and after radical 'democratization' and new concepts such as advocacy planning and participation – this sort of trust had vanished. The 1970s welfare state had now become a 'labor union society' – consumerist and populist, and anxious for more growth – and not spiritual, but materialist.

Bakema shared the same ambivalence. As a professor at TU Delft he supported the student revolt of 1969 there, to achieve more openness and involvement of the students and staff members in the decision-making process. Still, he resisted the idea to decide by way of one-man-one-vote during massive meetings where the whole community of the Faculty of Architecture would gather. Unsurprisingly perhaps, the neo-Marxist factions that would set the tone in the 1970s in Delft's development of research and education

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were highly critical of Bakema's work, just as they were critical of the positions of other so-called Forum-professors like Aldo van Eyck, Herman Hertzberger, or the lesser known but very influential, cultural theorist Joop Hardy.

The large office of Van den Broek en Bakema 'democratized' as well, and transformed itself into a so-called 'architects community'. Although loyalty between the two principals and staff seemed consistent throughout, the new less hierarchical organization also brought new tensions, in relation to authorship issues, for instance, but particularly so in the case of future office partners. In the production of the office we see a shift away from the clearly defined schemes of the 1950s and 60s with configurations of a continuous spatial development articulated according to scalar hierarchies and interdependencies between the large and the small, the house and the city. The formal language based on notions from the De Stijl movement (continuous space, ascending dimensions) and the 'concrete' realist architecture of Dutch functionalism made way for designs that resulted from the planning of processes. This becomes most notable in the design for the computer center for Siemens in Munich – an incredibly large assignment that needed to accommodate a fantastic degree of flexibility. Yet, we see it also in large-scale housing and planning schemes of the period, such as the ones for the Delft Tanthof and Hamburg Mümmelmansberg.


Hamburg Mümmelmansberg (zoning principle, detail drawing), 1969

In these cases, participation processes with vocal action groups, environmentalists, concerned citizens, in combination with the demand to anticipate ever-faster changes in terms of planning and politics under the impact of a highly critical media resulted in a very different sort of design output, which is still hard to assess today. A clear articulation in terms of spatial configurations made way for the production of a new kind of landscape approach to

accommodate maximum mobility between clusters of relatively undefined, yet shifting activities and program without apparent hierarchy. While these projects were accompanied by experiments in video and model-building, there are hardly any proper presentation drawings in the archive.

In 1975 Jaap Bakema suffered from a heart attack while traveling, which he miraculously survived. He lost much of his renowned energy and the last years of his life until his death in 1981 must have been quite tough according to the accounts of contemporaries. Still, he kept designing, giving lectures and interviews, teaching, and traveling. Sketches became even more energetic in the sense of 'wild gestures' – for instance, in the design of the vacation village of Verneuil, one of the many resorts the office built for the Sporthuis Centrum company. The bright patterns and clusters made with felt-tip pens suggest a registering of emotions, planning for unplanned exchanges – almost in the vein of Cobra-artist Karel Appel, whose work Bakema admired so much.
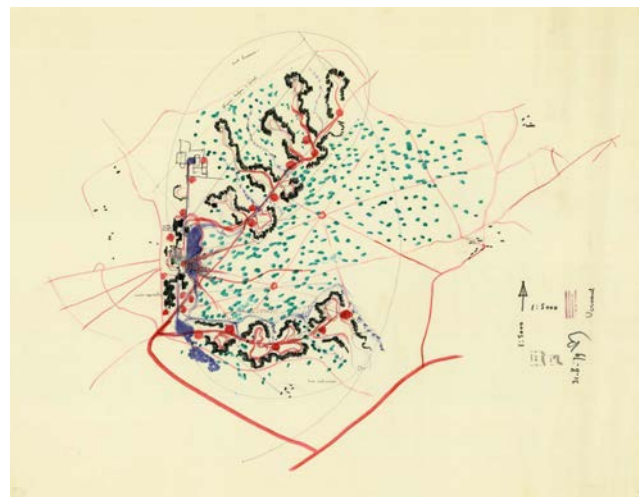
Verneuil, landscape of clusters (felt-tip pen sketch), 1979

A landscape of relational reciprocities

So can we state that the architectural project for an open society falters at the moment of maximum participation and democracy in the 1970s? Or is the submersion in process the inevitable result of the kind of integration Bakema sought – what he termed 'architecturbanism'? Why do we find it so hard to try and grasp the exact qualities of these relational schemes of endless landscapes without apparent

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hierarchies, to accept these as the outcome of the new democratic processes?

We might take the vacation villages of Sporthuis Centrum again as a key to read the ambitions of Bakema to build for the greater number and the emancipation of the masses and the individual citizen. The concatenated clusters of bungalows were built for the comfort of the new middle classes and as such, progressive left-wing critics would criticize them for being too commercial, an excess of the consumer culture disrupting the natural environment. At the same time, these resorts were planned in such a way as to try and create a new balance between the landscape and the new social realities. The houses are terribly modest, built in bare concrete blocks and natural wood. The concrete blocks reach to the height of man as to enable small-scale construction by bricklayers rather than by a large-scale system building with cranes; above it is all timber construction. Existing trees could be spared and a maximum integration of the landscape and the new settlements was realized. The bare architecture fits with the idea of a primitive hut, of course. This is allowable or even appropriate for a period of holidays, repose, and recuperation. But above all, it is a kind of laconic architecture that generously accommodates the ordinary and the everyday, and that invites – perhaps even demands – the appropriation by the user.

Sporthuis Centrum, vacation houses
Lommerbergen (exterior view), 1966

At the same time the architectural language is a return to Bakema's early projects of the late 1940s before he entered the Van den Broek en Bakema office.

These were various temporary facility buildings, in which Bakema demonstrated the elements for the doorstep philosophy, which was to become so popular with his Team 10 friends. Here, we also see how the doorstep idea,

is a continuation of the interpenetration of the inside and the outside as proclaimed by Rietveld in his canonical De Stijl pieces.

It shows how the notions of interrelation and reciprocity are at the heart of Bakema's concern for architecture, a project open to use and future use, quite like his favourite 'growing houses' project for 't Hool in Eindhoven. The inevitable conclusion must be that the project for the open society can therefore never be finished. Bakema would quote Bergson here: "d'abord je constate que je passe d'un état – d'un état".[9] To Bakema, architecture and urban planning were perfect vehicles to create a new landscape that could accommodate the involved processes of an ever becoming, from the small to the large and extra large, and then back again.

1.
Brinkman, Brinkman, Van der Vlugt, Van den Broek, Bakema, Bouwen voor een open samenleving, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, 1962.

2.
J.B. Bakema, Van stoel tot stad. Een verhaal over mensen en ruimte, Uitgeversmaatschappij W. de Haan, Zeist / Standaard Boekhandel, Antwerpen, 1964, p. 54; Dutch original: 'Hoe zal de bouwkunst zijn van een open samenleving? Toch minstens zo dat de vormen die we bouwen verduidelijken dat ieder recht heeft op een hem passende levensverklaring?'

3.
Although Bakema is not quite transparent in his theoretical underpinnings, with regard to the notion of open society it is interesting to note that he never refers to Karl Popper, but on occasion he does refer to Henri Bergson, from whom Popper borrowed the term.

4.
Oscar Newman (ed.), CIAM '59 in Otterlo, Karl Krämer Verlag, Stuttgart, 1961, p. 141.

5.
Dirk van den Heuvel, 'Jaap Bakema et l'exemple de Leeuwarden: Un paysage artificiel dans l'infinité de l'espace', in: Bruno Fayolle Lussac, Rémi Papillault, Le Team X et le logement collectif à grande échelle en Europe, MSHA, Pessac, 2008, pp. 119–144.

6.
Forum, nr. 3, 1965, special issue 'Stad op Pampus'.

7.
A young Carel Weeber was his co-architect, Piet Blom declined to participate, while others included Wim Crouwel, Peter Struycken, André Volten among others.

8.
Jaap Bakema, notes on Osaka, sheet nr. 1, Bakema collection at Het Nieuwe Instituut, Rotterdam.

9.
Bakema, 1964, p. 28.

8: SKETCHES

Sketches

Het Nieuwe Instituut holds the collections of the office Van den Broek en Bakema, the CIAM and Team 10 archive that was kept by Jaap Bakema, and the Jaap Bakema collection with private documents, including correspondence, sketches and photographs. The selected sketches show Bakema's characteristic hand with a rough and direct style that comes with a fat 6B pencil, later also the colors of the felt tip pens. These sketches are typically accompanied by explanations mostly aphoristic ones, sometimes quite extensive and detailed.
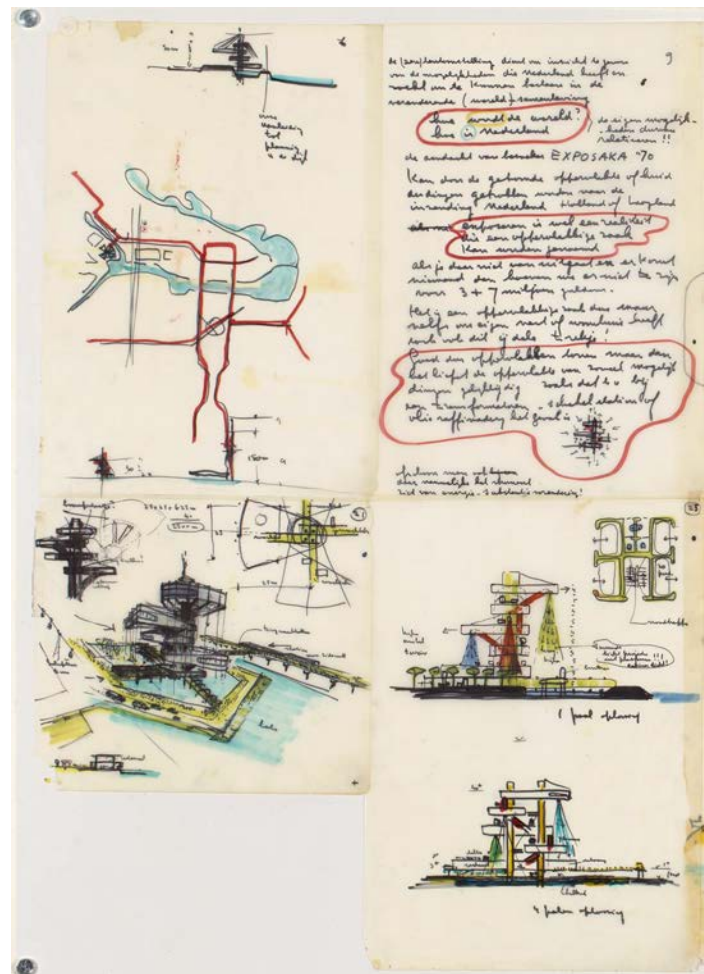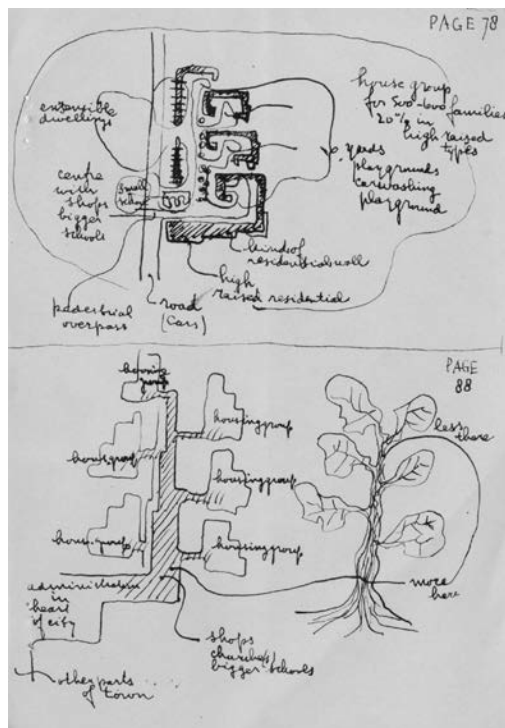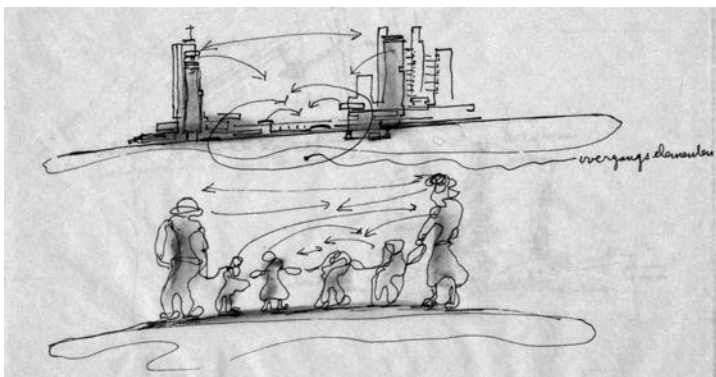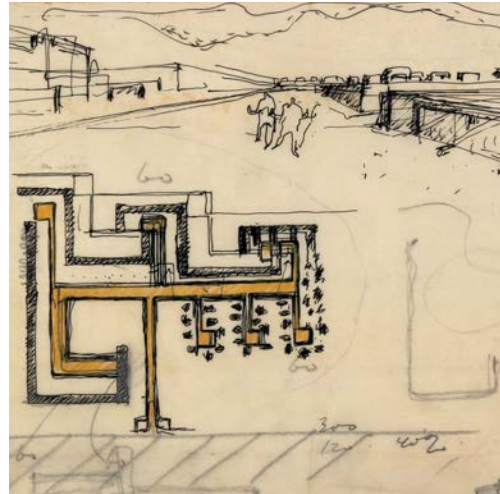
9: SKETCHES
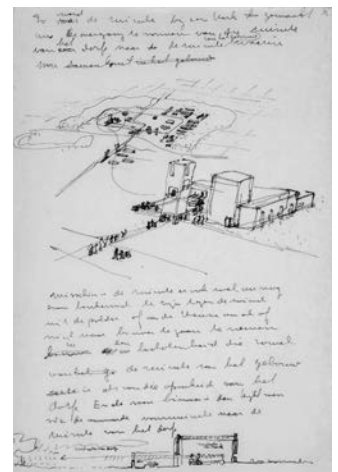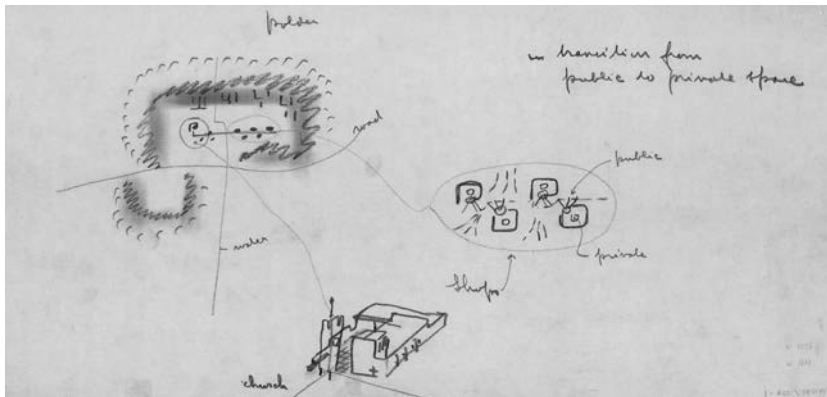
Shown drawings, clockwise (from bottom left):

1.
Tree diagram from the famous 'Van Stoel tot Stad' lecture and publication, that explains the concept of visual groups clustered into an urban pattern.

2.
Diagram of 'Friendship model', analogies of interrelations between people and the built environment.

3.
Compilation of sketches for the housing district 't Hool in Eindhoven, urban structure, visual group and perspective.

4.
Two sketches of the Nagele church, explaining the landscape concept of the newpolder village and the creation of a communal space.

5.
Compilation of sketches for the Dutch pavilion for the world expo of Osaka 1970, diagrams for a 'communication machine'.

10: CONSTRUCTING NEW CONTINUITIES

Constructing New Continuities in a Post-War World
Luca Molinari

Conventionally, the positions between the generations of modern architects within CIAM are depicted as oppositional. Ernesto Rogers was famously attacked by the younger architects of Team 10 at the last CIAM conference in Otterlo in 1959, for his design of the Torre Velasca in Milan. Yet, on closer inspection, Luca Molinari concludes that both Bakema and Rogers were involved in a project of constructing continuities between the pre-war and post-war avant-gardes as well as between the historic city center and the modernist project through the concept of authenticity.

BBPR (Gian Luigi Banfi, Lodovico
Barbiano di Belgiojoso, Enrico Peressutti
and Ernesto Rogers)
Torre Velasca, Milan 1957–1960

After the end of the Second World War, facing the terrible destruction of a whole continent, modernist architects had to confront a fundamental choice: to take the lessons of the avant-garde as something to be used without compromise, or to find an alternative way to build a different dialogue between context and modernity.

In countries like Italy and Holland, some of the most representative of the modern movement worked to find continuity between the glorious avant-garde experiences of the thirties and a redefinition of the relationship with the social and the traditional environment.

If we look today to the post-war research and theoretical works of two very different actors like Jaap Bakema and Ernesto Nathan Rogers, we find a significant point of convergence: an obsessive idea of continuity between the lessons of the modernist avant-garde – seen as a new tradition for national architecture in the fifties – and an idea of architecture not as a style but as an open process to develop and to consider critically.

Both authors tried to define a vision of modern architecture as a tool that was able to serve post-war democracy after six years of chaos and destruction. Rogers and Bakema believed in a form of modern architecture that could represent the problematic humanity and fragility of contemporary society, giving form to a third way between Marxism and capitalism. In the late forties, Rogers developed the idea of the 'house of man' (*la casa dell'uomo*) which considered the necessity for a neo-humanism in modern architecture; meanwhile Bakema appropriated the term 'open society' to represent the new social panorama which could be supported by the propagators of the modernist avant-garde.

An attempt to define the most relevant relations and exchange with Italy brings us immediately to the CIAM network and to the figure of Ernesto Nathan Rogers. We know that Bakema attended all the CIAM congresses from 1947 in Bridgwater, and his essay on the relationship between people and things was published in the Italian edition of the book *The Heart of the City* in 1954.[1]

In his essay, which was part of his contribution to the eighth CIAM congress in Hoddesdon, Bakema introduced a cultural provocation about the idea of the 'core' and sociability. Describing Gunnar Asplund's cemetery in Stockholm and a Finnish sauna, the Dutch designer reflected on the complexity of the idea of the 'core' and on its social fluidity against the modernist vision of the mechanization of everyday life.

"There are moments in life when the separation between man and things disappears; in this moment we discover the miracle of the relationship between man and the things. This is the real moment of the heart: the moment when we realize the richness of life which is the product of an action through full collaboration."[2]

Reflecting on the condition of the 'heart' in the contemporary town Bakema confronted it with the medieval Dutch city where you could live in 'harmony' with your work

and the whole community. But according to him this condition "has been destroyed by the modern technique"[3] and by capitalism where things and the possession of objects became more important than the relationship between man and what he owned.

In the same book, the essay by Rogers follows Bakema's contribution reflecting on the heart of the city and the necessity for a humanistic vision of the contemporary city. Both the essays were supported by the idea that modern architecture should be a real tool of social improvement in post-war society and as a positive instrument for democracy. Both the texts moved from a critical vision of modern architecture seen as a movement that should find inside its own history and qualities the instrument for a deep transformation.

In the same year, in issue number 202 of *Casabella-continuità* we find the first significant presence of Bakema in Italy. The core of the magazine is characterized by a long review of the book *The Heart of the City* by the Italian philosopher Enzo Paci, one of the main representatives of the emerging field of phenomenology in the 1950s.[4]

Paci gives a long positive commentary to the Dutch designer's essay considering his text the right way to read the city as a full 'organic and relational process'. And after a few lines of the text Paci reflects on Rogers' contribution to the idea of functionalism seen through a dialectic perspective and an anti-dogmatic methodology, which refuses any form of formalism: "The functionalism method screened through a concrete and realistic vision of the historical process could help a synthesis between old and new. The concept of functionality could be placed in a non-mechanical process."[5] Paci attempts to define an open urban methodology which allows for the design of the heart of the city which relates the specific qualities of the place and not defined by a rigid mechanic grid.

In the same issue of *Casabella-continuità*, a few pages later, Van den Broek en Bakema's Lijnbaan project in Rotterdam is featured. The article, written by the young Italian critic Gentili Tedeschi, considers the project as one of the most interesting modern urban solutions in the heart of the city. But the most significant element here is the thematic relationship with another key argument in the magazine, which is the idea of the strong continuity between pre- and post-war modern architecture culture. Gentili Tedeschi writes: "the work is of great importance because it explains very well the permanent element in the contemporary design process. In other words what interested us is the historical authenticity of the project."[6]

The author tries to define a set of figures from Dutch modern architecture who explored the notion of 'monotony', first by the Amsterdam School, then by De Stijl, and then by the Rotterdam School in the late thirties. The work of Van den Broek and Bakema is then analyzed in this spectrum of Dutch avant-gardes, and their urban vision is considered an elegant and sober interpretation of the concept of monotony, which became the focus for a challenging urban design process.

Van den Broek en Bakema,
Lijnbaan shopping centre,
Rotterdam, 1949–1953

Since the first issue of *Casabella*, edited by Rogers in the late spring 1953 when he subtitled it 'continuita' (continuity), we can recognize a conscious design of the magazine as an ideological tool able to critically define the position of modern architecture in the post-war western panorama through a problematic balance between traditions, history, and modernity. This cultural position, which we could consider as a form of 'ideology of continuity', was embedded in the conceptual design of the magazine and the criteria of selection for every single item that was published.[7]

In the same issue again, Ernesto Rogers clearly defines his personal vision of the word 'tradition' by writing an editorial titled 'Responsibility of the tradition' where, on the one hand, he tries to contrast what he defines as 'modern formalism' with other forms of stylistic approach in architecture. And on the other hand he affirms the necessity of a dynamic and open vision of tradition seen as a product of "continuity in the permanent exchange of relationships,

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and without any form of crystallization." Tradition is seen as the result of two forces: a vertical one related to the resistant and permanent character of the place, and a horizontal one due to the fluid and dynamic relationship between people.

Contemporaneously Rogers considered the magazine he edited as a powerful, ideological tool within the modernist environment and CIAM through the definition of a tradition of the modern movement within national contexts connecting avant-garde experiences with post-war production. The main goal of Rogers was to focus on the open and non-stylistic character of modernist architecture culture, focusing on a line of continuity with the singular cultural contexts and with everyday life.

Considering the research on Rogers' 'continuity' theme we could see how the position of the Van den Broek en Bakema office can be interpreted similarly as a cultural attitude, with their works in strong continuity with the experiences of the Dutch avant-garde.

When Van den Broek en Bakema were invited to show their work in Italy in the early sixties, in the exhibition 'Open Society', their material showed a clear visual continuity between the production of the office opened in the 1920s by Brinkman, later Brinkman and Van der Vlugt, and followed by Brinkman and Van den Broek, and finally by the firm of Van den Broek and Bakema, suggesting a formal and cultural relationship between the various experiences.

At the same time, the title of the exhibition and most of the cultural reflections carried out in the early fifties by Bakema reflects another significant Italian experience with the 'Comunità' (Community) of Adriano Olivetti, showing an urgency for an alternative social vision in western modern architecture.[8]

But, one of the most significant Italian relations was probably the meeting with Giancarlo De Carlo and the CIAM-Team 10 experience.[9] The modernist network brought Bakema to meet De Carlo, who, at the time, was a young influential protagonist of Italian modernist culture, member of the board of Casabella-continuità, and a representative of the new generation in the post-war CIAM. The first time De Carlo met Bakema was at the CIAM meeting in La Sarraz in 1955 where Team 10 would take progressively more ground and presence. Since that moment, and at all of the subsequent Team 10 meetings, the relationship between De Carlo and the Dutch architect had been continuous.

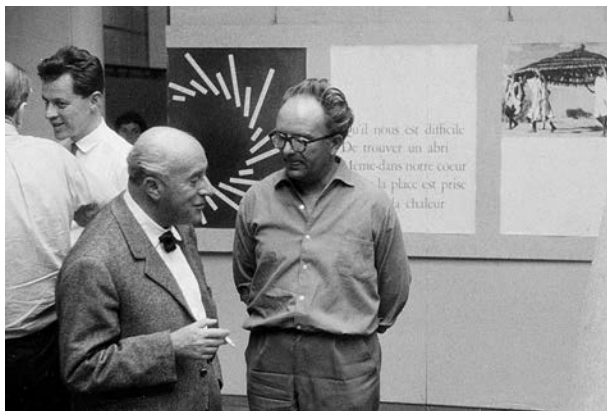Giancarlo De Carlo,
Collegio del Colle, Urbino,
1962–1966

The urban methodology of Bakema – focusing on the idea of open society and on the continuous, fluid exchange between people, things, and functions – finds an echo in the work of De Carlo as we can clearly see in the design process applied to the colleges for the new university campus of Urbino, which he designed in the sixties and seventies. At the Team 10 meeting in Berlin in 1965, De Carlo presented his project for the 'Collegio del Colle' student dormitories in Urbino where the axonometric schemes interpret the idea of connective spaces as new communitarian places for the students as well as fundamental elements of visual connection between the new modern architecture and the pre-existing context.[10] In this project De Carlo tried to merge the cultural experience of the 'continuità' with the Team 10 discussion on urban mega-structures.

In the seventies the influence of Team 10 and, most of all, of Dutch structuralism became more evident. The urban plan

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for Rimini presented by De Carlo in Berlin in 1973 shows clearly the attempt of the Italian designer to introduce a set of functional elements that could be overlapped to demolish the rigid zoning system of the former master plan of the city. De Carlo introduced a new conceptual grid, which could introduce greenery and housing complexes close to the historical center, as well as reform the traffic system separating the pedestrian flows from vehicular traffic. The experiences of Dutch structuralism as we can see in the Terneuzen Town Hall by Van den Broek and Bakema or in the Centraal Beheer in Apeldoorn by Herman Hertzberger, which was presented at the Team 10 meeting in Rotterdam in 1974, and the architectural work of De Carlo in the late seventies, for example in the later work for the College and the Faculty of Law in Urbino, or the Faculty of Engineering in Pavia shows an interesting expression of mutual exchanges and influences.

Ultimately, the idea of an 'open society' applied to Italian urbanism was a failure because of a political and cultural lack within local administrations unable to consider De Carlo's approach as a real alternative to the more conventional tools of urban planning. Generally speaking, the Italian welfare system failed to produce architectural models that could be widely applied and the experience of De Carlo looked too idealistic and open to be implemented, as it happened with most of the progressive modern architecture in Italy.

attempt to define a critical, but necessary, line of continuity between the avant-garde of the 1920s and 30s and the post-war national experiences of reconstruction, trying to define an architectural identity based on an open methodology instead of a stylistic approach. In an age based on fast consumption of everyday experiences, what could be the value of a term like 'continuity' today?

After decades of crises of modernity, usually framed as a problem of growth, what we can salvage from these stories above is a humanistic and open vision of architecture devoted to a fragile idea of democracy and the intuition that the tradition of the modern movement can still be considered as a field of critical reflection for our future endeavours.

Ernesto Rogers and Jaap Bakema
at the Otterlo CIAM congress,
1959

Bakema, Rogers, and De Carlo were influential thinkers and communicators, able to introduce a different language to explain the role of modern architecture in European society. But what we can still consider interesting today is the

1.
J.B.Bakema, *Rapporti tra uomini e cose*, in, (ed.) E.N.Rogers, J.L.Sert, J.Tyrwhitt, '*Il cuore della città: per una vita più umana della comunità*', Ulrico Hoepli ed., Milan, 1954, pp. 67–69

2.
Ibid., p. 67

3.
Ibid., p. 68

4.
Enzo Paci, *Il cuore della città*, in, *Casabella-continuità*, n. 202, August–September 1954, vii-x

5.
Ibid., p.ix

6.
Eugenio Gentili, *Storicità di un'architettura*, in, Op.Cit., *Casabella-continuità*, xi

7.
See: Luca Molinari, *Continuità: a response to identity crises. Ernesto Nathan Rogers and Italian architecture culture after 1945*, TU Delft, 2008, pp. 169–230

8.
See: (ed.) Carlo Olmo, *Costruire la città dell'uomo. Adriano Olivetti e l'urbanistica*, Ed. di Comunità, Torino, 2001

9.
See: (ed.) Max Risselada, Dirk van den Heuvel, *Team 10. 1953–1981. In search of a Utopia of the present*, NAi, Rotterdam, 2005

10.
Luca Molinari, *The spirits of architecture. Team 10 and the case of Urbino*, in, Ibidem, pp. 299–306

14: FROM THE CHAIR TO THE CITY

**From the Chair to the City:
Jaap Bakema and Politics of Scale**
Łukasz Stanek

Against the background of the Cold War architects from both sides of the Iron Curtain developed apparently similar notions to negotiate the possible interrelations between the state, architecture, and the individual citizen. The notions of scale and openness are prominent among them. Łukasz Stanek discusses the work of Bakema in relation to the work of Team 10 architects from eastern Europe, in particular the Polish architects Oskar and Zofia Hansen.

"To identify yourself with total space […] asks for transitional scales in space conception from the largest scale (as big roads introduce) to the smallest scale of table and bed", argued Jaap Bakema in 1961.[1] For Bakema, it is architecture and planning, united in a new practice of 'architecturbanism', that are charged with the task of facilitating such identification of an individual with the 'largest scale'. The latter was described by Bakema abstractly as 'the scale of universal existence'[2], and his designs show that it could mean a city, a landscape, a society – or all of these. In what follows, I will read Bakema's architecture and planning particularly in regard to one of these 'largest scales': that of the state as the operative framework of post-war social order, economic management, and political subjectivity; and Bakema's project as that of re-scaling society within the welfare state system. Scales, in this context, need to be understood not as mere tools of architectural representation, but rather as historically specific frameworks for the management of life, material and discursive arenas and moments where socio-spatial power relations are exercised and contested, and compromises are negotiated and regulated.[3]

This understanding of scale is already evident in Bakema's early post-war projects, including the Pendrecht unit (1949–1951), which were informed by the discussions within the Dutch Opbouw group in the context of reconstruction, housing shortage, and the expectation of a more just, democratic, and egalitarian society. Inspired by sociologists, Dutch architects and planners suggested that the city is to be re-scaled and divided into a hierarchy of discrete, self-contained, bounded settlements which would serve as frameworks of distribution of welfare and collective subjectivity. The members of the Opbouw group, including Bakema, responded to the reconstruction plans for Rotterdam which, in line with American neighborhood planning, proposed a city as a nested structure of smaller communities each with 2,000 to 4,000 inhabitants, which

were functional parts of the larger neighborhood area, housing around 20,000 inhabitants.[4] The Opbouw group aimed at translating this vision of a segmented city into specific housing typologies, divided according to the size of the families and their social trajectories. Hence, the units in Pendrecht were to consist of five different building volumes (from one to four stories), each composed for, respectively, senior citizens and large, medium, and small families.[5]
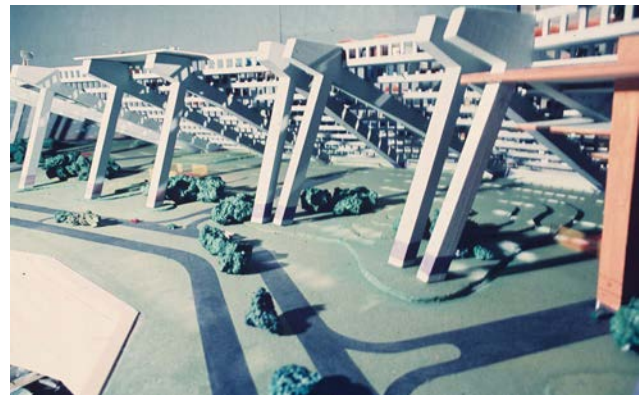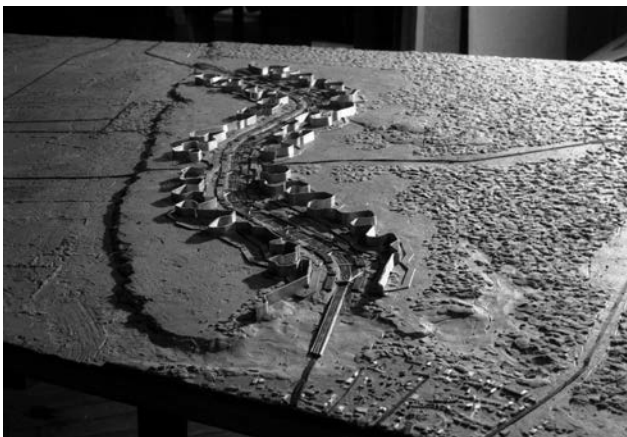

Oskar and Zofia Hansen,
Linear Continous System,
the Western Belt, 1976

This basic understanding of a structured neighborhood concept as the post-war planning standard was shared both by opponents of modern architecture and by its supporters, from the French traditionalist planner Gaston Bardet to José Luis Sert, the president of CIAM.[6] In his paper on 'Human Scale in City Planning' (1944) Sert devised a hierarchy of social and spatial scales, ranging from the neighborhood unit, the township, the city proper, the metropolitan area, and the economic region. With the concept of the community complementing the functionalist triad of 'sun, air, greenery', such conceived urbanism aimed at the 'design and support of human contacts' and 'raising the cultural level' of the population.[7] This was complemented by Sert's call for new monuments, which, besides responding to specific needs such as culture or administration, were to create a bond within the community, linking the past with the present, the individual with the collective. In his 'Nine Points on Monumentality' (1943), written together with Fernand Léger and Sigfried Giedion, Sert argued in favor of monumental buildings which would make use of modern materials and cutting-edge technologies, including mobile elements and projections, and integrate them with natural elements, trees, plants and water within man-made landscapes.[8]

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This vision of the monumental scale that sponsors an affective bond in the community was shared by Bakema. However, the monuments he envisaged were not self-standing volumes but rather parts of 'visual groups'. Distinguishing his position from the discussion on the neighborhood unit, with the walking distance as the primary criterion of the location of schools, shops, and community centers, Bakema wrote that distances are important, but visual connections are fundamental. He wrote that within a visual group houses are clustered "in such a way that by the human eye you can register interrelationship between various social ways of living."[9] In his proposal for Alkmaar and the region of Kennemerland (1957–59) he envisaged a spatial and social continuum, visually connecting low-rise dwellings with private gardens linked to medium-rise flats with communal gardens, and high-rise apartments with a view to the landscape. Similarly, the Alexanderpolder schemes (1953–56, with Opbouw) reversed the typical silhouette of the Dutch polder landscape of higher buildings at the center and lower ones on the margins. In Bakema's scheme buildings decline in height towards the center, from slabs or towers marking the edge of the unit, through to medium-rise housing descending from four to three stories, eventually to low-rise housing. Together with social facilities, the low-rise buildings form a strip with pedestrian paths and cycle routes that link the units.[10]

Oskar and Zofia Hansen,
Linear Continous System,
the Mazovia Belt, 1968

The attention to visual connections rather than to the articulation of particular units within one spatial hierarchy was shared by Team 10 architects on both sides of the Iron Curtain. This included Yugoslav fellow travelers, who invited Bakema to lecture and to propose designs for the New

Zagreb city center (1964) and for Skopje (1964); as well as Team 10 members from Hungary and Poland, Charles Polónyi and Oskar Hansen.[11] It was the project of the Linear Continuous System (LCS), drawn by Oskar and Zofia Hansen and their team during the 1960s and early 1970s, that displayed most intersections with Bakema's work, including the careful attention to a scalar division of urbanization processes, and the visual and affective integration of scales in the daily routines of inhabitants. For Hansen, the LCS "should make legible to everybody his dependence on the collective and the dependence of the collective on the single person."[12] This aim of coordinating individual creativity was captured by Hansen's description of architecture as 'background' which puts to the fore individual actors but also joins them into a collective Gestalt.[13]
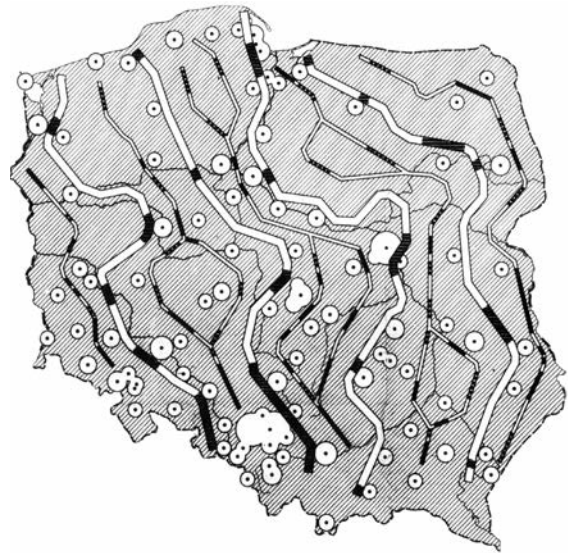
Oskar and Zofia Hansen, the LCS
zones projected onto the national
territory of Poland, 1972

The LCS, which Oskar and Zofia Hansen worked on in the 1960s and 1970s, was formulated in line with Hansen's theory of Open Form: an envisaged paradigm shift in the design of the built environment at every scale, which would "help us to define ourselves and find ourselves in the space and time in which we live."[14] The LCS suggested a radically new pattern for the urbanization of Poland: four large settlement strips stretching throughout the country, in this way linking together the territories within the national boundaries as they had been redrawn after the Second World War. The principal aim for Hansen was a renewed

everyday for the inhabitant, who was granted the 'right' to an integrated urban experience. For example, in one specific proposal of the LCS, the inhabitants would cross, on their way to work, all functional strips which constituted the linear pattern. In anther location of the LCS, designed for a post-industrial region in Silesia, the everyday experience of the inhabitants was to be defined by all overlapping scales of the project, starting with individual houses, constructed by self-organized cooperatives of inhabitants, and ending with a view of the broad landscape from the terraced structures conveying infrastructure provided by the state.[15]

Oskar and Zofia Hansen,
Linear Continous System,
the Western Belt, 1976

The LCS shared a number of ideas with Bakema's work, most clearly with the Pampusplan project – the linear extension of Amsterdam (1964). Both schemes were conceived as ways of managing complete urbanization by combining what was best about rural life (contact with nature) with urban opportunities (work, facilities, culture); and they also shared the basic layout, with traffic in the center, facilities, and then dwelling in large structures creating a sharp edge towards the landscape. Because of these similarities, when the journal *Le Carré Bleu* published the LCS (1969)[16], Bakema sent to the editors a presentation of the Pampusplan as a contribution to the discussion on linear urbanization. In his letter to the editors accompanying the submission, Bakema repeated Hansen's argument that an "open city (an architectural and urbanistic expression of an open society) will be most often based on the idea of a linear city (just as the concentric city was very often the expression of a closed and defensive society)."[17]

This abstract discourse on openness created a common denominator that allowed maintaining a carefully staged consensus within the Team 10 group across the Iron Curtain, as exemplified by the *Team 10 Primer* (1962).[18] However, this discourse was double coded, and when read within specific cultural and political boundaries, it conveyed distinctions alluding to the Cold War system of differences. Hence, Bakema's statement could be read in the West as a reference to Karl Popper's anti-Marxist discourse on the 'open society'. At the same time, Hansen's discourse of Open Form was welcomed by the new technocratic elites of the Polish Communist Party as hinting at the 'opening' of Marxism in Eastern Europe after and against the Stalinist 'closure'. These references would also point to the differences in the political economies of the LCS and the Pampusplan. For example Hansen expected his project to be based on a large-scale expropriation of land and the centralization of a state-led building industry; while Bakema was careful to stress the feasibility of the Pampusplan within the Dutch socio-economic consensus, arguing that half of this scheme could be built already on land belonging to the city of Amsterdam, and the rest would be created by shifting sand from the IJ-lake.[19]

In spite of these differences, the projects of Hansen and Bakema shared the promise of individual expression across multiple socio-spatial scales facilitated by a self-limiting state – the very promise that could not be kept. Hansen's LCS, which was launched as a contribution to the reform of Polish socialism, was increasingly used by him since the mid-1970s as a polemical device to debunk the ossified housing corporations, inflexible building industry, and centralized decision making processes in the face of the political and economic crisis of the regime which led to its collapse in 1989.[20] Bakema's ambition to reform the welfare state and to confine the administration to

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'co-ordination and information' was at odds with what he called, following the Smithsons, the 'labour union controlled society' and the 'bureaucratic dictatorship' which he saw manifested in the monotony of the built environment in the Western European welfare state.[21]

In retrospect, Bakema's opposition to the rigid definition of the community by means of geographic isolation, which he shared with other Team 10 members, appears less as an attempt at a reform of the welfare state, and more as a hunch of a new type of urbanization and societal management that was to appear in Western Europe since the 1970s. In the *Team 10 Primer* this hunch was conveyed by the concept of the 'doorstep' as a different type of understanding of scale, developed by Aldo van Eyck among others. For Van Eyck, the doorstep is an in-between sphere, in which polarities are reconciled: the individual and the collective, the outside and the inside, unity and diversity, the part and the whole, the large and the small, the many and the few as well as the opposition between architecture and urbanism. The failure of modern city planning, according to Van Eyck, stems from its inability to deal with these 'twin phenomena' as he called them: "Failure to govern multiplicity creatively, to humanize number by means of articulation and configuration [...] has led to the curse of most new towns".[22] The role of both architecture and urbanism is to lay out a configuration of clearly delineated intermediary places; in other words, scales are not defined any more as bounded entities but rather as a set of in-between realms.

This call for transition spaces announced a different type of discourse about the city, marked by a proliferation of debates about 'intermediary spaces', 'semi-public', 'semi-private', 'spaces of transition', 'spaces of negotiation', and 'urban voids' – a vocabulary which has governed the discourse about urban spaces ever since.[23] If for Bakema the home was "directed toward family towards the interior, and towards society from exterior"[24], his stress on the spaces of transition comes with a premonition of a new biopolitical regime where this clear cut division between the interior and the exterior becomes challenged and where architecture and urbanism are charged with the task, in the words of Aldo van Eyck, to create an "interior both outside and inside."[25] From that point onwards, the domestic interior and the city were to become increasingly intertwined into one urban field of production and reproduction: a set of in-between spaces whose articulation is dominated by concerns of flexibility, resilience, and security.

1.
J. B. Bakema, 'Visual Group-Idea. Poetry of Transition', in: M. Risselada, D. van den Heuvel (eds.), *Team 10 (1953–1981). In Search of a Utopia of the Present* (Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2005), p. 92.

2.
Ibid.

3.
N. Smith, 'Remaking Scale: Competition and Cooperation in Pre-national and Post-national Europe', in: *State / Space: A Reader* eds. N. Brenner, B. Jessop, M. Jones, G. Macleod (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), p. 228; E. Swyngedouw 'Neither Global nor Local: "Glocalization" and the Politics of Scale', in *Spaces of Globalization: Reasserting the Power of the Local*, ed. K. R. Cox (New York: The Guilford Press, 1997), p. 140.

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Frank Wassenberg, 'The Netherlands: Adaptation of the Carefully Planned Structure', *Built Environment*, no. 1 (32), 2006, pp. 12–31.

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J. L. Sert, 'The Human Scale in City Planning', in: *New Architecture and City Planning*, ed. P. Zucker (New York: Philosophical Library, 1944), pp. 392–412.

8.
S. Gideon, F. Léger, J. L. Sert, 'Nine Points on Monumentality', in: *Architecture Culture 1943–1968,* ed. J. Ockman (New York: Rizzoli, 1993), pp. 29–30.

9.
J. B. Bakema, 'Architecturbanism – Total Urbanisation – Labour Union Controlled Society', in: J. B. Bakema, *Thoughts about Architecture* (London: Academy Editions, 1981), p. 139.

10.
Team 10, eds. Risselada, Van den Heuvel, pp. 54–55; pp. 66–67.

11.
Ł. Stanek ed., *Team 10 East. Revisionist Architecture in Real Existing Modernism* (Warsaw: Museum of Modern Art / Chicago: University of Chicago Press distr., 2014).

12.
Oskar Hansen, 'Linearny System Ciągły', *Architektura*, no. 4–5, 1970, p. 135. See also: Oskar Hansen, *Ku formie otwartej* ed. Jola Gola (Warsaw: Fundacja Galerii Foksal, 2005).

13.
Oskar Hansen, 'Studium humanizacji miasta Lubin', typescript, Oskar Hansen archive, ASP Warsaw, p. 3; Hansen, 'Forma Otwarta', *Polska*, no. 1, 1972, p. 48.

14.
Oskar Hansen, 'Forma Otwarta', *Przeglad Kulturalny*, no. 5, 1959, p. 5, translated as 'Open Form Manifesto', available at www.open-form.blogspot.com, date of access August 26, 2012.

15.
Bakema, 'Architecturbanism', pp. 138–140.

16.
O. Hansen, 'Proposition pour un système d'urbanisme linéaire', *Le Carré Bleu*, no. 2 (1969), n.p.

17.
J. van den Broek, J. Bakema, 'Développement linéaire et croissance urbaine', *Le Carré Bleu*, no. 1 (1970), n.p.

18.
Alison Smithson ed., *Team 10 Primer* (London: Standard Catalogue Co, 1962); Ł. Stanek, D. van den Heuvel, 'Team 10 East and Several Other Useful Fictions', in: *Team 10 East* ed. Ł. Stanek, pp. 11–33.

19.
'Stad op Pampus', special issue of *Forum*, no. 3 (19), 1965.

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Ł. Stanek, 'Oskar and Zofia Hansen: Me, You, Us and the State', in: *Team 10 East* ed. Ł. Stanek, pp. 211–241; Ł. Stanek, *Postmodernism Is Almost All Right. Polish Architecture after Socialist Globalization* (Warsaw: Fundacja Bec-Zmiana, 2012).

21.
Bakema, 'Architecturbanism', pp. 138–140.

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Smithson ed., *Team 10 Primer*, p. 100.

23.
C. Moley, *Les abords du chez-soi, en quête d'espaces intermédiaires* (Paris: Éd. de la Villette), 2006.

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Bakema, *Thoughts*, p. 34.

25.
Smithson ed., *Team 10 Primer*, p. 104.

18: COMMUNICATION MACHINE IN OSAKA

A Communication Machine in Osaka
Jorrit Sipkes

Buildings that are difficult to fit into any one category often get a raw deal in history. An example that springs to mind is the Dutch pavilion for the World Expo in Osaka in 1970, designed by Jaap Bakema and Carel Weeber. At the Expo itself – a celebration of prefabricated, inflatable and mobile architecture supervised by Kenzo Tange – it certainly didn't strike a false note, but the contrast with the then prevailing Dutch architecture climate of democratization and small-scale work was enormous. Attention for the pavilion as an architecture project remained limited and, even in the oeuvre of Bakema, it seemed to play an isolated role.

Van den Broek en Bakema with Carel Weeber,
Dutch Pavilion, Osaka Expo 70,
1968–1970

Bakema himself described the Expo pavilion as a reworking of his unbuilt design for an observation tower in Rotterdam in 1957, later known as the Euromast. One of Bakema's most ambitious schemes, it is regarded as a continuation of the Wolkenbügel project by El Lissitzky and Mart Stam (Bakema's mentor). Bakema linked a form and agenda of his own to that principle by turning it into a system of floating and rotated volumes that collectively represent the relation of man to his environment, or in this case 'City – River – Europoort – Delta Works'.

Restrictions imposed at the Osaka Expo lowered the Euromast principle almost beyond recognition, but what remained unchanged was the strong composition of rotated volumes and the objective: the creation of a 'communication machine' that could help man relate to the various scales of his environment. In his report on the Expo project, Bakema also explicitly suggests how the concept could be applied as an urban intersection "to make many social conditions more widely manageable".


Van den Broek en Bakema,
Euromast Rotterdam, model,
1958

Some thirty years later, OMA in Rotterdam started the design of the Seattle Central Library. Behind what looks like

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a free-form facade lies a rational organization that displays striking similarities to those of Bakema's Expo pavilion: each of the four stacked volumes is rotated ninety degrees from the next to form, with the help of escalators, a series of public spaces. In both projects, both the spatial arrangement and the objective for which it is deployed are remarkably similar: the stepped platforms that rise upwards offer an opportunity to establish particular visual relations between the library and the city, while the system of 'squares' inside generates an abundance of relations between occupants and collection, turning the building into a genuine communication machine.
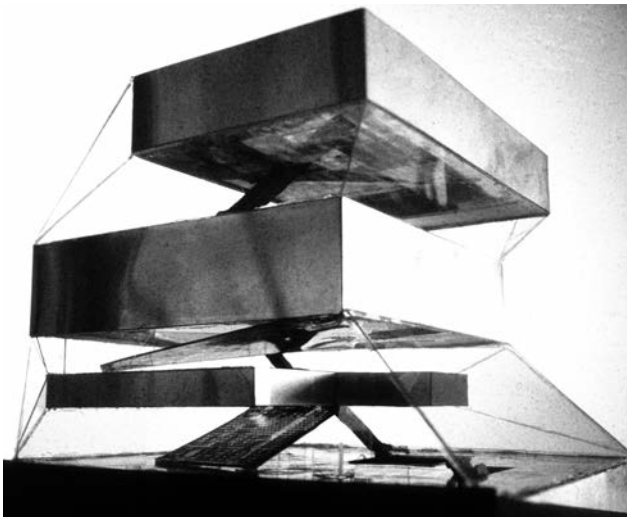
OMA,
Central Library, Seattle,
1999–2004

A comparison every bit as striking with the Osaka scheme can be made with the Museum aan de Stroom in Antwerp, designed by Neutelings Riedijk in 2000. Here the stacking principle as seen in Osaka is intensified to such a degree that it results in a vertical museum that reads as a prominent object in the city. Since the stacked and rotated volumes overlap considerably, they are able to support one another, thus rendering additional structures or columns unnecessary. Just as in the Expo building, the escalator route skirts around the perimeter of the building, however in Antwerp it also makes use of the leftover space between the cabins to form – wholly in the spirit of Bakema – a public street through the building. And just like in Seattle, the building succeeds in establishing a wealth of connections between visitor, program, ground level, and surrounding city, becoming the epitomization of communal use.

Neutelings Riedijk Architecten,
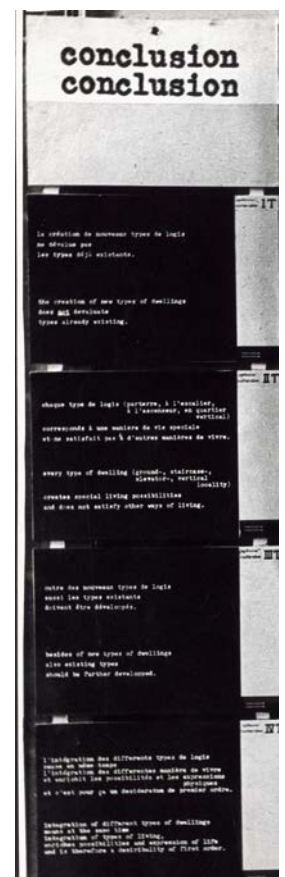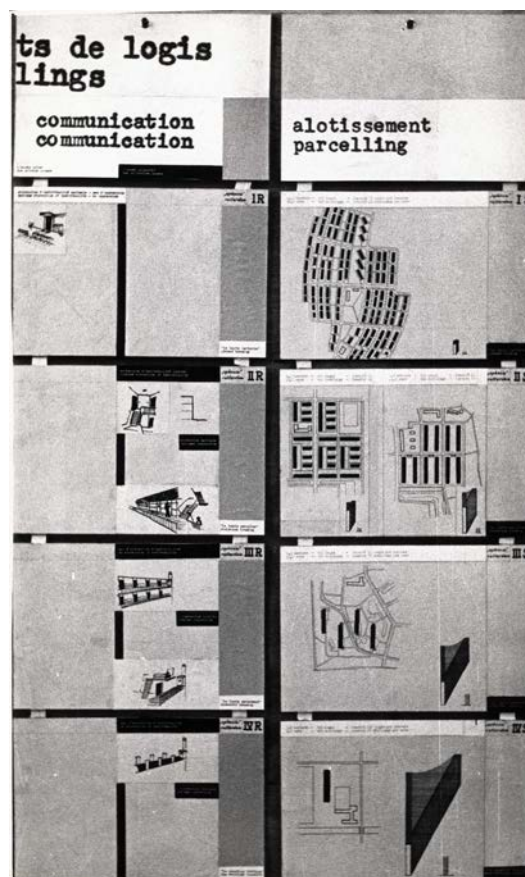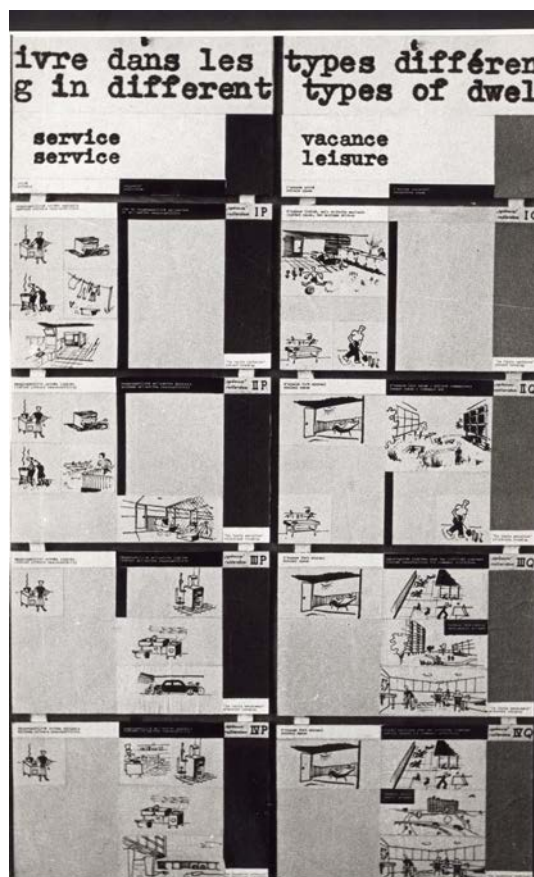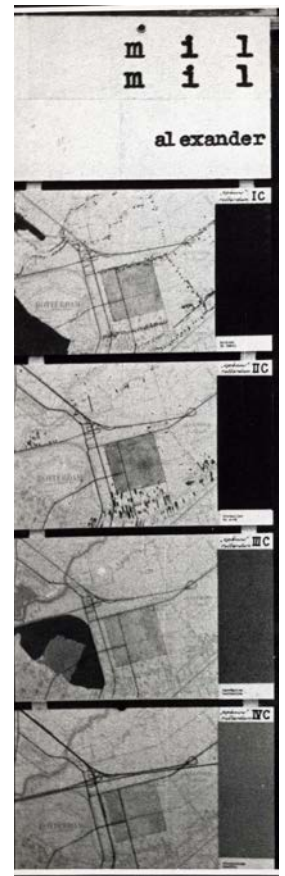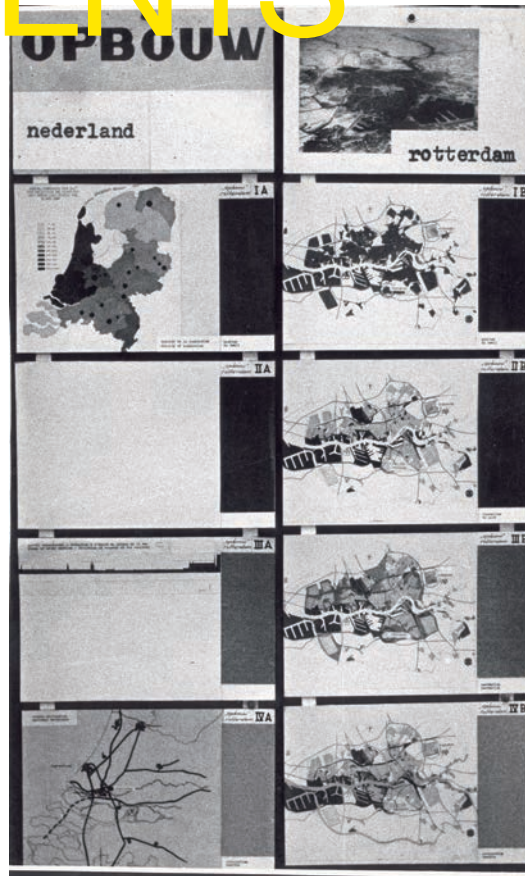MAS Antwerpen,
2000–2010

Carel Weeber in particular has stressed that architecture is – and always has been – based on reproduction and not on the myth of originality. The fact that the work of leading architects is also an expression of their view on architectural history therefore comes as no surprise. Nor is it the conclusion to this story. What these examples clearly illustrate, however, is how Bakema's unique application of radical modern experiments to achieve human relations in the modern city are still totally feasible, especially when public buildings are deployed as interchanges of urban renewal.
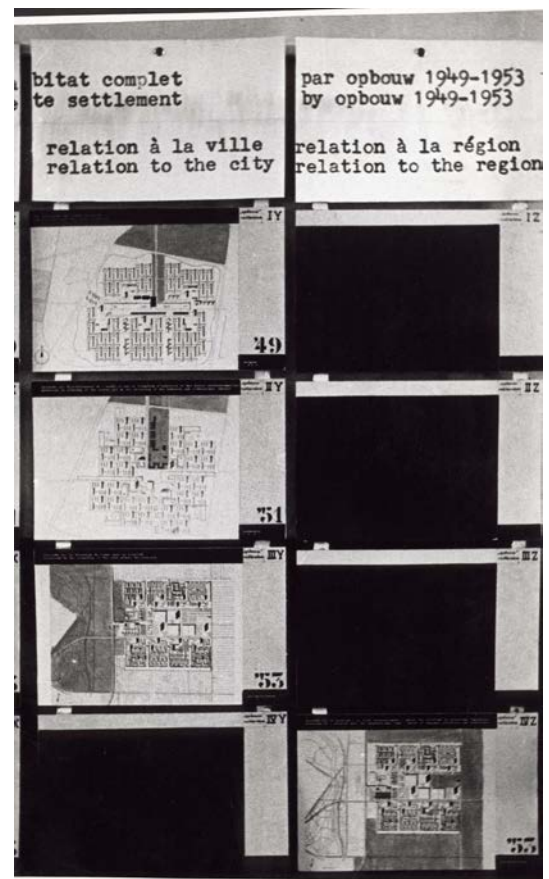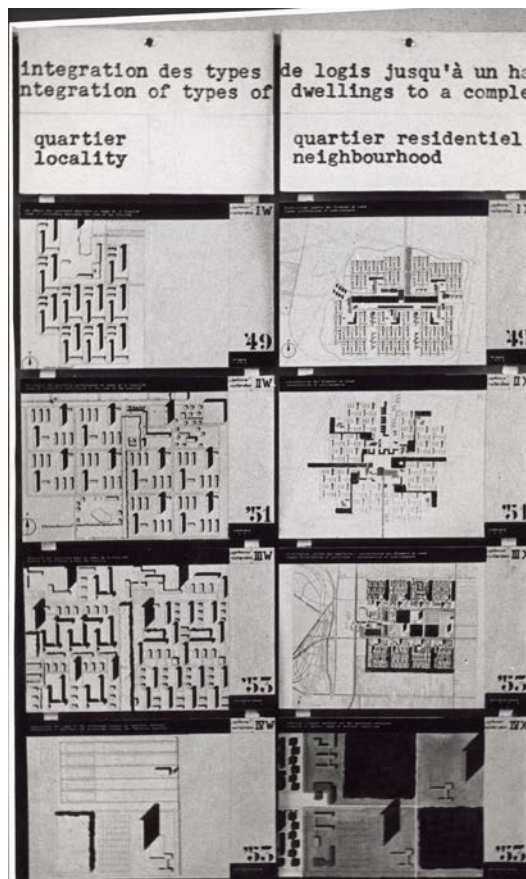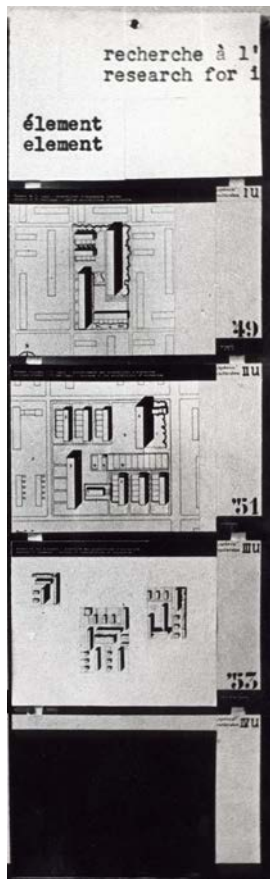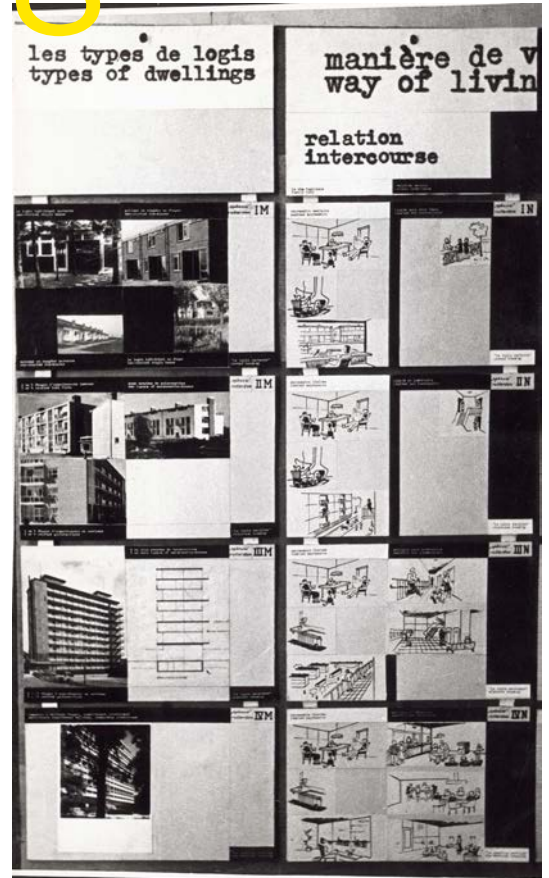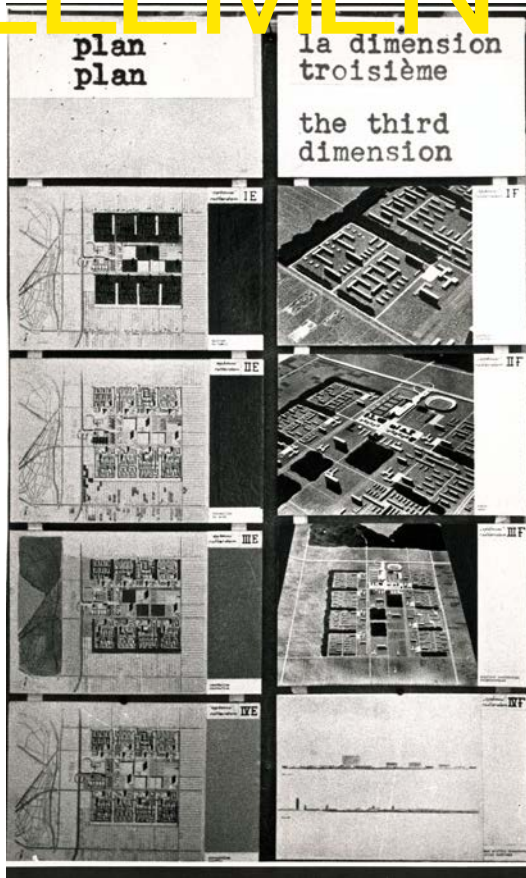
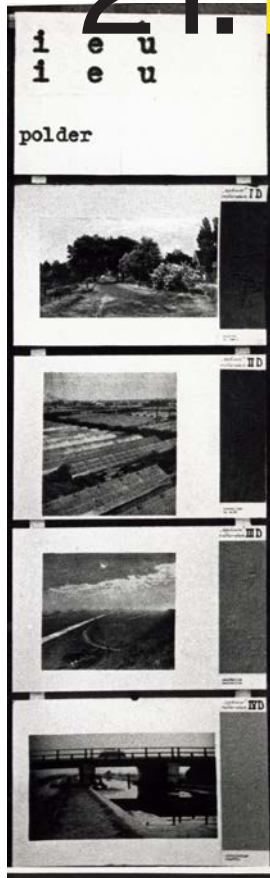# 20:ELEMENTS

Elements

Contact prints of the presentation of the Rotterdam Opbouw group as presented by Bakema to the CIAM conference at Aix-en-Provence, 1953. It shows the various housing units, the so-called 'visual groups' developed for the new city extensions of Rotterdam Pendrecht and Alexanderpolder, and their integration into new urban landscapes that constitute a 'habitat complet'.

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by opbouw 1949-1953

relation à la ville
relation to the city

relation à la région
relation to the region

49
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Concrete Experience
René Boer, Michiel van Iersel, Mark Minkjan
(Failed Architecture)

"Architecture must stimulate the feeling for the relationships that make real life"

"We should stimulate the development of real freedom for everyone"

"The time is gone when routine decisions can be made by right of hierarchical and institutionalized authority"

J. Bakema, 1975

Welcome to Trouw

Cross Amsterdam's inner ring road, which separates the seventeenth century canal district from the rest of the city, and cycle five minutes in an eastward direction to reach TrouwAmsterdam. The club, restaurant, and cultural venue occupy the front part of a vast concrete complex. The building's long black façade is a visual void and is easily overlooked, so look for the word 'Trouw' written in illuminated orange colored letters.

Park your bike and cross the square. In front of you is a black fence, preventing you from accessing a dreadful display of architectural disdain and urban decay. Devoid of signs of life or color, the half-enclosed space echoes scenes from other dystopian black-and-white films set in hostile urban environments. Turn right and you're welcomed by a maze of metal crush barriers and a handful of bouncers.

Skip the queue by pretending you're on the VIP-list. Once you're in, stay cool and tell the cashier you forgot your all-access Trouw ring. Climb down the stairs into the basement of the building. You are entering a machine. Pipes and ducts for heating and ventilation crisscross the ceiling. Iron tracks that were used to move massive paper rolls around the building, are embedded in the floor. Eye washers hang from the walls, revealing the toxic nature of the newspaper production that happened here, adding drama to this subterrenean nightlife bonanza.

The intense sound of sub-bass frequencies and cheering crowds drowns out any conversation, your phone has no service, people around you are high. Go up and keep on moving until you hit a barrage of sound waves coming from the wall of speakers in the main hall. Immerse yourself, take a deep breath, let go of your surroundings and find your essence without context. Forget that everything will be over soon, that the club and the crowd will soon be replaced by a new hotel and corporate business-types.
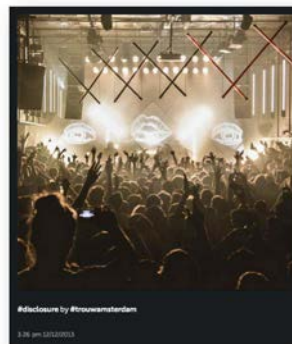
Waiting for Wibaut

The low-rise Trouw Building is an architectural anomaly. Its industrial rawness stands out in a city known for its sophisticated residential architecture. The austere precast paneled building stands in striking contrast to the lusciously decorated and handcrafted houses a stone's throw away along the Amstel River. Together with the neighboring Parool

23:

Tower it was designed by Van den Broek en Bakema in the late 60s to house the editorial offices of some of the country's most important newspapers. In a soundproof extension that was later added, printing presses were spitting out the daily news for several decades until the newspapers moved their operations elsewhere, leaving behind a cluster of empty buildings.

Big-lit letters still adorn the facade of the Trouw Building and Parool Tower. Originally planned for a location in the old city center, increased car mobility and an appetite for Modern aesthetics made both newspapers decide to take their ambitious plans beyond the inner ring road and create Amsterdam's own 'newspaper row'.

The two buildings sit at the heart of the so-called 'Parool Triangle', a three-cornered area along the Wibautstraat. It is the only road link between Amsterdam's outer ring road and the city center and was named after the prewar Alderman of Public Housing – and working man's hero – Floor Wibaut. Envisioned in the 1930s as a splendid avenue to rival the Champs Élysées in Paris or Berlin's Kurfürstendamm, the street never lived up to expectations.

New Office New View.

2:41 pm 4/24/2013   Lo-fi

Alongside the four-lane thoroughfare emerged a remarkable hodgepodge of architecture, from truly majestic to plain miserable. The street has created a heavily trafficked no man's land, disconnecting Amsterdam neighborhoods from each other and creating a barrier between the prosperous Amstel River waterfront and run-down areas to the east. Local residents avoid it and companies have slowly abandoned it; only commuters temporarily fill the space, zipping past by car or subway.

For a long time nothing happened, no politician could ignite the long awaited regeneration of the street. But in the last five years, thanks to pioneering entrepreneurs and partying Millennials, the situation has turned around.

Crash, Crisis, Trouw

When the credit crisis hit in 2008, causing most real estate developments to abruptly stop, a group of young entrepreneurs decided to defy the odds and move into the abandoned Trouw Building. Slated for demolition to make way for luxury condominiums, instead the building became a temporary lifestyle hub. With minimal means and with joint forces the initiators managed to convert the bare concrete spaces, built to withstand the weight and noise of rattling printing presses and spinning paper rolls, into a habitable place.

TrouwAmsterdam was founded by a group of DJs, restaurateurs, festival organizers and friends, all in their 30s. They titled their business plan 'Crash, crisis, Trouw'. As soon as they received the key, they opened up the building and started organizing informal parties and exhibitions amidsts the debris of the dismantled printing plant.

Only a month after they started, the *New York Times* called them 'an emerging center of hip' and quoted one of the founders saying that "We like to sort of hint at the history of the building. We just put in a kitchen, a sound system and a bar. We haven't even cleaned up any of the ink stains". Over time the building was further humanized with hand-printed signage and site-specific graffiti. Holes were drilled into the thick concrete floors to facilitate the flow of people. To improve the building's accessibilty, a red-colored entrance was added, splitting open the monolothic façade like an abdominal incision. The key characteristics of the building were cleverly re-used to fit the ambitions of the new program. As it turns out, the building's machine acoustics are perfect for music productions, the lack of daylight creates the surroundings for an intimate experience, and the vast concrete surfaces serve as projection screens and canvases for the display of art.

Modeled after the idea of a 'city in the city', with a population of up to 2,000 people during the weekend, visitors can literally spend the entire day and night roaming through the succession of rooms to eat, dance, enjoy art, bowl, and make love. And by keeping the name, which translates to 'faithful', Trouw created a trustworthy brand that echoed the revolutionary history of the eponymous newspaper that was founded during World War Two in resistance to the Nazi occupation.

Hipsters in Alphaville

Trouw has succeeded in creating a mix of aesthetics that suits the contemporary cosmopolitan youth, who cross the globe like a herd. This brought Trouw to the top of the list of places to visit, but over time also erased its subversive

character. Trouw's look and feel evolved over its life span. The structure looks authentic and rough, but has been cleverly reappropriated with fake oil stains and a 60s typeface.

Concessions were made to the initial raw minimalism of cold concrete chic by adding wood touches, plants and nostalgic furniture in order to adapt to contemporary tastes, giving in to the ironic consumption of the hipster who longs for an idealized and personalised past. Trouw blends 60s architectural minimalism and revolutionary attitudes with 70s hippie notes of nature and humanism, 80s post-industrial punk and Detroit warehouse aesthetics, and a 90s air of improvidence. Trouw occupied an architecture with dystopian connotations and made it suit contemporary edgy tastes, while simultaneously contributing to the local appreciation of Brutalist architecture.

But all that is solid melts into air: temporality is key for contemporary party robots because what's leading edge today is conventional tomorrow, forcing the fluid herd of hipness to move on to the next pristine place in an infinite lifestyle-loop.

Pebble in the Pond

Trouw's distinct image has put itself and Wibautstraat on the map for people from Amsterdam and beyond. Together with another cultural venue opening up in the former modernist headquarters of newspaper Volkskrant just across the street, they were the first trailblazers to set up shop in the area. The housing corporation that owned much property in the area actively approached the initiators of Trouw to begin business there, while the municipality gladly supported the process.

Often voted as the ugliest street in Amsterdam, Wibautstraat has now become one of the city's new frontiers for people to visit and investments to land. Trouw paved the way for young urban consumers into poor, underdeveloped territories – which are still close enough to more affluent parts – and intensified gentrification in the neighboring area. An upmarket pop-up restaurant opened up next door, new apartments are being built along the street and the former Volkskrant headquarters-turned-art-incubator is now being redeveloped into a creative hotel.

By creating new demands TrouwAmsterdam opened up formerly unwanted parts of the city, but also attracted investors to its own structure – the now-iconic building will no longer be demolished – ultimately pushing out the Trouw team and their visitors. Towards the end of 2014 the people running Trouw will end the club and move on.

In Trouw we Trust

A while ago, Trouw started handing out a limited number of gilded and engraved rings to its most appreciated guests – rings that connect people to Trouw wherever they go, that include them in the Trouw community and that give them premium access to events. It opened up the premises to faithful fans, leaving others in lengthy queues. But its not only the Trouw ring that binds its wearers to Bakema's building, every utterance of Trouw's public relation

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department aims to do the same. Through social media outlets it constantly creates and reproduces a stable image of an edgy, Berlin-like hotspot, making people trust Trouw for its ability to transform themselves after its image.

By doing so, Trouw offers a sense of belonging to those that lost their faith in traditional institutions or online networks and look for more intimate, tangible communities. Trouw provides them with an adventurous relationship, while being aware it will 'quit' as soon as it has to leave. At the same time, Trouw's public isn't a faithful lot either. They might carry their Trouw ring around the city, but when another place suddenly becomes more attractive, they might cheat as well. Trouw understands that this kind of relationship might end as easily as a modern marriage: for instance at a special event called the Ontrouw-night people are actually prompted to be unfaithful.

Careless Dystopianism
Trouw's young, tech-savvy crowd loves social media. Every event in Trouw is documented on Twitter and Instagram to such an extent that the building has as much of an online presence as offline. The accumulated layers and constellations of data rip the building apart, its weathered concrete now floating in the cloud in thousands of JPEG-images. The real life perceptions and emotions can be experienced in any given location in the world and stored for eternity.

The tweets, tumblrs and flickrs of that specific summer night will tell its course of events for the years to come, all details accessible by anyone at anytime. While it's obviously good free advertisement, Trouw attempts to control this leaking of data. By asking visitors to cover up cameras – no photos, enjoy the moment! – it creates a false sense of privacy and togetherness. Although the flow of pictures seems now contained, smartphones and apps still relay critical amounts of information. The state and telecom providers – and who

else? – know where you are, at what time, and with whom. The loyal crowd doesn't care about uncontrolled surveillance and continues to party like it's 1999.

Memories of the Future
By smartly recycling appealing re-interpretations of past decades – 60s revolutionary spirit, 70s hippie-culture, 80s underground resistance and 90s hedonism – Trouw itself is now perceived as contemporary cool. During its own lifetime, it went from forward-looking to nostalgically inviting Ostgut Ton (the label owned by Berlin's famous Berghain club, which is explicitly refered to as an inspiration for Trouw). Initially unable to fill up the rooms, there are now 600 people queuing outside its entrance. Obscure popcultural events were transformed into massive club nights.

Trouw 'normalized' the aesthetic of 'trashy chic' in Amsterdam and by doing so, it commodified itself and the building. It became fertile ground for new investments. The big money will likely materialize into yet another hotel, with Trouw's initiators moving on to another vacant building and its footloose visitors left to float around the city in search of a new hangout. But then again, as Bakema already prophesized "it's the task of each generation to overcome the past and to seek new concepts of form".
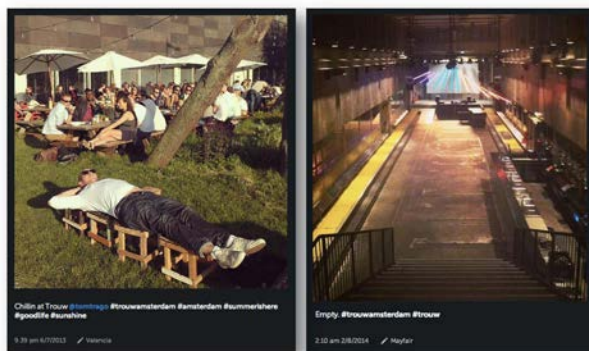
Failed Architecture
The Failed Architecture Foundation researches the causes, perceptions and aftermaths of urban failure. It originated in Trouw in 2010 as a series of events, questioning Trouw's expected destruction and from there focusing on broader issues in architecture and urban development. Today it is supported by an online magazine, travelling workshops and other formats through which architecture is analyzed from a political, economic and social perspective.

www.failedarchitecture.com

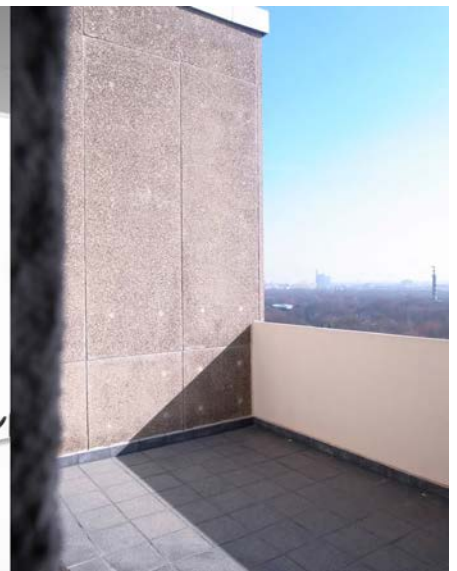# 26: HORIZONTALS AND VERTICALS
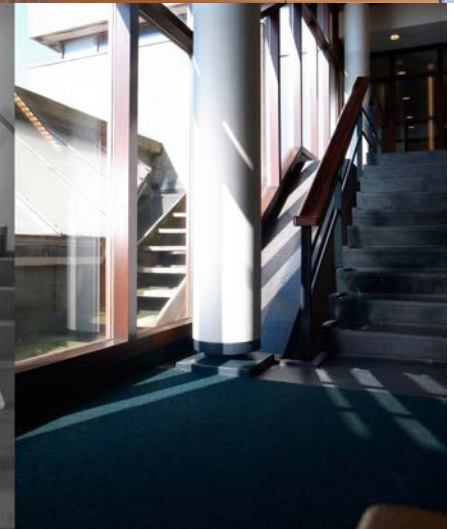

Horizontals and Verticals
Johannes Schwartz

A selection of recent photographs by the Amsterdam-based artist Johannes Schwartz (München, 1970). These photos were made for a site-specific installation that Schwartz contributed to 'Open: A Bakema Celebration', the Dutch entry to the 14th Venice Architecture Biennale, 2014. Schwartz focuses on fragments of buildings and cityscapes, their textures and shapes, traces of time passing, light, wear and tear, a laconic sort of observation of the everyday and its framing if it weren't for its precision. The fragments are recombined into a series of double images as to register the interrelations between the ordinary and the rhetorics of architecture. Shown here are the following buildings designed by Jaap Bakema together with his office Van den Broek en Bakema: church in Nagele, the Hansaviertel tower block in Berlin, town hall of Marl, the housing district of 't Hool in Eindhoven and the town hall of Terneuzen.
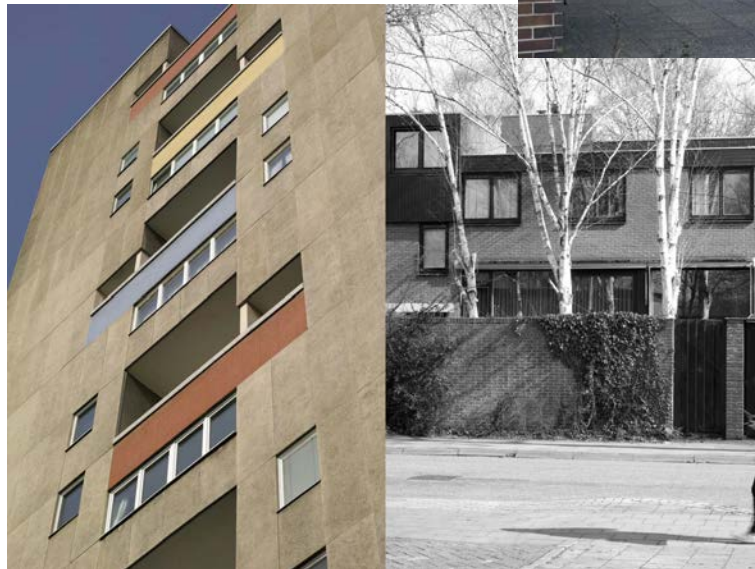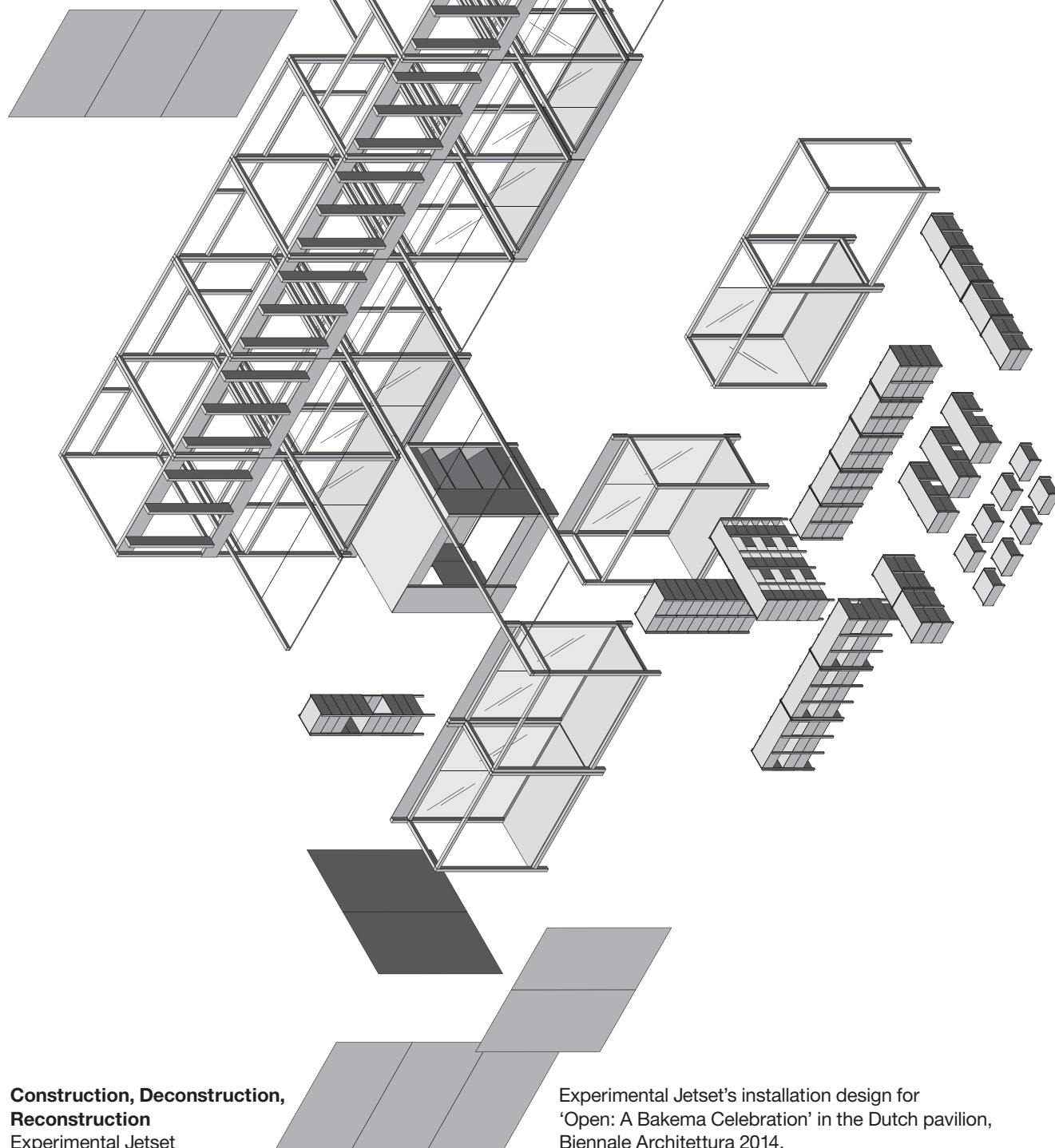
27: HORIZONTALS AND VERTICALS

28: HORIZONTALS AND VERTICALS

29: HORIZONTALS AND VERTICALS

30:CONSTRUCTION
DECONSTRUCTION
RECONSTRUCTION

Construction, Deconstruction, Reconstruction
Experimental Jetset

Experimental Jetset's installation design for 'Open: A Bakema Celebration' in the Dutch pavilion, Biennale Architettura 2014.

Het Nieuwe Instituut

Het Nieuwe Instituut aims to illuminate and map a rapidly changing world while at the same time fostering discussion of topics related to the vast field of design. All the institute's activities are grounded in the principles of design and innovation – two concepts bound up with changing value systems and conflict.

Het Nieuwe Instituut organizes exhibitions, lectures and fellowships, carries out research and development projects, and publishes reports on the outcomes of its projects. These are carried out within three multi-year programs: Landscape and Interior, Things and Materials, and a third whose focus changes annually. In 2014 the focus is '2014–1914: Conflict & Innovation'.

Het Nieuwe Instituut arose on January 1st 2013 out of a merger of the Netherlands Architecture Institute; Premsela, the Netherlands Institute for Design and Fashion; and Virtueel Platform, the e-culture knowledge institute.

www.hetnieuweinstituut.nl

Jaap Bakema Study Centre

'Open: A Bakema Celebration' constitutes one of the first activities of the Jaap Bakema Study Centre, founded in October 2013 by Het Nieuwe Instituut and Delft University of Technology. Its research programme consists of, among others, a broadly conceived study of the history and contemporary relevance of structuralism in architecture in relation to systems theory and the social sciences.
The Jaap Bakema Study Centre is based at Het Nieuwe Instituut in Rotterdam, and headed by Dirk van den Heuvel, Associate Professor at the Faculty of Architecture of the Delft University of Technology.

open.jaapbakemastudycentre.nl

Open: A Bakema Celebration

This publication, a supplement for *Volume* #41, is a collaboration between Het Nieuwe Instituut and the Jaap Bakema Study Centre and is an introduction to 'Open: A Bakema Celebration', the Dutch contribution to Biennale Architettura 2014.

Contributors
Guus Beumer, Dirk van den Heuvel, Failed Architecture, Luca Molinari, Johannes Schwartz, Jorrit Sipkes, and Łukasz Stanek

Editors
Dirk van den Heuvel with Volume / Arjen Oosterman and Brendan Cormier

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Het Nieuwe Instituut
architectuur
design
e-cultuur

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OPEN: A BAKEMA CELEBRATION

32: MODIFICATION PERMUTATION PRESENTATION REPRESENTATION PUBLICATION DOCUMENTATION INFORMATION ADMINISTRATION COMMUNICATION INTONATION EXHILARATION EVALUATION INTERROGATION ACCELERATION