



Delft University of Technology

Architecture and democracy
Contestations in and of the open society

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Publication date

2018

Document Version

Final published version

Published in

Jaap Bakema and the Open Society

Citation (APA)

van den Heuvel, D. (2018). Architecture and democracy: Contestations in and of the open society. In D. van den Heuvel (Ed.), *Jaap Bakema and the Open Society* (pp. 240-257). Archis.

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Jaap Bakema and the open society

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M. Christine Boyer

Dick van Gameren

Carola Hein

Jorrit Sipkes

Arnold Reijndorp

interviews with:

Brita Bakema

Herman Hertzberger

Carel Weeber

Frans Hooykaas

John Habraken

Izak Salomons

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Architecture and democracy – contestations in and of the open society

Dirk van den Heuvel

In many ways the work and ideas of Jaap Bakema epitomize the best of the architecture of the post-war Dutch welfare state: it is utterly unapologetic about its modernity as well as its drive to be universal and egalitarian. Bakema firmly positioned his office and its production at the heart of the Dutch welfare state system. Not only did he, together with his office partner Jo van den Broek, succeed in developing a systemized approach towards housing and planning, integrated 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 a forward-looking, humane, modern and rationalist welfare state society within the new global reality of the Cold War.

The monumental schemes for complete new towns and for 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 positivist rationalism and the logic of efficient production employed for the benefit of all. The gigantic city extension and regional planning projects in particular testify to an ambition that entailed nothing less than a reconceptualization of the Dutch landscape and the national identity. Architecture and planning should and would help bring about a socially just redistribution of wealth and access to power, knowledge and culture. At the same time, Bakema's work could not escape the paradoxes of mass-produced housing and construction, which are characteristic of a late-capitalist economy. A perfect balance between universalist technocracy and individual freedom was often hard to maintain. Yet, at the core this was Bakema's conviction: that architecture and planning should be at the service of a new, democratic society, including its social structure and institutions.

1 A new working field for architects which was also pioneered by Team 10 members, most notably by Aldo van Eyck, Ralph Erskine and Giancarlo De Carlo.

2 The ideological contradiction at stake here might be obvious, but this is how Wright would present his case. See Frank Lloyd Wright, *An Organic Architecture. The Architecture of Democracy*, London: Lund Humphries, re-issue of 2017 with a preface by Andrew Saint; in particular the third lecture by Wright on pp. 43-60. In Europe, the Italian architect and historian Bruno Zevi appropriated and developed Wright's ideas for an organic architecture as the way forward for a post-fascist society: Bruno Zevi, *Verso un'architettura organica*, Turin: Giulio Einaudi Editore, 1945 (English translation, *Towards an Organic Architecture*, London: Faber & Faber, 1950).

3 Herman van Bergeijk retraced Frank Lloyd Wright's legacy in the Netherlands, and even though he didn't touch on the issue of democracy, he did note that Wright had stated (already by 1910) that "each man has a peculiar, inalienable right to live in his own house in his own way", which comes close to Bakema's propositions. See Herman van Bergeijk (ed.), *Amerikaanse dromen. Frank Lloyd Wright en Nederland*, Rotterdam: Uitgeverij 010, 2008, pp. 10-11.

4 Jaap Bakema, 'Architectuur – Gemeenschap, Grootte Markt – Burgerij', in *De Vrije Kunstenaar*, no. 1, 1945, Groningen edition, pp. 2-6.

5 See announcement in *De Vrije Kunstenaar*, no. 12, 1945, p. 6.

6 Engelandvaarders or 'England sailors' were Dutchmen who fled to Britain during World War Two to join the Allied forces in their fight against Nazi Germany, usually in relation to Resistance work. The chairman of the Committee for Active Democracy, for example, was Gerrit Jan van Heuven Goedhart, who played a leading role in the Resistance newspaper *Het Parool*. Unlike Bakema, he did manage to escape to England where he briefly served as Minister for Justice in the Dutch government in London. After the war he became the first UN High Commissioner for the Refugees.

7 Jaap Bakema, 'Architectuur – Gemeenschap, Grootte Markt – Burgerij', in *De Vrije Kunstenaar*, no. 1, 1945, Groningen edition, p. 3.

8 In surviving histories (especially conversations with Brita Bakema, Frans Hooykaas and Piet Vollaard) a couple of names recur, in particular Herman Haan, a member of the *Knokploeg Rotterdam Zuid*, and Ernest Groosman. Dolf Hendriks, a future professor of building economics is also mentioned. People like Willem van Tijen and Cees van der Leeuw supported a network of modern architects throughout the war. The names of other people known to have been active in the Resistance that also pop up in Bakema's network, are filmmaker Louis van Gasteren and photographer Violette Cornelius. David Keuning recently published a study on architects during the Second World War, but it focused on the collaborations with the German occupier: *Bouwkunst en de Nieuwe Orde en berechting van Nederlandse architecten 1940-1950*, Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2017.

9 From conversations with Brita Bakema; the violin player was Max Pols, who was eventually killed while fleeing to Switzerland.

In the architectural history of the twentieth century there are only a few occasions when architecture and democracy were explicitly brought together by architects. The best remembered of these is also the most recent: that moment in the 1970s when an economic and political crisis in the Western countries forced architects and planners to look for new ways of building cities through users' participation, advocacy planning and urban renewal.¹ Another well-known, yet more individual and very different position, dates back to before the Second World War and comes from Frank Lloyd Wright. He famously advocated an 'organic' architecture as the expression of a democratic society such as the United States, or its idealized version, which Wright dubbed 'Usonia'. His Broadacre City proposal, which celebrated mass automobile, suburban development and the freestanding house, was in his view the supreme embodiment of a prosperous democracy, and what he regarded as true capitalism, built on a productive relationship between planning and the land.²

Jaap Bakema's ideas concerning democracy and architecture stemmed from quite a different background, even though he concluded, in a similar vein to Wright, that architecture and planning should accommodate individual lifestyle choices.³ Bakema's ideas immediately relate back to his personal experience of the Second World War, among others as a prisoner in a German camp in France, and to the emotional debates among Dutch architects, both during and after the German occupation, about how to rebuild the country and its damaged cities. Notions of inclusiveness, contestation and personal engagement were part and parcel of his idea of a democracy. Government, industry and citizens all had to fulfil their particular responsibilities in terms of contributing to the democratic process. He believed that, as an expert in spatial design and material construction, the architect had a special obligation within the whole process of planning and building. It was up to the architect to make visible and to communicate through his architecture the social relationships of a modern society. In his view it was up to the architect to enable citizens, users and inhabitants to shape their ways of life as they themselves preferred, as well as to stimulate cultural values and what Bakema called "spiritual growth". This paradoxical, sometimes contradictory assignment for architects – to be at the service of a client while also being their mentor – is at the heart of Bakema's beliefs and runs like a continuous thread through his career from his early years as a young architect participating in CIAM to becoming an established architect and teacher, and thereafter when contested by new generations of students and by vocal citizens who claimed their right in the political process of decision-making.

War and liberation

It was around the moment of the liberation in May 1945 that Bakema started to argue explicitly for connecting architecture with the cause of democracy. Interestingly enough, he did so first outside the immediate architectural debate, when he joined the editorial board of the former Resistance periodical *De Vrije Kunstenaar* (The Free Artist) to produce a special Groningen edition.⁴ Around the same time, he also joined the board of the *Comité voor Actieve Democratie* (Committee for Active Democracy), which campaigned for general elections in the confused period immediately after the war.⁵ The left-wing and progressive character of the committee was also evidenced by its uncommonly frank plea for a democratic solution to the crisis in the Dutch East Indies where a war of independence had broken out. As well as testifying to Bakema's active involvement in political campaigning for the reinstatement of democracy, these activities also reveal Bakema's association with the informal networks of the Dutch Resistance and so-called *Engelandvaarders*, connections that would also work to advance his future career.⁶ After Liberation many members of this network remained politically active in pursuit of their ideals; Bakema, too, stated that while war was over, the battle for 'real freedom' continued, a battle against fickle capitalist politics and stifling, anonymous bureaucracy that according to him had been complicit in the emergence of fascism in the 1920s and '30s.⁷

The details of Bakema's involvement in these networks cannot be fully retraced since much of the history of the Resistance is unknown precisely because its work was carried out in secrecy.⁸ Two stories from the Bakema family history serve at least to illustrate the affinity of both Jaap and Sia Bakema with these circles. The first concerns Bakema's attempt to flee to Great Britain and his successive, temporary imprisonment when this action failed, the second is Sia's concealment of Jewish refugees during Jaap's imprisonment. At that time, the Bakemas and their first-born daughter Brita, lived in Rotterdam in the Bergpolderflat, a modernist gallery-access apartment slab designed by Willem van Tijen together with the office of Brinkman and Van der Vlugt, hardly a secure kind of wartime hiding-place. Yet Sia temporarily took in two girls and a violin player, who were in transit to a safer place.⁹

We know more about Bakema's attempted flight to Great Britain. In March 1943 he tried to travel from Rotterdam to Great Britain via Spain in order to avoid being sent to Germany as a labourer. This was the *Engelandvaarders'* escape route. Together with Jan Rietveld, also an architect and son of De Stijl architect Gerrit, he managed to get as far as the French-Spanish border in the Pyrenees where the pair was captured and subsequently imprisoned in



Van den Broek and Bakema, Leeuwarden Bilgaard and Lekkumerend, 1959-72



Herman Haan, Sia and Jaap Bakema, Jan Rietveld, Hannie, Paris trip in a Jeep, 1946

the Compiègne internment and deportation camp north of Paris. In December, they managed to escape from Compiègne and travel back to Rotterdam. From there Bakema went into hiding in his place of birth, the city of Groningen in the north of the Netherlands, where he remained until the end of the war together with his young family, Sia, Brita and a new-born son, Eric.¹⁰

During his flight and subsequent imprisonment Bakema kept a diary.¹¹ In it we find some of the 29-year-old architect's innermost feelings, including lyrical descriptions of nature and a yearning to be back with his wife and baby daughter in Rotterdam. There are also a few reflections on society in general and visions for the future post-war political structure, ranging from outright socialism, in which everyone would be obliged to spend a few hours per day on collective labour duties, to more humanist, liberal notions of culture and politics. Descriptions of daily life in the camp and its barracks paint a picture of a micro-society, in which the prisoners had to negotiate their internal affairs. For instance, it was sometimes possible to send food packages to individual prisoners, which – when it happened – led to debates about whether or not to redistribute the food among fellow prisoners. From these personal notes an image emerges of a young Bakema who could not sit still and wait until war was over, someone who remained positive against all odds, always looking for an opportunity to improve a miserable situation no matter how gloomy the outlook.

In the first issue of the Groningen edition of *De Vrije Kunstenaar*, published a few weeks after the liberation, Bakema continued to explore how to collectively organize and plan for immediate amelioration in the post-war situation. In his contribution, 'Architectuur – Gemeenschap' (Architecture – Community), Bakema argued for an open and transparent procedure for the planning and rebuilding of the central square in Groningen, the Grote Markt, which had been heavily damaged during the street battles of April 1945, which he had witnessed himself.¹² Bakema called on architects to work together in a study circle, and on the local government to organize an information campaign, including an exhibition, to raise public awareness.¹³ In arguing the case for the much-needed

new city extensions in Groningen, Bakema stated that successful planning depended on the involvement of the future inhabitants from the beginning. Two other key factors mentioned by Bakema were control of landownership and the need to accommodate a variety of household types in neighbourhoods to achieve a city full of diversity.¹⁴ In a nutshell, these were elements and issues that recurred throughout Bakema's practice and way of working: early on, in the way Dutch CIAM set up its collective studies for new city districts, and much later in the public debates on major urban projects, such as Pampus in Amsterdam (1964–65) and the Cityplan for Eindhoven (1966–69).

In a follow-up article in *De Vrije Kunstenaar* on the politics of reconstruction – 'De Wederopbouw, de Jongere Architecten en Nieuwe Architectuur' (The Reconstruction, the Younger Architects and New Architecture) – Bakema reiterated his plea to open the decision-making process to include modern architects like himself. He complained that "the word Democracy [was] not yet understood" within the building and planning disciplines. His disappointment had its roots in the early war years, when architects from different backgrounds and institutional positions had held collective meetings, the so-called Doorn seminars, in which Bakema had actively participated. These seminars were intended to overcome the pre-war dissent between different architectural factions, modernists and traditionalists in particular, and to discuss the future of reconstruction once the war was over.¹⁵ This attempt at a new collective project was colloquially labelled 'shake-hands architecture', or the 'marriage between concrete and brick'. Leading figures in these debates were Van Tijen, for whom Bakema briefly worked, on behalf of the modern architects and Marinus Granpré Molière as the leading voice of the Catholic-inspired, traditionalist architects and planners of the so-called Delft School, named after their dominant presence at the Delft University. Yet despite that early collaborative intention, now war was over it appeared to Bakema and other modern architects that the traditionalists, who also held most of the senior planning and government positions, were unwilling to share work with their *Nieuwe Zakelijkheid* (Dutch functionalist) counterparts. Significantly, Granpré Molière was also the supervisor for the reconstruction project in Bakema's own city of Groningen.¹⁶

With modernists like Cor van Eesteren as director of the town planning department in Amsterdam, and Cornelis van Traa in charge of the Rotterdam department of reconstruction, it could be argued that the actual state of affairs was more nuanced, however, the polemics quickly developed into a new polarization of the Dutch architectural debates.¹⁷ Crucially, the post-war democratic arrangement of society and how it was to be translated into the realms of architecture and planning was one of

the most divisive issues, especially given that Granpré Molière responded vehemently to the criticism of the Delft School approach. Clearly offended by such criticism, Granpré Molière took up his pen in the Catholic journal *Katholiek Bouwblad* to denounce functionalism and modern architecture in the most unambiguous terms, not so much in relation to democracy, but more as an exponent of materialist humanism.¹⁸

Bakema duly replied to Granpré Molière in *Forum*, a newly established journal put out by the Amsterdam architects' society, *Architectura et Amicitia*.¹⁹ *Forum* had initially been intended as a means of bridging the gulf between traditionalist and modern architects, but this already seemed to be a lost cause by then. It was also the subject one of the first reproaches Bakema put to Granpré Molière: why had he resorted to the *Katholiek Bouwblad* instead of the new, collaborative platform of *Forum*. Of greater note beyond the personal disagreement, however, is the fact that Bakema was advancing a very specific definition of democracy. Democracy was not about expressing a new universal and organic harmony, even though Bakema occasionally used the term organic at that time, nor was democracy about the will of the people or the 'common man'; at this particular moment in the polemical exchanges, Bakema defined democracy as the overall political framework or "maatschappijvorm" (social arrangement) within which diversity and difference should be accepted and accommodated. According to Bakema, in a proper democratic society both "Catholic dogmatists" and "humanitarian life artists" should be allowed to define their own way of life and give expression to this.²⁰ After this statement, Bakema went on to explain his position as a humanist and as an architect and why it was necessary to move beyond the boundaries of national identities and religious beliefs and to allow a new freedom. In his view architecture and city planning, as extensions of human existence, were first and foremost relational. It was the architect's duty to help to make people aware of this in order to enable them to make their own life choices.²¹

Post-war CIAM 1947–1959

The idea of an inclusive and socially fair democracy was also what Bakema subsequently brought to the post-war CIAM meetings, all of which he attended. For the reunion conference in Bridgwater in 1947 he produced a statement on behalf of a 'group of young Dutch architects' affiliated with Dutch CIAM, which put the 'democratic attitude of life' front and centre. This attitude was defined firstly by social justice, in terms of individual opportunity for a "full" life, secondly by freedom, as an awareness communicated through spatial configuration, and thirdly by collaboration, visually expressed through form.²² To bring democracy as a central concern for architecture and planning in such an explicit way to CIAM was wholly new, even though CIAM's

10 Conversations with Brita Bakema; a second son, Niels, was born after the war. Jan Rietveld also travelled with them to Groningen.

11 In 2017, Brita Bakema donated the diary of Jaap Bakema to the Dutch State Archive of Architecture and Urban Planning at Het Nieuwe Instituut in Rotterdam; it consists of 51 pages and the entries are dated between 27 March 1943 and 30 October 1943.

12 Brita Bakema talks of street-by-street fighting between Germans and Canadians, and how she, her brother and Sia fled to the countryside, where they stayed briefly at a farm. Jaap Bakema remained in Groningen to prevent their temporary home in the Kromme Elleboog close to the Groote Markt from falling prey to the raging fires.

13 Jaap Bakema, 'Architectuur – Gemeenschap, Groote Markt – Burgerij', in *De Vrije Kunstenaar*, no. 1, 1945, Groningen edition, p. 3.

14 *Ibid.*, pp. 5–6.

15 Koos Bosma, 'Veredelde utiliteit? Het architectuurdebat tijdens de bezetting', in: Koos Bosma, Cor Wagenaar (eds.), *Een geruisloze doorbraak. De geschiedenis van architectuur en stedenbouw tijdens de bezetting en de wederopbouw van Nederland*, Rotterdam: NAI Uitgevers, 1995, pp. 178–188.

16 Cor Wagenaar, 'Stedenbouw en politiek. De wederopbouw van Groningen', in: Koos Bosma, Cor Wagenaar (eds.), *Een geruisloze doorbraak*, 1995, pp. 436–446.

17 For an excellent overview of the transitional period before, during and after the war, see: Koos Bosma, Cor Wagenaar (eds.), *Een geruisloze doorbraak. De geschiedenis van architectuur en stedenbouw tijdens de bezetting en de wederopbouw van Nederland*, Rotterdam: NAI Uitgevers, 1995.

18 M.J. Granpré Molière, 'Delft en het Nieuwe Bouwen', in: *Katholiek Bouwblad*, no. 13, 1947, pp. 146–156.

19 J.B. Bakema, 'Het nieuwe bouwen en verder', in *Forum*, nos. 2–3, 1947, pp. 66–68.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 67.; Bakema himself uses the word 'humanitarian' rather than 'humanist'.

21 *Ibid.*, pp. 67–68.

22 Untitled statement by Jaap Bakema for CIAM 6 on behalf of the "group of young Dutch architects", published in: Jaap Bakema, Otto Das (eds.), *Woning en woonomgeving. Voordrachtenreeks prof. J.B. Bakema*, Delft: TH Delft, 1977, p. 45; Bakema himself dated the statement in 1946, but the CIAM conference was from 7–13 September, 1947.

affinities were arguably with the left or at least with a political project of the emancipation of the masses, albeit mostly through the provision of housing and slum clearance, and the planning of hygienic and healthy labour conditions as part of the doctrine of the Functional City.

Explicitly political statements were not appreciated in CIAM. Eric Mumford has pointed out how CIAM transformed itself in 1934 into an organization of specialists in response to tensions within CIAM itself, among others between André Lurçat and Le Corbusier. Lurçat favoured a communist revolutionary approach to advance the cause of the “dictatorship of the proletariat”, while simultaneously criticizing Le Corbusier’s support for a governing “Authority” to implement his planning ideals as reactionary and (too) close to fascism. To avoid an internal split over such ideological matters, it was decided that “no political declarations should be made in the name of CIAM”.²³ And indeed, in principal texts of CIAM and its key members, democracy and other forms of modern polity were not mentioned as such, let alone propagated. From the famous *Athens Charter*, to *Can Our Cities Survive?* and the *Nine Points of Monumentality*, one reads about civic culture, community life and humanization, about social, economic and even biological concerns, but the specifics of any political structure and power distribution in relation to spatial planning was studiously avoided.

In the post-war period, however, such ideological matters immediately resurfaced, not only because of the necessity to come to terms with the fascist past, but also due to the new geopolitical situation characterized by two opposing blocks representing very different ideologies. Such ideological incompatibility not only hampered relations among CIAM members, especially those from the socialist countries in Eastern Europe, but also existed at the highest level of the CIAM council, the governing body of the architects’ organization. This came to the fore most poignantly at the second post-war CIAM congress in Bergamo in 1949, when the Polish architect and urban planner Helena Syrkus, one of CIAM’s vice-presidents, stated that it was false to believe that politics were not involved in the issues at stake, and that the pre-war statements on the Functional City doctrine in the Athens Charter should indeed be considered in a political way. She tried to make a case for her new commitment to the Stalinist doctrine of social realism as the future for architecture and planning in general, and for the reconstruction of Warsaw in particular, even though back home she and her husband Szymon were treated with distrust due to their international connections and pre-war avant-gardist practice.²⁴

After Bridgwater, Bakema too, refrained from overly political statements about an explicitly democratic programme, even though he had initially stated there that he was interested

to hear what “other young architects from other countries” had to say about “the extent to which in their country the democratic ideals can find expression in new architecture and town planning”.²⁵ Instead, at the Bergamo conference and the conference in Hoddesdon in 1951, he presented the designs for the Pendrecht district in Rotterdam as illustrations of his view on the issues at stake. These plans were produced together with Opbouw, the Rotterdam CIAM group, and the department of urban planning headed by Lotte Stam-Beese. Pendrecht served as a first case study for the realization of visual and social relationships within the actual context of city building and planning regulations.

At Hoddesdon, witness the official proceedings of the conference, *The Heart of the City*, the topic of democracy was raised only very occasionally.²⁶ The then president of CIAM, Josep Lluís Sert preferred to talk about public spaces in the rather apolitical terms of community life and civic values. It was his view that the architect could only help to realize the “frame or container within which this community life could take place”, but in the end was entirely dependent on the specific “political, social and economic structure of every community”. Only once did Sert refer to democracy, stating that a “free and democratic exchange of ideas leading towards the government of the majority” was preferable to “the rule of the few”, and that civic centres might help in “consolidating” such majority governments.²⁷ Sigfried Giedion addressed the topic of democracy more explicitly, albeit in terms of the historical examples of the Greek agora and Roman forum as public spaces for the “formation of public opinion”. Apparently, he was expressing a consensus opinion when he stated that “a city is the expression of a diversity of social relationships which have become fused into a single organism”.²⁸ Yet in the final summary of the conference there is no mention of political or specific democratic concerns in relation to architecture and city planning.

As has been well documented in the case of Bakema’s work and Dutch post-war architecture and planning in general, the socio-political ideals of universal inclusion and diversity were translated almost literally into specific spatial and typological configurations that were a reflection of the population, or at least a planner’s categorization of the various household and income types.²⁹ At the lower level of scale of the urban block this resulted in the proposal for a repeatable *wooneenheid* (a housing unit consisting of multiple blocks), that was the expression of a social mix of housing and open spaces. Low-rise terraces and walk-up flats accommodated a variety of household types. At the higher, urban scale, the repeatable housing unit was combined with the neighbourhood idea, which was based on American community planning ideals. The Rotterdam and Dutch elaboration of these ideals aimed to synthesize the social diversity by aggregating the housing units into larger

districts around sub-centres with local amenities. Due to the additive and serial methods of repetition of the housing units, this mix would be realized throughout the whole district at the lowest level of the urban block. Ultimately, at the highest scale level, the district centre or the ultimate ‘core’ was the full manifestation of this articulated diversity, in which the various city functions were located as well as community buildings. Here, in Bakema’s famous words on core, the “isolation of man [was] destroyed” and in “that moment [the] wonder of relationship between man and things” would be discovered.³⁰

For the subsequent CIAM conferences on the topic of the human habitat in Aix-en-Provence (1953) and Dubrovnik (1956), Bakema expanded the idea of the repeatable housing unit into the much larger ‘visual group’ to overcome problems of too much repetition and the limitations in “variety in plastic-visual relationships”, in order to increase the possibilities for “greater identification” for the inhabitants.³¹ These studies were made in the context of the Alexanderpolder urban development east of Rotterdam. In expanding the basic unit of urbanization, he succeeded in combining the housing units with the vast scale of the polder landscape and with that of the new infrastructure of motorways. At the final CIAM conference in Otterlo in 1959, organized by Bakema himself, he presented a full-blown regional planning scheme for the urbanization of Kennemerland, a coastal region centred on the city of Alkmaar, 30 kilometres north of Amsterdam. This time, the project was not developed within the Opbouw group, but by his own office, and in particular by Jan Stokla, who was responsible for many of the groundbreaking housing projects of the Van den Broek and Bakema firm.³² Collages of the landscape behind the dunes illustrate how he visually and plastically envisaged the reconceptualization of the Dutch landscape and identity: a vast expansion of the flat, horizontal, man-made polderscape, interspersed with a syncopation of elementary verticals that denote the rhythm of the series of ‘visual groups’, which comprised a microcosm of typologies to accommodate households from all walks of life.³³

In Otterlo, Bakema also felt free to once again connect his ideas of democracy with architecture and planning. Perhaps this was now possible due to the absence of the older CIAM generation, but it was also possible because CIAM had abandoned the concept of national representation as a basis for its organization, and all national groups had been dismantled by the time CIAM convened for the last time in Otterlo. CIAM members spoke now as individuals, not as national representatives. This reconnection between politics and architecture was also evidenced by the presence of the Dutch State Secretary for the Arts, Ynso Scholten, who spoke at the opening of the conference about the various responsibilities of the architect as a technician,

²³ Eric Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960*, Cambridge (Mass.): MIT Press, 2000, pp. 92-94.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 193-195.

²⁵ Jaap Bakema, untitled statement for CIAM 6, published in: *Woning en woonomgeving. Voordrachtenreeks prof. J.B. Bakema*, TH Delft, 1977, p. 45.

²⁶ Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, Josep Lluís Sert, Ernesto Nathan Rogers (eds.), *The Heart of the City: towards the humanisation of urban life*, London: Lund Humphries, 1952.

²⁷ Josep Lluís Sert, ‘Centres of Community Life’, in: Tyrwhitt, Sert, Rogers, 1952, pp. 3-16.

²⁸ Sigfried Giedion, ‘Historical Background to the Core’, in: Tyrwhitt, Sert, Rogers, 1952, pp. 17-25.

²⁹ Numerous authors have studied this history, see among others: S. Umberto Barbieri (ed.), *Architectuur en planning, Nederland 1940-1980*, Rotterdam: Uitgeverij 010, 1983; Hélène Damen, Anne-Mie Devolder (eds.), *Lotte Stam-Beese 1903-1988*, Rotterdam: De Hef, 1993; Francis Strauven, *Aldo van Eyck. The Shape of Relativity*, Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura, 1998.

³⁰ Jaap Bakema ‘Relationship between Men and Things’, in: Tyrwhitt, Sert, Rogers, 1952, pp. 67-68; and pp. 116-117.

³¹ Oscar Newman (ed.), *CIAM '59 in Otterlo*, Stuttgart: Karl Krämer-Verlag, 1961, pp. 143-144, and figures 305-310.

³² Stokla was also present at the Otterlo conference, and is also credited in the Oscar Newman publication as “collaborator”.

³³ 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.

sociologist and artist. Scholten stressed the importance of experimentation in addressing the housing question and the urbanization of the countryside. He also noted that on these matters international exchange was crucial, while once again emphasizing that the participants spoke on their own behalf not as “representatives of any geographical, national, social, religious, political, or other group.”³⁴

Bakema’s explanation of the Kennemerland project touched several times on the topic of democracy, firstly in terms of the common man’s entitlement to the fulfilment of basic needs such as decent housing, and secondly to “live more freely” as a “right to a personal way of life”.³⁵ He viewed the new mass-production techniques and large-scale planning as a risk, since they were geared to the production of monotonous environments, whereas in his view a multitude of types was needed for a democratic society. He criticized the construction industry for following the production logic of a “push-button” system in automated factories with, as an undesirable by-product, new class divisions. The division of labour and how this might relate to the production of the built environment and its spatial and aesthetic development were also democratic concerns in Bakema’s view. Underneath it all lay a strong collectivist belief. While the assumption was that the land was publicly owned or at least made available through government intervention, the dominance of capital and technology needed to be balanced by a “publicly directed economy”, which was to be “subservient to the development of an open society”.³⁶

Cold War and global exchanges

Otterlo 1959 also marked the introduction of the topic of the open society in Team 10’s discourse, and very likely in Bakema’s thinking as well, where it formed one of the constitutive elements of his theory of the interrelations between society and architecture. It was Bakema’s Team 10 friends Alison and Peter Smithson who deployed the term open society most explicitly.³⁷ They used it specifically in relation to the city of Berlin in the context of the international Hauptstadt Berlin competition of 1957-58, organized by the then mayor of Berlin, Willy Brandt, against the backdrop of polarizing debates on the looming division of the occupied German capital.³⁸ All to no avail as it turned out, since the Soviets started constructing the Berlin Wall in August 1961. Within this Cold War context, the Smithsons provocatively re-imagined Berlin as the “open city” par excellence, characterized by a new kind of mobility that was also a new freedom. This new mobility was both a physical phenomenon in terms of car mobility, which had a fundamental impact on the principles of post-war city planning, and social in terms of a new post-war egalitarian society.³⁹

For Bakema, Berlin and its precarious political situation was a familiar context. Like the Smithsons, Bakema and his

office participated in the Hauptstadt Berlin competition. He was also involved in the Interbau international building exhibition of 1957 that showcased projects of national and international modern architects in the Hansaviertel district and was conceived as the counterpart of the socialist realist project for the Stalinallee in East Berlin.⁴⁰ Another contribution by Bakema to the Berlin debates on planning and architecture was the exhibition ‘Von Schwelle bis Stadt’ (From Doorstep to City) as part of the larger ‘Unsere Nachbarn Bauen’ (Our Neighbours are Building) show at the Akademie der Künste. Bakema curated the exhibition to which he brought a selection of the latest developments in Dutch modern architecture, including work by his own office, Aldo van Eyck, Jan Rietveld and Hein Salomonson.⁴¹ In the accompanying essay, Bakema once again stressed the need for “architecture by planning” and “planning by architecture” to arrive at cities in which each citizen had a “right to his own approach to life”, and to “shape his own corner” of the larger “structure of society”.⁴²

According to the report on the Otterlo meeting, it was Ernesto Rogers’ presentation of his Torre Velasca project that elicited a discussion of the idea of the open society in relation to ‘closed’ versus ‘open’ aesthetics. Peter Smithson led the opposition, stating his view that an open aesthetic – unlike the closed one of Rogers’ project – embraced change as an “extension of functionalism”.⁴³ Bakema sided with Smithson and concluded quite critically, that Rogers’ project was “resisting contemporary life”, in that it did not communicate its modern aspects, such as its parking garage, but rather evoked the image of a medieval village, which he, Bakema, associated with closed societies.⁴⁴ Historical association and continuity as generators of architectural form as pursued by Rogers were polemically pitted against the notions of growth and change by Smithson and Bakema in their quest for a “moral” model, in which “the possibility of a liberation towards an open society” would find its proper expression.⁴⁵

The theme of closed versus open aesthetics was taken up again by the Polish architectural duo, Oskar and Zofia Hansen, in their discussion of Open Form.⁴⁶ Bakema knew the Hansens from his participation in the international jury for the Auschwitz monument in 1957. The Hansen’s proposal, made together with Jerzy Jarnuszkiewicz, Julian Palka and Lechoslaw Rosinski, was one of the winning entries and Bakema invited them to show it at the Otterlo conference. Like Bakema, the Hansens, too, proposed making room for the “discernibleness of the individual in the multiple” and “for evoking one’s own latent essence”. According to Oskar and Zofia Hansen, Open Form started with the “energy” of the client and the “client’s psychological need of identity”.⁴⁷ They presented Open Form as a theory of events that would evolve into a “group form”, a notion that was subsequently elaborated by the

Japanese architect Fumihiko Maki and that went on to become one of the central ideas in the Team 10 discourse of the 1960s.⁴⁸

The Hansens refrained from speaking explicitly of the open society, perhaps because it was not possible for anyone coming from ‘behind the iron curtain’, or perhaps because it did not suit their own purposes.⁴⁹ At any rate, to speak of open form, open aesthetics, open cities or the open society was in those years not merely tied to a corollary of developing a post-fascist approach; it was also loaded with Cold War associations, even when the larger geopolitical situation was not addressed as such. Clearly, it was also most useful and productive to talk about such ‘open’ concepts in order to move beyond overly strict ideological hair-splitting in relation to the specific local political regimes. The notion of the open society in Bakema’s writing and thinking thus became a versatile container term capable of absorbing a multitude of divergent positions and allowing for a continuation of the international exchanges within his professional network that by the end of the 1950s stretched all the way from the United States to Western Europe, the Eastern Bloc, the Middle East and Japan.

After the Otterlo conference, Bakema maintained his post-CIAM network through the Team 10 meetings and further developed it through his ‘Post Box for the Development of the Habitat’ newsletters, as well as his vast international education practice. The topic of the open society resurfaced frequently in both contexts. In his three-page statement ‘1960-2000’, published in newsletter no. 5 of 27 January 1961, Bakema succinctly laid out his understanding of the open society as the “hidden potential of our new social structure of society”, as the new reality of a “changed social pattern” following emancipation through, among other things, technological progress, which brought with it the “extension of everybody’s right to be responsible for his own way of life by means of an open society”. Architecture should be a function of “realizing everybody’s right to full life”.⁵⁰ Although Bakema never referenced the exact sources for his definition of the open society, in these phrasings we find echoes not only of Henri Bergson, but also of Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict.⁵¹

Societal issues and the idea of an open society also formed the natural context of Bakema’s teaching, especially abroad. An indefatigable teacher and lecturer around the world, Jaap Bakema was like a travelling salesman in ideas. Given the fact that he was also the director of one of the bigger architecture firms in Western Europe and a full professor in Delft, the list of teaching posts and guest professorships, predominantly in the United States and Europe, is simply bewildering.⁵² His preferred format was the workshop or design seminar so as to enable intense study and exchange in a relatively short period of time. Studio topics usually concerned an urgent local

³⁴ ‘Introductory Talks’, in Newman op. cit., pp. 20-21.

³⁵ Newman, 1961, pp. 140-141.

³⁶ Newman, 1961, p. 141.

³⁷ To what extent it was a direct appropriation of Karl Popper’s ideas remains unclear though; the Smithsons did not mention Popper or his 1945 book, *The Open Society and its Enemies* as a source.

³⁸ See also the essay by Carola Hein, ‘Architecture and Cold War. The Case of the Hauptstadt Berlin Competition 1957-58’, on pp. 88-99 in this book.

³⁹ For an extended discussion of Alison and Peter Smithson’s ideas on the open society and the welfare state, see my dissertation, chapter 6 ‘The Great Society. Between Welfare State Ideals and Consumer Drives’, TU Delft 2013, available at: <https://repository.tudelft.nl>

⁴⁰ Sandra Wagner-Conzelmann, *Die Interbau 1957 in Berlin: Stadt von heute, Stadt von morgen*, Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2007.

⁴¹ *Forum*, no. 4, 1962.

⁴² Jaap Bakema, ‘From Doorstep to Town’, in: *Forum*, no. 4, 1962, pp. 127-129.

⁴³ Newman, 1961, p. 96; see also Alison Smithson, ‘The Otterlo Incident’, in: *Città Studi, Quaderni del Dipartimento di Progettazione dell’Architettura del Politecnica di Milano*, nr. 15, special issue on Ernesto Nathan Rogers, September 1993.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 190-196.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 190-191.

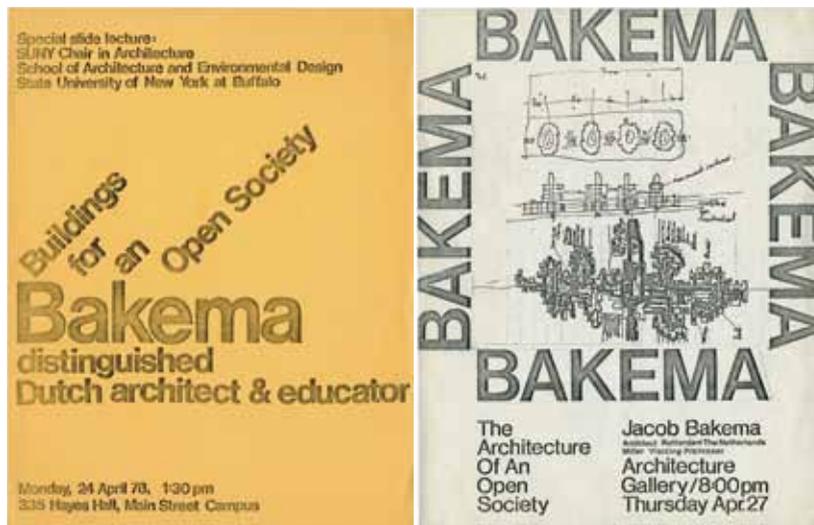
⁴⁸ Fumihiko Maki, *Investigations in Collective Form*, St. Louis: Washington University, 1964; a signed copy is present in the Bakema archive. Maki sent pre-publications to Bakema who would quote these in his newsletters of the ‘Post Box for the Development of the Habitat’, no. 6, 12-5-1961 and no. 9, 1-6-1962. Maki was also present at the 1959 Otterlo conference although he didn’t present his work; his presence is evidenced by a thank you note in the archive. The exact chronology of the term of ‘group form’ needs closer scrutiny since Hansen’s text as published was written after the Otterlo conference; cf. Hansen’s letter ‘The Open Form in Architecture – The Art of the Great Number’, dated 1 January 1960, Bakema archive, collection Het Nieuwe Instituut, Rotterdam.

⁴⁹ For a discussion of Oskar Hansen’s ideas see Joan Ockman, ‘Oskar Hansen’s Radical Humanism: Open Form Against a Cold War Background’, in: Aleksandra Kedziorek, Lukasz Ronduda (eds.), *Oskar Hansen: Opening Modernism. On Open Form, Architecture, Art and Didactics*, pp. 29-58.

⁵⁰ Jaap Bakema, ‘1960-2000’, in: Jaap Bakema (ed.), ‘Post Box for the development of the Habitat (B.P.H.)’, no. 5, 27-1-1961, p. 4, collection Het Nieuwe Instituut, Rotterdam.

⁵¹ Bakema never referred to Karl Popper, but he did occasionally refer to Henri Bergson, from whom Popper borrowed the term.

⁵² The Bakema archive at Het Nieuwe Instituut in Rotterdam contains an overview of Bakema’s teachings, but an initial comparison with other sources, including dossiers from American universities, suggests that it is far from complete.



53 Bakema archive, Het Nieuwe Instituut, Rotterdam; under ‘gastcolleges’ there is an overview of teaching posts and lectures.

54 Ibid.

55 Dates for the TV series are not unanimous. Bakema himself referred to 1961-62 in his inaugural lecture. The Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision, which holds most of the archival materials of TV broadcasts, mentions both 1961 and 1962. The book *Van stoel tot stad* mentions 1962-63.

56 J.B. Bakema, *Van stoel tot stad. Een verhaal over mensen en ruimte*, Zeist: Uitgeversmaatschappij W. de Haan / Antwerpen: Standaard Boekhandel, 1964, p. 54; original Dutch sentence: “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?”.

57 Ibid.

58 For a broader picture of Dutch culture in the 1950s see Kees Schuyt, Ed Taverner, 1950. *Nederland in zwart-wit*, Den Haag: SDU Uitgevers, 2000; English translation 1950. *Prosperity and Welfare*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

59 Aldo van Eyck authored the final version and presented it to CIAM at the conference in Dubrovnik in 1956, see also Strauven, 1998, pp. 230-237.

60 Bakema, *Van stoel tot stad*, pp. 102-105.

61 Ibid., pp. 17-23.

62 It ran from 27 October to 2 December 1962.

63 Bakema, *Van stoel tot stad*, p. 55.

64 Exhibition catalogue, *Bouwen voor een open samenleving*. Brinkman, Brinkman, Van der Vlugt, Van den Broek, Bakema, Rotterdam: Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, 1962.

65 The Prix de la Critique was established by AICA, the international organization of art critics founded in 1950 in a reaction to the repression of art and art criticism under fascism, and as such aligned with Unesco as a non-government organization. The Dutch section was chaired by Hans Jaffé (the celebrated De Stijl art historian, but also Jewish Resistance fighter and Engelandvaarder) while Gerardus Knuttel (former director of the Gemeentemuseum in The Hague and prisoner of war) was honorary chairman. Secretary was Mrs. Hammacher, wife of Bram Hammacher the director of the Kröller Müller museum, who hosted the Otterlo conference. Doelman (Rotterdam) was treasurer. The committee that advised AICA consisted of champions of modern architecture: Van Beek, Wim Buffing, Rein Blijstra and J.J. Vriend. Together they represented a specific consensus in post-war Dutch architecture that was to be contested in the 1970s.

66 See also the essay by Jorrit Sipkes, ‘Communication Machine’, on pp. 224-231 in this book.

67 The archives of the Van den Broek and Bakema office and Jaap Bakema which are held at Het Nieuwe Instituut in Rotterdam, contain various extensive sets of notes by Bakema on the project. This particular set consists of three pages only, archive codes BAKE_d34-15 to 16.

term. Bakema used the term in the famous *Van stoel tot stad* (From Chair to City) lectures, initially presented on Dutch national television in 1961-63 and subsequently published in book form in 1964.⁵⁵ One of the main rhetorical questions posed by Bakema reads: “What will the architecture of an open society be like?” The answer immediately followed: “Surely, at least such that the forms we build, will make clear that every individual has a right to a declaration of life that suits him.”⁵⁶ This statement is accompanied by a sketch of the shopping centre and public spaces in the village of Bergen, next to which he had scribbled: “a multiplicity of things, big and small, each one of which can be visible”.⁵⁷

The term ‘declaration of life’ (‘levensverklaring’ in the original Dutch text) might seem odd, but it needs to be understood in the context of a Dutch society that was still largely religious and divided according to conviction or creed into ‘pillars’ representing the various Protestant and Catholic denominations as well as non-religious socialist and humanist groupings.⁵⁸ For Bakema the aim was to go beyond this ‘pillarization’ of society, to move indeed towards an open society of diversity and inclusiveness. The aforementioned 1951 idea of the ‘core’ is crucial here, for in the core of a city or society the diverse pillars were brought together in a new relationship. This idea of a diverse core was best demonstrated in the village of Nagele, designed between 1947 and 1954 by a working group of Dutch CIAM architects that included Rietveld, Van Eesteren, Van Eyck and also Bakema himself. The central village green was planned to accommodate the churches and schools of the various religious denominations as well as a public school plus a few commercial functions.⁵⁹ In this way, the Nagele village green embodied the pillarized society of the Netherlands, where each denomination and political grouping had its own separate institutions, while at the same time bringing these ‘pillars’ or communities together in a new spatial condition, or ‘core’. Nagele is included in *Van stoel tot stad* in the form of a couple of sketches and photos of the village layout and the church designed by Bakema. Captions explain the spatial relations between the community of the church and the village in terms of transitional elements.⁶⁰ Although subtitled “a story about people and space”, the recurrent motif in *Van stoel tot stad* is the question of how to bring people and things together in a modern, industrialized society. Propositions address basic existential conditions and are explained almost diagrammatically, as in the suggestion to think of modern housing types in relation to tree heights: below, level with and above the trees.⁶¹ From the smallest scale to megastructure-like projects, it is about creating a new coherence in terms of relations, about how a building can also be a public square, and a staircase a place to meet. A second occasion, which coincided with the ‘Van stoel tot stad’ lecture series, was the first monographic exhibition of the Van den Broek and Bakema office held in the Boymans-

van Beuningen museum in Rotterdam, which opened on 27 October 1962.⁶² It was entitled ‘Building for an open society’.⁶³ This was seemingly felt to be self-evident, since it was left unexplained in the catalogue. The exhibition was organized in honour of the Prix de la Critique, which had been awarded to Van den Broek and Bakema. The jury report singled out Jaap Bakema’s contribution as a representative of the “Otterlo group or Team Ten”. It praised Bakema and the office for their achievements in modern architecture, for the way they had managed to strike a balance between the “emphasis on human relations” on the one hand and the “possibility for personal freedom and ‘intimacy’” on the other. Touching on the issue of authorship, the jury apparently felt compelled to explain why the Prix de la Critique had been awarded to the office rather than to Bakema as an individual. The report commented that Bakema’s activities could not be uncoupled from the office, while also stating that by awarding the prize to the office the jury aimed to honour the “complete development of modern architecture: the pre-war activities of Prof. Van den Broek, the participation in Opbouw – and hence in De 8, the participation in the planning of Nagele, etc. ... a line from the beginnings of Dutch functionalism to the latest tendencies.” The jury report concluded by stating that the work was a major contribution to and a reflection of a “functional, human and democratic art of building”.⁶⁴ The ideologically loaded terms used by the jury to characterize the work of Van den Broek and Bakema were considered as self-evident as the term open society. No further explanation seemed necessary, and perhaps indeed it wasn’t. When looking at the context from which the Prix de la Critique stemmed, we find once again the informal networks that grew out of the experience of the Second World War and the concomitant, deeply felt, urge to secure a democratic society and its institutions.⁶⁵

The third occasion on which Bakema deployed the term open society in the Dutch context was at Expo ’70 in Osaka, for which Bakema designed the Dutch pavilion together with Carel Weeber.⁶⁶ However, the years around 1970 were very different from the years 1959-1964. If connections between the open society, democracy and modern architecture were a matter of course in the 1950s and early ’60s, the years around 1970 represent the critical evaluation and contestation of such established notions and practices.

Contestations

When Bakema worked on the Dutch pavilion for Expo ’70 he made extensive notes to order his thoughts regarding the conceptual programme behind the project.⁶⁷ The most concise set is a mere three pages of key words jotted down, initially in English, finally in Dutch, in an attempt to grasp the priorities. The idea of an open society was the key notion and it was the first characterization of the Netherlands: “a country is planning [its] change – an open



Van den Broek and Bakema exhibition
'Building for an open society', Rotterdam 1962

68 All these notes are on p. 1 of the three-page set; BAKE_d34-15.

69 For an overview of the firm's history and its changing organizational setup see Jean-Paul Baeten, *Een telefooncel op de Lijnbaan. De traditie van een architectenbureau*, Rotterdam: NAI Uitgevers, 1995.

70 As becomes clear from the original photo series of the exhibition in the collections of the office of BroekBakema, Rotterdam.

71 Jaap Bakema, notes for Osaka, p. 1; BAKE_d34-15.

72 Ibid., p. 3; original Dutch: "met veel mensen moeten we het eens worden op een klein stuk grond, de dichtheid, veel meningen, de godsdiensten".

73 Ibid., p. 2.

74 Jaap Bakema, notes for Osaka, p. 1; BAKE_d34-15.

75 James Kennedy, *Nieuw Babylon in aanbouw. Nederland in de jaren zestig*, Amsterdam: Boom, 1995.

76 Alison Smithson (ed.), *Team 10 Primer*, Cambridge (Mass.): MIT Press, 1968; the first edition of the *Team 10 Primer* was a special issue of *Architectural Design*, also compiled by Alison Smithson, *Architectural Design*, December 1962; in August 1964 a second special issue of *Architectural Design* was devoted to the work of Team 10; in 1965 a special reprint was issued combining the two earlier publications.

77 Newman, 1961, pp. 21-22.

78 Jaap Bakema as quoted by Alison Smithson, in: *Team 10 Primer*, 1968, p. 5.

79 Joop Hardy wrote very little but was highly influential as a teacher. A selection of his texts was published posthumously: Joop Hardy, *Cultuurbeschouwing. Een anarchistische opvatting*, Amsterdam: Kaal boek, 1987. In the 1970s Hardy got entangled in fierce attacks by neo-Marxist students, for more on this, see Dirk van den Heuvel, Madeleine Steigenga, Jaap van Triest, *Lessons: Tulpker/Risselada. A double portrait of Dutch architectural education 1953-2003*, Amsterdam: Uitgeverij SUN, 2003, pp. 36-37, and 128-136; see also the interview with Izak Salomons on the events at TU Delft, pp. 301-303 in this book.

80 Alison and Peter Smithson, *Ordinariness and Light. Urban Theories 1952-60, and their application in a building project 1963-70*, Cambridge (Mass.): MIT Press, 1970, p. 42.

81 Francis Strauven discussed the incident at length in: Strauven, 1998, pp. 223-230.

society – open economy". This entails "team work" which is "conditioned by nature", which is to say the condition of "land below water level", which famously gave rise to the country's first democratic and collectivist institutions: the water management and dike authorities known as *waterschappen*. Hence "planning" becomes the number one issue, according to Bakema, with "knowledge" as number two, involving "education", "science" and "art". In Dutch he added the word *mammoetwet*, the nickname for a new and comprehensive education act introduced in 1963 and implemented in 1968, which was aimed at modernizing the national educational system and simultaneously maximizing access to and participation in higher education.⁶⁸ Here, in 1970 Bakema defined the open society as first and foremost a knowledge economy, rather than the collectivist regime controlling economic production, which was his earlier position during the 1940s and '50s.

The understanding of an open society as a society based on a knowledge economy rather than a socialist regime of the working classes had already been foreshadowed by the 1962 exhibition *Bouwen voor een open samenleving* (Building for an Open Society) at the Boymans-van Beuningen museum. The exhibition was designed as a step-wise progression from the initial establishment of the office by Michiel Brinkman in 1913, through successive partnerships, first with his son Johannes Brinkman and Leendert van der Vlugt, and then Johannes (or Jo) van den Broek and eventually, in 1948 with Bakema.⁶⁹ The various partnerships were represented by a selection of groundbreaking projects that became hallmarks of the history of Dutch modernism. The selection started with the projects for housing the working class and an enlightened industrial nation: the Spangen housing block and the Van Nelle factory. The exhibition concluded with several projects representative of a future post-industrial, service industry-led knowledge economy, with various scale models of projects prominently on display, in particular those for the Euromast tower in Rotterdam, the head office for the national postal cheque and transfer service based in Arnhem, the equally massive office building for the De Nederlanden van 1845 insurance company in The Hague and, finally, the model for the sculptural concrete Auditorium building for Delft University of Technology.⁷⁰

In his Osaka statement Bakema also listed the 'results' of the Dutch open society and its integrated knowledge economy. They basically boiled down to the conditions of global, intercontinental communication and trade, such as the expansion of Rotterdam's port (into Europoort) and of Amsterdam's Schiphol Airport, alongside large-scale infrastructural works like the Deltaworks. Also included here were multinationals KLM, Philips and Unilever, as well as Fokker courtesy of its new Fellowship aeroplane.⁷¹ Here, Bakema's position and his idea of an open society

seemed to converge with that of modern national interest and establishment, or at least he did not draw any clear distinction between them.

Bakema touched on the issue of democracy by describing a general attitude rather than a concrete political programme. Notes on page three combine pragmatism with consensus-building: "[living] with many people on a little piece of land we have to reach agreement – the density – a lot of opinions – the religions".⁷² Page two emphasizes the importance of relativism and the development of multiple perspectives: "To view a matter from all sides, also from the space in Osaka as built by the Netherlands."⁷³ Bakema sought to translate these aims into an architectural concept of experience and communication. All the senses – touch, sight, hearing and smell – were to be activated by way of special, machinic "information units" augmenting the overall experience in which music and film accompanied movement through the pavilion on escalators. The water feature in front of the pavilion completed the Dutch experience of living on the edge of the water below sea level. In terms of Dutch visual culture, Bakema also pictured a tradition of Dutch identity summed up by the quartet of Rembrandt, Mondrian, Van Gogh and Provo.⁷⁴

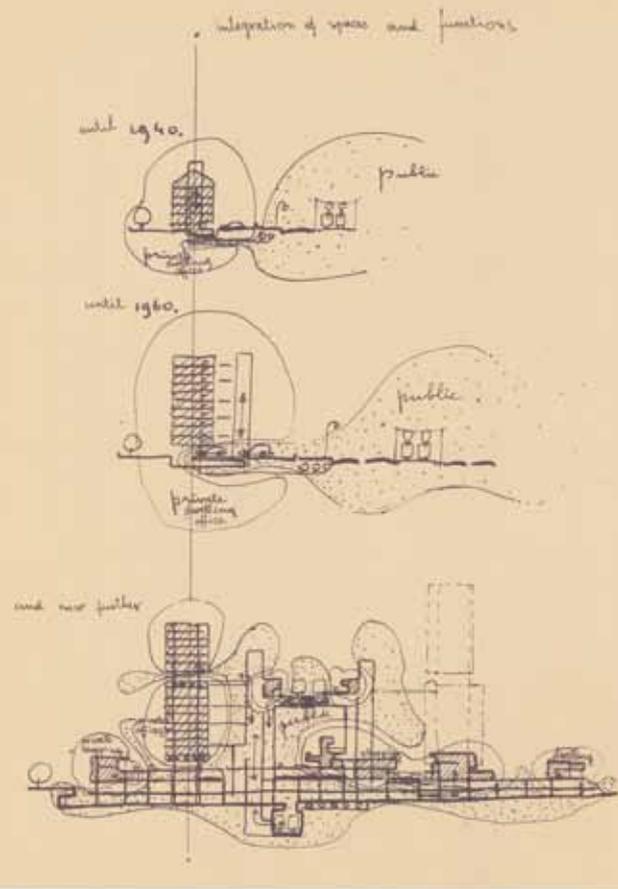
That the anarchism of Provo was included by Bakema as representative of Dutch culture is certainly key here. In the mid 1960s the Provo movement made waves in Amsterdam and the Netherlands, staging all sorts of ludic 'happenings' in protest against environmental pollution by cars in particular and against consumer culture in general, in support of women's liberation and decriminalization of drugs, free sex and even the dismantling of the police force. Bakema absorbed Provo's experimentalism and recast it in a new story about a Dutch identity of tolerance, inclusivity, openness, pragmatism and rationalism. At the same time, this was characteristic of the way the new left-leaning Dutch cultural elite, to which Bakema clearly belonged, embraced both modernity and the counterculture.⁷⁵

Yet the fact that Bakema felt it necessary to co-opt the anti-authoritarian Provo movement in his 1970 definition of the open society was also an indication that the earlier notions of openness, democracy and tolerance were highly contested and that their further development would take a very different turn from that envisaged by Bakema. At this point, Bakema and his Team 10 and Dutch *Forum* allies were more or less caught between the limitations of the post-war welfare state system and the social unrest of the late 1960s, including the new youth and protest culture. On the one hand they had become representatives of the system, while on the other hand they were highly critical of its shortcomings and institutions. In the Team 10 debates one can observe an awkward appreciation of the

bureaucratic and paternalistic state apparatus that made decisions on behalf of the individual all in order to secure an efficient redistribution system. For instance, in the new preface to the reissued *Team 10 Primer* from 1968, all the Team 10 members loudly bemoaned the state of affairs, while nevertheless accepting the necessity to build under the conditions of the welfare state.⁷⁶

Bakema always had an eye for dissatisfaction among younger people and underprivileged, marginalized groups. At the Otterlo conference he referred to the phenomenon of Teddy Boys in England and nozems in Holland, which he interpreted as a signal that different solutions in town planning were needed.⁷⁷ And in the *Team 10 Primer* he talked about his many visits to schools of architecture where the "noise of [the] stencil machine is everywhere".⁷⁸ In Delft he supported the 1969 student revolt aimed at achieving greater openness, and involvement of students and staff members in the decision-making process. Still, there was also an ambivalence. Though he attended the plenary meetings, where the whole community of the Faculty of Architecture gathered, he denounced the idea of reaching decisions by way of a one-man-one-vote system. Unsurprisingly perhaps, the neo-Marxist factions that set the tone for Delft's development of research and education in the 1970s became highly critical of Bakema's work, just as they were critical of the positions of the other *Forum* professors in Delft, Aldo van Eyck, Herman Hertzberger, and the lesser-known but very influential, cultural theorist Joop Hardy.⁷⁹

Bakema's shifting ideas on what an open society could be were also challenged within his own circle of architect friends, however. Famously so in the case of his promotion of the concept of the visual group in CIAM and Team 10. The Smithsons in particular contested the literal translation of social groupings into three-dimensional schemes as proposed by Bakema. Instead, they proposed something they called the 'appreciated unit', which remained rather abstract since they refused to give it a well-defined architectural shape or configuration. The Smithsons contended that "social groups are not created by location alone but by community of interest and physical and psychological interdependence. The family can still be tight-knit and possessive when its members are thousands of miles apart; the 'extended family' can be scattered through many districts and classes of a town; and the 'assessment group' of the intellectual or artist may be international and non-colingual, yet with more in common than with many neighbours."⁸⁰ Another early and well-known moment of friction is the so-called Hispano-Suiza affair in 1953, when Aldo van Eyck publicly criticized Bakema and his office for accepting the commission for an arms factory in Breda.⁸¹ Joop Hardy adopted a decidedly ideological position as well, when he denounced the idea of an open society altogether



Jaap Bakema, diagram 'integration of spaces and functions', early 1960s

in 1964. Speaking about the post-1945 avant-garde, Hardy claimed it was the opposite of an open society. It consisted of "almost closed communities juxtaposed to an 'open society' which absorbs everything that submits, adapts, socializes". Speaking of the arts, Hardy also posited that the "open museum that admits every manifestation, attracts every event and, in doing so, neutralizes, invalidates [the avant-garde]".⁸²

It just goes to show that consensus-building and pragmatism as hinted at by Bakema were not a matter of course, not even among his own peers of Dutch *Forum* and Team 10. How to (re)organize the planning system in the Netherlands and where to situate democratic control and participation was a subject of fierce debate, which led to highly radical and innovative propositions that touched on the very definition of the architectural discipline. In the Netherlands one of the first proponents of the empowerment of inhabitants as the starting point for a fundamental rethink of architecture and planning, and of the structure of the building industry was, of course, John Habraken, who published his groundbreaking book *De dragers en de mensen* in 1961.⁸³ Other radical positions in the Dutch debates that sought to translate new democratic ideals into architecture as a critique of functionalist planning were represented by Frank van Klingeren and Constant Nieuwenhuys. Van Klingeren developed a spatial theory of friction to overcome functional segregation for his various experimental projects for cultural centres, while the artist Constant famously worked on his fictional and utopian project of New Babylon from 1956 to 1974.⁸⁴

Bakema seemed to embrace the competition and the challenging of his propositions. To him, contestation and critique were part of the discursive game, completely in line with a Popperian understanding of what an open society stands for. A comparison of the design production of those years reveals quite a few parallels. Bakema's diagram of future urbanization and the interweaving of public and private functions, for example, is reminiscent of Constant's project. Both men assumed that land should be fully collectivized in order to maximize modernization and freedom, a socialist ideal that was shattered in 1977 when the centre-left coalition government led by the social-democrat Joop den Uyl foundered on a new law that would have allowed the government to acquire agricultural land cheaply for the construction of new housing projects.

Bakema's acceptance of a competition of ideas was also exemplified by his notes for the Osaka pavilion. He aimed to include what he called 'protest schemes', design proposals reflecting alternative approaches to architecture and planning by other designers. He listed Constant's New Babylon, Aldo van Eyck's Orphanage building in Amsterdam and Piet Blom (without specifying a project), together

with various 'student schemes'. He included two of his own projects as well, the Auditorium building for Delft University and Pampus, the monumental scheme for the extension of Amsterdam.⁸⁵ The inclusion of the latter as an example of 'protest' is quite remarkable, since proposals for megastructures had come under fierce scrutiny from local pressure groups and the news media, and Bakema too, had experienced a rejection of his approach to planning, forcing him to drastically review his own assumptions.

Denouncement

Perhaps the so-called Cityplan, developed in the late 1960s for the restructuring of the centre of Eindhoven, is the most characteristic example of the demise of Bakema's approach. Bakema had tailored the urban development scheme to meet all sorts of possible demands in terms of multi-functionality and mixed-use, future change and adaptability. The megastructure-like project was a response to the need to accommodate large-scale programmes for the booming hometown of the multinational Philips company. Even though the architectural language was radically modern, the specific urban configuration of the project engaged in a dialogue with the existing historical fabric to create a continuous series of new public spaces. But it was all to no avail, for the project triggered angry protests from vocal action groups, environmentalists, concerned citizens and a critical media, while politicians and governors also expressed their doubts. In Eindhoven it transpired that Bakema's ideas of an open society and how to translate them into an urban architecture were rejected at the very moment when the open society seemed to become fully institutionalized.

Building on earlier projects for megastructures developed by his office, such as the one for the Hauptstadt Berlin, the Tel Aviv-Jaffa competitions and the Pampus extension plan for Amsterdam, Bakema had proposed a so-called 'spine-wall' building for Eindhoven. The project was some 400 metres long and reminiscent of the earlier 'core-wall' concept. It was to house a variety of functions – shops, offices and flats – and can be read as a variation of the

'Facilitating fiddling with your own apartment', *Het Parool*, 23 May 1970



support and infill concept of John Habraken, who himself never came up with a design proposal to illustrate his groundbreaking 1961 idea. In one of the many newspaper articles devoted to the project, Bakema explained the idea of support and infill as an approach that allowed people to 'tinker' or 'fiddle' with their own apartment in order to adjust it to their own ideas and wishes.⁸⁶

Throughout 1969, Bakema and his office supported and co-developed a full-scale democratic process of citizen participation in Eindhoven, not unlike his vision for the reconstruction of post-war Groningen, with exhibitions and plenty of opportunity for public debate. A costly presentation was organized at the Van Abbemuseum, where Jean Leering had been appointed director. A recent graduate from the Delft Faculty of Architecture, Leering was quite familiar with the field of planning and the work of Van den Broek and Bakema. From 19 September until 9 November 1969, half the museum space was made available for the many scale models, reproductions, slide shows and other visualizations.⁸⁷ The first room immersed visitors in a 1:20 model that occupied the whole space. It showed the complex spatial elaboration of the heart of the plan. A second room gave insight into the principles of the plan with more models, photos and drawings of a multi-level city, a third room contained a classic overview model of the plan as proposed by the city, and a fourth room offered variations on the basic plan, with more explanations as to the overall planning principles, a slide show and a wall with newspaper clippings of the debates and various opinions. There was also a model that could be used in discussions to test different alternatives. The last room was devoted to a selection of work from the Van den Broek and Bakema office as an illustration of developments in modern architecture in the 1960s.

The accompanying catalogue included sheets for comments and even one page with an outline of the area in which citizens could draw their own alternative visions, a selection of which survive in the archive. As well as an extensive explanation by Bakema, the catalogue also contained several fiercely critical newspaper articles, including an alternative proposal from local architects. In addition, during the decision-making process a series of 'teach-ins' and 'hearings' was organized. Yet, the whole undertaking was undercut by the local city government. In the midst of the public information and participation campaign, the proposal was approved by the city council on 23 June 1969 by a majority of 29 votes in favour and 7 against. The very flexibility of the scheme was one of the reasons why the city government received support from the elected council members, and why they still felt a participation process of citizens was useful. But the decision immediately backfired, since it proved to the critics that the campaign was not wholly sincere as a democratic process.

⁸² Joop Hardy, 'Avant-garde', lecture, 8 February 1964, published in: 'Structuralism', insert with *Volume*, no. 42, 2014, pp. 14-16.

⁸³ It appeared in English as *Supports, an Alternative to Mass Housing*, London: Architectural Press, 1972; see also Koos Bosma, Dorine van Hoogstraaten, Martijn Vos (eds.), *Housing for the Millions. John Habraken and the SAR (1960-2000)*, Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2000.

⁸⁴ For Frank van Klingeren's work see Marina van den Bergen, Piet Vollaard, *Hinder en ontkenning. Architectuur en maatschappij in het werk van Frank van Klingeren*, Rotterdam: Uitgeverij 010, 2003; for Constant see Mark Wigley, *Constant's New Babylon. The Hyper-Architecture of Desire*, Rotterdam: Uitgeverij 010, 1998.

⁸⁵ Bakema, notes for Osaka, p. 2; BAKE_d34-16.

⁸⁶ Matthijs de Vreede, 'Zo bouwen dat ieder kan sleutelen aan zijn woonruimte', in *Het Parool*, 23 May 1970.

⁸⁷ Archive documents mention an amount of over 100,000 guilders, (c. 220,000 euros today).

88 Hans Schippers, Jos Bosman, Kees Doevendans, *Cityplan Eindhoven (1967-1970), het modernste ontwerp voor de stad*, Zutphen:Walburg Pers, 2007; Harrie van Helmond, 'Sittieplan Eindhoven, een modernistische droom', *ArchiNed* 3 October 2007.

89 The foundation is still very active and pays particular attention to the quality of public spaces. For more information see their website: www.woonwijkhethoel.nl; for a project documentation see pp. 172-179.

90 Tange's contribution is well-known, Maki's presence less so, but a thank you note in the archive of Het Nieuwe Instituut in Rotterdam bears testimony to his presence, cf. note 49.

91 Jaap Bakema, *Post Box for the Development of the Habitat*, no. 6, 12 May 1961, p. 2.

92 Ibid.

93 Ibid., p. 1.

94 Jaap Bakema, 'Een huis van een keizer werd stad voor 3000 mensen (te Split)', in *Forum*, no. 2, 1962, pp. 45-67.

95 Ibid., p. 69; original Dutch text: "De realisatie van deze gedachte wordt in onze tijd steeds noodzakelijker".

96 Until the 1990s, when the idea to build a new city quarter in the waters of the lake IJsselmeer was taken up again, and a whole new scheme, the so-called IJburg district, was developed, albeit on a much less ambitious scale: instead of the 350,000 inhabitants of the Pampus scheme, IJburg is intended to accommodate 45,000 people.

97 Members included Thijs de Jong and Joost Vahl, recent graduates of TU Delft who worked for the Delft municipal planning office; Frans Hooykaas and Peter Lüthi represented the Van den Broek and Bakema office and were supervised by Jaap Bakema and Jan Stokla, with Hiwe Groenewolt and Anneloes van den Berg as citizen representatives.

98 Frans Hooykaas, former member of staff in the Van den Broek and Bakema office and right hand of Bakema, wrote an honest assessment 'Balans van tien jaar (on)gebondenheid. Het experiment Tanthof in Delft', in: *Bouw*, nos. 14-15, 10-24 July 1982, pp. 32-38.

Jaap Bakema, sketch for 'mammoth' housing, Rotterdam Alexanderpolder, 1953

Ultimately, however, the scheme was cancelled, not due to the citizens' protests, but because of all sorts of new uncertainties caused by, among others, the oil crisis and a newly elected city council. In 1974, the minister for spatial planning decided that the proposal appeared to be unfeasible, precisely because it was too flexible, and hence its future development too unpredictable to receive his support, after which the whole scheme was abandoned.⁸⁸

Between Japan and the Netherlands

But why did Bakema feel that the megastructure concept would fit his ideal of an open society? Especially given that some very successful housing districts were realized in parallel of the debates about the various large-scale projects such as Cityplan in Eindhoven and Pampus in Amsterdam. In Eindhoven, too, Bakema and his office designed a very popular scheme for an area just north of the inner city. Crucially, it was at the initiative of a few Philips engineers that the 't'Hooft housing estate came into being.⁸⁹ They wanted to build their own houses and established a foundation that succeeded in realizing the district together with the Van den Broek and Bakema office, housing associations and the city. The project started around 1961 and was eventually built between 1968 and 1972. It largely followed the concept of the visual group designed to accommodate a wide variety of housing types, including in terms of ownership.

The megastructure concept in Bakema's work originated in the late CIAM debates and the exchanges between Team 10 members and the Japanese metabolists, especially Kenzo Tange and Fumihiko Maki. The earliest example dates from 1953 and Bakema's work within the Rotterdam CIAM chapter *Opbouw*: a sketch proposal for 'mammoths' for

Alexanderpolder shows how the various housing blocks of the familiar visual group concept are linked together and built up into a massive 'mammoth'-like building that rises up from the flat polder landscape and merges with the new motorway infrastructure at the point of its highest volume. Eleven such monumental structures make up the whole district and create a highly futuristic environment of a new scale and identity that goes far beyond the classic opposition of country and city. A similar idea was developed for the Hauptstadt Berlin competition in 1958, on which occasion the typology of 'core-wall' buildings were introduced: functionally neutral, slab-like volumes, which demarcate the inner-city motorways and the entry to specific districts.

From 1959 onwards, Bakema started to elaborate the idea in a more radical way under the influence of his exchanges with Tange and Maki, both of whom attended the Otterlo conference.⁹⁰ Bakema's teaching activities in the USA were also crucial in this respect, since they allowed him to continue the conversations with Fumihiko Maki in particular, at Washington University in St. Louis where Bakema would teach as a visiting professor in 1959, and at the Harvard Graduate School of Design, where Maki ran a ground breaking studio focused on urban design, which was also frequented by Bakema. Arguably, Tange's Tokyo Bay project of 1960 influenced Bakema's 1964-65 proposal for the Pampus city extension of Amsterdam. As well as publishing images of the project in *Forum*, in his sixth 'Post Box for the development of the Habitat' newsletter of 12 May 1961, Bakema described Tange's plan for Tokyo as "the consequence of the idea of an open society", in particular its "linear structure".⁹¹ Other elements of the project he highlighted were the multi-level city, its circulation system, man-made platforms and land reclamation from the sea. In the context of the Eindhoven Cityplan two other remarks by Bakema stand out: the vertical cores as growing points for the new structure, and a "visual language about change and growth" that resulted in a "discipline in architectural terms for a step by step realisation of this plan".⁹² The newsletter also refers to 'Thoughts on Collective Form', distributed in typescript by Fumihiko Maki and Masato Ohtaka, in which they elaborated on the notion of group form. Bakema summarized it as "An attempt to create a total image through [the] grouping of elements that it is a reflection of growth and decay in our life process ... a metabolic process. [T]he breath of life and the poetry of living."⁹³

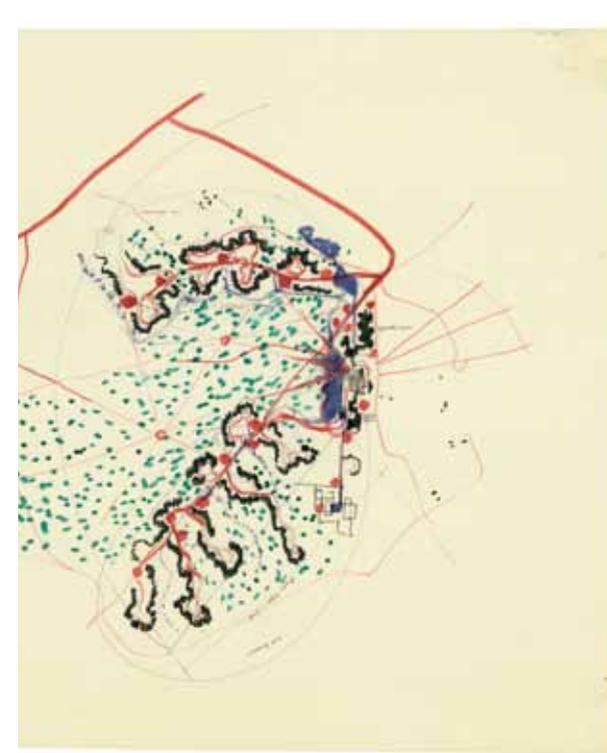
In a special issue of *Forum* of 1962, compiled by Bakema, he elaborated the idea of a city as a megastructure by way of the historical example of Split and its famous Roman Diocletian palace which had been appropriated by the local people over the centuries.⁹⁴ The example of Split was

used in support of the abandonment of CIAM's Functional City doctrine. At the end of the documentation, Bakema inserted other examples of projects which together more or less formed a new canon for a megastructural approach. To the previously mentioned Japanese projects by Tange, Maki and Ohtaka, he added Le Corbusier's Plan Obus and a reference to John Habraken's idea of supports and infill, stating that "in our time the realization of this idea is ever more necessary".⁹⁵

But in Eindhoven, as almost everywhere else, Bakema's pursuit of this ideal through the concept of megastructures and related typologies was eventually denounced. Maybe this is also one of the reasons why Bakema listed the Pampus project as a 'protest' scheme when he was planning the project for Osaka. Despite a publicity campaign as intense as that mounted in Eindhoven, including an exhibition in the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam, a special issue of *Forum* dedicated to the project, and a 'symposion' with representatives from the national, provincial and city departments, the Pampus Plan was ultimately shelved.⁹⁶ In Delft, too, an initial megastructure plan for the new Tanthof district had to be abandoned after protests. Subsequently, a working group that included the architects, city officials and citizens was formed to develop an entirely new approach.⁹⁷ A clear articulation in terms of spatial configuration made way for the production of a new kind of landscape approach that allowed room for change and negotiation during the realization process, and provided maximum flexibility without apparent hierarchy. In Tanthof and elsewhere, participation processes involving vocal action groups, environmentalists and concerned citizens, in combination with the demand to anticipate increasingly rapid changes in planning and politics, all under the watchful eyes of a highly critical media, resulted in an architectural design production that was very different from the heyday of the post-war welfare state.⁹⁸

New beginnings?

Can we conclude that the architectural project for an open society as envisaged by Bakema faltered at the very moment of maximum participation and democracy in the 1970s? Or even more significantly, did the architectural discipline meet its nemesis when confronted with the more radical forms of democracy? Or was the submersion in process the inevitable result of the kind of integration between architecture and planning that Bakema sought and that he dubbed, not so poetically perhaps, 'architecturbanism'? A shift to the organization of processes similar to that for the megastructure projects of Cityplan and Tanthof, can be observed in many other projects of the same period, such as the planning for the Hamburg housing district of Mümmelmannsberg or the project for the Siemens research and computer centre in Munich. In these projects, the end result was not defined by any formal concept or language,



Jaap Bakema, sketch for a holiday resort in Verneuil, France, 1979

but rather emerged from the rules and parameters as set out at the beginning based on an analysis of the programme and needs.

The formal language of Bakema's designs of the 1940s and '50s, which synthesized notions from the De Stijl movement (continuous space, ascending dimensions), the objective rationalism of Dutch functionalism, and proto-brutalist, 'concrete' realist architecture as exemplified by projects like his modest construction office in Rotterdam, the Hansaviertel tower block in Berlin, and the church in Nagele, made way for a range of 'impromptu responses' to the internal logic of the assignment in question, its context and concomitant realization process.⁹⁹ That the office only expanded further with branch offices and project architects, even 'democratized' itself into a new organization as the 'Architects' Community Van den Broek and Bakema', is also part of this history.¹⁰⁰ Within the resulting diversity of projects one can detect families of projects, associated with the various project architects, local contexts and the types of assignments.

Yet perhaps this is the 'open society' par excellence, the collection of processes of a continuous critique and revision, which ultimately cannot be fully controlled from a singular centre as exemplified by the figure of an author-architect. Bakema himself might have referred here to his favourite Henri Bergson quote: "d'abord je constate que je passe d'état en état".¹⁰¹ However, this quote should not be understood as a harmonious way of being in the world. That would imply a superficial glossing-over of the real socio-political differences and disruptions that are at stake, and which can only be resolved or overcome through contestation and critique. Even though one might criticize Bakema for not explicitly elaborating such a philosophical foundation and justly complain that all too often such references to a discourse outside architecture amounted to a bypassing of the actual political differences at stake, he himself was acutely aware of the political rifts that governed the projects in his office, and of the changing atmosphere in schools of architecture.¹⁰²

To be sure, Bakema himself never abandoned the project for an open society. It was in his view by definition unfinished. The concept of the megastructure or core-wall building must likewise have remained valid and realistic in his eyes, since in 1975 in the city of Tilburg a partial realization of the idea was eventually built as part of the inner-city Koningswei project, which included a parking garage, a public library and a housing slab. For Bakema architecture and urban planning were perfect vehicles for creating the platforms – to use a contemporary term – needed for the accommodation of the kind of contestation and criticism that were part and parcel of the open society as an evolutionary process. Some of the key projects in

Bakema's oeuvre were also clearly intended to provoke debate and contestation, Pampus famously so, while others were intended to regulate and accommodate the future development of the built environment, almost as an urban game built on the reciprocities between the users' patterns and the spatial and material configurations. One underlying motif in Bakema's work that seems to have been overlooked, yet is quite crucial to understanding his notion of architecture in relation to that of the open society, was the way he integrated the landscape into all his planning. Maybe it is overlooked because Bakema – despite being an eloquent and prolific speaker and proselytizer – also understated many aspects of his thinking and his firm's work. Landscape was one such aspect, construction and technology two more. When Bakema's work evolved from a clearly articulated, modernist vocabulary into a language based on process, landscape remained an important ingredient in the planning of the various projects. In the case of Tanthof, it even acquired a completely new role as the formative element of the plan, in terms for instance of the preservation of old polder structures and water management. The series of holiday resorts built for the Sporthuis Centrum company might also serve here as an example of landscaping as an integral part of the development of a language of emergent forms.

The concatenated clusters of bungalows were built for the comfort of the new middle classes and as such, left-wing critics criticized them for being too commercial, as an excess of consumer culture disrupting the natural environment. At the same time, the holiday villages fitted in with Bakema's ambition to build for the greater number and for the emancipation of the masses and individual citizens, which included the development of a leisure culture. Unlike Bakema's megastructure proposals, the holiday villages were immensely and enduringly popular. They were planned in such a way as to try to create a balance between the landscape and the new social realities. The houses were (and still are) extremely modest, constructed of bare concrete blocks and natural wood. The concrete block walls do not exceed the ground floor so as to enable small-scale construction by bricklayers rather than large-scale system building using cranes; above the concrete is an all-timber construction. Existing trees were spared, and the new settlements were integrated as much as possible with the landscape. The clustering of the houses was done in such a way as to ensure individual privacy and allow a direct relation with nature. Cars are left at the entrance; the holiday parks are developed as pedestrian zones.

The no-frills architecture fits the notion of a primitive hut, of course, very appropriate for a period of holiday, repose and recuperation. But above all, it is a kind of understated architecture that generously accommodates

the ordinary and the everyday, and that invites – perhaps even demands – appropriation by the user. At the same time the architectural language is a return to Bakema's early projects of the late 1940s, before he entered into partnership with Van den Broek, projects in which Bakema demonstrated the elements for the doorstep philosophy, which was to become so popular with his Team 10 friends.¹⁰³ It shows – once again – how the notions of interrelation and reciprocity are at the heart of Bakema's approach to architecture. These notions of interrelation and reciprocity, the (proto-)environmental understanding of architecture and planning, imply an unrelenting dynamic.

The interrelational understanding of architecture as part of a larger environment was already present in Bakema's early ideas on architecture as testified by his description of Rietveld's design for a weekend home for the Verrijn-Stuart family. In his essay 'The Free Form' published in 1941 at the beginning of the Second World War, Bakema spoke of the religious feelings aroused within him, of the force of a "God-nature" captured by Rietveld's mastery of architecture as a spatial art.¹⁰⁴ Similar lyrical descriptions are to be found in his wartime diary, and later on when he talked about the "wonder" of human existence and a cosmological experience of "total space". The notions of horizon, water, trees and an expanding landscape are always present in Bakema's reconceptualizations of the Dutch landscape and its infrastructure. This is still the place where the project for a modern, open society might be situated indeed, despite the demise of the big projects for 'total urbanization' in the 1970s, and the megastructure concept in particular. At the intersection between architecture and planning, housing and politics, this is the assignment: how to inhabit the landscapes of growth and change now total urbanization is becoming a reality?

⁹⁹ Project documentations can be found on pp. 144-149, pp. 180-185 and pp. 194-199 respectively.

¹⁰⁰ This 'democratization' of the office occurred in 1970, although the two partners always held a majority of the shares. When Van den Broek passed away in 1978, Bakema held the majority (as communicated by Frans Hooykaas); in the preface to the Joedicke monograph of 1976, Bakema identified a "core group" of office partners: Bakema, Boot, Van den Broek, de Groot, Rijnsdorp and Stokla. In addition he mentioned Lops, Van der Jagt, Van der Vet and Weber. The definitive history of the office and its project architects remains to be written; of the office project architects, Jan Stokla received a special accolade when he was awarded the so-called BNA-kubus, the most prestigious architecture award in the Netherlands.

¹⁰¹ Bakema, *Van stoel tot stad*, 1964, p. 28. The quote is from Henri Bergson's *L'Évolution créatrice* of 1907; it translates as: 'I find, first of all, that I pass from state to state'.

¹⁰² See for instance the preface to the second monograph of the office published by Jürgen Joedicke: *Architektur-Urbanismus. Architectengemeenschap van den Broek en Bakema*, Stuttgart: Karl Krämer Verlag, 1967, pp. 6-7.

¹⁰³ As pointed out in the introduction of this book: 'The Elusive Bigness of Bakema', pp. 16-23.

¹⁰⁴ Jaap Bakema, 'De vrije vorm', in: *De 8 en Opbouw*, no. 8, 1941, pp. 106-107.

A book like this is a collective effort, especially so since it started with the adventure of the Venice Architecture Biennale in 2014 with the Dutch national presentation 'Open: A Bakema Celebration' at the Rietveld pavilion: open.jaapbakemastudycentre.nl

For their support and sharing their knowledge special thanks go out to Brita Bakema and the Bakema family, Barry Bergdoll, Hetty Berens, Guus Beumer, Meindert Booij, Lilet Breddels, BroekBakema, Pi de Bruijn, Jean-Louis Cohen, Mieke Dings, Experimental Jetset, Dick van Gameren, Genootschap Architectura et Amicitia, John Habraken, Herman Hertzberger, Frans Hooykaas, Behrang Mousavi, Eric Mumford, Joan Ockman, Arjen Oosterman, Max Risselada, Izak Salomons, Johannes Schwartz, Jörg Stollmann, Herman Verkerk, Piet Vollaard, Aldo Vos, and Carel Weeber.

Editor: Dirk van den Heuvel

Image editing and graphic design: Jaap van Triest

Copy editor: Billy Nolan

Translations: Robyn De Jong-Dalziel

Research: Victor Muñoz Sanz, Gianluca Ferriero, Arthur Schoonenberg, Soscha Monteiro de Jesus, and Heritage department Het Nieuwe Instituut, Christel Leenen, Alfred Marks

Licensing and production: Archis Publishers, Lilet Breddels, Arjen Oosterman

Printing: Die Keure, Bruges

Paper: Magno Volume

Distribution: Idea Books, Amsterdam

© 2018 The authors and Archis, Amsterdam

isbn 978 90 77966 570

The Jaap Bakema Study Centre

is a research collaboration between Het Nieuwe Instituut, Rotterdam and TU Delft, Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment and was established in 2013. The research programme of the Jaap Bakema Study Centre finds its starting point with the vast collections of the State Archive for Dutch Architecture and Urban Planning which is part of Het Nieuwe Instituut. It investigates the intersections of history and theory of architectural design and planning, and contemporary issues in society and culture.

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Financial support

This publication was made possible with the generous support from Creative Industries Fund NL, Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment, TU Delft, and Het Nieuwe Instituut, Rotterdam.

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Arnold Reijndorp holds the Han Lammers Chair at the University of Amsterdam at the Department of Geography, Planning and International Development Studies. The chair is dedicated to the spatial and socio-economic development of new urban areas. He is also the research coordinator at the International New Town Institute. Trained as an architect at the TU Delft, Reijndorp moved towards a socio-economic focus in his analysis of the city. His publications include *De alledaagse en de geplande stad. Over identiteit, plek en thuis* (2010, with L. Reinders), and *New Town Roots. Geboren en getogen Zoetermeerders over hun stad* (2011, with S. Metaal et al.). Reijndorp was the recipient of the Maaskant Prize in 2012.

Jorrit Sipkes studied architecture at the TU Delft. He worked as student assistant to professor Carel Weeber and professor Alexander Tzonis and worked as an intern at Neutelings Riedijk Architects (2003). After graduating in 2005, he worked as an architect at Office Kersten Geers David Van Severen in the years 2005-2006, and at the office of Hans Kollhoff in the years 2008-2012. Since 2014 he has run his own architecture office in Rotterdam.

Lard Buurman studied photography at the Royal Academy of Arts in The Hague. His photography focuses on the narratives and lives of people that encounter each other in the public realm. He developed a visual idiom by reconstructing images from several documentary pictures taken from one spot to create a hybrid of documentary photography and film. In 2004, he travelled to China because he was fascinated by the speed with which this country's urban landscape had developed. In 2014, Hatje Cantz Verlag published his book on African public space, *Africa Junctions: Capturing the City*. In the second half of 2016 he took part in an art residency programme at the Institute For Provocation in Beijing. He is now working on several projects, from the Bijlmer in Amsterdam to Yekaterinburg in Russia and Shenzhen in China.

Johannes Schwartz studied photography at the Gerrit Rietveld Academy and lives and works in Amsterdam. At the Rietveld Academy, he has been head of the photography department (2004-2010), where he is currently still teaching. Awards include the Esther Kroon Award (1998) and the Cobra Kunstprijs Amstelveen (2007). He was one of the artists participating in 'Opera Aperta \ Loose Work', the official Dutch entry to the Venice Biennale 2011. 'High Series' is the ongoing project in close collaboration with the Experimental Jetset in which he investigates various ways of reproducing photography.

Jaap van Triest is a practicing graphic designer and educator based in Rotterdam. He studied graphic design in Arnhem, and graduated from the Werkplaats Typografie. He compiled and designed monographs on designers Karel Martens (1996, Goldene Letter), Wim Crouwel (1997), and Jurriaan Schrofer (2013) together with Martens. After *Auto. On the Citroën DS* (1981), he published on design and printing and on the artist's books by J.Cj Vanderheyden (2009) and Hans Eijkelboom (2016). He designed *Team 10. In Search of a Utopia of the Present 1953-1981* (2005), and co-authored *Lessons. Tupker/Risselada* (2003, with M. Steigenga and D. van den Heuvel). With Max Risselada, he compiled *Architecture in the Netherlands. A Chronology 1900-2000* (1999), followed by a survey of the works of Brazilian architect Lélé (2011), and of Alison and Peter Smithson, *The Space Between* (2016).

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In the photo montages of Lard Buurman the architecture of Van den Broek and Bakema appears as the modern, urban backdrop for the staging of everyday performances, routines and rituals. Bergen, Lijnbaan Rotterdam, 't Hoo! Eindhoven, Koningswei Tilburg



By combining fragments, Johannes Schwartz investigates the work of the Van den Broek and Bakema office as a language of bare materials and textures, transitional spaces and views to the outside. Riso-prints of the images were reproduced. Terneuzen, Marl, Marl, Nagele, Nagele, Terneuzen, Hansaviertel, Marl

