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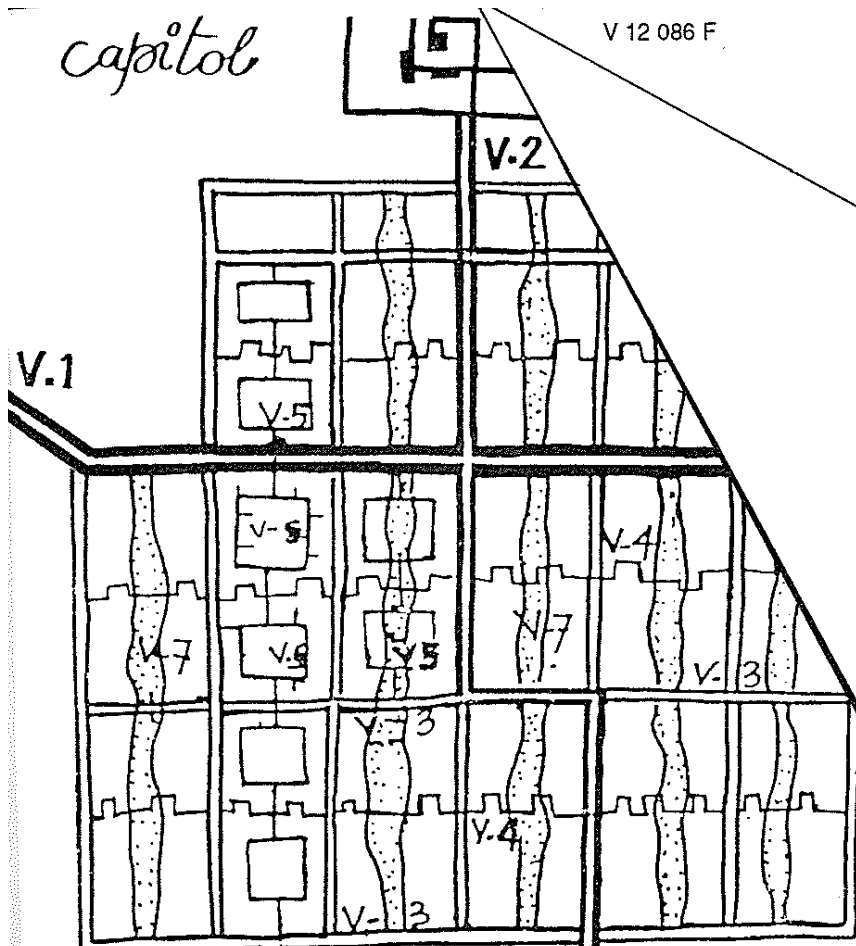
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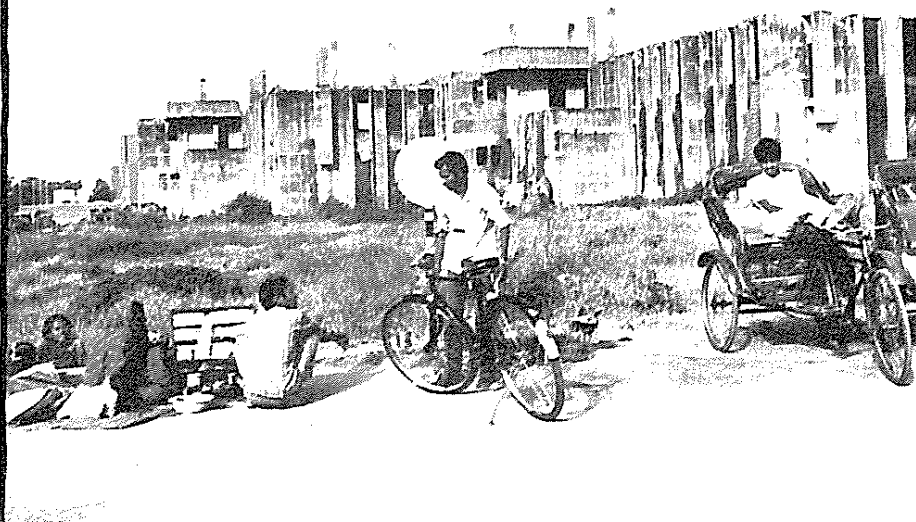
3. Quartal 1992

34



PLAN AND REALITY

V-2 first stage
150,000
inhabitants



Editorial: Plan and Reality

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Jean Gottmann, a geographer who has worked extensively on human settlements and specifically on contemporary urban agglomerations, concluded from what he had observed during his own "urban transhumance": "In brief, the people have used cities and suburbs for their purposes and ideas; they have not obeyed or even respected what planners and architects have tried to impose on the city attempting to control the population and the quality of life."¹⁾

This rather unfavorable verdict on planners may be unjustified for two reasons. First, plans by definition are not imposing, but only proposing. Consequently, while planning, and especially town planning towards improvement of the quality of life, refers unavoidably to a limited number of people, it cannot, by itself, "control" their number nor their life or immediate habitat. There is always a gap between plan and reality. In fact, any narrowing of the gap depends on the citizenry. Second, planning may be of good or bad quality. Good planning takes into account the purposes and ideas of the people and will be respected. Bad planning deserves not to be carried out.

Town planning is not a new idea. From the very beginning, "urban" settlements which are by definition dense and diversified in population, always did need some spatial pre-arrangement. Many towns are created as complex entities. Such formations have been excavated in Mesopotamia and the Indus Valley, in Pre-columbian America and Sub-Saharan Africa. They follow various common patterns and other ones specific for each culture. We know of waves of town founding: the Greek antiquity, the short period of Alexander the Great, the early medieval times in Europe, the colonial towns in Latin America etc. The spread of Islam was accompanied by a proliferation of Islamic towns. All this was planning without planners, just as there was architecture without architects. (Hippodamos of Milet, credited by Aristotle for the rectangular town plan, seems not to have been a practitioner) Planning was a sporadically exercised craft or art, too infrequent for it to become a trade. Prescriptions in form of ideal plans or sets of rules and comments like those composed by Chinese geomantics or European Renaissance theoreticians are messages of self-styled masters directed at virtual disciples in some distant place and time. Altogether it is an approach of dealing with the reality which Serge Moscovici attributes to the artisan.²⁾

The weakness of a sporadically exercised craft was felt strongly at the beginning of this century, when the global population explosion made the need for spatial planning wide-spread. The trade of Town Planning finally came into being. At this time too, scientific principles became more prestigious than craft rules. This caused some planners to see themselves rather as scientists than as craftsmen. However, because their metier was neither a social nor an engineering science but still a trial and error matter, they risked to become charlatan scientists; and they were bad craftsmen, because they did not want to be good ones. In this perspective, Gottmann's comment appears to be rather a critic of overambitious claims of "scientific" planning. As with all trade, the daily work of town planning is profane. Highlights are rare. As ever they relate to the establishment of entire new communities and to the development of significant parts of existing ones.

Three classic highlights of town planning of the most recent wave of town foundings in the Southern hemisphere are Brasilia, Chandigarh and Ciudad Guayana. They were designed and implemented in the late 1950s and 1960s with great optimism. At that time, it still seemed to be possible to control and redirect the urbanization process, for example by inventing new kinds of urban structure offering the best possible or an ever improving quality of life.



Sowing crops of ideas in the sky.

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This turned out to be a Sisyphus task. In the 1970s at the latest, when some of the Southern metropolis approached the 10-million mark, the new dimensions of urbanization became clear and also the impossibility of managing the urban explosion either with one of the old recipes, or with one of the modern ones, no matter how ingenious they might be. Instead, urban growth happened anywhere, inside and outside of the official plans. It led to a world-wide practice of spontaneous, informal or self-help urbanism in form of improvised fringe settlements or chaotic invasions of slopes and swamps and, more important, to the well-organized settlements of huge dimensions in, say, Mexico-City or Sao Paulo, or the meticulous utilization of any exploitable survival niche in, say, Calcutta or Bangkok. This is the new kind of town planning without planners – at least without professional ones.

In the rising flood of such urban formations, the centres of Brasilia or Ciudad Guayana, or Chandigarh as a whole stand out as islands. The success of their planning may be measured by the degree with which they are already or will be one day respected as landmarks. In most other aspects they tend to become overwhelmed by the normality of daily life reflecting the deficiencies and conflicts typical for the societies in the Southern Hemisphere which they are part of.

The three first of the five articles of this issue of TRIALOG present the three show-pieces of modern professional town planning already mentioned: Brasilia, Chandigarh and Ciudad Guayana. These ventures might now, after one generation, allow for preliminary assessment. The fourth contribution deals with the exercise of re-arranging a town centre – a venture comparable to the formation of the Campo in Siena³⁾ – still in the stage of search for THE planner and his idea. The fifth contribution is a contemporary example of an undirected message in the tradition of theoreticians like Hippodamos, Vitruvius, Leon Battista Alberti and others. As ironical comment on all this we add a set of caricatures on planning rhetoric and reality by **Mulkh Raj**. Being one of the Directors of HUDCO, the Indian Housing and Urban Development Corporation, he must be considered an authority on the subject.

Eckhart Ribbeck and **Celsus Lellis** review the present situation of **Brasilia** which was founded and planned some 30 years ago as the federal capital of Brazil and a regional development centre. It has grown to a two million population agglomeration and completely changed the social and economic structure in the central region of the country. The scheme proposed by Lucio Costa and Oscar Niemeyer has developed its own life and identity and is regarded, by now, with considerable respect. The fact that a number of elements of the original plan have been distorted or left uncompleted should not be a matter of academic disdain. It simply shows that Brasilia has turned into an almost "normal" Brazilian, naturally displaying the contradictions and problems typical for a Southern metropolis.

Jürgen Oestereich reports of a visit in **Chandigarh**, a town being planned in the early fifties as a new state capital in India and a rather modest administration centre. Being a town with one of the highest growth rates in India for years, it has outgrown its initial brief and the planner's *view d'ensemble*. The author confronts his impressions with statements of its architect, Le Corbusier, of the head of one of the planning departments presently responsible, and of two Indian critics. He concludes that the obvious success of the plan depends on the development of an identity based on overcoming the contradictions between the underlying intentions of planning and its aesthetical prescriptions.

(continued on next page)

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Bernd Cleclor investigates the planning and the implementation of **Ciudad Guyana**, Venezuela, founded and planned as an industrial town and a growth pole model town. Although designed by USA-Planners of high reputation and with the best methodological tools available at that time, the development took an entirely unforeseen direction because of fundamental errors in the industrialization strategy and the reaction of the population on them.

Samarkand, a Central Asian city with a history of over 2500 years, is partly an object of reconstruction, and partly an object of decay. Especially its city centre is sadly neglected. In collect ideas for its re-arrangement and to commemorate the humane and highly cultivated fifteenth century Samarkand ruler Ulugh Beg, a 'Competition for the Reconstruction of the City Centre' was organized. The **Aga Khan Foundation for Culture** which had played a leading part in the organization of the competition, presents excerpts of the Samarkand history, of the competition brief and of the results. We complement the presentation by a commentary. All four planning ventures depend on the existing vocabulary of architecture and do not care, if the basic shelter needs of the masses are met. As we know, they are not! This is the starting point of the **Popular Encyclopedia of Survival**, an ambitious exercise of assembling and propagating the basic elements of human life on a degraded, overcrowded planet by **Yona Friedman** and **Eda Schaur**. The authors introduce their proposals on two levels: As a collection of texts and pictograms, as a 1:1 model in a new type of "museum". This approach was awarded the *Grand Prix* in the *Global Designers' Competition* in Osaka 1991. The authors' didactic stands in the tradition of the writings of Alberti and his colleagues, translating the main town planning principles, *commoditas et voluptas*, into the contemporary notions of *infrastructure facilities* and *quality of life*. Like them they have difficulties in making their target group listening.

Thus, all our examples refute Gottmann's verdict – through their difference between plan and reality. This very difference makes Town Planning a craft, useful, appropriate, and worth to be developed further in and for a people of equal political rights and economic status, a truly democratic society.

Jürgen Oestereich Eckhart Ribbeck

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Plan und Realität

Editorial

Jean Gottmann, ein Siedlungsgeograph, der sich ausführlich mit den heutigen Ballungsräumen auseinandergesetzt hat, zog aus dem, was er in seinem "städtischen Nomadenleben" beobachtet hatte, den Schluß: "Die Menschen benutzen Städte und Vorstädte für ihre eigenen Zwecke und Vorstellungen; sie respektieren nicht den Planern und nicht, was Planer und Architekten der Stadt verordnen um damit die Bewohnerzahl und Lebensqualität in den Griff zu bekommen." 1)

Dieses für Planer unvorteilhafte Urteil dürfte aus zwei Gründen ungerechtfertigt sein: Erstens verordnen Planer nicht, sondern schlagen vor. Obschon Planung und besonders Stadtplanung, die sich mit der Lebensqualität befaßt, unvermeidlich Gruppen von Einwohnern im Auge haben, kann sie selbst weder deren Zahl noch deren Wohnverhalten kontrollieren. Zwischen Plan und Wirklichkeit besteht immer eine Lücke. Planer wissen, daß diese nur zu verengen ist im Zusammenwirken mit der Bewohnerschaft. Zweitens kann Planung gut oder schlecht sein. Gute Planung berücksichtigt die Zwecke und Vorstellungen der Leute und wird folglich respektiert. Schlechte Planung verdient es, nicht durchgeführt zu werden.

Stadtplanung ist keine neue Idee. Vom Urzeiten an erforderten städtische, also dicht und diversifizierte bewohnte Siedlungen vorausschauende Flächenaufteilungen. Viele Städte wurden gleich als komplexe Einheiten angelegt. Solche Gebilde sind in Mesopotamien und im Indus, im präkolumbischen Amerika und in Afrika südlich der Sahara ausgegraben worden. Teils folgen sie allgemeinen Mustern, teils kulturspezifischen. Wir wissen von Stadtgründungswellen: im griechischen Altertum, in der kurzen Periode der Herrschaft Alexander des Großen, im frühen Mittelalter in Europa, im kolonialen Lateinamerika und anderwo... Die Ausbreitung des Islam wurde einer Multiplizierung islamischer Städte begleitet. Dies alles war Stadtplanung ohne Stadtplaner, so wie es Architektur ohne Architekten gab. (Hippodamos von Milet, dem von Aristoteles der orthogonale Straßenplan zugeschrieben wird,

scheint kein Praktiker gewesen zu sein.) Stadtplanung wurde sporadisch ausgeübt, zu spärlich, um zu einem Beruf zu werden. Lehrbeispiele in Form von Idealplänen oder Regelwerken wie sie von den Geomanten in China oder den Theoretikern der europäischen Renaissance zusammengestellt wurden, sind eine Art Flaschenpost selbsternannter Meister für ferne Lehrlinge irgendwo und irgendwann. Dies ist jene Methode, mit der Realität umzugehen, welche Serge Moscovici als typisch für den Handwerker ansieht. 2)

Die Schwachstellen einer nur sporadisch ausgeübten Fertigkeit wurde zunehmend deutlich, als Anfang dieses Jahrhunderts die beginnende Bevölkerungsexplosion räumliche Vorkehrungen notwendig machte. So entstand die Disziplin der Stadtplanung. Gleichzeitig gewannen wissenschaftliche Methoden besonders Prestige. Das brachte einige Planer dazu, sich mehr als Wissenschaftler als als Handwerker zu fühlen. Da aber ihr Metier weder Gesellschafts- noch Ingenieurwissenschaft sondern eine Sache von Versuch und Irrtum blieb, riskierten sie, zu Scharlatanen zu werden und schlecht im Handwerk zu bleiben, da sie sich dann nicht um Vollkommenheit bemühten. Deshalb kann Gottmanns Bemerkung auch als eine Kritik an dem übertriebenen Ehrgeiz "wissenschaftlicher Planung" verstanden werden. Als Handwerk ist Planung eher erdverbunden. Sternstunden sind selten. Wie immer schon, ereignen sich diese am ehesten dort, wo neue Städte entstehen oder bedeutsame Teile bestehender Städte neu zu gestalten sind.

Drei der klassischen Highlights der Stadtplanung der letzten Welle der Stadtgründungen auf der südlichen Halbkugel sind Brasilien, Chandigarh und Ciudad Guayana. Sie wurden in den fünfziger und sechziger Jahren mit großem Optimismus entworfen und ausgeführt. Damals erschien es noch möglich, den Urbanisierungsprozess zu kontrollieren und zu steuern, etwa durch das Erfinden neuer Stadtstrukturen, die die bestmögliche Lebensqualität bieten sollten.

Dies stellte sich als eine Sisyphusaufgabe heraus. In den siebziger Jahren bereits, spätestens aber, als die ersten Metropolen des Südens sich der Zehn-Millionen-Grenze näherten, wurde das beispiellose Ausmaß heutiger Urbanisierung deutlich und damit die Unmöglichkeit, sie zu steuern, sei es mit bekannten, sei es mit neuen Rezepten, wie genial sie auch sein mochten. Stadtwachstum findet innerhalb und außerhalb offizieller Plangebiete statt, in Form der spontanen, informellen Verstärkerung auf Selbsthilfebasis, als improvisierte Randsiedlungen oder chaotische Invasionen auf Hängen oder in Sümpfen, bedeutsamer noch, als ausgedehnte wohlorganisierte Siedlungen wie in Mexiko--Stadt oder Sao Paulo oder als penible Nutzung jeder denkbaren Überlebensnische wie in Kalkutta oder Bangkok.

In der sich ausbreitenden Flut solcher städtischen Gebilde ragen die Zentren von Brasilia oder Ciudad Guayana oder Chandigarh insgesamt wie Inseln heraus. Der Erfolg von deren Planung mag zu messen sein an dem Grad in dem es ihnen gelungen ist oder gelingen wird, als Orientierungsmarken respektiert zu werden. In allen übrigen Belangen werden sie vermutlich in der alltäglichen Normalität versinken, die naturgemäß mit den Mängeln und Konflikten behaftet ist, die für die Gesellschaften des Südens, deren Teil sie sind, typisch sind.

Die ersten drei der fünf Artikel dieses TRIALOG-Heftes befassen sich mit den erwähnten highlights modern-professioneller Stadtplanung: Brasilien, Chandigarh und Ciudad Guayana. Es dürfte gerechtfertigt sein, sie nun, nach gut einer Generation einer vorläufigen Bewertung zu unterziehen. Der vierte Beitrag ist einem Vorhaben der Formung der Stadtmitte gewidmet - Vergleichbar mit der Gestaltung des Campo in Siena) -, das sich noch im Stadium der Suche nach DEM Planer und seiner Idee befindet. Der fünfte Beitrag schließlich ist ein zeitgenössisches Beispiel der Flaschenpost in der Tradition der Theoretiker wie Hippodamos, Vitruv, Leon Battista Alberti and anderen. Als ironischen Kommentar auf all dies fügen wir eine Reihe von Karikaturen zum Thema Planungsrethorik und Wirklichkeit an. Der Autor ist Mulkh Raj, einer der Direktoren von HUDCO, der halbstaatlichen indischen Wohnungs- und Städtebau-Korporation, also eine Autorität auf diesem Gebiet.

Eckhart Ribbeck und Celsus Lellis befassen sich mit dem gegenwärtigen Zustand von Brasilia, das vor gut 30 Jahren als neue Hauptstadt Brasiliens und als regionales Entwicklungszentrum gegründet worden war. Die Stadt hat sich zu einem Zwei-Millionen Ballungsraum entwickelt und die sozio-ökonomische Struktur von Brasiliens Zentralregion völlig verändert. Der Entwurf Lucio Costas und Oskar Nie-

meys hat zu eigenem Leben und eigener Identität gefunden und wird heute eher mit Respekt betrachtet. Die Tatsache, daß eine Reihe von Elementen des ursprünglichen Planes verändert oder überhaupt nicht ausgeführt wurden, sollte nicht mit akademischem Hochmut verachtet werden. Sie zeigt nur, daß Brasilia zu einer fast "normalen" brasilianischen Stadt geworden ist, die natürlicherweise den Widersprüchen und Konflikten unterliegt, die für die Metropolen des Südens typisch sind.

Jürgen Oestereich berichtet von einem Besuch in Chandigarh, einer Stadt, die in den frühen fünfziger Jahren als neue Hauptstadt des indischen Bundesstaates Punjab und eher bescheidenes Verwaltungszentrum geplant worden war. Als Stadt mit einer der höchsten Wachstumsraten Indiens nähert sie sich der Millionengrenze und hat das ursprüngliche Programm und das Ziel ihrer Planer weit hinter sich gelassen. Der Autor stellt seinen Eindrücken Aussagen Le Corbusiers als Planer, des Leiter eines der verantwortlichen Planungsgremien in Chandigarh und von zwei indischen Kritikern gegenüber. Er kommt zu dem Schluß, daß der Erfolg des Planes davon abhängt, inwieweit die inhärenten Widersprüche von Plan und ästhetischer Ordnung überwunden werden und daraus eine Identität entsteht.

Bernd Ciecior untersucht Planung und Ausführung von Ciudad Guayana, Venezuela, das als Industriestandort und Modell für ein regionales Wachstumszentrum gegründet worden war. Obwohl von hochangesehenen Planern aus den USA und mit den seinerzeit vielversprechendsten Methoden entworfen, nahm die Entwicklung eine unvorhergesehene Richtung. Die Gründe waren fundamentale Fehler in der Industrialisierungsstrategie des Landes und unvorhergesehene Reaktionen der Bevölkerung darauf und überhaupt.

Die Aga Khan Kulturstiftung stellt den internationalen Wettbewerb für den Wiederaufbau des Stadtzentrums von Samarkand vor, an dessen Vorbereitung und Durchführung sie maßgeblich beteiligt war. Diese Stadt mit einer über zweitausendjähri-

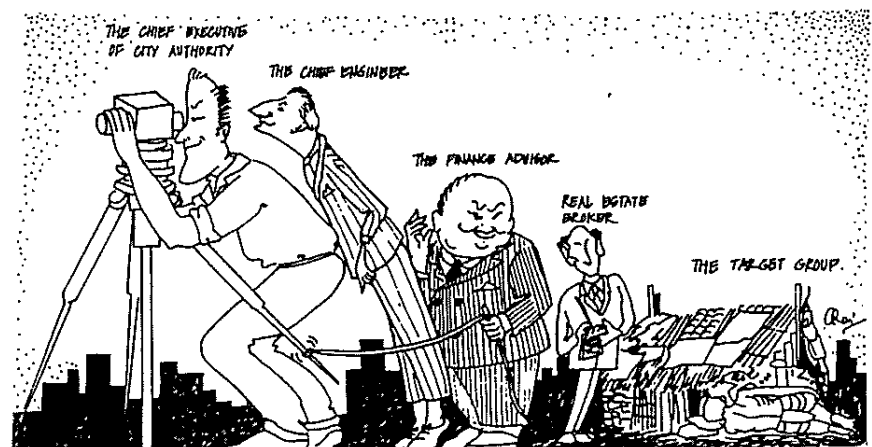
gen Geschichte wird teils restauriert ("türkische Kuppeln in dem grünen Tal"), teils verfällt sie. Besonders das Stadtzentrum kann so seine Rolle nicht ausfüllen. In dem Wettbewerb sollten Ideen gefunden werden für eine Neugestaltung des Zentrums, nicht zuletzt um Ulugh Beg zu feiern, einen humanen und hochkultivierten Herrscher der Stadt aus dem 15. Jahrhundert. Auf einen bauhistorischen Exkurs folgt die Vorstellung des Wettbewerbs und seiner Ergebnisse, gefolgt von einem Kommentar zu den weiteren Schritten.

Alle vier Planungsvorhaben benutzen die vorhandene architektonische Sprache und stellen sich nicht der Frage, ob das Grundbedürfnis der Menge, das Dach über dem Kopf, befriedigt sind. Wie wir wissen, ist dies nicht des Fall. Davon nun geht die "Volkszyklopädie des Überlebens" aus. In diesem ehrgeizigen Vorhaben stellen Yona Friedman und Eda Schaur grundlegende Elemente des Überlebens auf einem heruntergewirtschafteten und über-völkerten Planeten zusammen um sie den Unterprivilegierten zu vermitteln. Dies geschieht in zwei Formen: als Zusammenstellung von Bildgeschichten und als Demonstration im 1:1 Modell in einer neuen Form von "Museum". Diesem Ansatz wurde auf dem internationalen Designer--Wettbewerb Osaka 1991 der Große Preis zuerkannt. Die Didaktik der Autoren steht in der Tradition der Schriften von Alberti und seinen Kollegen, indem sie Commoditas et voluptas mit Infrastruktur und Lebensqualität übersetzen. Wie jene aber haben sie doch wohl Schwierigkeiten, ihre Zielgruppe zu erreichen.

Unter dem Strich ergibt sich, daß alle unsere Beispiele Gottmanns Urteil widerlegen, und zwar gerade, indem zwischen Plan und Realität eine Differenz bleibt. Es ist diese Differenz, die die Stadtplanung zu einem Handwerk macht, notwendig und situationsgemäß, wert, weiter entwickelt zu werden vor allem in Ländern, die die Gleichheit politischer Rechte und wirtschaftlicher Möglichkeiten ihrer Bürger anstreben, in wirklich demokratischen Gesellschaften.

Jürgen Oestereich

Eckhart Ribbeck



Towards Normality: Recent Development Trends in Brasilia

Eckhart Ribbeck / Celso Lellis

More than 30 years after its foundation, Brasilia is "grown-up". A new generation has entered the scene, which does not pay too much attention to the old discussion, whether Brasilia is "an authentic metropolis of the year 2000" or "a sterile and bureaucratic nightmare". Instead, normal urban life prevails, with many of the contradictions and problems which also exist in other great Brazilian cities. In the following, some aspects of the actual development of Brasilia are described.

Regional context

The political capital of Brazil has now become Brasilia, this is not only true in formal but in practical terms, too. This shows that one of the major objectives for its foundation has been attained: to move the political centre towards the geographic centre of this huge country, thus strengthening the interior regions and limiting the impact of the metropolis Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo. More than that, with its population of two million "Greater Brasilia" is an important regional growth centre today, still attracting a considerable number of migrants. The impact of this growing urban centre has spread far beyond the limits of the Federal District, and has contributed to the formation a new economic region which includes the state of Goias and – although to a less extent – the state of Minas Gerais. Linked to the important interregional highway Belem-Brasilia, and connecting with the Transamazonica, Brasilia is also an important stepping stone in the development of the Amazon region, particularly of Rondonia and Acre.

However, the dynamic change of the central region also contains some critical aspects. Due to the lack of regional planning, spontaneous and speculative development has prevailed so far. It is only now that a new Plano Diretor is being drafted for Brasilia. It also contains

a planning effort on the regional scale, in order to control the growth of the emerging metropolis. Nevertheless it is evident that Brasilia – whatever the dynamics of its further development will be – cannot significantly alter the demographic and economic map of Brazil. In particular, the growth of the 15-million metropolis Sao Paulo can hardly be curbed; it will maintain its position as one of the biggest urban centres of the world.

These circumstances indicate that any evaluation of the new Brazilian capital has to consider its impact on a wider regional scale. The architectonic and urbanistic aspects, which have dominated the discussion so far, represent only one aspect of Brasilia's development, and probably not the most important one. Nevertheless, it remains extremely interesting for architects and townplanners to investigate, after several decades, the strength and the weakness of the original project.

"Greater Brasilia"

Today, to avoid confusion, any discussion about Brasilia has to explain clearly the context. To give an idea, today Brasilia is a large urban agglomeration which consists of at least 5 different urbanized zones (or rings), in which altogether about 2 million people live:

- the core of this agglomeration or Plano Piloto, i. e. the well known urbanistic project of Lúcia Costa and Oscar Niemeyer, with a population of about 450.000. This urban core is more or less consolidated, with very few "superblocks" (superquadras) or other spaces still unoccupied;
- the extensive high-income areas of Lago Sul and Lago Norte, which are linked together by a 50 km ringroad to form "one of longest ribbon-type settlements of the world";
- new housing and settlement schemes which have filled up the western extremity of the eixo monumental (e. g. Cruzeiro Velho, Cruzeiro Novo, Octagonais, Guar I, Guar II, etc.). In addition, new low- and high-rise housing is actually built very close to the monumental axis, in line with a recent land use proposal of L. Costa;

Zusammenfassung

Eine Stadt wie Brasilia, die dreißig Jahre nach ihrer Gründung eine eigene Identität entwickelt hat und zum "Erbe der Menschheit" gezählt wird, ist in der Geschichte des Städtebaus einzigartig. Deshalb ist in den letzten Jahrzehnten die Anerkennung für deren Planung und Architektur gestiegen. Daß einige Aspekte des ursprünglichen Projektes verdreht oder überhaupt nicht ausgeführt worden sind, sollte von akademischer Warte aus nicht bekräftelt werden. Es zeigt nur, daß Brasilia nunmehr eine fast normale brasilische Stadt geworden ist, in welcher sich naturgemäß viele jener Widersprüche und Probleme zeigen, die in diesem Zusammenhang typisch sind. Bedeutsamer ist wohl, daß das Städtebauexperiment zum Entstehen eines Ballungsraumes von zwei Millionen Einwohnern geführt hat und damit die soziale und wirtschaftliche Struktur der Zentralregion Brasiliens vollständig verändert hat. Es ist auf dieser regionalen oder subregionalen Ebene, auf der gegenwärtig der dringendste Planungsbedarf besteht.



Praca dos 3 Poderes, the head of the Monumental Axis

- the satellite-towns which have been built at a distance of 10–30 km around the Plano Piloto: Gama, Taguatinga, Ceilandia, Sobradinho, Planaltina, etc.;
- a great number of spontaneous settlements (loteamentos populares, loteamentos clandestinos), which form a huge new settlement zone along the roads to the small historic towns in the state of Goiás, immediately beyond the boundaries of the Federal District or Distrito Federal (DF).

In addition, some squatter settlements (invasoes) should be mentioned, which can be found near the Plano Piloto and the Satellite Towns.

1.5 million or 75% of the total population of "Greater Brasilia" does not live within the Plano Piloto area, but in other urbanized zones belonging to the agglomeration. This means that the political and planning focus has necessarily shifted away from the core towards the satellite towns and the other new settlement zones, where the majority of Brasilia's electorate lives today.

Plano Piloto

Planning and development control is most urgent problem of Brasilia's fast growing urban agglomeration today. Nevertheless, the question of how the Plano Piloto has developed within the last three decades and what its probable future will be, remains interesting and significant.

The characteristics of the spectacular project of L. Costa and O. Niemeyer have been discussed widely in the 60s and 70s, so that a description can be limited to some few remarks. First of all, there is

the impressive simplicity of the overall design, which consists of crossing a "monumental axis" with a "residential axis", the latter subdivided in two "wings" (asa sul, asa norte), with an extension of 7 km each. Other important characteristics of the original plan include: the rational design of the urban highway and street system (e.g. the eixo rodoviario, 14km), the strict separation of urban functions, the concept of the "superblocks" or superquadras, i.e. self-contained neighbourhoods without interior traffic, with 6-storey apartment blocks surrounded by large open spaces. Each of these neighbourhoods or superblocks was planned to accommodate 3000–6000 people of all income levels.

The functional approach of this design, combined with great distances and abundant open space has often been criticized. On the other hand, the perfect setting of this city into a grandiose landscape, the proximity of the artificial lake, and – probably most important – the monumental but extremely elegant architecture of O. Niemeyer mitigate the rational design, making the Plano Piloto to an unique and extraordinary piece of contemporary architecture and urbanism.

The Plano Piloto, equipped with an excellent infrastructure, does not only "function" today but has developed its own life and identity. Even the often criticized separation of urban functions has proved to be viable and where this is not the case, it has been modified through new and spontaneous developments. By now, many interesting urban localities and activities have emerged, the lack of which many visitors and tourists used to complain about in the past.

Ankündigung

TRIALOG

Jahresversammlung und
Konferenz im
Bauhaus Dessau,
Interdisziplinäre Akademie

am Freitag, 23.Okt.92

**"Planen und Bauen in der
Dritten Welt"**

Thema:

**"Großsiedlungen in Nord
und Süd — das Erbe der
sozialistischen Wohn-
nungspolitik"**

Kollegen aus den alten und neuen Bundesländern, aus Osteuropa und aus ehemals sozialistischen Ländern der Dritten Welt diskutieren die Probleme und Perspektiven der zahlreichen Großsiedlungen, die die sozialistische Wohnungspolitik hinterlassen hat.

Programm siehe separaten Kasten

am Sonnabend, 24.Okt.92

**Jahresversammlung der
Vereinigung zur wissen-
schaftlichen Erforschung
des Planen und Bauens in
Entwicklungsländern e.V.**

Voranmeldungen und Auskunft

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terkunftswunsch in der Akademie

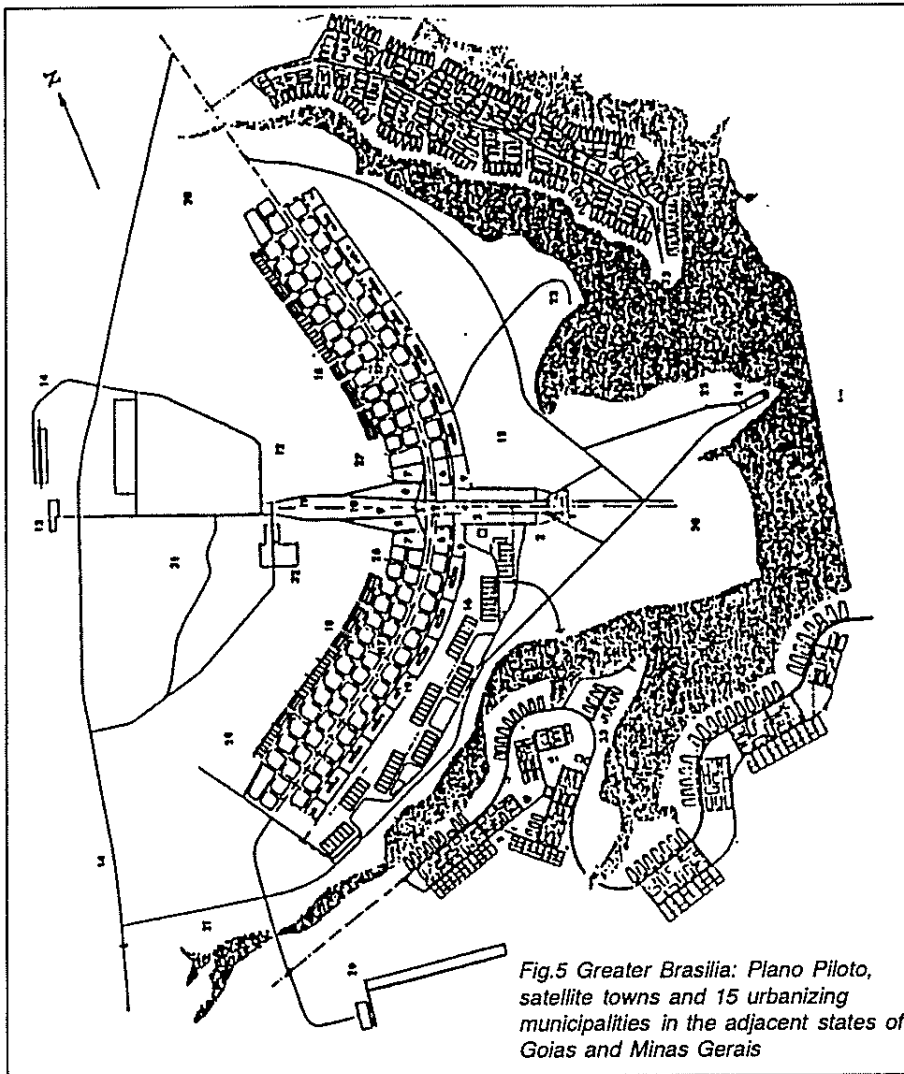


Fig.5 Greater Brasília: Plano Piloto, satellite towns and 15 urbanizing municipalities in the adjacent states of Goiás and Minas Gerais

The Plano Piloto is now being used by its population in a normal and unspectacular way, while the clear urban structure facilitates the orientation and contributes to the remarkable comfort of this city. This is often expressed by the residents of the Plano Piloto, who, in their majority, have accepted or even feel privileged to live in this city. In particular, this applies to the young generation, which was born and has grown up in Brasília. The old and conflictive discussion on the *pros* and *contras* of Brasília is largely limited to academics and tourists. Referring to the latter, such discussions are often fuelled by the fact that the attention of short term visitors is mainly caught by the "monumental axis", while they have little opportunity to experience everyday life and living habits in other parts of the Plano Piloto.

Of course, not all planning deficiencies have been overcome. First of all, this refers to the main city centre, originally planned at the crossing point of the monumental and the residential axis (sector de *diversões*). The reason for the slow

development of a lively city centre is partly due to the asymmetric growth of the city, which started in the southern wing (*asa sul*), thus attracting many commercial activities which instead should have settled in the main centre. The same happened years later in the northern wing (*asa norte*), where also many new and non-residential activities settled in the proximity of the superblocks.

Nowadays, the northern wing is almost completely consolidated, thus establishing in reality the symmetry envisaged in the original Plano Piloto. This implies that the commercial distribution will change again, taking advantage of the new locational advantages of the main centre. All this will probably help to complete and to diversify the central Sector de *Diversões*, as it was originally proposed by L. Costa.

The rigid social segregation which can be observed in the Plano Piloto seems to be a more critical problem: The utopic idea of L. Costa and O. Niemeyer, who believed that all social groups and classes will harmoniously live together in the sup-

erquadras, did not realize but was confronted with a contrary trend in practice: the extreme rise of rents and real estate prices has led to an almost complete expulsion of the low-income population, and this process is increasingly threatening the middle-income groups, too.

A general criticism of the Plano Piloto could also be made in the sense that the impact of this outstanding project has been very limited within the wider context of the Brazilian architecture and town planning. Obviously, the Plano Piloto is a sort of *Gesamtkunstwerk* difficult to be replicated under different circumstances.

Considering the general social and economic background, it must be added that the Plano Piloto was an extremely expensive urban development, and the architecture belonging to it is no exception. In other words, the exclusive – if not elitarian – urban planning concept of Brasília cannot be repeated under normal conditions, marked by rapid population growth, urban poverty, weak planning institutions, lack of public funds, land speculation, deficient infrastructures, spontaneous settlement activities, and the like.

Interestingly, even in the rather affluent urban areas without a lack of resources – e.g. in Lago Sul and Lago Norte – the example of the modern architecture has left little or no impact at all. Here, private residential architecture is characterized by all possible styles, including many trivial and grotesque designs, completely ignoring the Plano Piloto on the other side of the lake. In this light it seems understandable when the Plano Piloto is discussed more and more often as a matter of "cultural heritage of humanity", and was indeed be acknowledged as such by the UNESCO in 1988. For a 30-year old city it is an outstanding achievement to obtain such a qualification, which is normally applied to historic centres several hundred years old.

Therefore, the conservation and protection of the original Plano Piloto has now been added to the declared planning objectives. At the same time, it is likely to create conflicts in the near future, when the necessity appears to replace a first generation of buildings. The high value of the land has already built up pressure to intensify the land use, i.e. by building high rise buildings and an increasing densities. New urbanistic and architectural concepts are already being presented, and would rapidly change the character of the Plano Piloto if adopted in a liberal policy move. This pressure is even more difficult to resist since land use control and planning, which originally were the responsi-

bilities of the public agency NOVACAP, have changed completely with the privatization of most of the urban land. How to resist this economic and speculative pressure in the long run, is still an open question.

Of course, many of the above mentioned aspects are not really new. It is important, however, to state that three decades after its foundation the urbanistic quality of Brasilia still can easily compete with most other urban projects of that time, and in particular with the satellite towns built in Europe in the 60s and 70s. Brasilia remains a cornerstone of modern urbanism and has proved that many of its early critics were one-sided or erroneous.

Favelas, satellites and urban periphery

The demographic saturation of the Plano Piloto contributes to the accumulation of people and resources in the satellites and other new settlement zones within the territory of "Greater Brasilia". The satellites, planned overnight without any urbanistic ambition and mainly labelled "reception areas" for the growing low-income population, are now experiencing rapid consolidation and valorization. This applies at least to those which are located close to the Plano Piloto and enjoy favourable prospects for further development.

Living in the satellites is increasingly attractive now not only for the urban poor, but also for the middle class, because buying a complete house there costs as much as a small apartment in the Plano Piloto. Also, to start a new business in the satellites is significantly less expensive and less restricted than in the core of the agglomeration. The result is a hectic building activity in almost all the satellite towns. Taguatinga, with about 550.000 inhabitants, is already more populated than the Plano Piloto; it is in fact starting to become a new urban growth pole where 14-storey buildings line the main streets. It also has exclusive residential zones, where the local elite lives in expensive villas and bungalows. However, a serious obstacle for the booming of Taguatinga is the proximity of Ceilandia, a large low-cost housing satellite with an extremely bad image of widespread poverty and crime. In general, however, satellite towns are not mere poverty areas and "sleeping towns", but have gained a considerable functional and economic importance through its growing population and the development of local industries, trade and commerce. All this, of course, does not deny the fact that there are still great differences in living standards, social and economic conditions, housing and infrastructure between the Plano Piloto and the satellite towns.

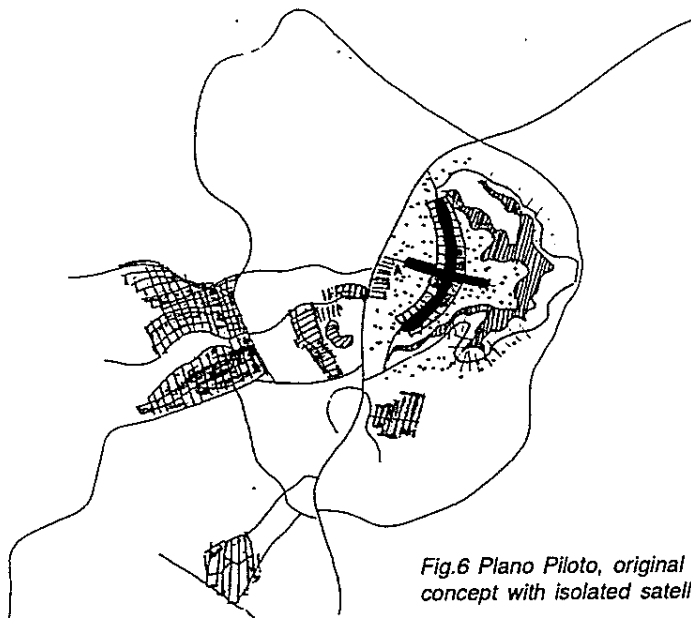


Fig.6 Plano Piloto, original green belt concept with isolated satellite towns

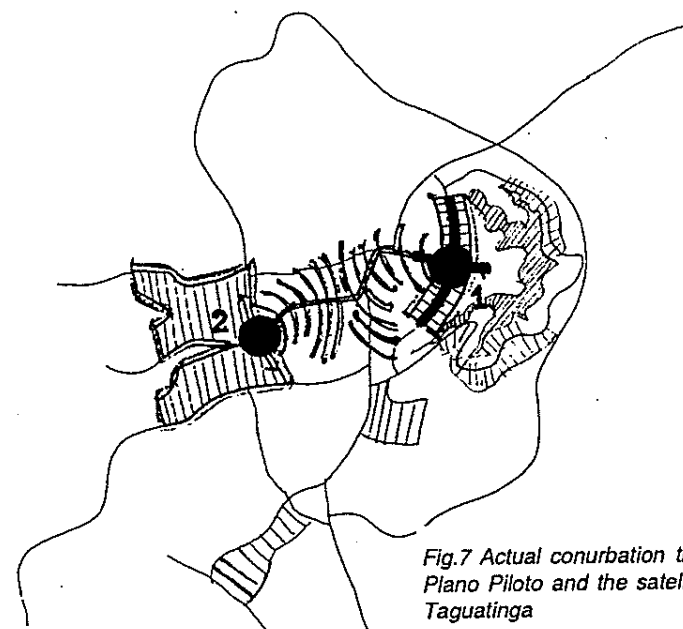


Fig.7 Actual conurbation trends between Plano Piloto and the satellite town Taguatinga

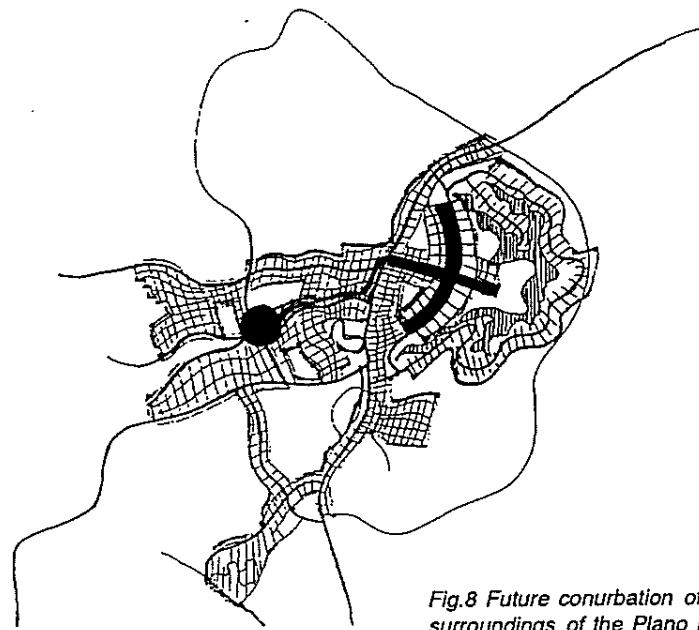


Fig.8 Future conurbation of the immediate surroundings of the Plano Piloto and the satellite town Taguatinga

In respect to urbanism and architecture the satellites cannot compete with the exclusive design of the Plano Piloto. Being essentially "pioneer cities", the determination of which was (and is) to rapidly absorb the low-income population which probably would otherwise settle illegally in squatter areas (*invasoes*), one cannot expect refined architectural or urbanistic concepts. However, the dynamic change of these "pioneer towns" is striking with often similarly interesting architectural and urban design solutions as those of the official "design urbanism".

Ongoing consolidation of the satellite towns does not only mean an improvement of living conditions in these areas, it also implies a rapid rents increases and rocketing property values, which makes life increasingly expensive. The process of social segregation and expulsion which has commenced in the Plano Piloto is now repeating in the satellite towns, forcing the urban poor and new immigrants into the precarious self-help settlements located in the new urban periphery, beyond the limits of the Distrito Federal, i.e. in the state of Goias.

This development is most spectacular near the small traditional town of Luziania, where more than a hundred thousand lots have been subdivided and sold to low-income families in a largely speculative and uncontrolled way. It is estimated that within the municipalities near the border of the D. F. there exist some 300.000 lots in illegal subdivisions or *loteamentos populares* – sufficient to accommodate more than 1 million people.

It remains an open question how fast this new urbanizing zone will consolidate. There are many influencing factors, such as: the population increase through migration from the poor North and North-west regions of Brazil, the planning control and policies in the D.F., the public transport policies, the capacity of the traditional towns to provide adequate infrastructure and services, etc. In any case, a new dimension for the growth of "Greater Brasilia" can be seen, the consequences of which are difficult to predict.

Actual land and planning policy in Brasilia

There were three different phases of planning policies in Brasilia. In the beginning, NOVACAP was the only and undisputed authority for land distribution and management. When new political institutions of the DF grew they started to intervene in the decision making, up to a point where NOVACAP was dissolved. The political representatives of the DF (i.e. the governor and deputies) took over.



Highrise building in the satellite town Taguatinga

(Photos Eckhard Ribbeck)

The shift of decision making from an independent technical corporation to elected politicians was accompanied by important changes of priorities in planning, land policy and development control in the D. F. This also changed the policy of providing land and housing for the growing low-income population – to one of the major problems of the DF: In the 70s, a rigid policy sought to transfer the urban poor to distant peripheral areas (e.g. Ceilandia). In the early 80ies, this policy became even more restrictive, when squatter areas were rigidly destroyed and migrants were sent away to the state of Goias or even to their home regions. More recently, however, the restrictive land policy was given up, due to the political pressure and populist practices of many politicians. Now, the occupation of new land in the D. F., the densification and enlargement of existing satellites and even new squatter areas are treated with considerable tolerance.

This liberal planning policy is certainly more popular than the restrictive ones before, but on the other hand, it contains many risks and few perspectives. For example, the remaining open spaces and land reserves of the D. F. are rapidly used up, and the former quality of "splendid isolation" of the Plano Piloto is increasingly threatened by new housing schemes in its immediate proximity. Paradoxically, L. Costa has significantly contributed to this tendency through his recent proposals made in a document called "Brasilia revisited" or *Brasilia revisitada*.

The emergence of a large urbanized corridor between the Plano Piloto and the satellite town of Taguatinga can be clearly seen, and will sooner or later create a bipolar spatial structure of Brasilia, within an increasingly conurbanized agglomeration.

There is no doubt that a new planning concept and land policy is needed for Brasilia. This should take into account not only the short term pressure, but also the long term demands and necessities of the emerging metropolis. Most likely, the planners and politicians will not stick rigidly to one or to another option, but will try to solve the problems with flexibility and improvisation, i.e. with the typical Brazilian "jeito". This, however, contains little or no long-term perspective.

Expectations are raised now by the new *Plano Director* or master plan for Brasilia. Maybe the most important requirement for this new planning approach will be to change the political characteristics of decision making again, i.e. to replace the former technocratic and the actual populist approach through a new planning style, which at the same time is rational and truly democratic.

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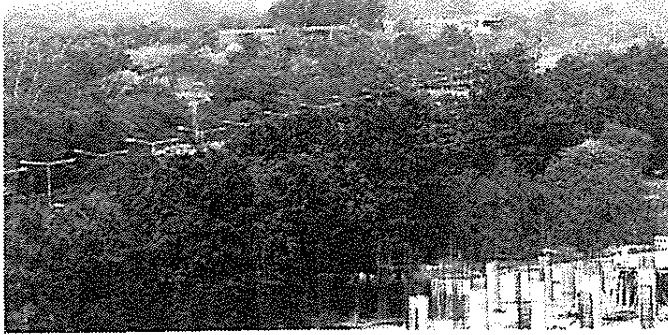


Photo 1

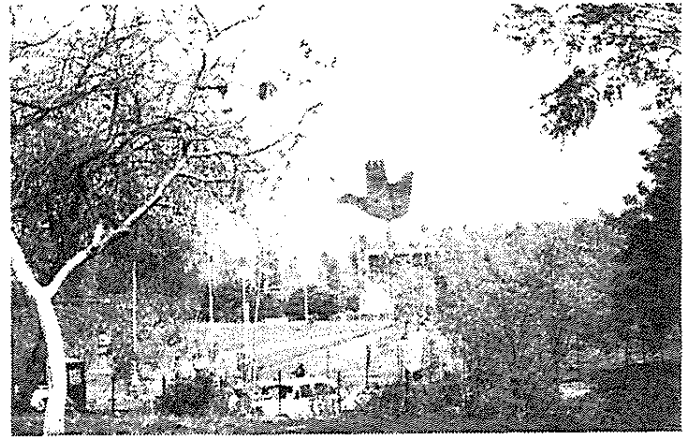


Photo 2

Chandigarh: Philosophy and Implementation

Jürgen Oestereich

The tourist, who approaches the town, coming the 200 kilometres from Delhi in the south by airconditioned train, sees the foothills of the Himalaya gently rising from the vast wheat plains of the Punjab. His view gets caught by some white, belfry-like element in front of the Shivalik-hills. It is the narrow side of the "Secretariate" of the "Capitol", the office building of the government precinct, a renowned masterpiece by Le Corbusier and a goal of numerous tourists in architecture. [Photo 1]

The architectural tourist may have made contacts beforehand and therefore be welcomed at the station by one of the architects in private praxis (elsewhere rare in India) or by one of the officers of one of the three Town Planning Departments situated in town: of the States of Punjab, or Haryana or the "Union Terri-

tory" of Chandigarh. [Map] Whoever it may be, he will show pride in the town and the world-famous buildings and monuments like the "Open Hand" (quoting Le Corbusier's saying "to give and to take" but being unable to give any more precise meaning). [Photo 2]

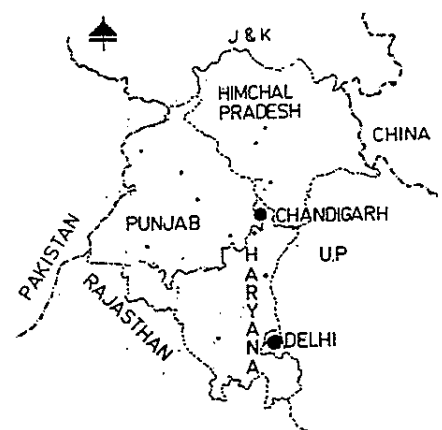
The fences and army tents which affect the movements and the views seem less disturbing than consoling to the host. The separatist movement of Punjab is expanding its activities both in area and in militance. They have already bombed trains and markets in other Punjab towns. Probably because of the armed forces' presence, Chandigarh has remained calm and continues to expand. In fact, it has the highest growth rate of all larger Indian cities. [Box 1]

The first irritation of the architectural tourist may have happened while arriving, when the hill range and the Secretariate submerged behind the treetops. Now, in town, two rows of box-like, diagonally positioned six-storey buildings seem to indicate some direction, but it is not clear where to. Since all the other red-brick and concrete buildings on the left and on the right are less prominent, the visitor is left with the road grid for vague orientation.

As to the roads, the visitor may be irritated by their colonial width plus additional by-lanes, and their landscaping which is rare in India. Furthermore, he may be irritated by the difficulty to identify the famous system of Le Corbusier's "sept voies de communication", the seven-tiers road street hierarchy. [Plan

Zusammenfassung

Chandigarh ist vierzig Jahre nach seiner Gründung auf das Doppelte seiner vorgesehenen Größe angewachsen, dennoch sind weiterhin die ursprünglichen Festsetzungen gültig. Diese haben in der Stadt insgesamt zu einer einheitlichen Architektursprache geführt und prägen zusammen mit den monumentalen Gebäuden Le Corbusiers das Bild der Stadt. Le Corbusier hat damit in Indien Schule gemacht. Seine Vorgaben auf Stadtplanungsebene – Zonenbildung, Nutzungsverteilung, Verkehrsführung usw. – führen demgegenüber zu Problemen. Anhand von Zitaten Le Corbusiers, eines treuen Nachfolgers und von Kritikern zeigt der Autor, wie sich die Regeln verfestigen und eine die Widersprüche im Werk übersehenden Orthodoxie entsteht, der ein heterodoxer Ansatz gegenübersteht. Durch diese Auseinandersetzung wird das Werk, das von der indischen Alltagskultur längst angenommen ist, auch auf intellektueller Ebene in die Kultur integriert.



I. The Chief Planner on the actual state of development of the town:

"The Master Plan has been prepared on Le Corbusier's Modulor scale and on the CIAM postulates announced earlier, namely: 'lodging', 'work' and 'recuperation'. The city is planned to Human Scale. It puts us in touch with the infinite cosmos and nature. It provides us with places with buildings for all Human Activities in which the citizen can live a full and harmonious life. Here, the radiance of nature and heart are within our reach.

"Vehicular traffic is completely forbidden in the green strips where tranquility shall reign and the curse of noises shall not penetrate. Besides the central green space extending north-east to south-west and denoted by Le Corbusier as the 'Leisure Valley' (...) a zone of solitude and complete isolation amidst the bustling business of the town (was created). The roads of the city are classified into the categories known as "System of the 7 Vs": (see Plan A)

"Chandigarh is the fastest growing city north of Delhi. The decennial growth rate recorded for 1961-1971 is +134.67% and 1971-1981 +81.2%. The total built area is 68.33 km². The 1981 census population of 451,610 is estimated to have crossed 650,000 in 1988 (and - attracted by relatively numerous medical, educational, recreational and cultural facilities - 750,000 in 1992, J.Oe)

"Chandigarh, under Le Corbusier evolved a unique system of zoning, frame and architectural controls to sustain harmony and regulate development in the city. It is applicable to all buildings built by private enterprise in certain civic areas zoned as 'special areas' Each plot of land in Chandigarh has been 'zoned' by attaching to it a specific use and also controlling the building volume that can be developed on it. In the city centre and along the shopping roads, plots up to the area of 457.15 m² are under architectural control requiring conformation to specified facades.

"The Chandigarh City Landscape is known by its mass of building structure and its construction materials. Le Corbusier had strongly brought out a balance in building mass and space by restricting use and composition of the structure to stone, brick, cement, plastered and concrete steel shuttering patterns. This mass of the building structure have been effectively landscaped with water feature, ever-green and flowering trees, ornamental plants and shrubs.

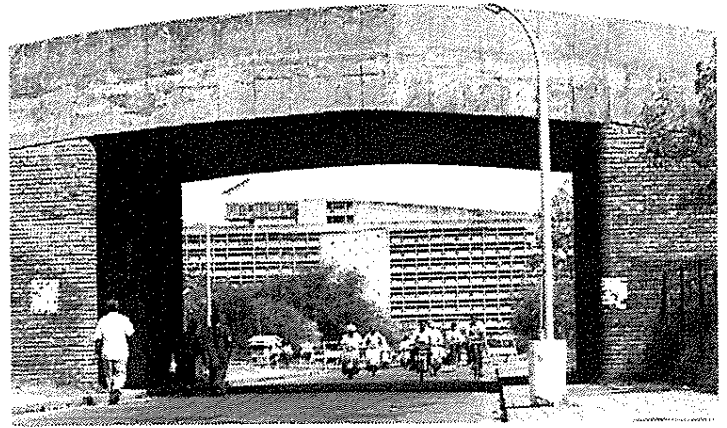
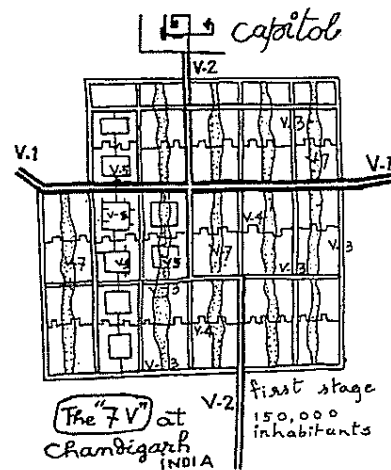


Photo 3



Plan A: The Plan of the 7 Vs

No.	Land Use	Area in ha	% of acreage
1.	Administrative Area	202.18	2.97
2.	Business Area	202.18	2.97
3.	Industrial Area	509.50	7.45
4.	Public Service Areas	202.18	2.97
5.	Educational Area	525.67	7.69
6.	Residential Area	2 102.70	30.77
Subtotal 1.- 6.		3 744.41	54.80
7.	Recreational Area	970.48	14.20
8.	Open Spaces, miscell	824.14	12.05
9.	Major Roads	1 293.97	18.93
Subtotal 7.- 9.		3 088.59	45.20
Total		6 833.00	100.00

A] All of them, from V1 to V6, are empty off-peak and at peak-hours crowded with bicycles, motor-scooters, bicycle- and motor-rickshaws and the few taxis. [Photo 3] The V7-lanes, reserved for pedestrians (and bicycles) are in a rather bad state and mostly unused. [Box II]

The third irritation follows when the visitor feels what he might have realized from the plan: The turning of the road grid by 45 degrees related to the azimuth. This has to do with the hillrange in the background, with the slope of the site and its drainage. But it has negative consequences for the orientation of all buildings. The famous *brises soleil* work only

when facing south. However, the Secretariate's long fronts are facing south-east and north-west. Hence there are no functional arguments against modifying the facades, as is already being done here and there at the rear of the building.

Architecture

The general appearance of the Capitol suffers, naturally, not only from the security measures visible everywhere, but also from the fact that it serves two governments at the same time: the Parliament and the Court of Justice in a fortnightly turn, the Secretariate being shared by the two. [Photo 4] Up to now, neither

(Excerpts from Ghuman, J.S. (1988a))

II. The Planner on Streets and Public Spaces:

THE STREET ITSELF SLASHES, TEARS ASUNDER THE SECTOR.
THE EXCESSIVE WIDTH OF V4, MIXED MILLING TRAFFIC,
MAKING 'UNPARADISIAL' THE EXPERIENCE OF CROSSING
FROM ONE SIDE TO ANOTHER.
INTIMACY DESTROYED, SENSE OF BELONGING LOST
IT IS NOT THE STREET ONE CAN CALL ONES OWN.

THE OPEN SPACES ARE MEANT TO ATTRACT
ALL PEOPLE TO RELAX, TO SAUNTER, TO REJUVENATE,
TO SPORT, AND TO HAVE SOCIAL INTERCOURSE.
WHY DO THESE OPEN SPACES LACK COMMUNITY RESPONSE?

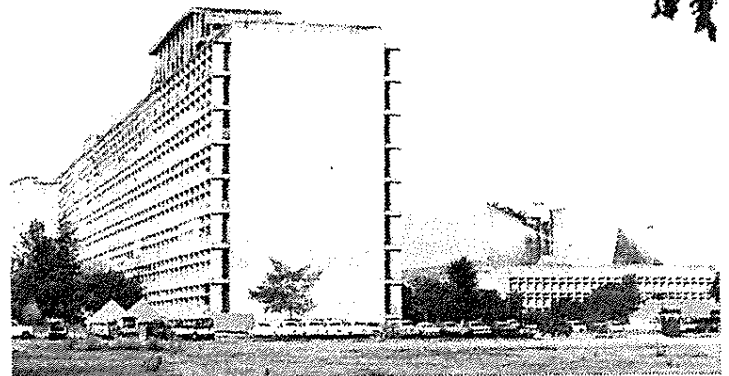


Photo 4

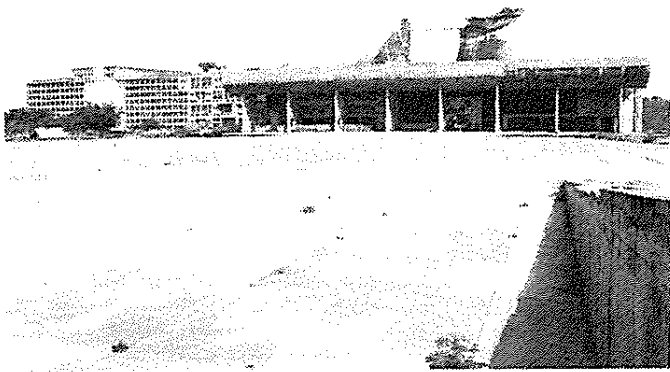


Photo 5



Photo 6

of these institutions seems to be persuaded by the symbolic or use value of the buildings to identify itself with it. The sporadic sessions of the Parliaments take place rather unspectacular – the ceremonial pools are empty. (Photo 5) The Court of Justice is frequented more regularly. The visitors park their cars under the huge curved roof. (Photo 6) In comparison with the precision of the *Villa Savoye* or the human scale of the *Maisons Jaoul* the Capitol appears somewhat uncontrolled and oversized. [Box III] It impresses primarily through its opposition to the conventional slick office and assembly structures behind the sumptuous drive found everywhere else. Whether the

Photo 7



III. The planner on the Capitol architecture:

I ACCEPT THE CAPITOL
AS SACRED PRECINCT AND A WORK OF ART
I MAY NOT LOOK AT WITH QUALM THE VAST STRETCH OF CONCRETE
BETWEEN THE HIGH COURT AND THE ASSEMBLY
FOR IN THIS PLACE THE 'GODS' PLAY.
FOR THEIR SPORT CORBUSIER HAS ENVISIONED
TOWER OF SHADOWS, GEOMETRIC HILL,
MATYR'S MEMORIAL AND THE 'OPEN HAND'
ALL BEYOND THE COMPREHENSION OF THE COMMON MAN.

THE HIGH COURT (...) IS MORE BECOMING TO WONDER
AT THE MYSTERY OF FORM:
THE FRAMING OF THE SKY AND THE QUALITY OF THE PARASOL ROOF
THROUGH WHICH SPACE TAKED WINGS.
THE JUDGES ON THEIR SEATS OF JUSTICE FACING THE GLASS WALL
TURN THE CONGREGATIONS INTO CARICATURES, INANIMATE SILHOU-
ETTES.

THE ASSEMBLY CUBE
WITH THE HYPERBOLIC PARABOLOID TOWER AND THE PYRAMID
AND ALSO A VERTICAL SHAFT
ALL MAGNIFICENT FORMS LIKE BALLERINAS PIROUETTING IN SPACE -
WHAT DOES IT MATTER IF THE BOAT SHAPED APPENDAGE
ADMITS NOT NOR FOCUSES THE SUNLIGHT AS IT WAS MEANT TO (...)
ITS FACE MEANT TO BE THE FRONT FACE HAS SEVEN PORTALS
WHICH ADMIT NO ONE NOR EXIT ANY
FOR THE PORTALS ARE A FACADE
TO A CORBUSIER-PAINTED CEREMONIAL DOOR ...

exposed concrete is able to withstand decay and the whole rough sculpture gain stature in time, for example through additions and alterations which may become functionally necessary – in the way it has happenend with temples, churches and palaces – remains to be seen.

Another concrete structure is the replic of the exhibition pavillion which Le Corbusier had designed for Zurich in 1964–5. It serves as office and store of the Arts Museum. By means of this latter building the Master demonstrated and declinated the architectural vocabulary to be used in Chandigarh: exposed shutter concrete with horizontal emphasis, fair-faced red bricks, room-high openings for light and ventilation, integration of the vegetation etc. (Photo 7) This is how he accomplished what he considered his ultimate task: To create a contemporary architectural language [Box IV] For this purpose he addressed himself to the "young Hindus" of India. [Box V]

IV. Le Corbusier on the task of planning for Chandigarh:

"India has, and always has had a peasant culture that exists since a thousand years! India possesses Hindu temples and Muslim temples (...) India also possesses Maharajas' palaces and gardens. But India hasn't yet created an architecture for modern civilization (offices, factories, buildings). India is suddenly jumping into the second era of mechanization. Instead of sinking into the gropings and errors of the first era we will be able to fulfill our mission; give India the architecture of modern times.

"Nowhere in the whole world could a more captivating and positive task be offered to thinkers, aestheticians, and constructors. It is our task and it is worth while! But we haven't yet reached the axis of the question, that is to say a fundamental organic architecture, which is unquestionable neither English, nor French nor American, but Indian of the second half of the twentieth century. But I add immediately that I insist that all our efforts and propositions should be accompanied by experimentation.

(L. C. cit.in Sarin,M.: 46)

V: Le Corbusier on interesting Indian disciples

"The Indian youth must take a fundamental part in the enterprise, it is they who will be realizing it in the course of the years; but I shall have been able to provide them with a useful springboard to jump from.

"The young Hindus whom you will gather together from various universities of the old or the new continent need a doctrinal point of view from the outset; in a way they need a friendly shepherd. You can arouse enthusiasm in them; everything lies there.

(L.C. cit.in Sarin,M.: 41)

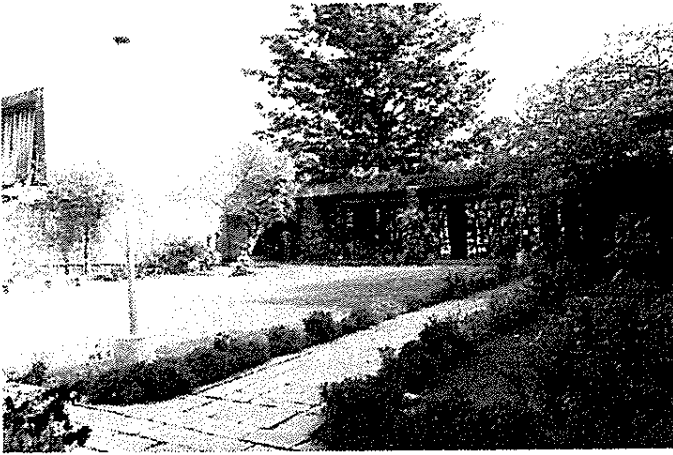


Photo 8

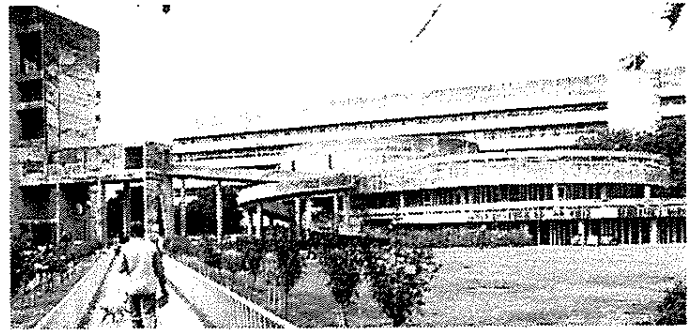


Photo 10

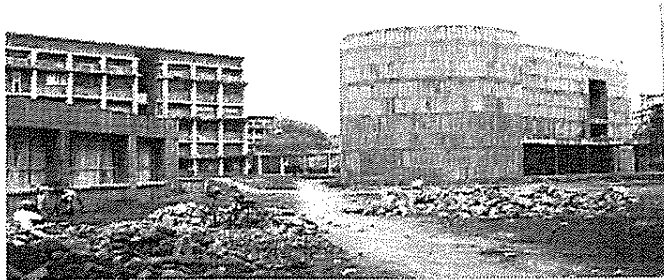


Photo 9

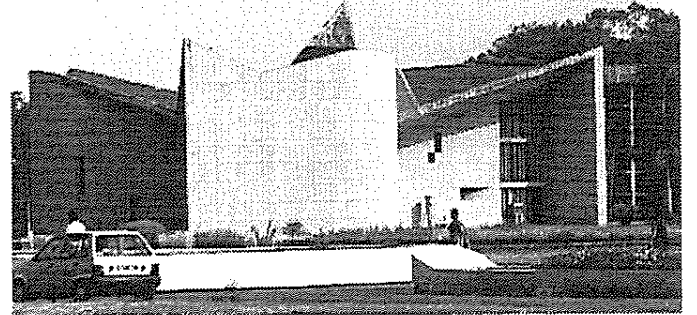


Photo 11

In this sense the University Campus together with the neighbouring colleges turns out to be a collection of apprentices' pieces. Under the guidance of Pierre Jeanneret U. E. Chaudhury and Aditya Prakash erected various colleges (Architecture, Engineering...) consisting of shed-covered ateliers around patios. [Photo 8] J. K. Chaudhury developed a sturdy design for a sequence of laboratory and office wings, separated by lecture theatres. [Photo 9]. M. N. Sharma

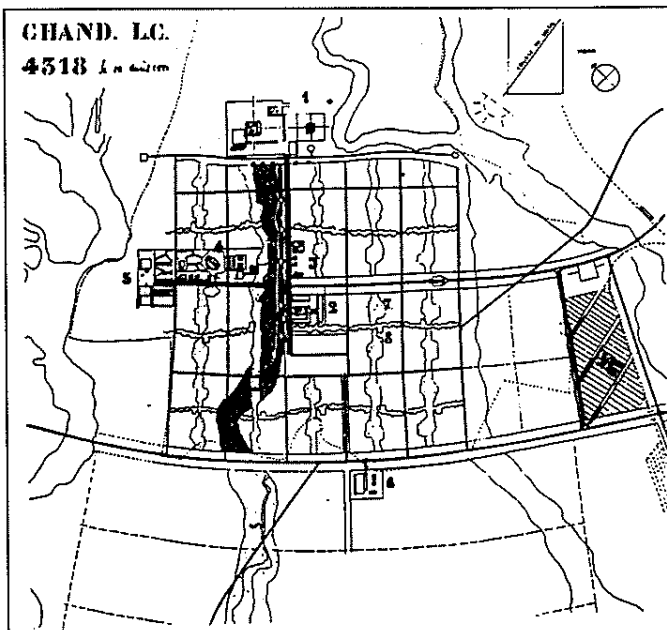
and others responded to impulses which the Master had given for exposed concrete elsewhere when designing the hospital [Photo 10] and the Ghandi Bhawan, a meditation room for all religions. [Photo 11] There are numerous other structures on the Campus worthy to be brought to international attention.

Town Planning

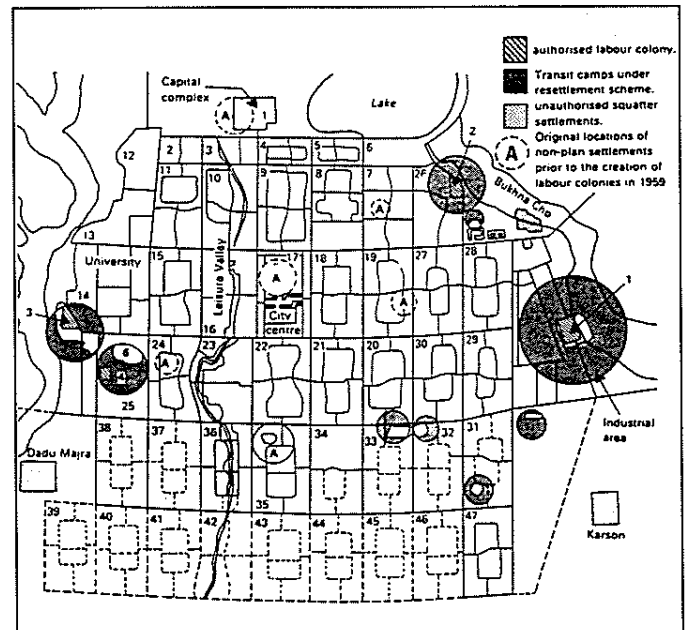
The Master himself concentrated on the

design of the Capitol, particularly after his team had complained about his interferences during his short visits once a year. Through this, rather in passing, the entire plan of the town was determined once and for all. Comparison with the first sketches shows that the basic features have been retained. [Plans B, C and D] Only the simple crossroad which did not correspond to reality vanished. This, together with the undiscernibility of the seven road-grades leads to the already

Plan B: Chandigarh Draft Lay-out



Plan C: Chandigarh Final Lay-out



VI. Le Corbusier on the aims for planning Chandigarh:

"- Chandigarh is a city offering all amenities to the poorest of the poor of its citizens to lead a dignified life.

"- Chandigarh is a Government city with a precise function and, consequently, a precise quality of inhabitants. On this presumption, the city is not to be a big city (metropolis) - it must not lose its definition. Some people say that life must come in the city from other sources of activity, especially industry... One must not mix the two. (One should)...reinforce the function of the city, rather than creating a conflict of rivalry.

(To this end)...it should be the aim of planning to do two things:

a) to prevent the creation of bad semi-urban conditions on the boundaries of the new city, drawing away the strength of the city by unfair competition immediately beyond the area of local taxation;

b) to protect the rural community from degeneration from contact with urban life, and to lead it towards a harmonious partnership...

"...Chandigarh, thanks to its urban and architectural layout, will be sheltered from base speculation and its disastrous corollaries: the suburbs. No suburb is possible at Chandigarh.

(L.C. cit.in Sarin, M.:51 and 53f)

urally and hence to serve it, seduced Le Corbusier. [Box VII] He justified it in the name of functionalism.

As for the townplanning principles, he had just formulated the "trois établissements", which stipulate that three simple human settlement types (agriculture evenly spread out, industry as lined-up blue collar units, and communication/administration/services as white-collar nodal points) should be in equilibrium. [Box VIII]

VII. The Analyst on Chandigarh town plan:

"Contrary to his (L.C.'s) stated philosophy of 'residence in proximity of work', the major work zones (of Chandigarh) were located in peripheral areas; the industrial area and the university on either side of the grid iron and the capitol complex, the major employment centre, actually outside the main fabric of the plan.

"The criteria used in determining the location of the capitol complex had little to do with the convenience of the majority of citizens. As government housing was not influenced by market forces, its spatial distribution was based on the structure of existing social and economic disparities. Thus, the highest paid government officials, with the largest houses, were provided for in low-density sectors in the north near the capitol complex. The majority of government employees, belonging to the lowest income groups, were provided housing in the sectors at the southern end of the first phase area. The distribution of different sized private plots followed a similar pattern. It was more a question of creating and imposing powerful images of the institutions of authority of the new State.

(Sarin,M.:70)

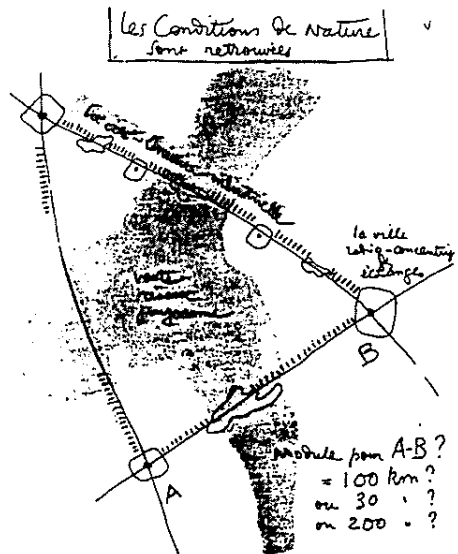
mentioned lack of differentiation in the system.

A further weakness in the town plan originates in Le Corbusier's explicit rejection of expansion and restructuring. [Box VI] On the one hand, for him a town like Chandigarh was a piece of architecture to be grasped from its outward appearance in a purely aesthetical way. The temptation which follows from this, namely to express the political power architect-

VIII. Le Corbusier on human settlement types:

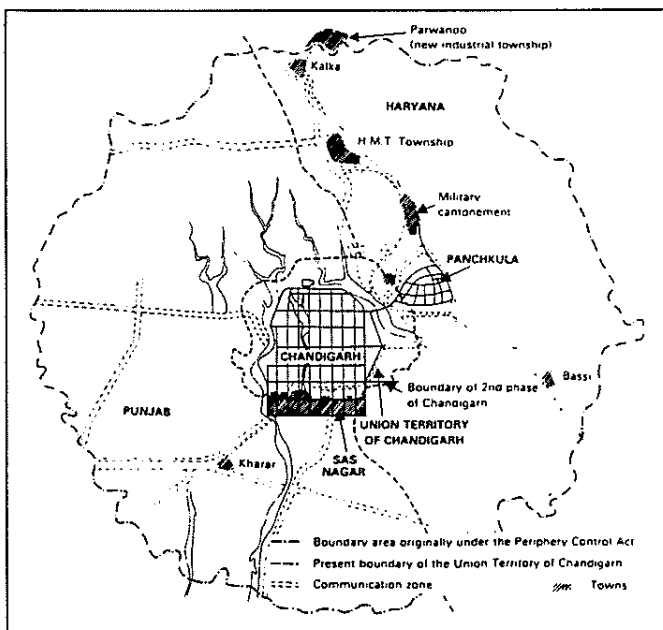
To equip these three settlement types with a status and a set of rules of life which take into consideration the nature of the land to carry them and the nature of the people who will feel at home there, is the challenge we should accept. For the immediate future we work on a measurement tool for judging on small, urgent projects as well as large, extensive ventures. This will provide us with general guidelines applied to a civilization of work entering, once the turmoil of the present crisis is overcome, into its second stage leading to an era of harmony.

(L.C. 1959: 72; translation J.Oc.)



This balance would have to be found and maintained. Assuming a stable population, he conceived Chandigarh as a defined set of containers to be put neatly into designated zones. This diagrammatic and static concept is the root of all planning and planners' problems in Chandigarh. [Box IX]

Plan D: Chandigarh and Peripheri



IX. The planner on the town plan:

BUT I MUST BRACE MYSELF TO MEET THE CHALLENGE, YES, I CALL CHANDIGARH PLAN: 'ESCAPIST', THE OTHER NAME I CAN GIVE IS: 'DISINTEGRATED'. ALL PLANNING TENDS TO TURN PEOPLE INTO CLASSES, INTO CATEGORIES ALL PLANNING TENDS TO TURN PLACES INTO ZONES OF ACTIVITIES, ALL PLANNING TENDS TO FREEZE TIME. EVEN IF THIS MAY NOT BE THE INTENTION BE. PLANNING PROPAGATES SPECIALISATION, DIFFERENTIATION WHEN IT IS HALF DIGESTED PLANNING, FROZEN AT THE STAGE OF ANALYSIS, NEVER HAVING THE CHANCE OF SYNTHESIS...



Photo 12



Photo 14



Photo 13

In contrast to the concept of point blocks applied at the Capitol and the Varsity Campus, the planning team chose the principle of ribbon development for the business centre of the city. Its standard section consists of shopping area on ground floor level behind arcades and three storeys of office or warehouse space on top of it. It is obligatory also for banking institutions, post offices and the like. The resulting blocks form public squares of various size with public spaces at two fronts. The back squares, used for parking the mass of commuter bicycles, are of pleasant proportions. [Photo 12] The front squares are rather vast. The central one, the *Chowk*, a kind of *Agora*, is highly appreciated by the population and heavily used for public manifestations (a novum in India, which exemplifies that townplanning and architectural elements such as public places are preconditions for civic spirit). [Photo 13] The blocks allow for informal markets. [Photo 14] Altogether, the built structure is in vivid contrast to the small-scale parcelled use.

Building Control

Occasional voids or unfinished or empty upper floors cry out to be used for residential purposes. The temptation to succumb has been prevented hitherto with the help of St. Zonius, the Saint of the town planners and fervently adored by Le Corbusier himself. The whole business precinct is famous among Indian businessmen. However, it cannot be replicated at present due to the lack of political will in regard to setting up the necessary institutions and arming them with the correspondent powers.

The most dominant of the CIAM-functions, naturally, is 'lodging'. Le Corbusier had envisaged a population of 150,000 (350,000 in a second stage) to be accommodated in civil service government housing. Consequently, the planning team designed a full range of dwellings, from a minister's villa to a two-room peon's flat.

X. The analyst on the initial housing policy:

"First, the estimated cost per house excluded the cost of developed land. Secondly, the maintenance and establishment costs were not included. Thirdly, although the government calculated economic rent at 6 per cent of capital costs, this was based on a rule formulated in 1927. Since then there had been much greater increase in land and construction costs than the general rise in price level. Thus 6 per cent was unrepresentative of the true economic rent at prices and interest rates prevailing in the early 1950s. Because of these anomalies, in absolute amounts, higher-income employees received the largest subsidy.

"All the same, it was perhaps the first time in Indian history that those with low status occupations such as sweepers and peons had received any consideration in the government's housing programme. Much political capital was made out of this, it being claimed that the housing of the sweepers had received as much attention as that of the senior officials and ministers.

(Sarin, M.: 64)

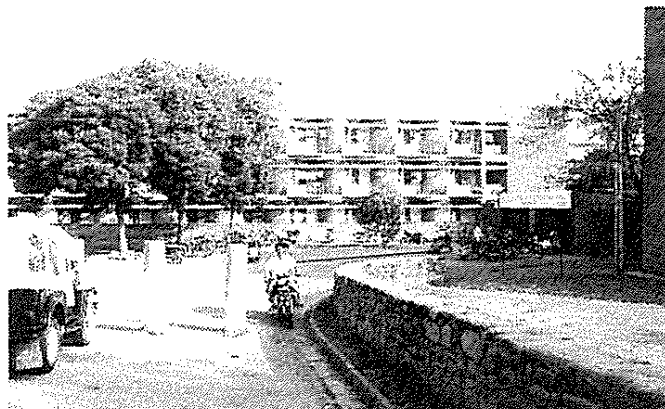


Photo 15

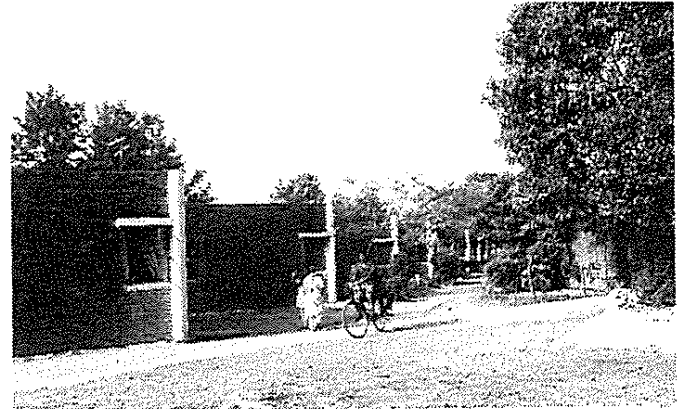


Photo 16



Photo 17



Photo 18

XI. Maxwell Fry on Building control

"(...) because we were unwilling and unable to control the design of individual buildings erected by the public, we devised a system of sector planning sheets on which were shown graphically the building lines, permissible heights, building areas of plots, public open spaces, scheduled trees, and controlled building walls, with standard designs for gates. Some frontages on important streets were controlled as to height, profile, materials and setbacks in order to project to some extent the effect such streets would have when finally built. But further we did not wish to go, nor could go, without the aid of a large staff of inspectors in each of whom should burn an equal zeal for architecture (...)" *(cit. in Sarin.M.:66)*

Good examples are some students flats [Photo 15], lecturers quarters [Photo 16] and civil servants housing. Particularly with the latter, the European architects tried to be more social than their Indian clients initially had had in mind. [Box X]

Since government housing soon ran out of money, private construction was promoted. The established planning control was able to assure a high level in architectural design. [Box XI] [Photos 17 18] At the same time, restrictions leading to speculation and steeply rising rents were put up. As a consequence, investors' ruins are found here and there in town [Photo 19], worker camps and slums [Photo 20] in shifting locations [Plan C] and even farms here and there [Box XII]

XII. The Analyst on growth control:

"Because of the commitment of all available financial resources to developing the city to high standards, it was argued that their (the workers camps) continued growth would make it impossible for the Administration to rehouse the increasing number of people. Therefore it was decided to try to stop the growth of the colonies. To achieve this, in addition to stopping the allotment of new plots, the enforcement staff was instructed to demolish new 'unauthorized' structures even in these ('authorized') settlements. The planned city was attempting to deal with the problem of poverty by keeping the poor out.

"During 1972-73, the administration decided to try and get rid of the problem quickly by building 6 000 pucca one-room tenements and moving the labour colony residents into them on a monthly licence basis. The costing exercise carried out for

this purpose revealed that Rs 50 million would be required. (...) The planning Commission approved a sum of Rs 15 million only. It recommended that while the 'domestic class' among the labour colony residents could be housed in pucca tenements within the residential sectors, the 'construction labour class' (including skilled labour) which is 'essentially of a migratory nature' could be located at the periphery, and provided with improvised hutments on developed plots. (...) At the beginning of 1974, the estate officer carried out another survey of non-plan settlements and found that the number of dwellings had increased by 25% to about 8 000. (...) By the middle of 1981, according to the officer-in-charge of resettlement, nearly 12 000 households had been resettled either in pucca tenements or transit sites, but over 6 000 are still to be accommodated.

(excerpts from Sarin.M.:113-117)

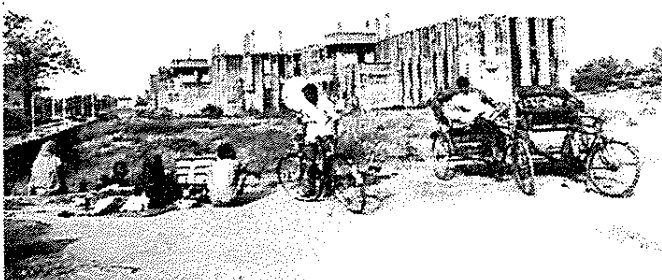


Photo 19



Photo 20

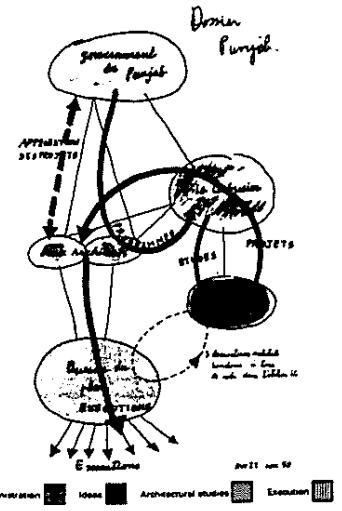
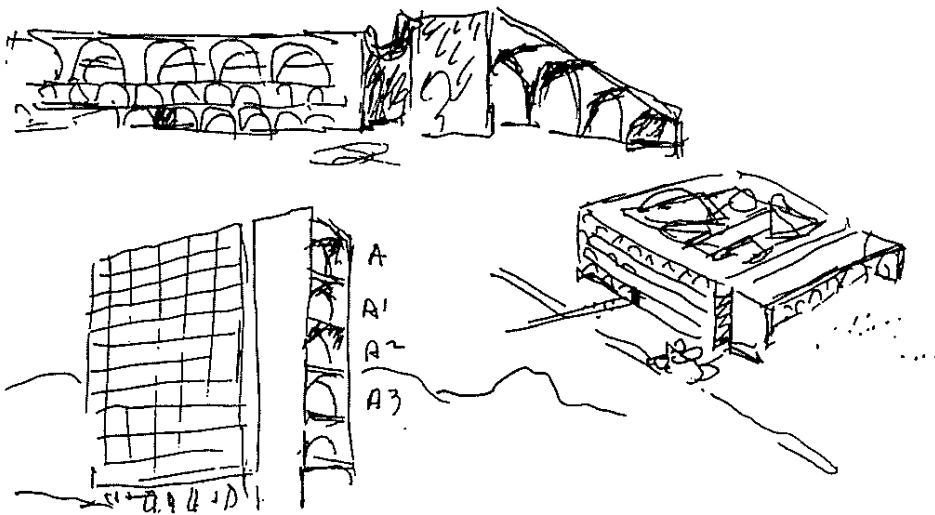


Figure 4.1. Le Corbusier's view of his role in the Chandigarh team.

(Sarin, M.: 51)

The attraction of the infrastructure provided and the perspective of employment led to a remarkable growth rate. While the politicians were inclined to welcome the new voters, the Planning Departments fiercely opposed any indiscriminate expansion. The compromise was the channelling of this growth into some quasi-satellite towns in Haryana state beyond the green belt and into extensions of the established city sections, but across the territorial border in Punjab (now "Chandigarh Stage 3"). [Plan D] This deviation was justified with a quotation of the Master's. [Box XIII] Today the Planning Departments under the dedicated leadership of J. S. Ghuman and O. P. Mehta still fight for clear-cut town borders and maintenance of the green belt. [Box XIV] Founded on the initial planning concept, this approach reflects at the same time

XIII. Le Corbusier on City evolution

"When the following operation has been started in a city:

- framing of the first bye-laws permitting... construction,
- selling of the first plots,
- arriving of the first inhabitants, etc, etc.

a phenomenon is born: it is the appreciation in the value of a piece of land. A game, a play, has begun. One can sell cheaply or at a high price; it depends on the kind of tactics and the strategy employed in the operation: Good urbanism makes money! Bad urbanism loses money!"

(L.C. cit.in Sarin, M.: 59)

the ideology of dominance of the "urban" over what is felt to be "rural", as Aditya Prakash points out. [Box XV]

The Master's Impact

How did it come about that someone who overestimated his competence and knowledge to such a large degree, and who came rather late into the act play merely as an architect, not even as the initial planner (this was Albert Mayer, an Anglo-american consultant) or the political leader (this was Nehru), still could put his mark on a huge dynamic entity like a town approaching the million mark.

Le Corbusier grasped the opportunity to be commissioned without false modesty. [Box XVI] He was lucky to find the right partners: Prime Minister Jawarhal Nehru, and his two representatives, P. L. Varna, Chief Engineer of Punjab, and P. N. Thapar, Secretary of the Project and eventually its administrative key figure, admirers of his, remained long enough in office.

XIV. The Chief Planner on regional expansion and control:

"Despite the restrictions in the Punjab New Capital Periphery Control Act, 1952 and the Development Plan prohibiting siting and location of new building activities in a radius 10 miles of Chandigarh, a large number of industries have been constructed/ located in Chandigarh Periphery and Region. Controlling and regulating further unauthorised construction and growth of industries has assumed a complex dimension as the effected parties generally succeed in getting the removal operation stayed either at the level of higher authorities or law courts. This in turn has led to construction of other unauthorised structures for use by perspective transporters; building material trades (stone crushers), local residents, restaurants, tea stalls etc. A detailed survey of all unauthorised building activity ... is given below:

Cases under the Act of 1952	Total	Industries proper		
detected	5318	100.0%	76	100.0%
notices issued	5304	99.6	70	92.1
demolition orders passed	644	12.1	4	5.3
notices withdrawn or filed	187	3.5	2	2.6
demolitions executed	160	3.0	0	0.0
cases pending for hearing	4549	55.4	66	86.8

Excerpts from Ghuman, J.S. (1988b)

XV. The planner on suburbs development:

ALL CITIES DEVELOP SLUMS, THEY ARE THE 'CANCER'. RELIEF IS SOUGHT IN MOVING THE SLUM DWELLERS TO THE OUTSKIRTS (...)

TO KEEP THE 'NUISANCE' OUT, THE ENGINEERING COLLEGE BUILT A TWO METRE HIGH WALL ON THE BOUNDARY. THIS ONLY PROVIDED A FREE PAKKA WALL AGAINST WHICH TO BUILD MORE FREE ESTABLISHMENTS, THE PLACE APPARENTLY IS NOW SO PROSPEROUS THE DENIZENS BESIDES BUILDING SHOPS ON EITHER SIDE OF THE ROAD HAVE ALSO ERRECTED PLACES OF WORSHIP FROM WHICH PIPED RELIGIOUS SONGS ARE BROADCAST MORN AND EVENING

THE ONLY THING WHICH SEEMS TO GENERATE AVERSIONS IN THE HEART OF CITIZENS IS THE REARING OF ANIMALS WHOSE MILK THEY DRINK. THIS PREJUDICE HAVING GONE, VILLAGES WOULD BE AS VALID FOR LIVING, WORKING, RECREATION, EDUCATION, HEALTH AND SANITATION AS ALL AREAS OF CHANDIGARH.

XVI. Le Corbusier offers his services:

"1. I consider myself the only person at the moment, prepared by 40 years of experience and study on this subject, capable of usefully helping your Government. I greatly insist on this information given without modesty. <see also the sketch>

"2. In my participation in this project, I place the pursuit/ desire of my career through a work of harmony, of wisdom, of humanity in precise opposition to the chaos generally manifest in urbanism which is only the expression of the chaos reigning in the minds of people on this subject.

"The *raison d'être* of my life is expressed by one word: harmony and this resembles beauty, order, serenity, effectiveness, economy: in one word, wisdom..." (L.C. in Sarin, M.: 41)

[Box XVII] Le Corbusier's cousin Pierre Jeanneret, Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew, critical but loyal collaborators of his in Paris were prepared to spend a substantial part of their lives on the site. They came in 1952 and stayed until 1964. Jeanneret left shortly after Le Corbusier's own death in 1965 as the last of them, paralyzed by a stroke.

This dozen years was sufficient to spread the project philosophy on a whole school of Indian disciples in a way which assured the continuation of the Project. The background of this has to be kept in mind: For more than a century, town-planning in India had been an imperial measure by the British enacted according to their ideas; and before that time by the

Moghuls. Incidentally, architecture and engineering were in the hands of civil servants, who struggled with the declining indigenous crafts.

The first modern Indian Architect/Town Planner and first RIBA-Member of Indian origin, Mrs. U. E. Chaudhury, had graduated in Melbourne only in 1947, the year of Indian independence. Being unable to find much work in India, she happily accepted the offer to join Le Corbusier's team, while the team called itself lucky to incorporate a "fully qualified" Indian professional. After fifteen years the situation had changed. Architects and town planners were in demand, particularly in the civil service of the Union and the various states. The partition of the Punjab in 1966 brought about a multiplication of chief positions for professionals to serve the states Punjab and Haryana and the Union Territory of Chandigarh. The posts of Chief Planner, Chief Architect and Chief Engineer were filled with people of the Le Corbusier team. Those who did not find these posts or the civil service generally attractive, became teacher of one or the other of the newly founded Indian Colleges of Architecture, Planning, Engineering and the like.

Thus something that could be called the Chandigarh school proliferated. Most of its disciples had the background of families who had been able to pay for their stay at European or USA Universities.

Their professional praxis, however, was determined by their Chandigarh learning by doing. As practicing architects they had found physical and other resistance, but had mastered it with increasing creativity. They became internationally acknowledged, individually or as a group. For them the Chandigarh doctrine was but a piece of sentimentality.

Orthodoxy versus Heterodoxy

For the town planners of the Chandigarh-school practical implementation was a less clear-cut matter. The doctrine they had been taught, did not provide for power politics and scheming, for indifferent institutions and inert individuals. In such cases the doctrine does not simply neglect what it cannot explain, but insists on certain elements against empirical facts. Hence the insistence on more or less obsolete Control Acts, on zoning, on the 7Vs etc.

This of course has triggered off contradictions. I have already quoted two important critics who both are Punjabis and connected with Chandigarh. Aditya Prakash is one of the first Indian Architects connected with the venture. He worked with Jeanneret on the colleges and was responsible, later, for the Town Hall (still unfinished) some cinemas and industrial buildings. The more he became critical, the more he was pushed out of responsible positions. After retirement (he has eighty years now) he summarized his comments in a rapsodic poem: "Reflections on Chandigarh". Taking Le Corbusier's functional and nature-loving endeavour derived from the European Enlightenment as a yardstick he identifies the obvious deficits of town planning, and criticises the contradictory teachings of the Master. He himself arrives, quite consequently, at some ecological postulates which at the time of publication, were avantgardistic for India and elsewhere. [Box XVIII]

XVII. Maxwell Fry recalls, how Le Corbusier finally assumed control over the project:

"The arrival of Corbusier galvanized the situation. We moved down to the Rest house in the lovely village of Chandigarh on the road to Kalka, where the mountain railway starts for Simla. Corbusier, Varma, Jeanneret, myself, and intermittently Thapar were there; Albert Mayer was making his way to us from the South.

"Without waiting for Mayer to appear Corbusier started on large sheets of paper to approach a plan by a method of rough and ready analysis familiar to me from the workings of CIAM. First he outlined the main communications with the site on the map of India - air, railway, road. Then he dealt with the site itself - its immediate background of low foothills (...)

"*Violà la gare!* he said *'et voici la rue commerciale'*, and he drew the first road on the new plan of Chandigarh. *'voici la tête'*, he went on, indicating with a smudge the higher ground to the left of Mayer's location, the ill effects of which I had already pointed out to him. *'Et violà festomach, le cité-centre.'* Then he delineated the massive sectors measuring each half by three quarters of a mile and filling out the extent of the plain between the river valleys, with extension to the south.

"The plan was well advanced by the time the anxious Albert Mayer joined the group. He must have had an unnerving journey, and he was too upset to make the most of his entry. I found him a high-minded decent man, a little sentimental in his approach, but good-humoured; not in any way was he a match for the enigmatic but determined figure of the prophet.

"We sat around after lunch in a deadly silence broken by Jeanneret's saying to Mayer, *'Vous parler français, monsieur?'* to which Mayer responded, *'Oui, musheer, je parle'*, a polite but ill-fated rejoinder that cut him out of all discussion that followed. And so we continued, with minor and marginal suggestions from us and a steady flow of exposition from Corbusier, until the plan as we now know it was completed and never again departed from. (cit. in Sarin, M.: 41)

XVIII. The vision of the planner

ONE MORE FLIGHT OF IMAGINATION,
EVEN IF NOT ENTIRELY RELEVANT TO THE THEME IN HAND:
THE WHITE ANTS, THE SCIENTISTS SAY,
LIVE A 'NO-WASTE' PATTERN OF LIFE,
THEIR EXCRETIONS, DISCARDED SKINS - ALL WASTES
SERVE AS FOOD OR FERTILIZERS,
THEY MAKE AN ECOLOGICAL BALANCE IN MINIATURE.

CAN WE HUMANS WITH ALL OUR SCIENCES AT OUR DISPOSAL
NOT MAKE A SIMILAR BALANCE
OF PRODUCTION, CONSUMPTION, AND RECIRCULATION ?
SO, NOTHING GOES TO WASTE!
THIS IS POSSIBLE ONLY IF WE PLAN OUR LIFE SYSTEMS
AND OUR CITIES IN CONFORMITY WITH THE RULES OF ECOLOGY.

IF A CITY CANNOT SUSTAIN BASIC MEANS OF SURVIVAL
FOOD, CLOTHING AND SHELTER, AIR, WATER AND SUNSHINE
IT IS UNFIT FOR HUMAN HABITATION.

Madhu Sarin's comments take another turn. [Box IXX] Having grown up in Chandigarh, she went to London and studied with John Turner. She participated in the discussion of his ideas to enable the users to build their own housing, and especially the poorer section of the population – who, paradoxically, are lacking the means to do this effectively. She takes Le Corbusier's saying seriously and argues that the kind of planning practiced in Chandigarh, which is exclusively aesthetically orientated, does not attain this goal, and is even counter-

IXX. Conclusions by the Analyst:

"None of the planning frameworks reviewed (...) directly addressed itself to dealing with the priority needs and problems of the working poor. Although statements to this effect were made in rhetorical terms, even a cursory examination of the parameters on which the planning has been based indicates the economic inviability of the promises. For example, not in a single case was any consideration given to creating work opportunities for the poor.

"(...) planning led to the development of blatant social and economic contradictions. It was never its objective either to eliminate them or to prevent their development. It is a futile exercise to assess the 'success' or 'failure' of such planning from this point of view. (...) The bourgeois concept of 'intelligence' whereby individuals are labelled as 'great' or 'masters' facilitates the centralization of decision-making in the hands of a few, leaving the rest of the society at their mercy. Through the authorities support for Le Corbusier, the imposition of an individualistic perception of grandeur and monumentality on the mass of the population – and the dismissal of their concerns with the real day-to-day problems of survival as unimportant – could be legitimized. (Sarin, M.: 251)

productive. Madhu Sarin's model of planning which embraces society and economy through a benevolent state would certainly demand its price for implementation. Whether it would be feasible in a culture which has always tolerated human suffering and social contrasts, and this, above all, in the tiny island of a municipality, is a subject for further discussion.

Le Corbusier's name is used quasi in place of that of a political founder and as a symbol of an aesthetical order which allows for orientation in the present and direction in the future. In order to do this effectively, the consensus on his set of rules, once agreed upon by the administrators, has to be constantly confirmed. To assure such a consensus generally is the job of any ruling group. This function makes and defines it. Whoever belongs to it in Chandigarh – I cannot go into this question here –, it appears that the projection of these rules on an authority, even if he is from an alien culture, helps to establish a particular kind of identification through which the conventional least effort functional town planning can be overcome.

Indianization

It is exciting to observe, how the Indian vernacular culture gets seeded into what has thus been established in Chandigarh. I hope that the photos show some of it. Lenses are more apt for registering than a prejudiced mind. Many inhabitants speak with a pride new in this part of the world, of their town as a beautiful one. This is valid also for the disadvantaged who obviously do not feel more disadvantaged through planning (a conclusion following also from Madu Sarin's interviews, if read against the lines). Aesthetical order offering orientation and ease in

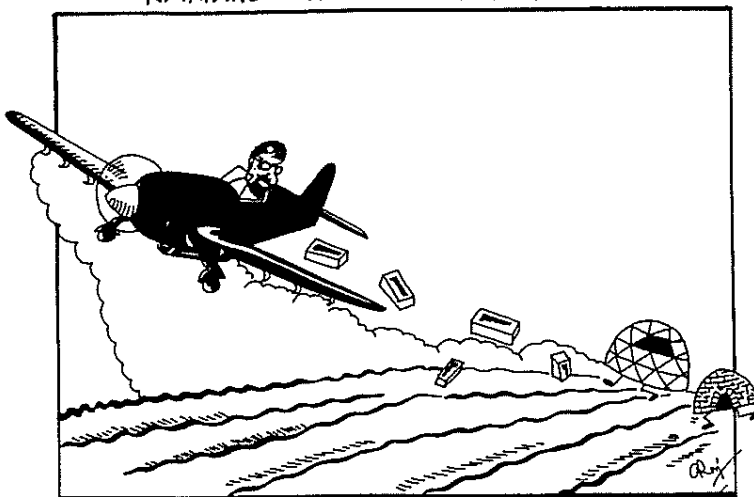
day to day matters and better provision of the future seems to be important for everyone.

Maintaining and improving order needs guiding principles, institutions, and constant efforts by the citizens to keep the underlying set of rules in place. Thus order is a way and not an end. To have misunderstood this seems to be a fundamental mistake of Le Corbusier's. The contradictions between his sayings and doings mean that the Chandigarh planners and decision-makers are constantly called upon either to use the canonized formulas like "zones", "7Vs", "respect for vegetation" etc. or to follow his more or less explicit intentions which are functional, egalitarian and ecological. Even Le Corbusier's architectural works are not plainly functional but claiming functionality. For example, the Capitol is not just a container for political affairs, but may be understood as a call for a better way of conducting politics and the corresponding new rituals.

The quotations of the critics have shown that the game between orthodoxy based on the sayings and heterodoxy based on the intentions, so well known from the history of ideas, has already started in Chandigarh. In this respect it is quite typical that both critics are snubbed and hindered in working. Aditya Prakash plays the angry old man. Madhu Sarin is busy organising grass-root self-help groups and gathering disciples around her.

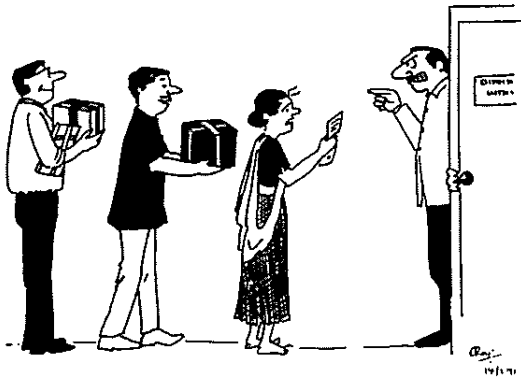
Through becoming tied to human lives ideas originally alien to a given culture, in this case the Indian one, are being integrated. It has to do with to give and to take and with the constant endeavour to master physical matter, otherwise typical for handicrafts. Is this the meaning of the monument of the Open Hand, subconsciously expressed by the artist and subconsciously understood by the people of Chandigarh ?

RETAILING BUILDING TECHNOLOGY



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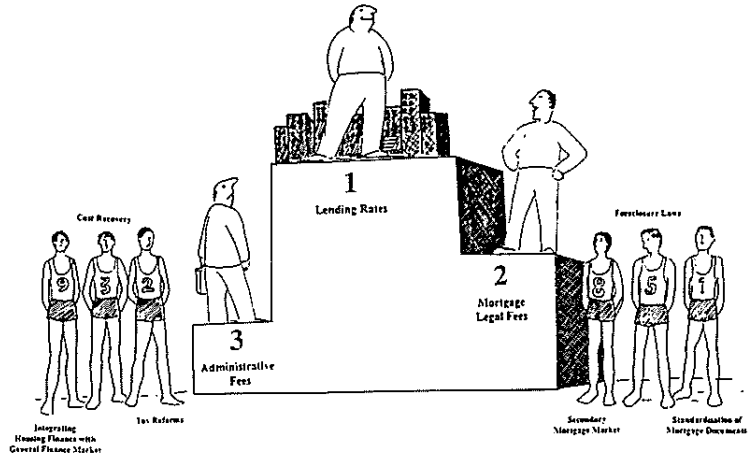
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Finding ideas on the use of local materials



I was in town the other day - they're really in a mess!

Ciudad Guayana – Growth without Development?

A city as a key to regional development

Bernd Ciecior

One needs a symbol for a new beginning: A starting point for the national resurgence after decades of dictatorship and despotism. A model for the transition from a feudal, agrarian society to an egalitarian, industrialized democracy. Proposal: take 10% of the state income, planners of world standing (a joint team from Harvard University and M.I.T under Professor **Lloyd Rodwin**) and a region of manifold resources; establish a city at the confluence of rivers Caroni and Orinoco.

The first president of the CVG, the "Autonomous Institute of the Venezuelan Corporation of Guayana", and co-founder of the city, the Army General Rafael A. Ravard, stated: "This confluence...and all the contrasts, organized and structured in a modern city, would be the adequate scenario for a change from a traditional to an industrialized society."

The CVG was created under Decree 430 on the 29th of December 1960, by the democratically elected President **Romulo Betancourt**, as an urban and regional development agency to consult the existing state institutions and to co-operate with them. Being directly liaised with the planning board of the President (CORDIPLAN) it was also equipped with considerable power to negotiate. In fact, it was given the competences to govern the state of Bolivar and the *Territorio Federal Delta Amacuro* – a region covering the size of the Federal Republic of Germany of old (approx. 248 000 sqkm).

The development concept of the Guayana Project

The CVG was acting under a kind of "command" as the extended arm of the central government. <see Box 1: Seven "Orders"> The development of the project, town and region of Guayana offered great chances for the pursuit of a number of underlying expectations, also on the part of the Venezuelan public.

- The Guayana Project should be at the forefront for the national development and demonstrate the modernization of the social and economic structures. These had remained nearly untouched although there were large earnings by the oil sector for more than half a century, and the agrarian oligarchy had become an oligarchy of merchants, dealing with oil instead of cocoa and coffee, again a kind of "monoculture".

- The one-sided dependency on oil exports should be ended and replaced by an export industry based on steel, aluminium and petrochemicals. The state of technology in the heavy industry would have modernising effects on the manufacturing industry. Economic growth would initiate social development, because higher productivity would result in higher incomes.

- Water power would cover the greater part of the national demand for energy and allow for pollution-free industries ("white industries by white energy").

Box 1: Seven "Orders" for the Guayana Development Project

1. The resources of Guayana Region and adjacent areas, if necessary, are to be investigated.
2. The water reserves of the Caroni river are to be utilized to their full capacity.
3. An integrated development planning approach will support the National Development Plan, in keeping with the national norms.
4. The public and private sector is to be promoted in view of the industrial development of the region.
5. The social and economic area activities of different public institutes are to be coordinated.
6. Public services which cannot be carried out by private enterprises are to be exercised by the Government.
7. Problems of the outer region will be tackled, if they affect the inner region, i.e. Guayana.

Zusammenfassung

Die Stadt Ciudad Guayana wurde nicht zuletzt als Symbol für den Übergang einer "rückschrittlichen" Agrar- in eine "moderne" Industriegesellschaft gegründet. Die Erwartungen, die an ihre Entwicklung geknüpft waren, bezogen sich auf die Dynamisierung der Gesellschaft, die Diversifizierung der Wirtschaft, die Optimierung der Ressourcennutzung und die Entlastung der bestehenden Großstädte von der Immigration. Als Mittel wurde dafür die sozial riskante Strategie der Wachstumspole gewählt. Fehleinschätzungen und Fehler, vor allem die eher verstärkte Abhängigkeit von importierten Kapitalgütern und Arbeitskräften ließen die Strategie scheitern.

Die Stadtplanung legte das Gewicht auf den Ausbau von Industrie und Wohngebiete für einer Arbeiterschaft mit hohem Lohnniveau im Westen des Stadtgebietes. Stattdessen kam eine Bevölkerung mit niedrigem Lohnniveau, welche sich nur informelle Wohngebiete im Osten leisten konnte. Deshalb verfiel die nicht ausgelastete, relativ überdimensionierte Infrastruktur im Westen, während für deren Ausbau im Osten keine Mittel vorhanden waren. Da auch auf den anderen Planungsebenen die Ziele nicht erreicht wurden, trat eine Stagnation in der Entwicklung der Stadt ein.

- Agricultural and forestry resources would be used for the regional and national consumption, possibly even for export (e.g. pulp and paper industry).

- The agglomerations of Caracas, Maracaibo, Valencia and Barquisimeto would get relief from the new growth-pole Ciudad Guayana.

The dimension of the project obliged the Government to integrate the project into the National Development Plan (4. *Plan de la Nación, Plan IV*). Through this the state became directly responsible not only for the infrastructure necessary for the industry, but also for the capital investment of key industries. The profits obtained from oil export were thus turned into entrepreneurial risks.

For the Guayana town planning project only the functional-technocratic approach seemed feasible. This was complemented by the growth-pole concept after Perroux <see Box 2> in combination with Rostow's "stages of growth" concept. According to this a flourishing Ciudad Guayana would make it possible for the state of Venezuela to achieve the "take-off" from the agrarian society. The use of the very best high technology would help to realize the "big push" with an optimal exploitation of resources. Hence work-intensive production would have to be replaced by a capital-intensive one. The next step would be the "drive to maturity", i.e. diversification of the production by a multitude of middle-sized light and manufacturing industries. According to the "Theory of Investition" an important investment is required to

Box 2: The growth-pole concept

- The industrialization processes have shown, that economic growth did not cover all regions of a country at the same time.
- The growth of the industry is concentrated in so-called "dynamic branches of industry" in particular favourable locations.
- An interregional balance between the locations of the dynamic industries (in cities) and their hinterland will gradually become established through spread-over and linkage effects toward the rural vicinity.
- Therefore, the main problem of an underdeveloped region is, that it has no dynamic growth-pole. Consequently, in order to foster regional development and to give the necessary impulses, national planning should create growth-poles, insofar as the forces of the free market are not capable of doing it.
- The investments by the state are preferably concentrated in regional growth-poles. Unbalances will be taken into account since they are assumed to provoke, after a transitional period, growth in the whole region.

cause the total social rent (i.e. privat rent and external economies) to exceed the total social costs (i.e. privat costs and external diseconomies). A "critical minimum effort" of the investment would make the rate of growth of the social product rise quicker than the growth rate of the population. Thus the economic development would be the "engine" of the whole development.

The old iron smelting works of the former U.S. property were replaced by the world greatest and most modern heavy industry complex. Completely imported plants were considered the "entry ticket" to the World Market by assuring Venezuelan products superiority over competing ones.

Reality turned out to be different. A kind of double dependency fully hit the Project. The transferred technology determined not only the production but also the supporting systems. By buying the technology as "package deal" little use was made of national human and economic resources. Only two companies flourished as foreseen, SIDOR, the most modern and efficient steel plant at that time (1980: 5 mio. t.) and EDELCA, then the world's most powerful hydroelectric station (12 500 MW) on the Guri water reservoir. Nearly all other industrial development stagnated or fell even back because of management and technical problems.

In contradiction to the planning objectives the development of human resources was neglected as *Maria Garcia Pilar* points out. Foreign professionals and even workers were imported. A special training system answering the requirements of the town (CRAT) was established not before 1973. The percentage of joblessness superceeded the national average. *Luis Ugalde*, another social scientist, criticized: "It was not the human being, who was at the center of development, but the technology and oil dollars. The scale for the projects success were economic profits, not the men. In the focus of general endeavour were money and technology."

**The Urban Development:
Starting Points of Planning**

The CVG took a twofold function concerning urban development. It was responsible for the urban planning and for the implementation. The town planning objective was as follows: "The design should cover a city, which will be the place of an industrial complex, integrating the two settlement nuclei San Felix and Puerto Ordaz - besides pursuing the aim of creating an environment in which the

TRIALOG

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**zum Thema:
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Kollegen aus den alten und neuen Bundesländern, aus Osteuropa und aus ehemals sozialistischen Ländern der Dritten Welt diskutieren die Probleme und Perspektiven der zahlreichen Großsiedlungen:

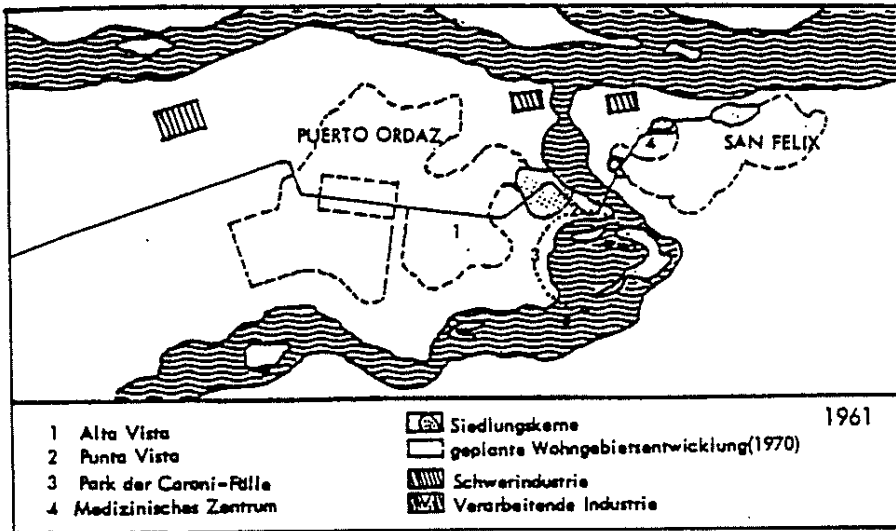
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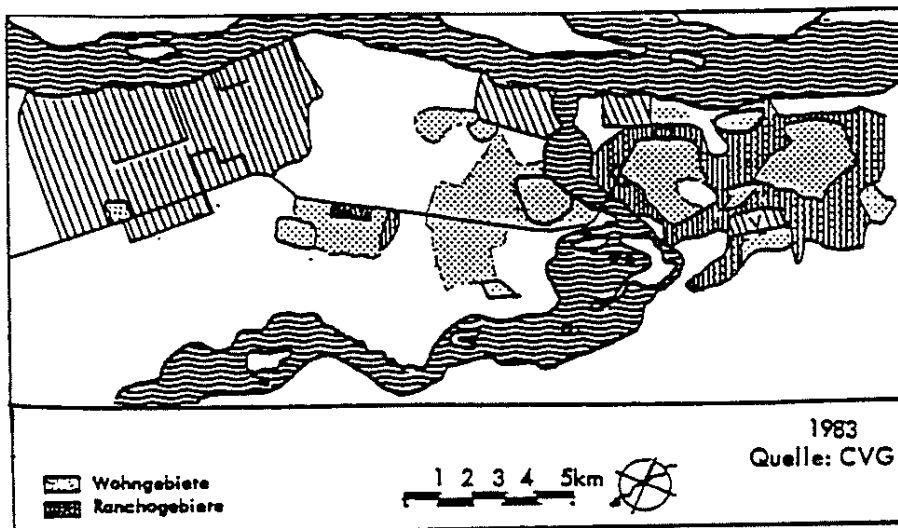
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social conflicts can be minimized by offering them a large variety of possibilities for jobs and activities for pursuing their interests, forming their talents and choosing their housing and service facilities – according to what they require for their family life."

The area of Ciudad Guayana lies on the southern bank of the Orinoco river, separated into a western and an eastern part by the Caroni river which enters the Orinoco at this point. In the middle of the town area there are the Caroni rapids and north of it in the Orinoco river, the Fajardo island.

After the establishment of the Caroni District on the 29th of June 1961 the town was founded on the 2nd of July on an area of 1.799 sqkm. At its western end, on the west bank of the Caroni river, where the Orinoco Mining Company had built the settlement Puerto Ordaz, the industrial area of Matanzas was situated. The Iron Mines Company had built the settlement Palua on the eastern bank where San Felix lies, originally a fishing port with some five thousand inhabitants in 1961. The distance between Matanzas and San Felix is about 27 km, and the north-south span of the urban area is about 13 km. The Government passed 17 560 ha to the CVG for city development, an area which the CVG enlarged by land purchase to 36 150 ha. Approximately 70 % of the town area owned by the CVG was especially favourable for town planning. President Betancourt had endorsed extraordinary resources and planning responsibilities to the CVG and given the public promise to build a modern city without slums or squatter settlements in contrast to other large Venezuelan cities.



300 000 inhabitants was considered a suitable figure for the first phase of a functional industrial town. After preliminary studies the planning team under Professor Lloyd Rodwin decided on a linear city development concept. A linear city development would not only connect the existing settlements but also integrate the envisaged centers relatively easily, do justice to the natural landscape and thus keep development under control. The Matanzas industrial area was proposed for the allocation of further basic industries and heavy machinery manufacturing. This area was chosen because the prevailing north-east winds would transport possible air pollution away from the housing quarters in the east. The heavy industry in Matanzas was to be complemented by the allocation of light industries in the vicinity of the airport. Residential quarters for the workers and employees should be provided



Photo 1: Centro Alta Vista (Photo Bernd Ciecior)



Photo 2: Ranchos before Alta Vista silhouette

ided close to their places of work. A city center was planned on the hill of Alta Vista including an administrative building for public and private enterprises and an impressive shopping center, to be surrounded by residential areas of middle and higher income groups.

These areas had two advantages: It was easy to provide urban services and they offered a good view over the city. The City Center of Alta Vista would connect the industrial and residential sections functionally and visually, and would through its traffic junctions attract potential buyers. Thanks to its location, supported by its land and building use, the City Center Alta Vista was to become the most important "producer of income" in the whole city. A Botanic Garden and a Zoo encompassing the beautiful rapids of

the Caroni river was planned in the middle as well as the Cultural Center of the City, Punta Vista. Alta Vista's altitude would make it visible from all points of the City and would be a symbol of urban activity.

The connection to the eastern part of the City was established by the building of a bridge over the Caroni in 1964. According to the land use plan, San Felix opposite to Puerto Ordaz was chosen as site for an international hotel, a medical centre and the extension of the harbour. Only fairly recently light industry was permitted to settle down there and a plan for the restauration and refurbishment of the historical fishing port was prepared. Altogether, 3.8 billion US \$ were invested during the first decade of building Ciudad Guayana and the Guayana Project.

How to make good use of the Guayana experience?

The town planners clearly put the emphasis on development of the western bank of the Caroni river, on Puerto Ordaz. Here 66 % of the expected population should be settled with only 34 % at San Felix. Ten years later the population distribution was clearly reversed: 75 % lived in San Felix, mostly following traditional pattern, that is to say in *ranchos*, a kind of squatter settlement, and 25 % in modern quarters in Puerto Ordaz.

Luis Ugalde, reviewing the "absurdities" of the Project Guayana – the western part of the city, its "head" and "engine" advanced only at a retarded pace – named several reasons:



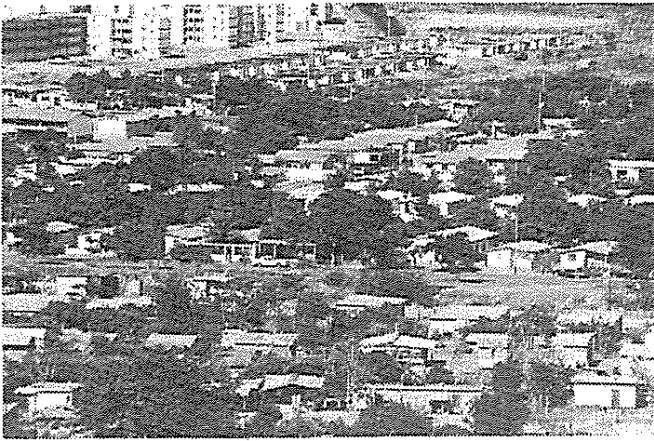


Photo 3: Housing in Puerto Ordaz (Photo Bernd Ciecior)



Photo 4 Housing in San Felix (Photo Bernd Ciecior)

1. The policy of public lands and land control was seen by the entrepreneurs as a disincentive. Banks asked for land titles and nothing else as security. The state gave finally in and opened huge doors for speculation. As a consequence, planning had been robbed of its most precious and important steering instrument for urban development.
2. Infrastructure policy: Large parts of the western half of the city had been furnished with urban infrastructure in view of the expected rapid growth. Because this did not happen, the water supply, sewage, electricity and streets networks were deteriorating, whereas the eastern part of Ciudad Guayana chronically remained under-equipped. The greater part of the workers living in the eastern part had to cross the Caroni river to come to work, thus making the only bridge to a bottleneck. Roads for individual traffic had first priority compared to public transport, the latter being essential for a successful linear city development. Private enterprises' micro-buses could not really fill the gap. Consequently, the costs for transport reached around 15 % of the workers' incomes, which is comparable to Chicago or Los Angeles. The principle of functional vivinity of producing and residential sections was defeated.
3. Economic policies: The economic growth, depending to a high degree on subventions, diminished when these ran out. Self-sustained development did not occur. **Fernando Travieso** points out the high risk of the economic concept, making the future of the city depending on its capacity to attract industrial capital.
4. Social politics had not sufficiently been married with economic politics. An integrated development approach had been missed, Ciudad Guayana had shrunk to a "planning island". The lack of housing, jobs, urban services, the high level of costs of living reached national records and created marginality.
5. Housing policy soon became the thorniest of all problems. It expressed most clearly the unbalance of social and economic strategies. Planners envisaged to house highly qualified people for high technology industries. People who were not wanted because they were unqualified, were sent into initially unplanned "reception areas" in San Felix, far away from the job opportunities.
6. On the whole the city was split into a planned but underpopulated western part and a rather unplanned, overcrowded eastern part. A plan correlating high income with high priority for further development and high standards and low income with low priority and low standards was rightfully criticized by **José A. Lazcano** for its "discriminating criteria".

The unbalance of the eastern and western part of Ciudad Guayana was thus deepened. In 1977, the per-capita investment for housing in the west was 34 times higher than in the east. The percentage of squatters grew as the attractiveness of the city declined. The prognosis of the town management for the planned growth had to be corrected downwards again and again facing the disappointing social reality.

<p>Population figures: 1966: 90 000 instead of the planned 100.000 1975: 221.000 instead of 400.000 1985: 400.000 instead of 600.000 1992: 340.000.</p>

The philosophy of the technocrats dominating the urban management excluded for a long time political solutions such as negotiations for measures of bypassing the bureaucracy. Rather, they themselves were responsible for a better administration of the given means and resources.

On the one hand, the admiration for the ambitious economic goals of the Guayana Project is still high, on the other hand, it may be rightly criticized for being "growth without development". Development is yet to come...

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Samarkand Revitalization

An International Architecture Competition on ideas for the Ulugh Beg Cultural Centre

The Aga Khan Trust for Culture

Introduction

Samarkand is a contemporary Central Asian city with a history of over 2500 years of urban habitation. The remaining pre-modern part, consisting of palaces and courtyard houses of adobe and timber, is dominated by the magnificent blue domed monuments - "turquoise domes shining like jewels in a green valley", while the nineteenth and twentieth century parts of the city are relatively modern and European-styled. (Photo 1) The heart of the city connects to the ancient and medieval, pre-modern, nineteenth century and contemporary parts of the city. Today, the site is rather neglected, a variety of problems as well as the construction of a number of miscellaneous structures have in great part precluded its role as a healthy and dynamic centre of modern Samarkand.

An international Competition for Ideas is promoted by the Executive Committee of the People's Deputies of Samarkand USSR, headed by its mayor, the Soviet and Uzbek Unions of Architects and the Aga Khan Trust for Culture. The intention of the venture is to select the best ideas for a Centre that celebrates Ulugh Beg as a symbol of Central Asia knowledge and culture and also one who remains a source of inspiration for challenging conventional wisdom. These ideas will be implemented to revitalise the historical core of Samarkand. The new complex should reflect traditional values and enable the challenge of the next century to be met. It is important, therefore, to design the Centre to allow for a large variety of users including national and international tourists and the urban and rural inhabitants of all ages whose recreation is often separate for men and women.

TRIALOG 34 (1992)



Photo 1 S.Özkan

In 1990 the Aga Khan Foundation for Culture decided to assist the promotion of the competition, which is fully in line with its objective, that is to focus attention on contemporary expressions of the Islamic humanistic tradition concentrating particularly on the architecture and planning of the built environment. The Aga

Khan Foundation prepared the necessary documents from which the following introduction to the competition is taken: summaries of Samarkand history, of the competition brief, and of the results. A short commentary by one of the editors of this TRIALOG issue, Jürgen Oesterich, will conclude the presentation.

Zusammenfassung

Der Ausrichter des internationalen Städtebauwettbewerbes Samarkand gibt zunächst einen Überblick über die Baugeschichte der Stadt mit seinen weltberühmten, mehr oder weniger rekonstruierten Kuppelbauten aus dem 15. Jhd. und über die weitere Geschichte, die zu der gegenwärtigen Leere im Stadtzentrum geführt hat. Daraus ergibt sich die Wettbewerbsaufgabe, die eine funktionale und eine symbolische Dimension hat. Eine Auswahl der Ankäufe und die Arbeiten der fünf Sieger des Wettbewerbs, welche die Spannweite der möglichen Lösungen zeigt, wird vorgestellt und kommentiert. Eine Schlußbetrachtung befaßt sich mit seither vorgenommenen Schritten und Perspektiven für die Durchführung einer konsensfähigen und möglichst optimalen Lösung.

Samarkand History

1. Ancient Times

From ancient times, Samarkand's origin and destiny were linked to the Silk Route. Its founding, growth and prosperity and its rich creative traditions are inevitably woven into the strands of its ancient and famous trading route which first crossed Central Asia over 2 500 years ago. (Fig.1)

Samarkand was an important town on this route. Its location in this part of Central Asia brought to its inhabitants the cultural influences of the four great ancient civilizations of Iran, Arabia, India and China. Trade with China was prolific, indeed the eastern gates of the town were called the Chinese Gates. It was famous for its sericulture, ceramics and paper production, the processing techniques of which had been learned from Chinese masters.

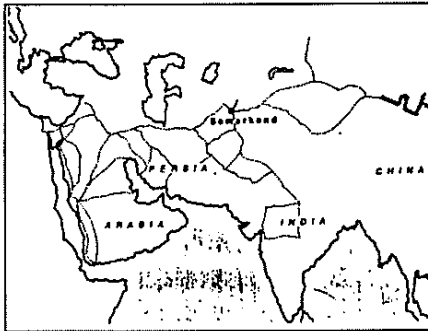


Fig. 1 Silk Route

Soghiana, the ancient name of the region, was one of the administrative outposts of the Achaemenid Empire (6th-4th century). The capital of Soghdiana was a settlement on a raised site located in the northern part of the modern town of Samarkand. The earliest records describe it as a flourishing settlement, protected by a massive adobe fort wall on all sides; remains have been excavated of large temple complexes, craft workshops and artisan schools. Accounts of Samarkand, as late as the 10th century B.C., mention that the main square had enormous timber statues of camels, horses and exquisitely carved statues of deer and mountain goats. A lead-lined aqueduct was laid in the town at this time.

The Arab conquest in 710 A.D. does not seem to have caused much destruction of the town, nor was life disrupted. The town continued to grow. The Arabs converted the Soghian temples into mosques. These mosques were not simply places of worship but, as in other Muslim countries, were centres of state administration and community life. This period witnessed urban expansion and

consolidation as is evident from the remains of hammams, mosques and a madrasa that have been excavated.

When in 1220 A.D. Genghis Khan led his Mongols to destroy the town, the centre of the settlement subsequently began to move south into the plains that once had been agricultural villages. Yet parts of the old town continued to be inhabited, and when in 1340 A.D. the Arabian Ibn Battutah travelled to this settlement, it had partially recovered from the Mongol devastation.

2. The Great Timurid Period

The "timurid" period of history begins with Timur's accession to power in 1370 A.D. and extends for over a century across the period of his successors. Today, Samarkand is famous for its grand mosques, madrasas and mausoleums whose turquoise domes shine like "jewels in the green valley", many of which were started in the reign of Timur who made Samarkand his capital. From his conquests in Khurrazam, Armenia, Azerbaijan, India and Mesopotamia he brought back thousands of craftsmen, painters and artisans. Timur's captives also worked on the construction sites of great monuments that he was building. He carried out extensive repairs to the town fabric and a century after Genghis Khan's invasion, Samarkand was once again a fortified city with an outer wall and six entrance gates. Timur's impregnable citadel had consisted of his four-storey "Blue Palace", the administrative centre,

the armoury and the mint. There were two gates facing south and east. The eastern gate opened onto a suspension bridge that connected the citadel to what became later known as the Registan Square.

Apart from the booty of the conquered lands, it was the trade that brought Samarkand its continuing prosperity. Covered bazaars stretched from one end of the town to the other, with water reservoirs constructed all along the bazaar route.

Today, nothing much remains of the Citadel Timur built. But of his other projects in the town much has now been reconstructed so that it is possible to comprehend, even today, the enormity of Timur's architectural projects. The grand size of his building projects changed the whole scale of the town to become what it has remained since (Fig.2). The largest of the projects is probably the *Bibi Khanum* which was one of the most colossal monuments ever built in the Islamic world. Timur also built the mausoleum of *Gur-i-Amir* for his grandson which, like *Bibi Khanum*, was conceived as a complex with a *khanaqah* (hospice) and a *madrasa* (religious seminary). This complex, completed around 1404 A.D., was laid out formally with two public buildings enclosing an urban square. The fusion of local tradition with those of the imported arts of conquered lands resulted in an organic link between architecture and painting, wood and stone carving, ceramic and metal ware.

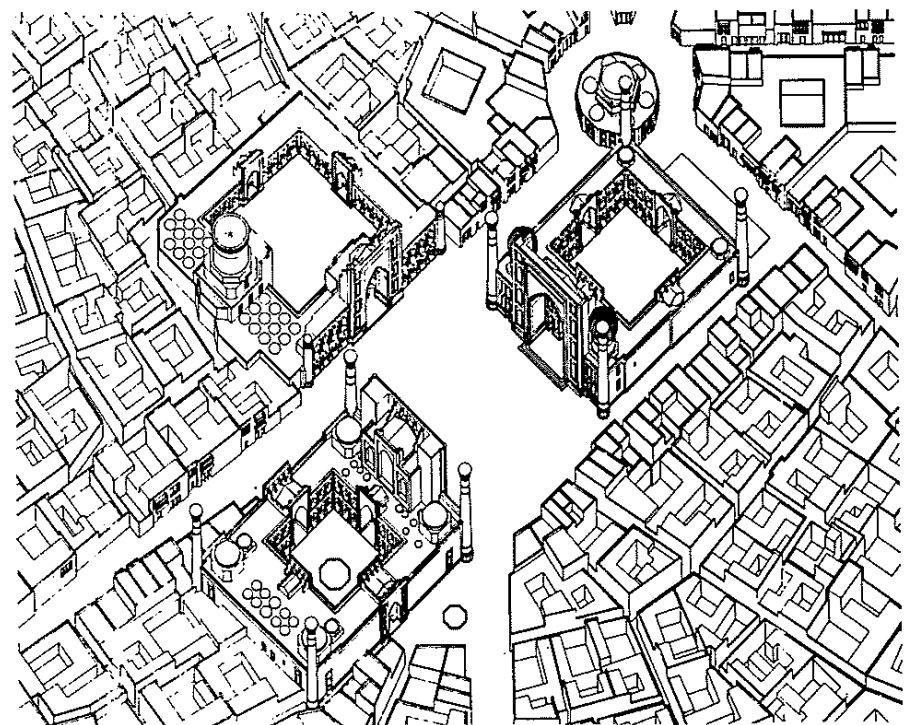


Fig. 2 Registan

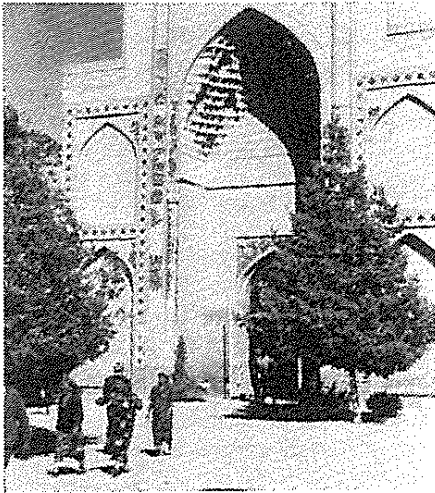


Photo 2 H.U.Khan

Bibi Khanum (1398-1405) (Photo 2)

This large mosque, currently under reconstruction, was originally started by Timur after his campaign in India. Originally, the mosque had opposite its enormous doorway the mausoleum and madrasa built by Timur's wife Saray Mulk Khanum. The madrasa has been destroyed and the vehicular road now cuts through between these two complexes. The enormous minarets which punctuated this massive courtyard complex could not survive the ravages of time and the earthquakes. Due to the rapid pace of construction and the volume of the domes, iwans and minarets these were not without flaws. The entire project underwent a number of changes during construction and the collapse of the main dome had made the whole monument unsafe.

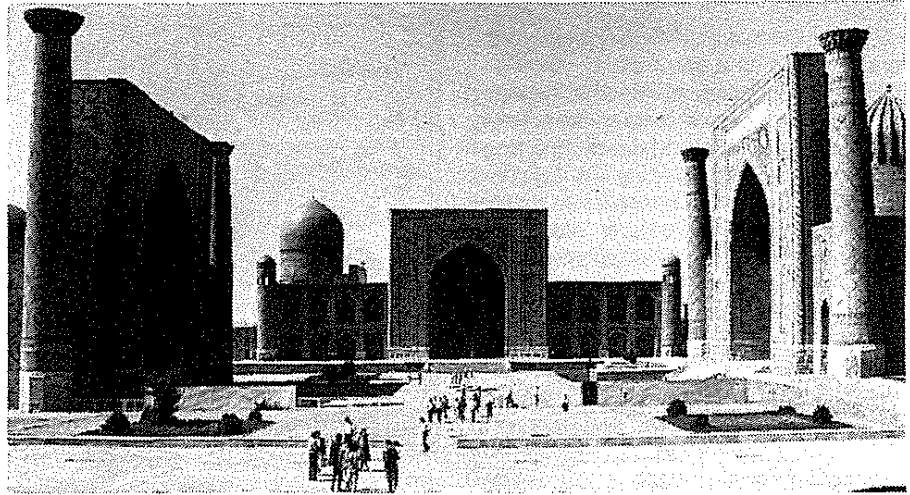


Photo 3 R.Güney

The Registan Square (1417-1660) (Fig.3, Photo 3)

In its present form the square consists of the Ulugh Beg Madrasa, the Shir Dor Madrasa and the Tillya Kari Madrasa and the mosque. The distinct space was once the commercial and religious centre of pre-modern Samarkand. Ulugh Beg's madrasa built by himself was at the time the most important centre of learning in the region. Opposite, the present Shir Dor Madrasa dates back to the 17th century and is modelled closely on Ulugh Beg's building opposite. The octagonal domed structure, *Chahar Su*, adjacent to the Shir Dor Madrasa was built in the 18th century.

height and covered in carved mosaics and decorative glazed tiles presented in the style of the Moorish school of architecture of the 14th and 15th centuries. Shahrokh's death in 1447 A.D. was followed two years later by that of Ulugh Beg in 1449 A.D. The next few years saw the rapid decline of the Timurids.

The Uzbek Ashtarkhanide dynasty ruled Samarkand during the first half of the 17th century. Its chieftain, Yalangtash Bahadur, replaced Ulugh Beg's caravanserail at the Registan square with the now famous Tillya Kari Madrasa and the khanagah, on the same site, was replaced by the Shir Dor Madrasa.

After Timur's death in 1405 his son Shahrokh inherited the vast kingdom after a struggle. Unable to govern it all by himself, Shahrokh divided the kingdom into two parts: Khwarazm, with its capital Khira, was governed by him, and Mavarannahr, with Samarkand as its capital, was put under the charge of his son, Ulugh Begh.

Ulugh Begh's name in Samarkand's history is associated not with expansionism of an empire as had been the case with his grandfather, Timur, but with learning and science. He was an astronomer and mathematician, poet and scholar as well as a connoisseur of architecture. The construction work, undertaken by Timur, was continued. Bibi Khanum, Gur-i-Amir and other buildings were added to or completed. Ulugh Beg's eagerness to spread learning and scientific thought committed him to patronize the construction of madrasas also in Bukhara, Merv and elsewhere. The madrasa in Samarkand, which forms part of the Registan square, was conceived as an ensemble which, apart from a madrasa, included a hospice, a caravanserail and a mosque. Ulugh Beg's greatest dream the observatory, was 48 metres in diameter and 40 metres in

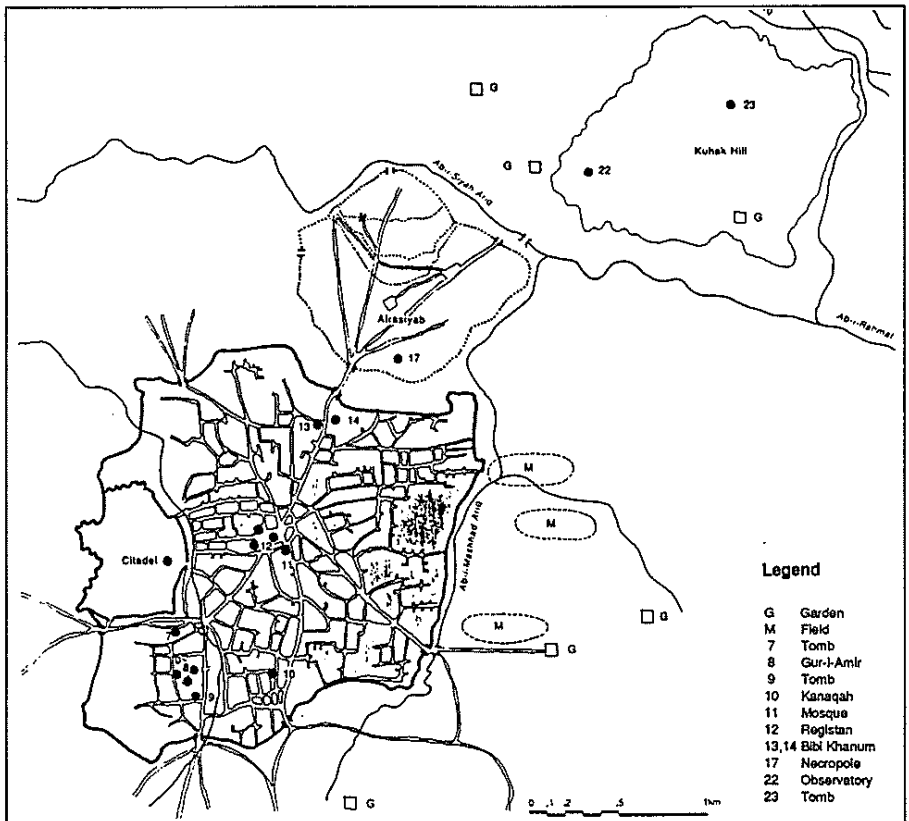


Fig. 3 Samarkand Past

3. The Post-timurid Times

By the beginning of the 19th century separate kingdoms began to emerge. Samarkand was absorbed into the kingdom of Bukhara. Towards the middle of the 19th century Samarkand had become part of the Russian empire. The military siege of the town by the zar's army had resulted in damage and destruction of a considerable number of the old monuments including those on the Registan square and Timur's citadel which underwent several modifications and fell more and more into disrepair.

Samarkand was divided into two parts – the native town and the European town. The first had always been divided into a number of independent, self-administered units known as *mohallas*. The organisational centre of each mohalla was the mohalla mosque and the periphery of the mohalla was closed by an external windowless wall with an entrance gate that was locked at night for safety. The housing of contemporary Samarkand which occupies the area of pre-modern urban settlement maintains the medieval courtyard morphology. The traditional building materials consisting mostly of mud and timber are being replaced in many mohallas in the course of improvement and expansion by brick and concrete.

In the rest of the town, distinct European architecture was preferred to Central Asian style, and the administrative buildings and residential quarters took on radically new forms. In housing the concept of the apartment block replaced the courtyard house. The Russian part that lies to the south-west of the old town is also low in density. However, these buildings built as apartment blocks in the 19th and early 20th century, have been laid out along wide tree-lined avenues. Apart from the residential buildings the Russians had also built many institutional buildings along these avenues that are being used as offices, shops and research and cultural institutions.

Some years after the October Revolution of 1917 the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic was formed with Samarkand as its capital from 1924 to 1930. Subsequently the capital shifted to Tashkent and Samarkand became the second most important administrative centre of Uzbekistan. Samarkand with its 390,000 inhabitants today, is the second largest city in the Republic of Uzbekistan and remains an industrial and cultural centre. Soviet planners in the last four decades introduced a third type of fabric. This fabric was laid out in a series of master plans that were updated over the years and has given Samarkand many high-rise

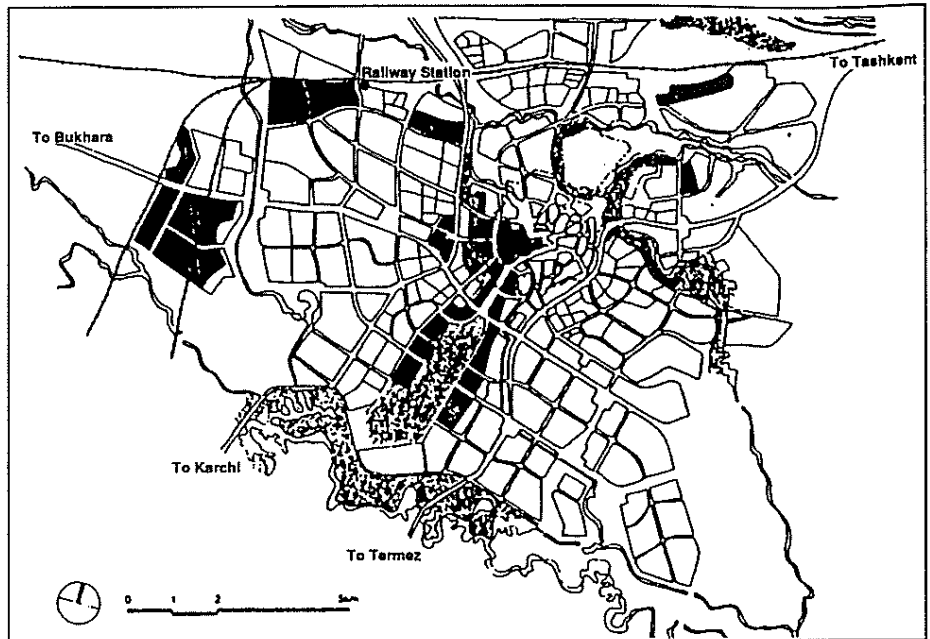


Fig. 4 Samarkand Master Plan

buildings. Apart from hotels and the administrative centre built on the site of Timur's citadel, the periphery of the town has a number of high-rise housing complexes occupied by families who have been dispersed by the changes being implemented under the master plan. (Fig. 4)

Planning for easier vehicular movement as well as the growing industrialisation of the city over the years, has given Samarkand a complex intermixed fabric in which pre-modern and modern elements have been juxtaposed. The pre-modern bazaar street with a concentrated location for the market place has now been displaced by vehicular through-roads and scattered market and housing places. The simple contrast between monumental buildings and the vernacular housing architecture which was clearly apparent in Timur's time, has now evolved as a complex mix of tradi-

tional and contemporary forms and functions. The Registan stands as a museum piece.

While the buildings of contemporary architecture have been proliferating in Samarkand, massive reconstruction and restoration works on the Timurid and Post-timurid monuments has also progressed simultaneously. The attempt to repair and stabilize these highly decorated monuments has been going on since the 1920s. Harsh climatic conditions, earthquakes and wars have put these monuments at great risk of deterioration. Since this kind of work goes beyond reparation and restoration, Samarkand today is considered an enormous experimental reconstruction laboratory. Specialists of many different fields have been involved in this effort which is the result of discussions amongst archaeologists, historians, philologists, chemical engineers, anthropologists and ceramic experts.

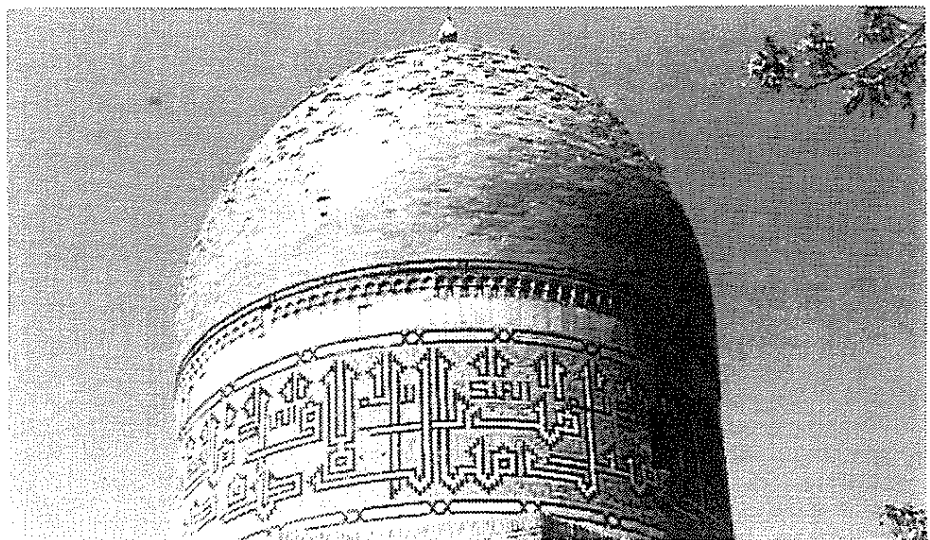


Photo 4 R.Güney

The planning of contemporary Samarkand however has had its own pitfalls. The new public buildings are eclectic in style, are disjointed and have ruined the vistas towards the Registan. The new public and housing schemes have not considered the cultural, climatic and regional aspects of Uzbekistan. The basic approach of the Soviet town planners has been to consider the modern and the pre-modern settlements as one unit and to find ways of integrating the two. The planning of green avenues passing through the town has been one way to attempt this integration. The remains of Timur's citadel and the location of the military camp on the site had provided the main meeting point between the old, pre-modern timurid settlement and the Russian colonial settlement. The territory from the citadel site to the Registan Complex has therefore remained the symbolic centre of Samarkand from Timur's time till today. A broad, tree-lined avenue running north-east to south-west connects the new settlements to the site of the citadel and remains a focal spine for the master plan drawn up in 1981. (Fig.4)

Excerpts from the Competition Brief

The main objectives of the competition were given as follows:

1. To propose a set of lasting ideas for the design of the centre that will frame future building decisions regardless of the pace and scale of development.
2. To find a solution to the problem of placing contemporary buildings in the midst of a historical city and in the immediate proximity of some of the most magnificent historical buildings in the world.
3. To create a contemporary multi-functional centre for Samarkand that will become not only its focus, but also the most important catalyst for a new cultural identity for its inhabitants in the coming century.

The promoters of the Competition were primarily seeking urban design ideas for urban activities, the detailed functional parts of which had not been narrowly defined so that competitors had the freedom to generate ideas about the city and its functioning. The activities listed in the architect's brief were meant as an indicative only and left open for interpretation. No specific building material was recommended for the proposed buildings. The phasing of the implementation was also left to the competitor. No programme of implementation had been indicated by the promoters.

TRIALOG 34 (1992)

Architect's brief

- Ulugh Begh Memorial Complex
 - * Museum facilities
 - * Library of ancient manuscripts (100,000 volumes)
 - * Planetarium and Observatory
 - * Facilities for the Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences
 - * Crafts School for 200-250 students
- Entertainment and theater facilities
- Exhibition and festival facilities
- Mosque for 600 - 1000 worshippers
- Hotel with 200 - 300 rooms, low-rise

The Competition site of 25,5 ha, situated between the Registan in the east and the ancient citadel and modern administrative site in the west, traverses a valley and is extensively terraced. (Fig.5) Up until now, the terracing of the site has discouraged contemporary development which has preferred the flat portions where the administrative complex has been located.

The complex has the potential for becoming the centre of Samarkand that reflects traditional values and enables the challenge of the next century to be met. It was important, therefore, to design the Centre to allow for a large variety of users including national and international tourists and the urban and rural inhabitants of all ages whose recreation is often separate for men and women.

The composition of the jury

Charles Correa (Chairman), renowned Architect and Planner from Bombay, India,
 Nematjan Sadikov (Vice-Chairman), Director of Asian Affiliate of Research, Samarkand, former Chief Architect of Samarkand,
 Sabir Adilov, Director of Asian Research Institute of Theory of Architecture and Town Planning, Chief Architect of Tashkent,
 Abdelwahed El-Wakil, Architect from London and Jeddah, honored by the Aga Khan Award in 1980 and 1986,
 Yuri Gnedovsky, vice-President of the USSR Union of Architects, member of the International Organisation of Scenario-writers, Architects and Technicians of Theatres,
 Yuri Plantonov, Professor at the Moscow Architecture School, President of the USSR Union of Architects, and
 Ismail Serageldin, Architect and planner, Director of the Technical Department of the Africa Region of the World Bank, Washington DC.

A major judging criterion was the success of the proposal in integrating the design with the fabric of the city. The relationship between built volumes and open spaces was considered critical. The proximity of the site to the monumental Registan Complex on one side and the multi-storey administrative complex on the other was seen as of crucial importance.

Another judging criterion was the composition of cultural, touristic, commercial,

and social features to ensure transition between the new city and the traditional one, and encourage development of both these sectors.

Since the implementation of such an extensive proposal will take time and resources to complete, attributes that show some of the results immediately were considered important. The sequence of construction should be a part of the ideas that will create from the very beginning a sense of the qualities proposed for the Centre.

The Outcome of the Competition

At the outset, 1800 registrations were received from 68 countries resulting in 685 entries. Europe accounting for 38 percent, the USSR for 22, Asia for 17, and North America for 15 percent. Almost 20 percent of the submissions came from Muslims, underlining the interest and concern of these individuals for the urban setting of one of the most important ensembles of Islamic architectural heritage in the World.

A total of five entries were declared winners and eight honorable mentions were awarded. The proposals submitted can be grouped broadly into three categories of approach, all of which were represented in the winning panel.

The most frequent class of entries gave priority to the first of the three objectives pronounced by choosing the conventional approach of organizing the functions along roads, alleys, pedestrian walks and the like, proposing bridges to cross the ravine, and squares or open parks to give certain areas a particular character. Quite a number of them proposed stages of development in form of a simulation of a hypothetic development and including courtyard housing and domed buildings and other more or less nostalgic elements. A fairly representative entry of this class which was awarded a honorable mention, the one by Giuseppe Cappochin/Giovanni Comparini, Padova suggested a park as could have been established by Ulugh Beg - a kind of Persian Garden (Fig.5). Other honorable men-

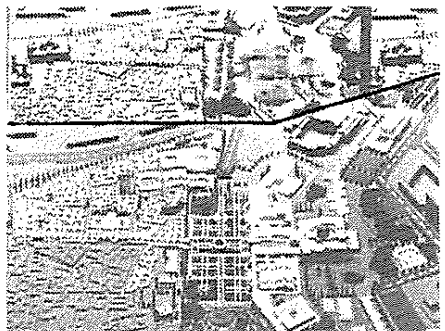


Fig. 5 Cappochin/Comparini

tions like the one by Cometti/Geißbühler, Luzern, and that by Yves Weinand, Brussels, proposed rather compact buildings towards the Registan and a park in the valley which separates and at the same time brings together the modern and old parts. The entries of Studniarek/Pilinkiewicz/ Tomanek, Katowice, and Eric Torcq, Paris, opted for networks of axes and individually designed squares, and the corresponding vistas. (Fig.6)

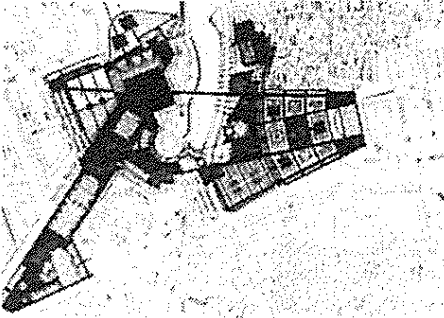


Fig. 6 Studniarek/Pilinkiewicz/Tomanek



Fig. 8 Alexander Larin

Of the two winners in this class. Alexander Larin of ARCSIM, Moscow, re-invented the texture of the old city on the eastern side and an allegorical recreation of the citadel on the western side, joined by a transitional bridge over Dagbit Street in the valley. (Fig.8) Faruk Yorgancioglu and Kaya Arikoglu, New York, also recreated the urban context of the old city, enveloping the Registan Square as it once used to be. The treatment in the west shifts its scale and uses landscaping to make the transition to the modern city. The bridge over the park stops ab-



Fig. 9 Yorgancioglu/Arikoglu

uptly on Dagbit street rather than linking to the restructured old city, emphasizing the strong edge here. (Fig.9)

Another approach was predominantly guided by the second objective and tried to solve the problem by organising the functions along a few geometrical elements. The generality of these elements gave unity to the whole scheme. Most authors chose for this purpose particular

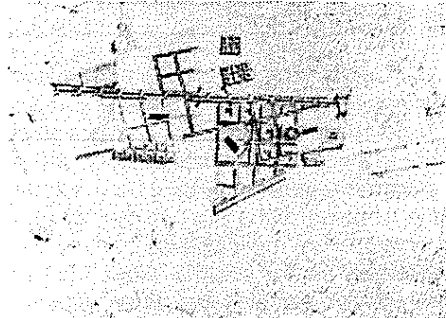


Fig. 10 Santa-Rita Architectos



Fig. 11 Stephen McDougall

sets of quotations, imitations and repetitions of visual elements. This eclectic approach is known under the label "post-modern". An example for this was the scheme by Santa-Rita Architectos, Lisbon, which was awarded a honorable mention. Their square geometry reminded of Oswald Ungers and the slight shift in angle of Richard Meier. (Fig.10)

The two winners in this second class are more original. The first, Stephen McDougall (Studio 333), London, opts for a large archaeological park with four



Fig. 12 Ohno Laboratories

gently curving links on a variety of small, elegant, unobtrusive and inviting structures. The refined treatment of the axis linking the Registan to the central Ulugh Beg complex is particularly noteworthy.-(Fig.11) Hidetoshi Ohno's (Ohno Lab. Tokyo) winning idea was the gliding transition from an open park in the west interspersed with a few buildings to an urban tissue on the east interspersed with a few open spaces, all in the same rigid geometrical pattern. The whole complex brings a third pattern into the two existing ones, but still in harmony with the scale and not offensive to the Registan. It gives the transition from city elements in the park to park elements in the city. (Fig.12)

Finally there is a third class of proposals. These concentrate on one single overwhelming gesture. For example, Olavi Koponen/Ilkka Tukiainen, Helsinki, were awarded a honorable mention for proposing a single golden strip floating on a forest of trees pointing to the Registan. Simple, clear and removed from impacting directly on the majesty of the monuments, the boldness of the gesture imparts an almost surrealistic quality to the scheme. Antonio Sgarbi concentrated on the gesture of pedestrian bridges that intersect the buildings laid out in the ravine. Playful offset gardens between them and the Registan round out the composition.

Patrick Berger/Frank Neau, Paris, were identified as winners for offering the suggestive idea of an "esplanade", a long

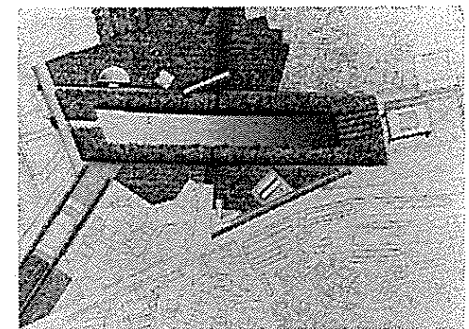


Fig. 13 Berger/Neau

rectangular lawn between the administrative complex and the Registan, surrounded by a forest of lined-up trees. The "esplanade" can be seen itself as a monument to Ulugh Beg providing a space of transition, even purification, between the experiences of the old city and the new. On the scale of the city, the memorial relates the Registan to the axis of the modern city. (Fig.13)

In Search for More Identity

Some comments on the outcome of the Samarkand competition

Jürgen Oestereich

The majority of entries belong to the first class which puts the emphasis on the first of the three objectives given: "a set of lasting ideas ... that will frame future building decisions regardless of the pace and scale of development", and less on the two other objectives: contemporary structures and "catalyst for a new identity". Frequently a nostalgic building typology of courtyard houses, vaulted or domed structures etc. was chosen, probably on the assumption that these forms are either already accepted as ready identification by the public, or may lead to fresh identification. The rules and regulations applied favour a more or less conventional townscape. If conceived of as a set of rules in this sense, town planning is like a chess game, but leading to the opposite result: At the final chess position, checkmate, the board is nearly empty, while in the final town planning position all assets are assembled on the site. However, in both cases, the essence of the game is a process. Each move is the answer to the previous one, without being completely predetermined. Each configuration is transitory and itself not a meaningful result, although it is sometimes mistaken for it.

The authors of the second, "post-modern" class of entries were mainly guided by the objective "placing contemporary buildings in the midst of a historical city ...". They handle evolution on the site rather as a successive assembling of parts of a preconceived whole. They take for granted that identification will come by itself, if only the scheme is carried out, the attribute "contemporary" being often translated as "post-modern", i.e. eclectic in some way or other. The authors see themselves as designers of a three dimensional pattern embracing the whole site, the whole set of functions. Individually the authors follow two kinds of strategy, similar to that of fashion designers: Those who are established are expected to reproduce certain recog-

nizable patterns (tacitly and often correctly presuming that this is what the client expects). Those who are not established either modify forms in fashion, or try their luck with new inventions. If they are lucky they may become trend-setters themselves. The two winners of the "post-modern" group belong to this last group.

The third class of proposals opt for the objective "catalyst for a new cultural identity for its inhabitants in the coming century". Usually it is then that any good solution is naturally contemporary as well as reconciling new and old, and, being a kind of gesture, not subject to evolution. The winner in this class propose a gesture, abstract, self-assured and yet practically feasible and even allowing for adaptations and modifications.

The jury's decision to select altogether five winning entries of the various classes reflects the fact that it was merely an architects' committee without any power over the implementation. Their choice imputes that through selecting the ultimate proposal to be implemented the local decision-makers will have the chance or will even be forced to identify themselves with one or other strategy in town planning and architecture.

The exhibition of the entries in Samarkand and a workshop on the future of the centre of Samarkand, arranged by the Aga Khan Foundation for Culture in June 1992, brought in fact a lively discussion. Its first and foremost result was the cancellation of some awkward projects in the centre and the opening of some vistas.

The discussion of the future with the winners brought contrasting reactions: Of the classical town planning fraction, Faruk Yorgancioglu and Kaya Arikoglu responded in a co-operative manner, based on the anglo-saxon style of problem solving through compromise. The underlying rules of their proposal were flexible enough to allow for alterations without spoiling the basic idea. Alexander Larin on the other hand, was convinced that in his scheme he had attained the best possible result. So he rejected any interference. The two "post-modern" winners also offered co-operation. In their case a compromise seems not that easy, because their proposals constitute rather all-embracing approaches which would make it difficult to compromise with other ideas.

Patrick Berger and Frank Neau were also not inclined to modify their scheme which cannot be justified on the grounds of their basic idea. On the contrary, the gesture "esplanade" is so strong that it could

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easily stand modifications of its components. Like the "Grande Arche" by von Speckelsen at La Defense in Paris, Jörn Uzton's Sydney Opera House, Weinbrenners starlike townplan for Karlsruhe, or Ulugh Beg's Registan itself, the "esplanade" also, once proposed, could be executed by anybody. On the contrary, its realisation by one or more successors may add some spoiling and bring down the overnatural dimensions of the original scheme to human scale. Maybe the disposition of the creators of such gestures is such that they cannot think in compromises.

The outcome of the competition shows clearly that town planning combines various levels of implementation: rules of a kind of societal game, practical rules of doing, aesthetics in the composition of large volumes, the assembly of elements and patterns for ready use, but also the personality of creators and executors and the constellation of these and other elements in a historical process.

In a few cases it may happen that most of this crystallizes in one person. From 1858 to 1870 in Paris, for example, the Prefect Haussmann came into such a position. In Samarkand, in a quite different context, Nematjan Sadikov also seems to play, if not this kind of role, then still a very important one. Some time ago he acted as Town Architect and Head of the reconstruction works. At present he serves as Deputy Mayor and prime mover of the competition and its results. The whole venture, i.e. the International Competition on the Aga Khan lines, was only possible because the political situation has thoroughly changed. The political opening has not (yet) destroyed the political structure. The country is run by President Islam Kasimov who came into power still under the Bolchevists, as did Aziz Naserov, the Mayor of Samarkand. Nevertheless, as in other states of the gradually disintegrating former USSR, the economic weakness becomes apparent. It originates in the over-exploitation of the whole country for the purpose of cotton production and the corresponding overuse of fertilizer and pesticides. The soil, loam originally ideal for bricks and tiles, is today spoiled even to the point of unfitness for firing.

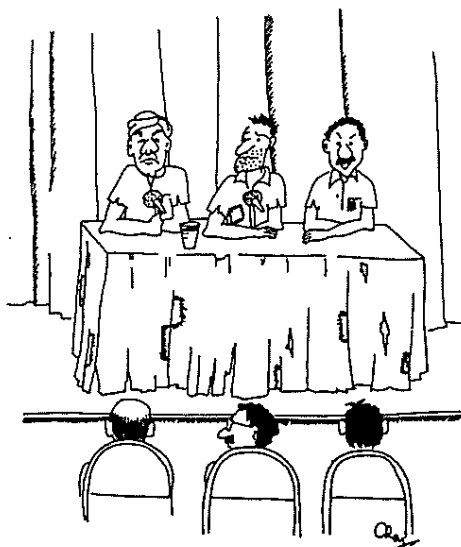
This is a rather hopeless situation in which to strive for a new or renewed societal or cultural identity. The historical examples of erecting or strengthening identity all point to situations of abundance. The timurid period of Samarkand is proof of this. It appears that the leaders of Samarkand hope for foreign investors to assist them - Muslim brothers from the Gulf. However, this is a

risky venture. If they come, it is more than probable that absentee decision-making results in a loss of local identity (especially in view of the omnipresent threat of corruption); if the external investors do not come, the means needed for the necessary actions towards identity will be lacking, the efforts may fail and the good intention may dwindle...

The absolutistic claim for physical power and power to give social meaning by concentrating the final decisions and all command in one person, as in Timur's time, seems to have dissipated. This would also not correspond to the humanistic approach of the Aga Khan Foundation for Culture. It rather seems to have been the intention of the Foundation to give an example of a more democratic procedure under the sign of the crescent.

A final question may be asked in view of the fact that some of the promoters, especially the Aga Khan Foundation see themselves as explicitly islamic: Has the competition brought proposals which transcend and are in keeping with the islamic traditions? Has it given impulses to a kind of islamic design?

The first question can be affirmed, the second must be answered in the negative: The basic language of all substantial proposals - regardless of all difference between the respective proposals in content, form and usability, with regard to regional variations and fashionable patterns - is ultimately just one: the modern, international style. It still allows for whatever purpose might be thought of: the most practical and simple as well as the most symbolic and functionally sophisticated solution.



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Aid for Development through Knowledge

Yona Friedman and Eda Schaur

1. Economic Capacity as Function of Available Resources

The state of a country's economy may be better described in terms of resources than in terms of cash. The national capital consists of the sum of all natural and human resources the nation disposes of: raw materials, land, energy sources, human labour force and human intelligence. Investment means, in these terms, the allocation of a part of the national resource-capital for a particular goal; the rentability of such an investment would be represented by the rate of the benefits obtained as compared to the investment itself. The most appropriate indicator for the economic capacity of a nation, referring to the concept of the resourcecapital, would be the gross national resource per capita (GNR p.c.) rather than the usual gross national product per capita (GNP p.c.). This indicator corresponds to the following formula:

$$\text{GNR p.c.} = \frac{\text{natural resources} + \text{human labour force} + \text{human intelligence}}{\text{number of citizens}}$$

2. Development as Improvement of the Quality of Life for a Nation

The progress of development of a nation can be interpreted as the overall improvement of life-quality for the total population. This involves a rational share of the benefits of the resource capital, thus an increase of the indicator GNR p.c. For a nation with expanding population the GNR p.c. does not increase but in the best case it can remain stable (indeed, the numerator, which includes the labour force, grows to the same extent as the denominator, the size of the population). But in order to increase the value of the GNR p.c. in the case of a growing population, the numerator should be increased substantially. This cannot be achieved otherwise than by means of increasing the human intelligence factor.

Thus the only way to make progress in economic development goes through the efforts of increasing the national intelligence, which means increasing of the average level of knowledge rather than increasing sophisticated knowledge of a small part of the population.

The knowledge which enables the people to come up themselves with what they need for life can be the best tool for achieving real national development while investing only a minimum of cash.

3. The Role of the Communication Centre of Scientific Knowledge for Self-Reliance

The transfer of knowledge which enables the most disfavored groups to assure their own subsistence and to improve their live represents the mandate of the Communication Centre of Scientific Knowledge for Self-Reliance, an institute in the framework of the United Nations University. It endeavours to assure the missing link between scientific knowledge and innovations of any origin, and the

capacity of the poorest, often illiterate people. In order to transfer that kind of information to largely unschooled people the Communication Centre has developed several inexpensive forms of communication including presentations like simple wall-journals and operations like the complex "Museum of Simple Technology".

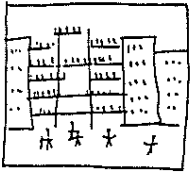
3.1. The "Manual" - Base of the Operations

Another technique of transposing available knowledge operates by means of "manuals", i.e. visualized explanations which form the base of all our forms of presentation.

The manuals are simplified communication supports, with many drawings simple enough to be easily copied by unskilled people, and with little and very simple text as captions. The presentation appeals to the knowledge already possessed by the target public and emphasizes the effective benefit they can expect from the innovation exposed.

Zusammenfassung

Die einzige Möglichkeit bei steigender Bevölkerungszahl den Lebensstandard auf breiter Ebene nicht sinken zu lassen, ist es, die Fähigkeit der breiten Masse, die Ressourcen optimal zu nutzen, zu stärken. Ausgehend von dieser Erkenntnis haben die Autoren nach Möglichkeiten der Ausbreitung entsprechender Techniken und Technologien auch bei den Ärmsten gesucht, wobei auch die Wissenschaft teils als Hervorbringer dieser Kenntnisse, teils als deren Bewerter/Vermittler von Nutzen ist. Das "Centre for Communication of Scientific Knowledge and Self-reliance" hat sich dieser Aufgabe gestellt und Methoden der Vermittlung entwickelt. Die erste Methode geht von Bildergeschichten/Cartoons aus, mit Hilfe derer Probleme und Problemlösungen dargelegt werden und welche zu Wandzeitungen oder Zeichentrickfilmen, Handbuchfolgen usw. zusammengestellt werden können. So ergeben sie eine "Enzyklopädie des Überlebens". Für die Exemplifizierung ausgewählter Techniken und der Methode im Maßstab 1:1 wird ein "Museum für einfache Technologien" vorgeschlagen, von dem Madras ein Prototyp erstellt worden ist. Für diesen Ansatz und den beispielhaften Einsatz minimaler Technologie wurde den Autoren der Große Preis des internationalen Designerwettbewerbs in Osaka 1991 verliehen.

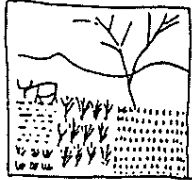


Urban agriculture

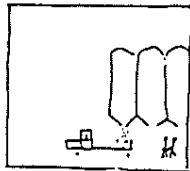
YONA FRIEDMAN

Coordinator, Communication Centre of Scientific Knowledge for Self-Reliance,
33 BD, Garibaldi, 75015, Paris, France

People in cities can enjoy fresh vegetables by going in for urban agriculture, the method of growing food on roof-tops or confined spaces.



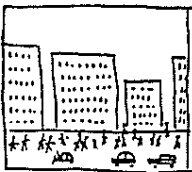
Most food products are produced in the countryside



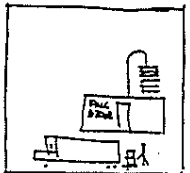
and store.



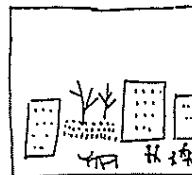
The poor, therefore, often cannot afford the perishables



and consumed in the cities.



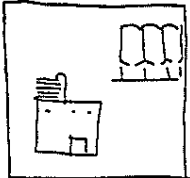
So, the staple food has not to be brought to the city daily.



and eat only the staple food resulting in poor health.



This implies heavy transportation costs on carrying the food



However, perishables (milk, vegetables and meat) have to be stored in cold storages

If perishables like vegetables and milk could be produced in the city

in large bulk, especially if the city is large.

or brought to the city every day.



(which is what we call 'urban agriculture'),



A large part of that bulk is staple food (Rice, wheat and other cereals)



Refrigerated storage space being limited

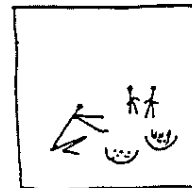
and daily transport being expensive

transport and storage costs could be eliminated

which is easy to transport

perishables always cost more to the consumer

than do staple foods.



to a level even the poor could afford

and enjoy nutritious diet and good health.

The most difficult work in producing a manual is the "story board" which has to take in account the main features of the technique or method to be exposed and the skills and resources of our target public. The techniques we expose appeal more for investment in labour than in cash or in materials to be bought. In India, for example, where most of our operations take place, even scrap metal can be too expensive for the disfavoured.

The least expensive use of a manual is its presentation in form of a "wall journal". Global costs for such a presentation are only a few dollars per village and topic. Several manuals grouped according to topic form packages. These packages are the basis of our project; the "Popular Encyclopaedia of Survival".

3.2 The Popular Encyclopaedia of Survival

The Communication Centre of Scientific Knowledge for Self-Reliance plans to reassemble the manuals in the coming 15 years to an Encyclopaedia. Its aim is easy access to appropriate techniques

and methods of survival. The manuals deal with problems of food production, health care, safe drinking water, irrigation, shelter-building, land and environment, human self-protection, living in society, rules of financing and obtaining loans etc. The public of the "Popular Encyclopaedia" ranges from disfavoured groups to social field workers, school-teachers and local administrators. The project Popular Encyclopaedia is presently discontinued because of lack of funds. UNESCO is supposed to publish the already existing material.

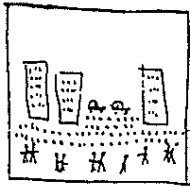
3.3 Present Diffusion

The Centre's material was well received particularly in India. Numerous manuals were diffused at All-India level, taken over by local NGOs and the local press, and translated into local idioms like Hindi and Urdu. Since 1981, the popular monthly magazine "Invention Intelligence" prints the manuals in English. Our program is diffused by the Adult Education Program of the Government of India. The feedback is very encouraging, and many offers from voluntary translators

and from field workers come in. Our package on Roofs which was published by UNESCO was particularly appreciated in Africa, South America and even in East Asia.

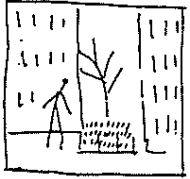
3.4 Manuals in Audio-Visual Presentation (Animated Cartoons)

The manuals conceived by the Communication Centre of Scientific Knowledge for Self-Reliance lend themselves to be presented as animated motion pictures. These constitute particularly valuable support material for workers of development agencies. They may be used for training courses on the site and be diffused by local television. The shooting technique for these pictures could be employed by little skilled people with simple equipment. In 1962 that particular technique obtained the Great Award Golden Lion of St. Marc, the highest distinction of the famous Venice Film Festival in Italy. Because of funding difficulties this activity of the Centre is still on the waiting list.



Urban agriculture is not adapted to produce the bulk of food needed in the city

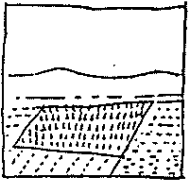
but it can certainly produce a small part most important for people's health.



That part of food could be grown by the consumers themselves

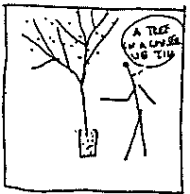
by investing a little or no cash and some labour.

An essential requirement of all agriculture is land

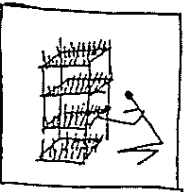


which is too expensive in cities.

So, urban farming avoids use of much land

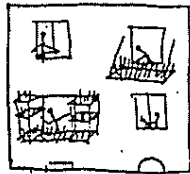


by growing food on 'shelves'.



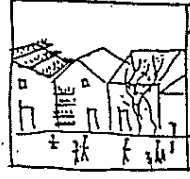
Even very poor people can implement the simplest form of urban agriculture:

the kitchen garden on shelves.



Those who live in houses with several floors

can make shelves around windows or on a small balcony under it.



Those who live in single-floor houses, can make such a kitchen garden

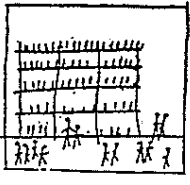
on the outer wall or on the roof.



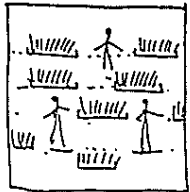
A kitchen garden on shelves can be built

with some bamboo or wood, and with mats or empty tins.

Such shelves could be as big as a regular building

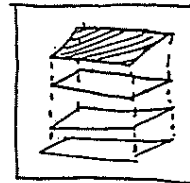


If the growers want an income from their produce.



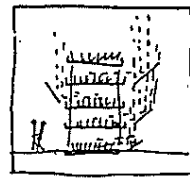
But the bearing platforms should be disposed to allow sufficient daylight to the plants on the lower platforms

and pathways should be there to facilitate harvesting.



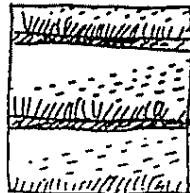
Both solutions aim at multiplying the original land area

by using platforms (or shelves) for plant beds at different levels.



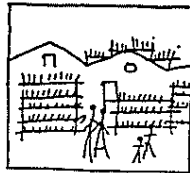
The number of levels of shelves could be increased by using simple reflectors

made of aluminium foil (for example).



assuring sufficient daylight to spots on the platforms

which could be obscured by the platforms above them.



The Government can facilitate urban agriculture as a movement

to ameliorate living conditions in slums and to create for the poor an in-kind income.

NEXT ISSUE :

Simple Remedies Against Common Ills

3.5 Museum of Simple Technology

The project of a "Museum of Simple Technology" was developed for the demonstration of techniques and methods explained in the manuals prepared. It is important to introduce the disfavored to some prototypes of the artefacts the manuals show in drawing. For this reason, the constructive techniques and the manufacture techniques of the exhibits have to be accessible to unschooled people. The structures and the exhibits have to be easy to produce, with little work and small cash investment. Thus the museum could be easily replicated by village communities and other groups in the developing world.

The museum building itself - a cluster of small units - demonstrates those building techniques which can be implemented by the disfavored to improve their dwellings. All the technical ideas are based on the hypothesis, that sophisticated engineering conceptions combined with local craftsmens' know-how can be the starting point for a new popular technology.

3.6 The Madras Museum of Simple Technology

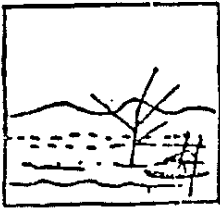
The first prototype for a Museum of Simple Technology was completed in 1987 in Madras, South India. It contained 13 roof modules covering 6 pavilions and

7 courtyards. Its most important innovation is the roof. The technique used is based mainly on local materials which can be found in nearly every region and on skills which, even where they don't exist already, they can be learnt with appropriate training. The costs of that

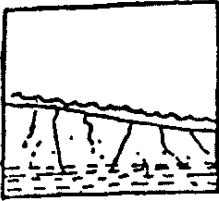


सिंचाई के लिए बरसाती पानी यों जुटाएं

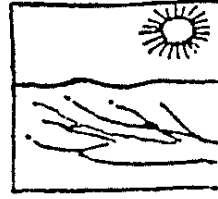
हमारे देश की कुल कृषि योग्य भूमि का लगभग ७० प्रतिशत भाग ऐसा है जहां सिंचाई का काम बादल करते हैं। बरसात के मौसम में जहां अधिक पानी बाढ़ लाता है तो कम पानी सूखा। इस बरसात में आप अपनी कमर कस लीजिए और प्रकृति की इस देन को खुद इकट्ठा कर मनचाही सिंचाई कीजिए।



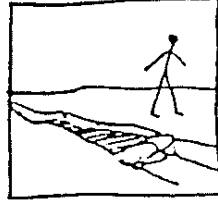
पानी जब जमकर बरसता है तो बाढ़ ला देता है।



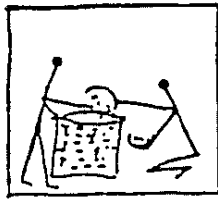
मगर यह ज्यादा नहीं टिकता कुछ घण्टे या फिर कुछ दिन। इसके बाद यह या तो बहता हुआ नालों, नदियों और समुद्र में जा मिलता है या फिर कुछ हद तक उड़ जाता है या जमीन द्वारा सोख लिया जाता है।



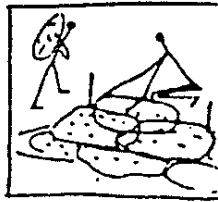
जिन नालियों से पानी अपनी यात्रा तय कर रहा है, उन्हें गहरा कर दीजिए। साथ ही आसपास थाले भी बना डालिए।



नालियां अधिक गहरी हो जाएं तो मिट्टी और चटाइयों की मदद से बांध बनाइए।



इसके लिए पहले चटाइयों के धैले बनाइए। उसमें मिट्टी भरिए और उसका मुंह बंद कर दीजिए।



यह मिट्टी भरी बोरियां टोक ईट जैसा काम करेंगी। जरूरत के मुताबिक मजबूत डण्डों की मदद से इन बोरियों को विछावर बांध तैयार कीजिए।

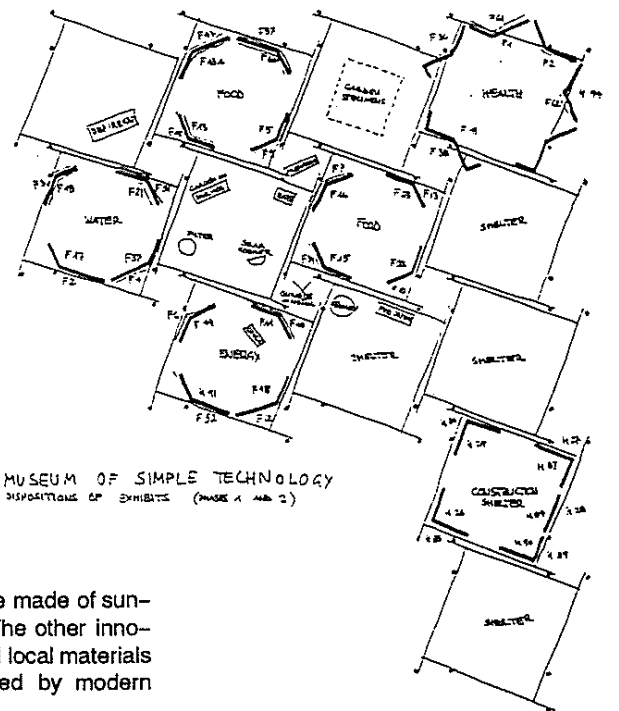
roof, in the case of the prototype, were about 40 - 50 Rupees (about 3 US\$ in 1990), per m², as much as the roofs squatter shanties in the Madras region.

This roof consists of a double dome structure of a diameter of 4,30 m, executed either in split bamboo (1/8 of a pole with 10 cm diameter), or in full round bamboo of a diameter of 2,2 cm. The upper dome, of roughly spheric form, supports the lower dome, which is flattened (about 60 cm high for 430 cm diameter). The lower dome is hanging on the upper one. It is the lower dome which bears the actual roofing, its flattened shape lending itself easily to be covered with roofing material in sheet form. The upper dome gives to the structure the necessary stiffness, and bears beside sunshades (in the form of flat baskets) which keep the lower dome in half-shade.

The roofing itself is made in local bamboo mats on which is applied an aluminium foil 0,05 mm thick (50 microns), fixed either by home made glue, or packed between two mats like a sandwich. The

walls of the prototype were made of sun-dried resp. burnt bricks. The other innovation combines traditional local materials with modern one produced by modern technology:

a) The separation of supporting structure and roofing-support permits the latter to



عوام کی سائنس



چھت کو پانی برداشت کرنے کے قابل کس طرح بنائیں

اگر چھت کو سیدھی اور دھری بنایا جائے تو سستے اور عام طور پر فراہم عام چیزوں سے ہی اسے پانی برداشت کرنے — یوں نافرط ماں (وائر پروف) کے قابل بنایا جاسکتا ہے۔

اور جس میں جگہ جگہ پر پانی جمع نہ ہوتا ہو



چھت کو پانی برداشت کرنے کے قابل (وائر پروف) بنانے کے لئے



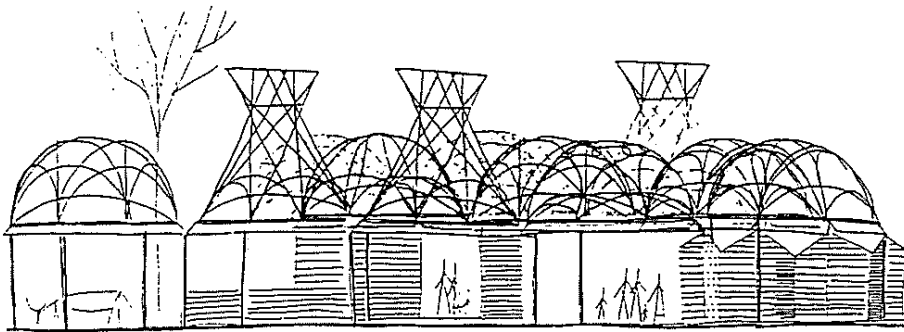
سب سے پہلے آپ کو اس کی مناسب بناوٹ طے کرنی ہوگی

چھت ہر ٹوٹی اثر سے



آپ کی حفاظت کرتی

لیکن اس وقت جب یہ ابھی بنی ہو



radiation, keeping thus the roof astonishingly cool. The fact that the upper dome bears sunshades, increases the insulating quality of that kind of roof.

e) Aluminium is a product the raw material for which can be found practically everywhere (bauxite, clay etc). The thinness of the foil (50 microns) makes its use unusually economic: 1 cubic meter of aluminium represents 20.000 square meter foil for roofing (i.e. about 13000 low cost homes following standards as practiced in India). The energy cost to produce 1 square meter foil is about 1 KWh. And, finally, aluminium could be recycled.

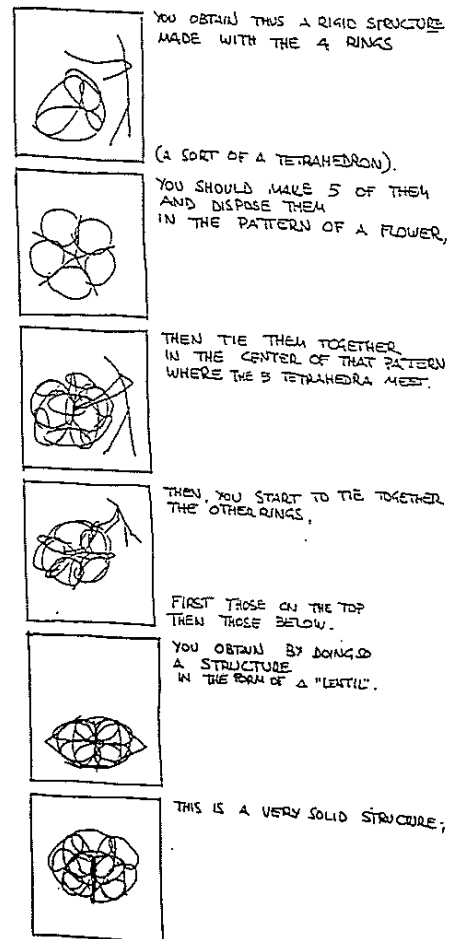
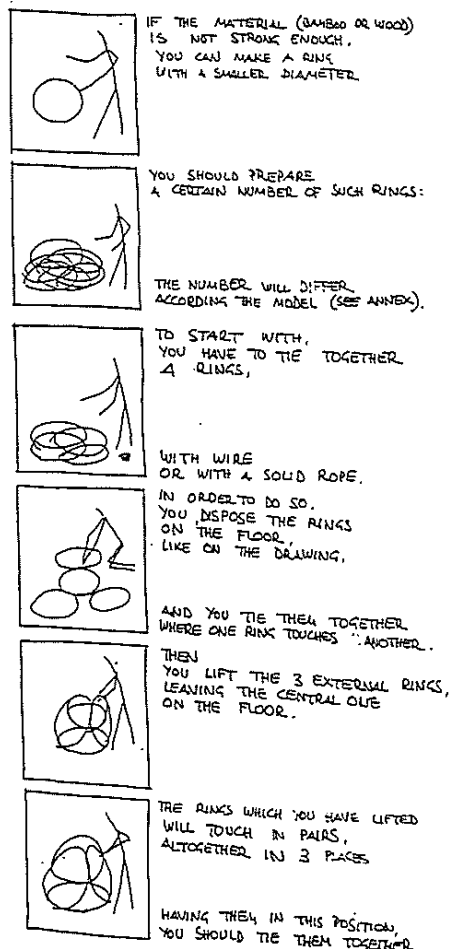
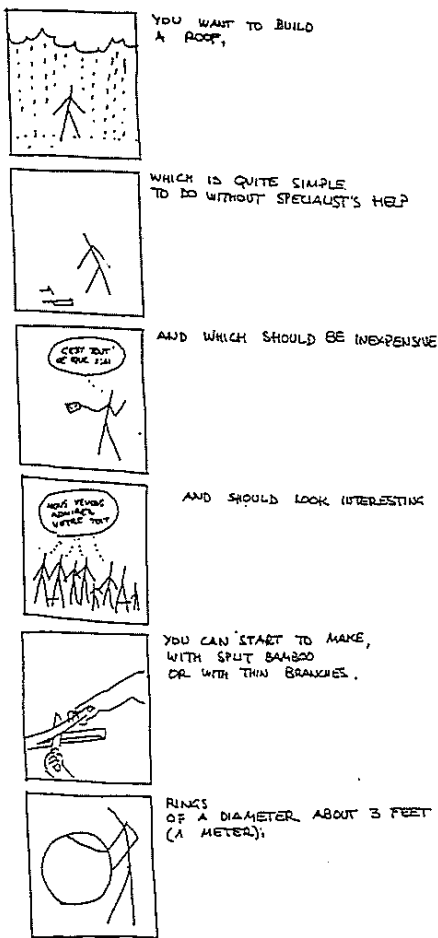
be flat and makes possible the use of sheet type roofing material, usually impossible with higher domes of double curvature.

b) A structure with separated functions can be built with relative low grade precision; this fact makes it adapted for execution with unskilled workers.

c) The external surface is about 30% less with flattened domes than it would be with other, steeper shapes.

d) The combination of aluminium foil with bamboo mats ("alumat") assures to the roof both watertightness and termic isolation. Indeed, aluminium foil has a particularly high rate of reflecting infra-red

f) The alumat (foil + mat) represents an improved equivalent to corrugated iron sheet, the material most frequently used in squatter settlements around the world. In addition, alumat is produced locally, is lighter in weight, is less inflammable than are traditional roofing materials, and is less dangerous in case of fire than corrugated metal sheeting.



3.7 Social Implications

The Prototype Museum was built by local craftsmen unacquainted with any building work. They were mainly basketmakers who learned the necessary skills very fast and were able to replicate those domes once they had seen the model. It could be considered that they got "converted" into a new craft: several visitors of the Museum proposed them work of that kind: the erection of the Prototype Museum triggered thus the emergence of an eventual new profession.

Other visitors considered to replicate this kind of structure by themselves without any professional preparation, eventually assisted by the explanations of the relevant manuals and the simplified technical drawings.

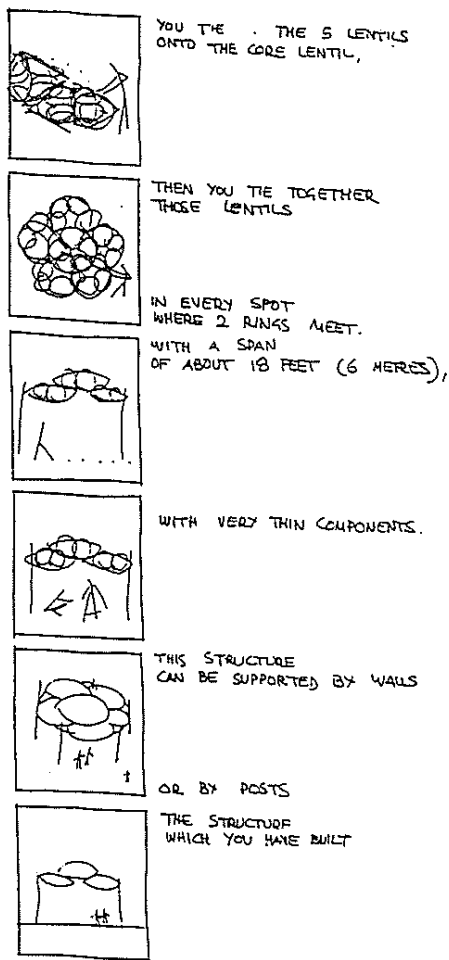
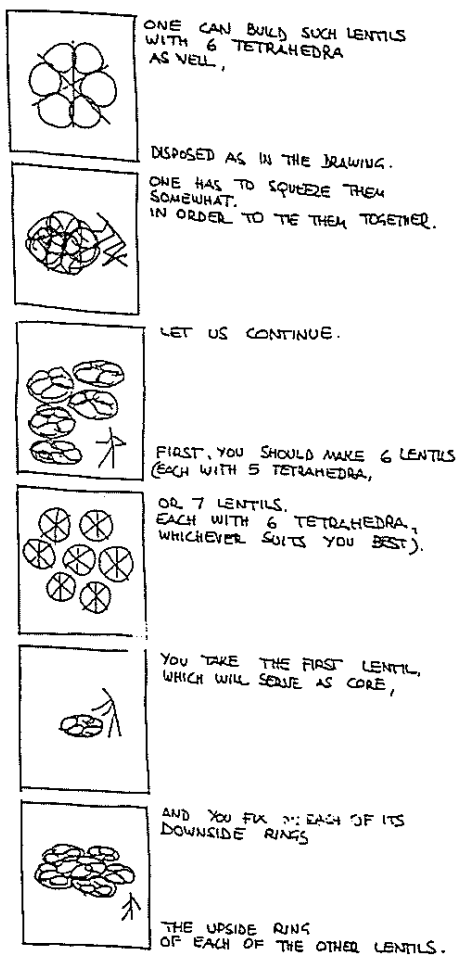
Another important observation was showing the media aspect of the operation Museum of Simple Technology; many visitors attracted first by their interest in the inexpensive and effective roof structure, became interested in the manuals displayed and in the exhibits.

4. Conclusion

The realisation of the Prototype Museum of Simple Technology in Madras convinced us that building such museums in villages and townships represent inex-

pensive and efficient communication techniques. People are more easily persuaded by tangible examples than by presentation on paper. What they have touched in reality, they are more ready to consider on paper.





We hope that further Museums of Simple Technology will not be simple replicas, but will give the occasion for local ingenuity to add, in each side, some original invention to the global "common trunk", making thus each Museum different from the others. Such a Network of Museums could trigger the implementation of live improving techniques which don't involve cash investment in all principal fields of survival.

To conclude, we think that the Museum of Simple Technology Network could become a new communication vehicle for local inventiveness, and could achieve this goal with the least possible cash expenses.

Appendix

In October 1991 we submitted a documentation of the structures implemented at the Madras Museum of Simple Technology and specifically the roofing system (see 3.6 above) to the 5th International Design Competition, held in Osaka, Japan. This entry was awarded the Grand Prix and the Prime Minister's Special Award. The jury commented: "

TRIALOG 34 (1992)

In the present world of design, different design fields intermingle, and boundaries between them are blurred. The global theme (of the International Design Competition) "Terra" proved to be a highly unique and timely one at time when design has come to encompass all aspects of human activity. In response to this, the entries were numerous and rich in variety. Accordingly, it was very difficult for the jury to select a handful of prize-winning works from among these diverse entries"... From among the prize-winning works, a proposal titled "Roofs for People" was awarded the Grand Prix in a unanimous decision, on the ground that the proposal was eminent in its embodiment of the "design for people" concept. It is my firm belief that this decision was a very significant one, and most aptly represents the very character of this Competition". ... "The works clearly indicate that designers of today are more interested than ever before in the harmony between designs and the global environment, and are more inclined to base their designs on a keener interest in and a deeper understanding of the users of the designed products. Design no longer means the mere development and

application of new technologies. Rather, people now demand that designs further develop functions and potentials in order to solve human problems. Design is now a language common to all peoples of the world. Through design, peoples communicate with each other about mutual global issues".

(Photos: Yona Friedman and Eda Schaur)



Don't you think we are better off with this city culture?

Neue Bücher

Book Reviews

Architektur

Bhatt, V., Scriver, P., After The Masters : Contemporary Indian Architecture, Ahmedabad 1990, 221 S. (Bezug: Mapin Publishing, Chidambaram, Ahmadabad 380013).

Die Autoren dieses Buches haben eine jahrelange Arbeit hinter sich, in dem riesigen südasiatischen Kontinent moderne Architektur zu sichten / zu besichtigen und zu dokumentieren. Das Resultat ist dieses vorzüglich illustrierte Buch der neuen Reihe zur "Contemporary Indian Architecture" des engagierten Mapin Verlages (siehe Besprechungen der Bücher über Doshi sowie die Haveli Häuser in früheren TRIALOG Ausgaben).

Das Buch beschränkt sich auf eine kurze Periode – nach 1970 gebautes – und präsentiert allein 52 Projekte mit einer Baubeschreibung und diversen Fotos wie auch teilweise Bauzeichnungen. Zusätzlich gibt es vier Kapitel Text, welche die jeweiligen Beispiele einleiten (leider nicht gerade komplett illustriert und mit relativ spärlichen Literaturhinweisen; obwohl viele Architekturbeispiele im Text genannt werden, gibt es wenige Illustrationen dieser zitierten 'Meilensteine'):

- 1) über die Anfänge der modernen Architektur in Indien (von der vor-kolonialen Zeit bis hin zu Le Corbusier in der Chandigarh Periode in den 1950er Jahren) und den von ihm und dem später eintreffenden Louis Khan beeinflussten Indischen Architekten, die sich dem "Brutalismus" verschrieben haben, bis hin zu dem phantasievollen Kanchenjunga Hochbausbau C. Correa's in Bombay,
- 2) über die architektonischen Alternativen für ein "unterwickeltes" Indien, wie sie z.B. im Wohnungsbau bitter nötig sind; über die Bemühungen Doshi's und C. Correa's (wie schon in früheren Ausgaben von TRIALOG berichtet) einen besseren Wohnungsbau für untere Einkommensgruppen zu entwerfen, oder individualistische Projekte in dem süd-indischen Auroville,
- 3) über die Architektur für die gehobenen Mittelschichten (Hotels, Clubs, Luxus-Wohnungskomplexe und Banken), welche das neue Selbstbewußtsein dieser Gesellschaftsschichten beschreiben,
- 4) herausragende Bauten mit eigenständiger Architektursprache, welche für die Zukunft weitere Anregungen geben wird; u.a. handelt es sich hier um die Bauten für öffentliche Sozialbauten, christliche Kirchen und die privaten Architekturbüros oder Residenzen exponierter Indischer Architekten.

Die vorgestellten Projekte illustrieren eine große Vielfalt in der modernen Architektur Indiens, zum Teil zeigen sie auch, wo ihre Wurzeln liegen, wer ihre "masters" sind – die Indische

Architekturtradition oder die ausländischen Modernisten – und teilweise wird aus den Beispielen auch die Intention einer Suche nach eigener Identität deutlich. Aber das ist merklich nicht bei allen Beispielen der Fall, und viele der Arbeiten wirken leider doch sehr wie "kopiert von den Meistern", und nicht wie Arbeiten "im Geiste der Meister" wie der Titel verspricht (?). Trotz dieser Kommentare ist dieses Buch sehr dem Leser empfohlen, der sich für Indische Architektur oder für das Thema einer modernen, "eigenständigen" Architekturentwicklung interessiert. Das Buch wird ein Klassiker werden. *Florian Steinberg.*

Robert Powell (ed.), The Architecture of Housing. Exploring Architecture in Islamic Cultures. 300 S., ISBN 981-00-2264-6, 1990. The Aga Khan Award for Architecture, Grand Saconnex-Genève.

Die Proceedings eines internationalen, 1988 in Zanzibar abgehaltenen Seminars folgen dem Muster früherer Dokumentationen zu Veranstaltungen des Aga Khan Award: Zu einer Handvoll zentraler Themen (hier: Issues, Informal Housing, Mass Housing, The Individual House, The Role of the Architect) werden ein oder mehrere Leitvorträge gehalten, qualifiziert kommentiert, und im Plenum diskutiert. Zu den Teilnehmern zählen zum Teil berühmte Experten aus der ganzen Welt (diesmal u.a. Ismail Serageldin, Charles Correa, Hasan Poerbo, Jorge Azorena, Arif Hasan, Ronald Lewcock, Robert Powell, Johan Silas) sowie Kollegen aus der Region, in der die Veranstaltung stattfindet. Selbstverständlich spiegelt sich die vor Ort dominierende Problematik auch in den Beiträgen, d.h. insbesondere in der dokumentierten Diskussion wieder: auf Zanzibar sind dies die Qualitäten spontaner Wohnsiedlungen, die mögliche Rolle von Barfußarchitekten, und die Möglichkeiten wie Grenzen des Massenvohnungsbaus. Die vorbereiteten Beiträge sind in der Regel sehr gut recherchiert, während die Diskussionsbeiträge eher als Brainstorming zu werten ist. Die sorgfältige Präsentation des Buches macht auch das Blättern zu einem Genuß. *KM*

Stadtentwicklung

Kopardekar, H.D., Managing Urban Development, Bombay 1987, 285 S. (Bezug: All India Institute of Local Self-Government, Sthanikraj Bhavan, C.D. Barfiwala Marg, Andheri, Bombay-400058)

Der Autor ist Direktor des All India Institute of Local Self-Government, das sich seit vielen Jahren sehr aktiv um die Aus- bzw. Fortbildung von Beamten der indischen Gemeinden bemüht, und das in ganz Indien wie auch international

einen sehr guten Ruf hat. Obwohl nicht direkt aus dem Titel ablesbar, ist dieses Buch jedoch hauptsächlich auf den indischen Kontext geschrieben. Aber die Konzepte und Erfahrungen des Autors lassen sich gut auf andere Länder übertragen. Der Ansatz für besseres städtisches Management soll ein dynamischer sein:

- (1) städtisches Wachstum lässt sich ebenso wie die Richtung privater Investitionen lenken,
- (2) eine systematische Analyse und Vorbereitung integrierter, aktions-orientierter, sowie durchführbarer Stadtentwicklungspläne sind erforderlich,
- (3) gutes und starkes Management ist nötig um Planung, Besteuerungsmassnahmen, Kostendeckung und Finanzmanagement effektiv zu gewährleisten,
- (4) städtisches Management sollte armuts-orientiert sein und den Armen mehr Einkommensmöglichkeiten und Zugang zu Dienstleistungen verschaffen; dies schliesst eine innovative Bodenpolitik zur Steuerung von privaten wie öffentlichen Investitionen ein.

Städtisches Management sollte sich in der Beurteilung von Projekten und Programmen auf sechs goldene Regeln stützen: technische Durchführbarkeit, finanziellen Realismus und das Prinzip der Kostendeckung, politische Akzeptanz, soziale Gerechtigkeit, Effizienz in der Versorgung mit Dienstleistungen, und Zufriedenheit der Zielgruppen. Als einen entscheidenden Schlüssel für effektiveres städtisches Management hebt der Autor Trainingsmassnahmen hervor, und am Ende des Buches präsentiert er eine Art Muster-Kurriculum. Das Buch ist nicht sehr gut geschrieben, aber dem Inhalt ist voll zuzustimmen.

Florian Steinberg.

I. Tabibzadeh, A. Rossi-Espagnet, R. Maxwell: Spotlight on the Cities. Improving Urban Health in Developing Countries. ISBN 92 4 156131 9. 1989; 30,- Sfr.. Geneva: World Health Organization.

Das Buch faßt eine Reihe von WHO und UNICEF in Auftrag gegebenen Forschungsberichten zusammen, und richtet sich in erster Linie an Politiker, Stadtplaner, Experten im Gesundheitswesen und Förderinstitutionen. In separaten Kapiteln werden Ausmaß und Charakteristika des Urbanisierungsprozesses in Entwicklungsländern aufgezeigt (und mit umfangreichen Tabellen belegt). Folgen für die Gesundheit der Bevölkerung erklärt, auf die Bedeutung der Partizipation der Betroffenen hingewiesen, andere Einflusfaktoren (z.B. Wohnungsversorgung, Einkommensbildung, Ausbildung etc.) auf die gesundheitliche Situation vorgestellt, und Strategie-Empfehlungen ausgesprochen. Nachvollziehbar und unterstützenswürdig ist die Betonung der Notwendig-

keit für einen integrierten Ansatz, und die Bevorzugung einer flächendeckenden Basisversorgung an Stelle von isolierten Pilotprojekten oder Spezialeinrichtungen. Doch auch wenn dieses gewährleistet sein sollte besteht nach Ansicht der Autor/inn/en keinerlei Hoffnung, durchschlagende Verbesserungen der Wohn- und Lebensbedingungen in den großen Metropolen noch in diesem Jahrhundert zu erzielen. *KM*

Gesellschaft und Politik

Ritchey-Vance, M., The Art of Association: NGOs and Civil Society in Colombia, Rosslyn 1991, 157 S. (Bezug: Inter-American Foundation, 1515 Wilson Boulevard, Rosslyn, Virginia 22209, USA).

Die Autorin war fast zwei Jahrzehnte lang für die Nord-amerikanische Inter-American Foundation in Kolumbien tätig, wo sie Projekte von Nicht-Regierungs-Organisationen (NRO) unterstützte. In ihrem Buch beschreibt sie die mehr oder weniger 30-jährige Geschichte der sozial orientierten NRO in Kolumbien.

Schon an dem einleitenden Kapitel ist bemerkenswert, mit welcher Sympathie und welchem besonderen Verständnis für die komplexe und so schwierige Situation dieses Landes eine Darstellung über Kolumbiens Entwicklungsbedingungen und -chancen gegeben wird. Der sozio-politische Hintergrund des von Bürgerkriegen und Gewalt geschüttelten Landes gab den Nährgrund für eine Bürgerbewegung, die an der Etablierung bürgerlicher und sozialer Rechte interessiert war. Damit wird die Geschichte der NRO zu einer Geschichte von der Entstehung und Stärkung der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft. Die vielfältigen Erfahrungen der NRO in kleingewerblichen, gesundheitlichen, schulischen Bereichen, im Wohnungswesen, im Sozialwesen, in der Förderung von Kunsthandwerk und Kultur der so verschiedenen Regionen Kolumbiens ergeben ein hochinteressantes Kaleidoskop von Basisinitiativen. Das relativ liberale Milieu des kolumbianischen Staates hat das weitere Wachsen und Gedeihen dieser "Grasswurzelninitiativen" möglich gemacht, und ihre Erfahrungen haben mitunter einen wichtigen Beitrag für die staatliche Sozialpolitik gehabt. Umgekehrt hat die NRO Bewegung zu einem stetigen Anstieg der Demokratisierung dieses Landes beigetragen.

Das Buch ist sehr leicht leserlich geschrieben, bringt viele interessante Beispiele von kolumbianischen NRO Erfahrungen, und ist damit für alle NRO-Interessierten von grossem Wert. Leider wird jedoch mehr als alles andere der landwirtschaftliche Sektor vorgestellt und nur wenig auf den Wohnungssektor eingegangen, obwohl diese Stiftung unter anderem auch Wohnungsbau-genossenschaften unterstützt hat. Insgesamt bleibt festzustellen, dass man sich mehr solcher Bücher über den NRO Sektor in anderen Ländern wünschen würde. *Florian Steinberg.*

Lothar Kotzsch. Wohlstand und Reichtum in den Armutsländern: Ein Ansatz zur Wohlstandsforschung, ISBN 3-926921-12-9, 397 S., 1991, DM 36,00, Berlin: Verlag ITC.

Armutsbekämpfung und Armutsforschung sind Stichworte der 80er Jahre, späte Früchte der Rede von 1973 des damaligen Weltbankpräsidenten McNamara. Der Autor, langjähriger Mitarbeiter der DSE, reflektiert diese zweifelhaften Wortschöpfungen und die mit ihnen etikettierten verworrenen Konzepte nicht weiter, sondern kommt gleich zur seiner Sache: Armut, besonders in der südlichen Hemisphäre, ist nur die eine Seite der Medaille, deren zweite ist der dort ebenfalls vorhandene Wohlstand, ja, provozierende Reichtum. Dieses Phänomen, die Dis-

STELLENANGEBOT

MISEREOR

ist das Hilfswerk der Katholischen Kirche in Deutschland für Entwicklungszusammenarbeit. Unsere Arbeit gilt armen und benachteiligten Bevölkerungsgruppen in Afrika, Asien und Lateinamerika.

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parität der Lebenschancen in den "Entwicklungsländern", sein eigentliches Thema, wird auch und gerade von der "Armutsforschung" ausgeblendet. Vielleicht ist der Reichtum sogar das größere Problem. Das zu beleuchten haben allerdings weder die Führungsgruppen dieser Länder, noch die mit ihnen kooperierenden Entwicklungsexperten ein besonderes Interesse. In Kapitel 1 diskutiert der Autor die Auswahl der Beispielländer für seine Studie, d.h. die UNO-Liste der "Least Developed Countries", der LLDCs (21 Länder in Afrika, 8 in Asien und Haiti in Amerika, welche er mit dem auch anderwo benutzten Etikett "Vierte Welt" belegt), kritisiert gleichzeitig die UNO wegen der Auswahlmethoden und, einmal in Schwung, die UNO allgemein und deren "Unokratie". Dagegen referiert er vergleichsweise unkritisch, was bei Weltbank und anderen Entwicklungsinstitutionen unter Armutsbekämpfung verstanden wird.

Kapitel 2 ist eine resümierende Darstellung des parasitären Verhaltens der zivilen und militärischen Oberschichten in den südlichen Ländern vor allem, aber nicht ausschließlich in den LLDCs. Im Grunde sind es die immer gleichen Muster der Bereicherung durch Staatsbezüge, Nutznießung von Grund und Boden, Korruption, Steuerunterschlagung, Abschöpfung aus Hochzinspolitik und dergl. In diese Muster fügt sich eben auch, mehr oder weniger glatt bis zynisch die Entwicklungszusammenarbeit ein.

Das Kapitel 3 behandelt die Bestimmung der Bemessungsgrundlagen und Bestimmungsfaktoren zur Einkommensungleichheit, während das Kapitel 4 aus den bis dahin erarbeiteten Informationen eine Synthese der Verhältnisse mit Verteilungskurven des Einkommens und dergl. bietet.

Teil 2 enthält die problembezogenen Profile der LLDC-Länder, allerdings sehr unausgeglich. Das Raster Staat und Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft, Erwerbsbevölkerung und Einkommen wird für Bangladesh auf 18 Seiten, für Afghanistan und einige afrikanische Länder auf wenig mehr als 3 Seiten einschließlich Bibliographie (5 bis 15 Titel) abgehandelt.

An der Arbeit erscheint mir das zweite Kapitel besonders bemerkenswert, da es Kotzsch in ihm gelingt, Informationen über die Mechanismen der Selbstausbeutung in den armen Ländern, die wir vage zu kennen glauben, zusammenhängend und plausibel zu beschreiben. Diese 35 Seiten sind sehr lesenswert. Wichtig erscheint mir auch das dritte und das vierte Kapitel, in welchem er das Problem des Messens von Einkommensungleichheit behandelt. *Jürgen Oestereich*

John Clark. Democratizing Development, ISBN 1-85383-087-9, 253 S. +5 S. Index; 1991 £ 11.95. London: Earthscan.

Dem Autor geht es um die Rolle der Nicht-Regierungsorganisationen in der Entwicklungspolitik und -zusammenarbeit. Sein Arbeitgeber, Oxfam, eine der ältesten und erfahrendsten unter jenen, hatte ihn für eine Sabbatperiode freigestellt, in welcher er über seine Arbeit nachdenken konnte.

Das Buch besteht aus drei Teilen: Der Beschreibung der voluntary organisations, ihrer Geschichte und ihrer vielfältigen Erscheinungen und ihrer internen und externen Beziehungen; der Diskussion der Wirkung von NRO im Süden mittels Projekte, Ausbildung, Stärkung von Basisgruppen und Stützung politische Veränderungen.

gen; sowie der Darstellung der NRO-Einflüsse auf die allgemeine Entwicklungszusammenarbeit durch Lobbyarbeit und das Bemühen um Entideologisierung und pragmatische Strukturanpassung. Auf eine Diskussion der vielen Konzepte von und Namen für die verschiedenen Formen für nicht-staatliche Selbstorganisation und ihre Unterschiede zwischen Nord und Süd (in den englischen Acronymen VOs <Voluntary Organisations>, SHGs <Self-help Groups>, CBOs <Community-based Organisations>, NGOs, BINGOs, GONGOS, TANGOS etc.etc.) läßt sich der Autor nicht weiter ein. Er konzentriert sich auf die gängigen Stichworte wie Demokratie, soziale Basisbewegungen, Dezentralisierung, Mikro-Reformen, Strukturanpassung usw., allerdings ohne den Sachverhalt dahinter weiter zu hinterfragen: Daran zeigt sich die Perspektive des Makers und Machers, der sich von hinderlichen Selbstzweifeln freihält, vielleicht freihalten muß.

Clark zitiert den Aphorismus G.B.Shaws nachdem es zwei Arten von Menschen gibt; die Vernünftigen, die versuchen sich der Welt anzupassen und die Unvernünftigen, die versuchen die Welt ihnen anzupassen. Da Fortschritt die Veränderung der Welt, wie sie ist, bedeutet, ist er auf die letztere Gruppe angewiesen. An die potentielle Sympathisanten und Unterstützer dieser Unvernünftigen wendet sich das Buch. (J.Oe)

Fals-Borda, O. Anisur Rahman, M.(Hg.), Action and Knowledge, Breaking the Monopoly with Participatory Action-Research, New York-London 1991, 182 S. (Bezug: The Apex Press, Suite 3C, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017).

Das Buch basiert auf gut 20 Jahren Erfahrung der Herausgeber, welche sich als Akademiker und Mitarbeiter von internationalen Institutionen um die theoretische und praktische Entwicklung des partizipativen Aktionsforschungs-Konzeptes (PAF) bemüht haben. Die Rechtfertigung für das PAF Konzept ist unter anderem gut charakterisiert worden durch Paolo Freire, der schrieb, dass lokale Zielgruppen von Forschung nicht nur als Objekte betrachtet werden, sondern besser aktiv in Forschungsarbeiten über ihre eigenen Lebensumstände beteiligt werden sollten. PAF versucht die Forschungspraxis demgemäß umzuorientieren auf die Emanzipation der Unterdrückten. Forschung (d.h. "Wissen", nach dem Motto "Wissen ist Macht") soll ihnen die Überwindung von repressiven und ausbeuterischen Bedingungen erlauben, soll die Perspektiven für gesellschaftlichen Wandel bieten.

Neben mehreren Artikeln zum Konzept und dem theoretischen Standpunkt von PAF präsentiert dieses Buch sogenannte "vivencias", Erfahrungsberichte von der Anwendung von PAF in Kolumbien (bei dem Kampf von Afro-Kolumbianern für einen erschwingbaren Elektrizitäts-Service; der Berufsausbildung von Strassenkindern in Bogota), in Peru (die Organisation von Bauern), diversen Afrikanischen Bauern-Emanzipationsbewegungen, in Zimbabwe (eine massenhafte Dorfbewegung) und selbst in den USA (community movements). All diesen Erfahrungen ist gemeinsam, dass die Rolle des Experten "deprofessionalisiert" werden soll durch den emanzipativen Ansatz des PAF.

Das Buch wie die Perspektiven des PAF sind in der Tat hoch interessant für alle Sozialwissenschaftler und Planer, doch bleibt zu fragen, ob mit diesem Werk wirklich der PAF Ansatz deutlich dargestellt und "demystifiziert" wird, wie beansprucht. Wir erfahren auf Seite 33, dass PAF eine dialektische Opposition bilden will zu Hass, Habsucht, Intoleranz, Chauvinismus, Dogmatismus, Autismus und Konflikten. Die ursprünglichen Subjekt/Objekt "binomial" soll durch horizontale "dialogics" gelöst werden und "heterologous" werden. Desweiteren soll dies Liberalismus be-

deuten, leben und leben lassen, oder "exotopisch" [Bakhtin] zu fühlen. Mit solcher Sprache wird PAF es wohl schwer haben schneller populär zu werden, wie man es dem Konzept wünschen wuerde. *Florian Steinberg*

Dawson, J., Using Technical Skills in Community Development, An Analysis of VSO's Experience, London 1990, 53 S. (Bezug: IT Publications, 103-105 Southampton Row, London WC1B 4HH).

Diese kleine Broschüre beschreibt sieben Fallstudien von Arbeitserfahrungen des britischen Volunteer Service Overseas (VSO). Anhand von Erfahrungen mit einem Community Water Supply Projekt in Nepal, einer Selbsthilfe-Unterstützungsorganisation für Farmer in den Philippinen, einem Frauen-Textilprojekt in Kenya, einem Kenyanischen Niedrigkostenwohnungsbauprojekt, einem Wasserbauprojekt in Kenya, einem Saatgutprojekt in Tanzania und einer Werkstatt für angepasste Technologie in Sierra Leone werden in knapper Form einige Regeln aus den VSO Erfahrungen gezogen.

Die Erfahrungen haben gelehrt, dass die VSO Entwicklungshelfer nur dann voll effektiv sein können, wenn sie sich gut kulturell adaptieren können. Für diese Adaption brauchen sie normalerweise schon vor ihrer Ausreise längeres Training, und dann später nach ihrer Ankunft mehrere Monate Angewöhnungszeit, und das stellt den Schlüssel für ihren Erfolg dar. Wichtig bei der Arbeit des Entwicklungshelfers ist nicht nur die Durchführung seiner eigenen Arbeit, sondern auch seine Funktion als Übermittler von neuem Wissen. Da die Bedingungen für den Einsatz von Entwicklungshelfern so unterschiedlich sind, wird es in jedem Falle nötig sein, zusätzliche lokale wie externe Unterstützung für die Durchführung seiner "Mission" zu geben.

Eine Publikation, der es weniger um die Details der Fallstudien geht als vielmehr um die schwierige Aufgabe, den Einsatz von Entwicklungshelfern erfolgreich zu organisieren. *Florian Steinberg.*

Christoph Staewen. Kulturelle und psychologische Bedingungen der Zusammenarbeit mit Afrikanern; Ansatzpunkte für eine komplementäre Partnerschaft; ISBN 3-8039-0391-2. 1991, DM 42,-. München: Weltforum Verlag

Es ist ein Gemeinplatz, daß gemeinsames Arbeiten über Kulturgrenzen hinweg, ob in einer hierarchischen Institution oder einem Team von Gleichen, seine besonderen Schwierigkeiten hat. Deshalb die unterschiedlichsten Vorbereitungsseminare. Es ist also eine praktische aber auch eine theoretische Frage, welche menschlichen Eigenschaften und welches Verhalten angeboren (und wenn wie verteilt?) oder erworben (und wenn wie auch späterhin beeinflussbar, veränderbar, unterdrückbar?) ist. Wie gehe ich als der jeweils andere (ohne mich selbst zu ändern) damit um? Aber auch: Wie spiegele ich mich, spiegelt sich meine Kultur.

Christoph Staewen hat als Arzt lange südlich der Sahara gearbeitet und dabei die Andersartigkeit des Verhaltens der Schwarzafrikaner, aber auch das Unvermögen vieler Europäer beobachtet, auf die Andersartigkeit einzugehen. Er möchte ihnen einen Zugang zu dieser und damit eine Möglichkeit schaffen, damit besser umzugehen. Zwar weist der Autor auf die Gefahr von Verallgemeinerungen und Stereotypen hin, erliegt ihr aber selbst; denn was aber sind seine Aussagen über Kleinkindmilieu und Sippennorm in Afrika mit ihren Rückgriffen auf psychoanalytische und entwicklungspsychologische Theorien anderes? In der idealtypischen

Beschreibung der herrschenden Mentalität wird ihm so ziemlich jeder Europäer, mit Afrikaerfahrung recht geben, bei der Suche nach den Entstehungsgründen dafür wären aber Fragezeichen angebracht, allein schon um den Leser - evtl. ein auf einen Afrikaaufenthalt einzustimmenden Experten - nicht in die Falle von Stereotypen laufen zu lassen.

Daß Staewen die Relativität des eigenen Standpunktes nicht reflektiert, zeigt sich auch daran, daß er selbstverständlich von dem Europäer als dem Befehlenden oder wenigstens Überlegenen und dem Schwarzafrikaner als dem Dienenden oder wenigstens Unwissenden ausgeht. Hatten seine Beobachtungen zu Anfang bei mir eine Art Wiedererkennungsfreude geweckt, so wurde sie mir im letzten, relativ kurzen Teil seiner Empfehlungen gründlich vergällt durch sein Plädoyer für den guten Patron aus Europa voller Verständnis für seine einheimischen Untergebenen. Ein anderes Verhältnis scheint Staewen nicht vorstellbar. Damit entpuppt sich der zunächst plausible psychologische Teil des Buches als gezielt ausgewähltes Herrschaftswissen. So gelesen ist das Buch auch eine Studie über "komplementäre" Partnerschaft - als psychologische Diskussionsgrundlage sehr empfehlenswert.

Jürgen Oestereich

Nachschlagewerke

Stiftung Entwicklung und Frieden. Globale Trends, Daten zur Weltentwicklung. 414 Seiten, ISBN 3-927626-10-4, 1991. SEF, Gotenstr. 152, 53 Bonn 2.

Es gibt Druckwerke, Lexika, Wörterbücher, Lehrbücher, die schlicht notwendig sind. Ihre Funktion ist es, nicht unmittelbar zugängliche Informationen zu vermitteln und sie darüber hinaus in einen Zusammenhang zu bringen, also für den notwendigen gemeinsamen Nenner jeden sinnvollen Gedankenaustauschs oder -streites zu sorgen. Ein solches Werk fehlte bisher für die globalen Zusammenhänge, zumindestens für diesen spezifischen Ausschnitt, der die Perspektivenänderung von der Summe der Außenpolitiken zu einer Weltinnenpolitik beschreibt. Die Stiftung Entwicklung und Frieden (SEF), die aus dem Preisgeld des Friedensnobelpreises an Willi Brandt hervorgegangen ist, legt damit ihre unter den bisherigen Publikationen wohl bedeutsamste vor.

Hinter dem bescheidenen Titel verbirgt sich nahezu unerschöpflicher Fundus an entwicklungspolitischen Informationen, die von namhaften Experten und einem gewissenhaften Redaktionsteam über lange Zeit zusammengetragen und vernetzt worden sind. Das Material präsentiert sich in 14 Kapiteln zu den Themengruppen: Weltbilder, Lebenschancen, Bevölkerung, Migration & Flüchtlinge, Handel, Finanzmärkte, Verschuldung, Militärausgaben, regionale Kriege, Umwelt (Klima & Luft), Ressourcen (Wasser & Boden), Kommunikation, Bildung, Menschenrechte. Dabei werden nicht nur die "nackten" Daten aufgelistet, sondern die vorherrschenden Trends herausgearbeitet und in gut verständlicher Form erläutert. Ein zusätzlicher Abschnitt "Dokumentation" enthält die Schlussfolgerungen wichtiger zwischenstaatlicher Konferenzen. Länderstatistiken, ein Glossar und verschiedene Register komplettieren den Band. Als Nachschlagewerk sollte das Buch selbstverständliches Inventar aller mit Themen der Dritten Welt befaßten Bibliotheken sein, doch auch als Lesebuch bewährt sich die Publikation: wer zufällig zu blättern anfängt, riskiert, sich in einen mehrstündigen Lektüre zu verwickeln.

Jürgen Oestereich *Kosta Mathéy*

VERANSTALTUNGEN

Forthcoming Events

- 13.10.1992, Darmstadt.** Fachkolloquium "Nutzungsgemischte Strukturen - Lösungsansätze für räumliche und soziale Probleme? Veranstalter: Zentrum für Interdisziplinäre Technikforschung der Technische Hochschule Darmstadt. Veranstaltungsort - FB Architektur, El-Lissitzky-Str.1, 6100 Darmstadt. Info und Anmeldung: Uwe Ferber Tel: (06151) 1635458, Fax: (06151) 163758
- 14.-17.10.1992, Berlin, Germany.** International Conference on Local Initiatives of North/South Partnerships for Sustainable Development. Organised by - Towns and Development, Wassenaarseweg 41, 2596 CG The Hague, Netherlands. Tel: (070) 324 40 32.
- 14.-17.10.1992, Paris.** Third International Conference of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments: "Development vs Tradition". Main theme is the cultural ecology of dwellings and settlements. The impacts of tourism, regionalism, globalization will be discussed. For information contact: IASTE '92, Centre for Environmental Design Research, University of California, 390 Wurstel Hall, Berkeley, Ca 94720, USA. Tel: (415) 642 2896.
- 16.-18.10.1992, Bonn** Tagung der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Entwicklungsethnologie "Kultur- und sozialwissenschaftliche Praxis in der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit" Info bei: Niels-Jens Albrecht, Univ. Krankenhaus Eppendorf, Martinisstr. 52, 2000 Hamburg. Tel: (040) 468-4868, Fax: (040) 468-4941
- 23.-24.10.1992, Montpellier, France.** Conference "Sociaanthropologie des organisations paysannes et des associations populaires en limieu rural africain". Info: Philippe Lavigne Delville, APAD, 2 rue de la Charité, 13002 Marseille, France.
- 2.-3.11.1992, Delft, Netherlands.** International Conference organised by the Technical University Delft and the World Bank: "Housing Indicators - a Tool for Housing Research and Housing Policy in Europe". The Housing Indicators Program is a joint program of the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements and the World Bank and is considered an essential step in the implementation of the Global Shelter Strategy for the Year 2000. Participation fee: Dfl. 350, Registration (before 16.10.1992) at: OTB-TUD, Housing Indicators, Thijsseweg 11, 2629 JA, Delft, Netherlands. Fax: 31-15- 784422.
- 5.-6.11.1992, Mannheim** Tagung "Nachhaltigkeit von Entwicklungsprojekten" Veranstalter: Abteilung Wirtschaftsgeographie und Lehrstuhl Sozialforschung der Univ. Mannheim. Info: Prof. D.Gaebe, L9, 1-2/III, 6800 Mannheim. TEL: (0621) 2925373.
- 18.-20.11.1992, Lyons, France.** Second International Meeting of the Institut national du génie urbain. "Urban Engineering and Environment - what should be done for tomorrow's cities?". Info: Institut national du génie urbain, 21 rue Francois Garcin, 69003 Lyon, France. Fax: 33-7868 2348.
- 1.-2.12.1992, Stuttgart, BRD.** Kolloquium "Denkmalpflege und computerunterstützte Dokumentation und Information". Veranstalter sind das Deutsche Nationalkomitee für Denkmalschutz, die Vereinigung der Landesdenkmalpfleger in der BRD und das Informationszentrum RAUM und BAU (IRB) der Frauenhofer-Gesellschaft. Das Kolloquium richtet sich an Denkmalpfleger, Architekten, Handwerker, Naturwissenschaftler, Ingenieure und Fachleute aus Behörden, Hochschulen, Museen und der Wirtschaft. Einsatzmöglichkeiten der elektronischen Datenverarbeitung, insbesondere des Personal-Computers in der Denkmalpflege werden aufgezeigt. Programme und Anmeldung bei IRB Nobelstr. 12, 7000 Stuttgart 80. Tel: (0711) 970-2978 oder 970-2711. Fax: (0711) 970 2507.
- 1.-5.1.1993, Calcutta, India.** International Conference on Architecture, Environment and Peace. Organised by the Centre for International Development in Environment and Architecture and the Institute of Built Environment. For further information: Prof. Santosh Ghosh, Saptaparni Tower D51, 58/3 Ballygunge Circular Road, Calcutta 700019, India.
- 13.-15.5.1993, Tallinn, Estonia** Colloquium "Humanization of Stony Cities - Theory and Practice" The situation in new high-rise housing areas will be discussed. For registration contact : Mati Heidmets or Toomas Niit, Attn: Stony City, P.O.Box 572, EE-0010 Tallinn. Tel: +7-0142-426586, Fax: +7-0142-425339.
- June 1993, Smolenice, Czecho-Slovakia.** Research Conference "Economic Restructuring and its Impacts on Housing Policies and Processes". Deadline for submission of abstracts is 31.8.1992. For information contact: Lubomir Faltan, Institute of Sociology SAV, Hviezdoslavovo nam. 10, 81364 Bratislava, Czecho-Slovakia. Tel: 332-476, Fax: +427/332-476.
- 16.-18.6.1993, Eindhoven, Netherlands.** "Urban Environments in Developing Countries ; Futures, Ideas, Directions". The Environmental theme of the conference has been divided into following sub-themes - built,

physical, decision, informatics, gender and socio-economic environments. Call for papers. Deadline for abstracts is 15.10.1992. Conference fee is US \$ 350. For further information contact: Secretary of Building Habitat and Urban Management International, Eindhoven University of Technology, Faculty of Architecture, P.O.Box 513, 5600 MB Eindhoven, Netherlands. Tel: (40) 473283, 473308. Fax: (40) 452432

7.-10.9.1993, Budapest, Hungary
ENHR Conference "Housing Policy in Europe in the 1990's - Transformation in the East, Transference from the West". A special session on Technical Assistance in Central and Eastern Europe is planned. Workshop topics include Politics and Housing, Tenure Forms, Privatization, Housing supply and subsidy, future of high-rise housing estates, housing finance etc. Registration deadline and abstract submission is February 1993. Registration fee: US\$ 300. For further information contact: Institute of Sociology, Hungarian Academy of Science.

24.-31.10.1993, Silves, Portugal
International Conference "Terra '93-Conférence Internationale Pour L'étude et la Conservation de l'Architecture de Terre". Topics include History and Tradition, Methodology and Techniques of Conservation, problems in seismic zones, and Industrial Perspectives. Information: Hugo Houben, CRATerre-EAG, Centre Simon Signoret, B.P. 53, F-38090 Villefontaine, France. TEL: 74.96.60.56, Fax: 74.96.04.63

21.-25.11.1993, Cairo, Egypt.
Conference "The State of Education and Development : New Directions". Themes include Education for Development vs. Development Education, Women in Development, Professionals and Development, the Global Environmental Agenda, the Global Strategy for Shelter to the Year 2000,

Appropriate Technology and Technology Transfer, Deadline for submission of abstracts and bio-data is 15.7.1992. Information: Dr. Mekki Mtewa, Association for the Advancement of Policy Research and Development in the Third World. P.O.Box 70257, Washington DC, 20024-0257. Tel/Fax: 202 723 7010.

Courses

Intermediate Technology Workshop Training Courses in UK.

Topics covered are Low Cost Building Technologies, Intermediate Building Materials, Micro-Concrete and Fibre Concrete Roofing, Water Storage. Fee BP300-1200. The courses are practical in nature and are intended for architects, planners, builders, missionaries etc. Contact: J.P.M.Parry and Associates Ltd., Overend Road, Cradley Heath, West Midlands, B64 7DD, UK. Tel: +38469171/2. Fax: +384637753.

1.3 - 23.4.1993, Lund, Sweden.
Postgraduate courses in "International Construction Management" and "Architecture and Development". Candidates should be civil engineers, planners, architects, administrators or government officials with at least two years professional experience. Applications should reach Lund before 1.11.1992. The courses are offered free of charge, a limited number of grants to cover living costs will be offered. For further information please contact, Ms.Ylva Silverbern, LCHS, Lund University, Box 118, S-221 00, Lund, Sweden. Tel: + 46 46109761, Fax: + 46 46104545

7.6.-16.7.1993, Grenoble, France
International Course on Economic Construction and Local Building Materials conducted by BASIN under the auspices of UNIDO and UNCHS at the CRATerre headquarters in

Grenoble. The course is in English and is open for professionals with a minimum of five years experience in this area. Course fee is 15000 FF not including travel and living expenses. For further information contact: CRA-Terre-EAGF, Mrs. Marina Trapeniers, BP 2636, 38036 Grenoble Cedex 2, France. TEL: (33) 76.40.14.39, Fax: (33) 76.22.72.56

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The contest is open to architectural and engineering students from any country (enclose proof of university enrollment for 91/92 term). The participants are invited to freely elaborate a functional-idea project for global or partial solutions to the problem of the homeless. The project design must consist of a single chart of 90x90 cm which can be elaborated as preferred (drawing, sketch, report, etc). It should be written in English, Italian, Spanish or French. Entries will be judged by CICESNE and the Habitat Centre of the UN. Prizes have a strictly didactic value and consist of offer to participate in workshops. The project must be submitted by 5.3.1993 to the following address: CICESNE - Corso "L'arredo di un habitat a basso costo", Via Borgosesia 30, 10145 Torino, Italy. Tel: (011) 7412435. Fax: (011) 745261.



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