

İzmir Institute of Technology

The Graduate School

**ARCHITECTURAL REFLECTIONS
OF THE POLITICAL THRESHOLDS
DURING INTERWAR YEARS
(1914-1945)**

Thesis in Architecture

By

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Abstract

This thesis claims that political power and ideology have the ability to transform the building forms of architecture and that power uses architecture as the ideological symbols of the regime in the interactive relationship of 'Architecture and Politics'. The study examines this relationship in Russia, Germany, Italy and Turkey which are experiencing political thresholds during the 'Interwar Years' (1914-1945).

The architectural reflections of political thresholds have been discussed through architectural trends, styles, built environment and urbanism. Formal and conceptual analyses and readings have been performed in order to determine the architectural transformations and variations that are parallel to political developments, architectural trends before and after the political thresholds have been analyzed comparatively. The concepts that exist similarly both in political ideologies and architectural end-products have been studied with the aim of finding the interaction between 'Architecture and Politics'.

These analyses have led to a conclusion that political interference, transforms architectural trends due to its ideologies; monumentality, grandeur, axially, symmetry order and hierarchy as a result exist in the created architectural language due to this political interference.



Abstract

This thesis claims that political power and ideology have the ability to transform the building forms of architecture and that power uses architecture as the ideological symbols of the regime in the interactive relationship of 'Architecture and Politics'. The study examines this relationship in Russia, Germany, Italy and Turkey which are experiencing political thresholds during the 'Interwar Years' (1914-1945).

The architectural reflections of political thresholds have been discussed through architectural trends, styles, built environment and urbanism. Formal and conceptual analyses and readings have been performed in order to determine the architectural transformations and variations that are parallel to political developments, architectural trends before and after the political thresholds have been analyzed comparatively. The concepts that exist similarly both in political ideologies and architectural end-products have been studied with the aim of finding the interaction between 'Architecture and Politics'.

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Table of Contents

LIST OF FIGURES	ix
LIST OF TABLE	xvi

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. ABOUT THE STUDY	1
1.2. AIM OF THE STUDY	3
1.3. ASSUMPTIONS AND LIMITATIONS	3
1.4. DEFINITION OF THE STUDY	4
1.5. METHOD OF THE STUDY	5

Chapter 2

IDEOLOGY AND POWER	7
2.1. IDEOLOGY	8
2.1.1. ARCHITECTURAL IDEOLOGY	11
2.2. POWER	14
2.2.1. FORMS OF POWER	16
2.2.2. POWER OF 20 TH CENTURY	18
2.2.3. POWER OF ARCHITECTURE	19
2.2.4. ARCHITECTURE OF POWER	21

Chapter 3

SOCIALISM AND ARCHITECTURE	26
3.1. SOCIALIST IDEOLOGY	26
3.1.1 LENIN AND SOCIALISM.....	27
3.1.2 STALIN AND SOCIALIST REALISM	28
3.2. RUSSIAN ARCHITECTURE	29
3.2.1. RUSSIAN ARCHITECTURE IN THE PRE-REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD	29
3.2.2. RUSSIAN ARCHITECTURE, GROUPS AND TRENDS IN THE POST- REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD (1917-1928)	31
3.2.2.1. RATIONALISM (ASNOVA).....	34
3.2.2.2. CONSTRUCTIVISM (OSA).....	35
3.2.3. RUSSIAN ARCHITECTURE, COMPETITIONS AND URBAN APPROACHES IN THE SOCIALIST REALIST PERIOD (1928-1953)	40
3.2.3.1. ARCHITECTURAL COMPETITIONS.....	40
3.2.3.2. URBAN APPROACHES DURING THE SOCIALIST REALIST PERIOD	47

Chapter 4

FASCISM AND ARCHITECTURE

IN GERMANY AND ITALY	53
4. 1. FASCIST IDEOLOGY.....	53
4.1.1. HITLER AND THE SITUATION IN GERMANY	54
4.1.1.1. PROGRESSIVE GERMAN ARCHITECTURE DURING THE POST-WAR PERIOD (1918-1933).....	55
4.1.1.2. ARCHITECTURAL PROPAGANDA AND ORGANIZATION OF NAZIS	59
4.1.1.3. NATIONAL SOCIALIST PERIOD (1933-1945).....	62
4.1.1.4. NAZI ARCHITECTURE.....	64
4.1.2. MUSSOLINI AND THE SITUATION IN ITALY	77
4.1.2.1 ITALIAN FUTURISM IN THE PRE-WAR PERIOD	78
4.1.2.2. ARCHITECTURAL GROUPS AND TRENDS IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD (1920-1930)	80
4.1.2.3. FASCIST ARCHITECTURE (1930-1945).....	84
4.1.2.4. URBAN APPROACHES DURING THE FASCIST PERIOD.....	91
4.1.3. TOTALITARIAN ARCHITECTURE IN 1930'S.....	95

Chapter 5

KEMALISM AND ARCHITECTURE	97
5.1. TURKISH MODERNIZATION PROCESS AND KEMALIST IDEOLOGY	97
5.2. MUSTAFA KEMAL AND THE SITUATION IN TURKEY	99
5.2.1. TURKISH ARCHITECTURE IN THE PRE-REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD	100
5.2.2. THE MOVEMENT OF FIRST NATIONAL ARCHITECTURE (1923-1927)	102
5.2.3. MODERN TURKISH ARCHITECTURE IN THE POST-REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD	105
5.2.3.1. THE CREATION OF THE NEW CAPITAL (1928-1938).....	106
5.2.3.2. THE INTERNATIONAL STYLE AS A MOVEMENT (1929-1939)	108
5.2.4. THE MOVEMENT OF SECOND NATIONAL ARCHITECTURE (1940-1950)	112
5.2.5. GENERAL VIEW ON THE EARLY REPUBLICAN TURKISH ARCHITECTURE.....	118

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION	120
BIBLIOGRAPHY	126
CHRONOLOGY	133

LIST OF FIGURES

- Figure 2.1** – Equipment for daily life; pottery;
(Source: Modernizm'in Serüveni 1)14
- Figure 3.2** - Vladimir Tatlin, Monument and Headquarters for
the Third Communist International,Petrograd,1920; (Source: Cooke 1995).....32
- Figure 3.2** - Vladimir Krinsky, Headquarters for the supreme
Soviet of the National Economy, Moscow,1924; (Source: Cooke 1995).....36
- Figure 3.3** - Vesnin Brothers, Competition project for Moscow offices
of the newspaper Pravda, 1924 and The Vesnin Brothers' Palace of Labour
have similar approaches; (Source: Cooke 1995).....36
- Figure 3.4-** Grigorii Barkhin, Izvestiia Building, Moscow,
showing surrounding city, 1927; (Source: Cooke 1995)37
- Figure 3.5-** Ilia Golosov, Zuev Club, Moscow, (1927-29) ;
(Source: Cooke 1995)37
- Figure 3.6-** Moisei Ginzburg, Narkomfin Housing Complex,
Moscow, (1928-30) ; (Source:Benevolo 1971).....38
- Figure 3.7-**Le Corbusier, photograph from Ivan Leonidov with slogan,
SA 1926; (Source:Cooke 1990)39
- Figure3.8-**Vasily Shchuko, The Lenin Library, Moscow, (1928-1941) ;
(Source: JONG, MATTIE 1994)41

Figure 3.9 -Boris Iofan, The Palace of the Soviets, Moscow, 1933; (Source: JONG, MATTIE 1994)	42
Figure 3.10 -Smdenskaya and Frunzenskaya Subway Stations; (Source: Arredamento Dekorasyon 1992)	44
Figure 3.11 -Alexander & Viktor Vesnin, Peoples' Commissariat of Heavy Industry, Moscow, 1934; (Source: JONG, MATTIE 1994).....	45
Figure 3.12 -Alexander & Viktor Vesnin with Ginzburg, Peoples' Commissariat of Heavy Industry, Moscow, 1934; (Source: JONG, MATTIE 1994).....	45
Figure 3.13 -Ivan Fomin, Peoples' Commissariat of Heavy Industry, Moscow, 1934; (Source: JONG, MATTIE 1994)	45
Figure 3.14 -Ivan Leonidov, Peoples' Commissariat of Heavy Industry, Moscow, 1934; (Source: Cooke 1995)	46
Figure 3.15 -Ivan Leonidov, Sketch for Peoples' Commissariat of Heavy Industry, Moscow, 1934; (Source: Cooke 1995)	46
Figure 3.16 -Stalin and Kaganovski, Poster for a new Moscow plan, 1930; (Source: Arredamento Dekorasyon 1998).....	48

Figure 3.17 -In the Plan of Central Moscow, Gorki Street is marked with striped borders; (Source: Çelik 1994).....	49
Figure 3.18 -Mikhail Posokhin, Asot Mndoyants, Sadovaya Kudrinskaya, Moscow, 1948; (Source:AD Jan-Feb 1996)	51
Figure 3.19 -L. Rudnev, P. Abrosimov, A. Khriakov, Moscow State University, Moscow, (1949-1953); (Source: Benevolo 1971).....	51
Figure 3.20 -A. Speer's German Pavilion (left) and B. Iofan's USSR Pavilion (right), Paris World Exhibition of 1937; (Source: Curtis 1996)	52
Figure 4.1 -Peter Behrens, AEG Turbine Factory, Berlin, 1909; (Source: Curtis 1996).....	55
Figure 4.2 -Walter Gropius, Fagus Factory, (1911-1914); (Source: Curtis 1996).....	56
Figure 4.3 - Walter Gropius, The Factory Administration Building for the Werkbund Exhibition, 1914; (Source: Curtis 1996).....	56
Figure 4.4 -Walter Gropius, Bauhaus Buildings, Dessau, (1925-26) ; (Source: Curtis 1996).....	58
Figure 4.5 -Mies van der Rohe, Competition Project for the Reichbank, Berlin, 1933; (Source: Curtis 1996).....	63
Figure 4.6 -Hitler making an architectural drawing; (Source: Hochman 1989)	64

Figure 4.7 -Hitler's architectural sketches; (Source: Arredamento Dekorasyon 1992/12)	65
Figure 4.8 -Paul Ludwig Troost, House of German Art, Munich, (1934-1936) ; (Source: Curtis 1996)	66
Figure 4.9 -Albert Speer, Zeppelinfeld Stadium, Nuremberg, 1934; (Source: Scobie 1990).....	68
Figure 4.10 -Zeppelinfeld Stadium, Haupttribüne, Nuremberg, Great Altar of Pergamum, West front Pergamon Museum, Berlin; (Source: Scobie 1990).....	69
Figure 4.11 -Zeppelinfeld Stadium, ambulatory of Haupttribüne, Pergamum Altar, Ionic colonnade; (Source: Scobie 1990)	69
Figure 4.12 -Model of plan for Berlin, (1937-40), the great axis planned by Hitler and Speer; (Source: The Architectural Review 1996)	70
Figure 4.13 -Main axis with Triumphal Arch and domed Great Hall; (Source: Curtis 1996)	71
Figure 4.14 -Hadrian's Pantheon, Rome; Albert Speer, Model of the Volkshalle, Berlin, (1937-40) ; (Source: Scobie 1990).....	72
Figure 4.15 -Adolf Hitler, Sketch of Volkshalle, about 1925; (Source: Scobie 1990).....	73
Figure 4.16 -Albert Speer, interior of the Volkshalle; Interior of Hadrian's Pantheon; (Source: Scobie 1990)	74
Figure 4.17 -Antonio Sant'Elia, La Citta Nuova, (1913-14) ; (Source: Frampton 1996)	79

Figure 4.18 -Giacomo Matte-Trucco, Fiat Factory, Turin, 1923; (Source: Curtis 1996)	83
Figure 4.19 -Giuseppe Terragni, Casa Del Fascio, Como, (1932-36); (Source: Curtis 1996)	88
Figure 4.20 -Giuseppe Terragni, Novocomun Apartment House, Como, (1927-29) ; (Source: Schumacher 1991)	89
Figure 4.21 -Giuseppe Terragni, Casa Del Fascio, meeting in front of building, Como, 1936; (Source: Schumacher 1991)	90
Figure 4.22 -Marcello Piacentini, EUR'42, Rome, (1937-42); (Source: Benevolo 1971)	92
Figure 4.23 -G. Guerrini, E. La Padula and M. Romano, Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana EUR' 42, Rome, (1937-42); (Source: Curtis 1996)	93
Figure 4.24 -Mussolini's demolitions for Via dell'Impero, Rome; (Source: Çelik 1994)	94
Figure 4.25 -The straight line that takes off from, The Piazza Venezia and the Monument of Victor Emmanuel II, and heads to the Colosseum. ; (Source:Kostof 1985)	94
Figure 5.1 -Mimar Kemalettin, Harikzedegan Apartments, İstanbul, (1919-22) ; (Source: Holod, Evin 1984)	101
Figure 5.2 -Giulio Mongeri, Ziraat Bank, Ankara,(1926-29) ; (Source: Holod, Evin 1984)	102
Figure 5.3 -Vedat Tek, The New National Assembly Hall, Ankara, 1924; (Source: Holod, Evin 1984)	103

Figure 5.4-Vedat Tek and Mimar Kemalettin, Ankara Palas Hotel, (1924-27) ; (Source: Holod, Evin 1984)	104
Figure 5.5-Hermann Jansen, Ankara Plan, 1932; (Source: Holod, Evin 1984).....	107
Figure 5.6-Hermann Jansen, Ankara Plan, 1932, Main axes; (Source: Holod, Evin 1984)	107
Figure 5.7-Theodor Post, Ministry of Health Building, Ankara, 1927; (Source: Holod, Evin 1984)	109
Figure 5.8-Ernst Egli, Court of Financial Appeals Building (Sayıştaş), Ankara, (1928-30) ; (Source: Holod, Evin 1984)	109
Figure 5.9-Clemens Holzmeister, Presidential Palace Building, Ankara, (1930-32) (Source: Arredamento Dekorasyon, 1997)	110
Figure 5.10-Clemens Holzmeister, Interior of Presidential Palace Building, Ankara, (1930-32); (Source: Arredamento Dekorasyon, 1997)	110
Figure 5.11-Seyfi Arkan, Residence of the Minister of Foreign Affairs (Hariciye Köşkü), (1933-34); (Source: Holod, Evin 1984)	111
Figure 5.12-Şevki Balmumcu, National Exhibition Hall (Sergievi), Ankara, (1933-34); (Source: Arredamento Dekorasyon, 1997)	111
Figure 5.13 -Clemens Holzmeister, Grand National Assembly Hall, (1938-60) ; (Source: Arredamento Dekorasyon, 1997)	112
Figure 5.14 -Bedri Uçar, State Railroad Headquarters (TCDD Genel Müdürlüğü), 1941; (Source: Holod, Evin 1984)	114

Figure 5.15 -Bedri Uçar, State Railroad Headquarters (TCDD Genel Müdürlüğü), 1941; (Source: Holod, Evin 1984).....	114
Figure 5.16 -Şevki Balmumcu, National Exhibition Hall (Sergievi), Ankara, (1933-34); Paul Bonatz, Opera House (Büyük Tiyatro), Ankara, 1948; (Source: Holod, Evin 1984)	115
Figure 5.17 -Emin Onat and Orhan Arda, Anıtkabir (Atatürk's Mausoleum), Ankara, (1944-53); (Source:Gülekli 1983).....	116
Figure 5.18 - Johannes Krugger, Anıtkabir, Ankara, 1941; (Source:Anıtkabir Tarihçesi 1994)	116
Figure 5.19 - Arnaldo Foschi, Anıtkabir, Ankara, 1941; (Source: Anıtkabir Tarihçesi 1994).....	116
Figure 5.20 -Emin Onat and Orhan Arda's competition proposal for Anıtkabir, Ankara, 1941; (Source: Anıtkabir Tarihçesi 1994).....	117
Figure 5.21 -Emin Onat and Orhan Arda's competition proposal for Anıtkabir, Ankara, 1941; (Source: Anıtkabir Tarihçesi 1994).....	117
Figure 5.22 -Emin Onat and Orhan Arda, Anıtkabir (Atatürk's Mausoleum), Ankara, (1944-53); (Source: Gülekli 1983)	118

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. - A Brief Comparison of the Discourses of Ideologies, Leaders and Architectural Concepts.....	125
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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. ABOUT THE STUDY

20th century is an important period in the history of architecture even if we only consider the developments concerning the industrial revolution through which it reached its peak with the announcement of the Modernist Manifesto. This revolutionary transformation was the beginning of a new age in all fields of arts. In this connection, it can be stated here that the 100 years of the 20th century corresponds with a period of *the evolution of modernism*. The revolutionary birth and evolutionary rise of Modernism initiated in the first place, the rapid production and in the second place, the consumption of works of art. The most important aspect of the Modernist Manifesto was its coverage of an architectural ideology. It might be possible to say that for the first time since the Renaissance, architectural trends started to define their inter-disciplinary relations through political ideologies. Consequently, architectural discourses of this period were sometimes supported, sometimes opposed; but always influenced by political ideologies. For instance, the centre of modernist approaches to architecture parallel with politics moved from Berlin and Moscow to Paris, New York and Rome by the rise of Nationalist and Fascist concerns against Socialism, following the birth of this interdependent ideological structure.

With the consequences created, World War I has been the primary factor in the political and ideological evolution of the 20th century. Following the war, revolutionary groups that initiated new developments with relatively contemporary discourses destroyed three great empires this thesis deals with two of these empires; the Tsarism in Russia and the Ottoman Empire. The new ideologies of both countries were simple and clear: The USSR was aiming to establish *a dictatorship of the proletarians* by combining all the political and economical forces within the state identity. On the other hand, the Turkish Republic was aiming to adapt *a Modernization beyond the Westernization* of "tanzimat" in all institutions of the state. This political strategy later resulted in the

long-discussed oppositions against *capitalism* and *imperialism*. To sum up, the seeds of the political transformation of the world towards the end of the 1980's were sewn during the revolutions, especially by the Russian Revolution at the beginning of the 20th century.

Russia and Turkey, the two defeated countries of the world war had entered a period of re-development by Socialist and Kemalist revolutions. Dealing with their internal problems during the formation of the new state structures, both countries were rather passive in international relations. Meanwhile, many nations of the world that were unable to overcome the consequences of the World War I were going through an economic crisis. This situation became a chance for the development of radical rightist political trends. Overcoming the economic crisis temporarily with minimum risk, the *radical rightist* movements were presented as an alternative to the Communist discourse developing in Russia. It was in such a political situation that the *Nationalist* and *Fascist* trends became movements supported by masses of people by means of propaganda. However, these movements created by the economic breakdown soon started to build up the reasons of World War II with the dictatorships of Hitler and Mussolini. The era between the two world wars known as "*catastrophe age*" ends with the most tragic atomic bombing event of the century.

The study addresses itself to the investigation of the above-mentioned interwar period and to the architectural repercussion of the period based on sample cases. Concrete three-dimensional representational aspects of architectural end products and the built environment of the period are questioned. All ideological approaches of this period had cultural as well as economical concerns, aiming at a renovation in both fields. Architecture was the primary component of the cultural developments that were highly influenced by political ideologies. Politicians were aware that architectural works could become *concrete expressions of ideologies*, transcending their functional organization. Any ideology aiming to establish a new cultural and social structure could use architecture in service of the political discourse.

1.2. AIM OF THE STUDY

The aim of this study is to determine the ideologies and related leaders that shape the political structures of the interwar period and concentrates on their relations with the shaping of the architectural product and also the built environment symbol of political power. The inter-war period has been one of the most dynamic periods in architectural and political history, due to the search for the legitimization of the modern architectural discourses and the political ideologies behind. In this respect, *Lenin* and *Stalin* in Russia, *Hitler* in Germany, *Mussolini* in Italy and *Atatürk* in Turkey are chosen as personalities whose political ideologies will be studied on an architectural basis.

Systems of thought may proceed apart from their *field of action*. However, in many cases; the same ideology can be the determining factor in the economical and architectural activity of the same period. Throughout the political history, there have been many periods when a single ideology has become efficient in various fields such as economy, culture, social life, arts and architecture. This study concentrates on the period bounded by the two world wars and evaluates the relation of political ideologies with architectural production. The systems of thought of Socialism, Fascism and Kemalism have been considered a political point of view; taking power and ideology as the two main axes for the study. Architecture has been discussed as a field of action that has a crucial role in the process of obtaining power.

The aim of this study is to analyze the architectural reflections of the political ideologies in the field of action following the political thresholds during the interwar years. The transformative characteristics of the political developments over architecture have been studied and the reflections as the architectural trends, styles, architectural end-products, urbanism and built environment have been considered.

1.3. ASSUMPTIONS AND LIMITATIONS

Throughout history, each century has been the stage to further developments in civilization compared to its precedents. Similarly, the 20th century that is about to end has been an era of crucial changes and rapid developments at extremes. An

unpredictable level has been reached in scientific, technological, political, ideological and cultural developments within a century of time.

Examining the chronological aspects of 20th century, the two important thresholds in history can readily be observed. The first one is *World War I* that has been the peak point of ideological differentiation and political dissolution. The other threshold, *World War II*, is a consequence of the unsolved problems and the solutions created by the World War I.

Within the 20th century chronologies of arts and architecture, there are important opposing discourses during the pre- World War I period such as the “Futurist Manifesto” of Marinetti and the “Manifesto of Sant’Elia”. Towards the end of World War I, such modern movements in modern arts can be summed up under certain groups including Dada in Zurich (1916), Bauhaus (1919) and de Stijl (1917). Following the war, architecture became an important component of the rapid changes in political structures.

The years politically bounded by the two World Wars have been a fruitful period of architectural production. *Tatlin’s Tower* (1919), Mendelsohn’s *Einstein Tower* (1920), Rietveld’s *Schroder House* (1924), Mies’ *Barcelona Pavillion* (1929), Le Corbusier’s *Villa Savoye* (1931), Wright’s *Falling Water House* (1937) and Maillart’s *Salginotobel Bridge* (1940) all belong to this interval of time. Through a study of these examples, it is possible to realise that although architects of different nations produced their works independent from one another, the influence of the architectural ideology that they believed in reflects itself in their work. This attitude proves that modern architectural discourse was based on an ideology.

1.4. DEFINITION OF THE STUDY

The study concentrates on the inter-relations of two distinct disciplines that are shaped by the development of civilization and that deal with the abstract and concrete facts within the civilization: Architecture and Politics. Throughout the study, the inter-relations between these two spheres of civilization are considered regarding the

simultaneous *similarities* and *contrasts*. Architectural and political trends are evaluated within their separate frames that seem to be independent, searching for the possible inter-dependencies of architecture and politics. Examining the relations of architecture and politics throughout the history of civilization within this framework; the study focuses on a period that is dynamic with rapid transformations and developments.

1.5. THE METHOD OF THE STUDY

In order to have an opinion of the parallel aspects of architecture and politics; it is necessary to study in detail, the independent history of the two fields. The relationships between these two phenomena can be observed by relating and constructing the points of views, which are in different positions just by making different readings and finding the common points. Through a cross-reading of both subjects; architectural developments will be evaluated within the simultaneous political discourse whereas ideologies will be studied with reference to their architectural background.

The terminology that is commonly used in political discourses has been defined in order to provide a better understanding of the discussions in the following chapters. The historical developments and transformations of the terms are evaluated and exemplified by the ideas of the different philosophers, which are about the terms. The terms chosen to be defined for a common comprehension are '*Ideology*', '*Power*' and '*Politics*'.

In this study;

In chapter 2, the terms of ideology and power as the two main axes of politics and architecture have been discussed, also considering the historical evolution of these concepts. The inter-relation of politics and architecture has been evaluated within this framework.

In chapter 3, the study concentrates on the evolution of Socialist Ideology during the Leninist and Stalinist period following the Russian Revolution and the role of ideology *as an external dynamic* in the determination of architectural discourse.

In chapter 4, the rise of Nationalist and Fascist values with the effect of the European economical crisis is discussed considering the Hitler period in Germany and the Mussolini period in Italy; both of which resorted to architecture *as a means of propaganda*.

In chapter 5, the role of Kemalist Ideology in the Modernization process of Turkey and the concept of architecture *as an active extension* of the state in the cultural sphere has been discussed.

In chapter 6, a general comparative analyses discussed ideology of inter-war period and their *concrete expressions* in the form of architecture is made.

Finally, in order to conceive the transformations of the 20th century as a whole, a common chronology has been prepared. Not only the history of modern art and architecture but also modern history, summarized from different sources, is used and superimposed on each other. The period during the interwar years which is related to this study is emphasized also by the chronology, which has been prepared. With a historical viewpoint, the chronology helps to determine the common thresholds in architecture and politics, and whether they juxtapose on each other. The sample cases chosen for the study are the most important ones of these thresholds.

Chapter 2

IDEOLOGY AND POWER

An observation on the two social phenomena: *architecture* and *politics* results in a general view that they may have similar backgrounds forming their ways of thought. Every act with ideological concerns has strong influences on its surroundings and enforcement, such as architecture upon the built environment and politics upon the society. These political and architectural forces use the authorities of their ideologies for the realization of concrete products.

Architecture can be assumed as being one step ahead of arts and engineering since it has the power of shaping social dynamics as well as encompassing within its field of operation both the artistic and engineering disciplines. Architectural language and discourse have a strong influence on determining the lifestyles of the society and also the individual. The building typologies, their programmes, the way they come together in an orderly discipline and the distribution of their functions play an important role in the establishment of these lifestyles. Architecture also effects the forming of *cultural identity* while controlling the future of the *built environment*. Its programme can both be radical and progressive, and its products are the symbolic representatives of social and aesthetic values.

The transformative characteristics of architecture have been utilized by the politicians for the creation of the *physical environment* and *social structures*, forming new aesthetic values for the society. These transformative characteristics can also be observed in the body of politics, which are the cause of the strong relationship between architecture and politics.

A conservative and traditional state, tries to determine the ideologies of its institutions as well known and accepted by the public, especially of those dealing with arts and culture. On the other hand, a fresh and revolutionist state ideology tries to reflect the

new ideas of social life in the cultural areas; this is an unavoidable result of the revolutionist way of thought. A dominant state ideology transforms architectural ideology and its end products with a process that begins with imposition. Architecture in this sense becomes one of the most important tools of political power. It is at this point that the *interaction* and *contradiction* of *architecture* and *politics* begins.

2.1. IDEOLOGY

- ‘ Ideology: A body of ideas used in support of an economic, political or social theory; the way of thinking of a class, culture or individual; the science of ideas, esp. those springing from sensory stimulation.’ (Webster’s Encyclopedic Dictionary 1934, p.481)
- ‘An ideology is a system of ideas, values and beliefs, which together provide a way of viewing or understanding the world and which provide a basis for political rule, opposition to political rule, revolutionary political change or opposition to political change.’ (Girdner 1996, p.41)

Humankind has jumped through many thresholds in its socialization process in history. In periods which social development can be observed, humankind has had to suffer through many struggles. We can exemplify two dynamics that prove these facts: The first one of these is the will of mankind to dominate over nature. Nature that used to shape mankind once upon a time, was dominated and reshaped by mankind. The second dynamic is the struggle of the social classes within the society. It can be observed that revolutionist developments were created by such hierarchical classes and interreactionary struggles. For example the *French Revolution* was a *bourgeoisie revolution* against feudalism; the *Russian Revolution* was a *proleterian revolution* against tsarism. These revolutions are still influencing today’s world economically, politically and culturally.

Ideologies have usually been given birth through dynamic situations created by conflicts and certain systems of belief, such as the religious agitation caused by the *Calvinists* in England in the 17th century; this movement is said to be the first ideological movement

in the contemporary world. (Mardin 1997, p.128). The term ideology today is understood as the way of thinking and system of ideas, this meaning has been reached and transformed through time following these developments.

In cases that we handle ideologies as systems of thought, we can assume that they have a mental logic, however this is not scientific logic. Ideologies in this case might not have the ability to view the reality objectively. Karl Marx comments on this as the world being observed through partly transparent glasses, and continues 'Ideologies are the ideas and explanations that prove untruthful reality to opaque, social relationships.' (Mardin 1997, pp.24-38). This explanation carries a *negative approach*. Because of this aspect this term was regarded to as antagonist until the end of the 19th century. Following this period, with the political demagogues gaining power in the political arena, this term was perceived positively. Huge masses interest in politics is marked as the beginning of the era we call '*The Age of Ideology*' (Mardin 1997, p.48).

What was the the reason that the ideologies went through a metamorphosis in their concepts and became accepted by huge masses of people in the 19th and 20th centuries? What kind of social transformations caused the differentiation of the term? Şerif Mardin relates this process to *Industrial Revolution*: 'The Western Society has been through many agitations in the beginning and throughout the Industrial Age. A specific symbolization directly in relation with this agitation appeared: 'When we say ideology we mean this specific construct... Ideology is derived from the importance of large scale representative thought in our lives, and it is a phenomena based on it.' (Mardin 1997,pp. 117-122).

The political developments going on in the first half of the 20th century, are based on the ideological backgrounds of the 18th and 19th centuries. In order to have a full understanding of the Fascist Period in Germany, the ideology of Fichten in 1807 should be understood. The same situation is also observed for the Russian Revolution and the Communist Manifesto of 1848 (Russell 1994, p.70). We can conclude that ideological systems need time and certain conditions in order to come to life as actions. The *Modernity Project* has started to form its ideology with the *Industrial Revolution* and started to create products at the end of the 19th century.

The term ideology can be related to the terms 'symbolization', 'idol', 'fantasy' and 'utopia', and these terms help get a better understanding of the term ideology. Ideologies can be evaluated as systems of thought that are not objective. In certain situations in which a social discomfort exists, ideologies are used in order to fight against these discomforts. Under these conditions, people needed to hold on to a symbol which will help fight against difficulties and comfort of the society (Mardin 1997, p.112). Social consciousness and movements are achieved through the increase of the publication of books in the 18th century and newspapers in the 19th century. The progress in network communication and systems of thought –which have become symbolic- necessary for the social transformation process, have helped to create the ideologies of the 20th century. The similarity of the meaning of the word 'idol' epistemologically and the term ideology, increases the reality of the symbolic dimension of ideologies. (Mardin 1997, p.115)

Ideology gives people something to believe in and leads them to the best way of thinking for future, as a guide of their nation state. It promises a world that can not really be anytime. It builds in people's minds. At this point Karl Manheim wrote: 'Ideologies... never succeed in the realization of their projected contents...' (Manheim, p.194). Although ideologies can be evaluated as kinds of fantasies, this does not make them useless. Their usefulness is important for the leaders to stay in power and rule. Through this approach a relationship can be set up between the terms 'ideology' and 'utopia'. Both ideology and utopia are against the system in which they were born. These beliefs however, remain as Manheim pointed out, as thoughts without actions. A case that partly exemplifies the relationship of ideology and utopia are the social housing politics of the USSR in the early years. They realized some social housing projects inspired by the ideas which offered similar architectural programmes of some utopists, such as *Charles Fourier*, *Thomas More* and *Tomasso Campanella*, in the will to create a social model of socialist ideology. Another example of the togetherness of ideology and utopia is the *Futurist Utopia* and the *Fascist Ideology* in the process of forming a new social model.

The utopias that are linked with architecture prove that architecture in its field of action contains both an ideology and that it can exist together with political ideology. However in the togetherness of both political and architectural ideology, usually political ideology makes use of architectural ideology as a secondary ideology after it gains power.

2.1.1. ARCHITECTURAL IDEOLOGY

Ideology is a term that is thought to be related to social sciences only and not to architecture; in other words, architecture is thought not to have an ideology. Architectural and political ideologies are thought to have different opinions of the term ideology, however this seems to be a *prejudice*. The limited amount of use of architectural ideology in comparison with political ideology, is the result of the lack of people using it in the community. Architectural ideology interests those that are directly in architectural activity, the society is indirectly related. However since political ideology aims at *social transformation* or *stability*, it is a socially common phenomena (Tanyeli 1989, p.78). This is why political ideology as the primary ideology has more enforcement and influence over other ideologies in comparison to architectural ideology.

The transformation and reformation process of humankind has always been painful. At the point ideological background loses its acceptability, the formation of a new ideology or feeding from other ideologies begins. The ideology that has the power and force in its hands makes use of this power and force in shaping the secondary ideologies in their transformation process. In the process that *hybrid objects* are produced, a movement towards the past can be observed.

The ideology of Modern Architecture which has come into power with a strong ideological background and which has been shaped with many economical, technological and cultural inputs differs from the leading political ideology of the period. There are points in which they *conflict* and *juxtapose* however the major differences should not be overlooked. The ideology of Modern Architecture has not been in the producing process of such hybrid objects. It has actually had many different

directions than the leading political ideologies. Moreover Modern Architectural Ideology believes to be an extension of political ideology, as the ideology of a profession. It is in interaction with other disciplines and the state's ideologies; it might even consider itself close to one of these. However, it is possible for architectural ideology to appropriate to itself, a more universal ideology. For example, Russian Constructivists on one hand adopted the proletarian ideology, on the other hand they supported the ideas of the International Style of Modern Art.

Apart from state or social class ideologies, there exists an *ideology of professions* formed by subgroups. Architectural ideology is one of these ideologies of professions. Uğur Tanyeli describes architectural ideology with these words: 'Roughly, architectural ideology is a gathering of prejudices that helps decide what is right and what is wrong architecturally in a society, determines what is functional and what is not, and separates beautiful from ugly.' (Tanyeli 1988, p.65). At this point, the term '*prejudice*', might lead us to the result that architectural thought may be some kind of ideology.

There are certain necessities for an architectural ideology to exist. Uğur Tanyeli describes these necessities as: 'Individuality does not exist where architectural ideology does not, where there is no individuality, there is no ideology, therefore there is no architectural discourse or criticism. This means ideology will exist in a society with individual ideas and differentiations.' (Tanyeli 1989, p.80)

Architectural ideology is a determinant of all the relationships within the society of architecture and the role of the architect within the society, because of its point of view of architectural history, education, interdisciplinary communications and relationships with its clients. It can be observed that the status of the architect has changed in history. The architect who has been perceived as a handicraftsman until Renaissance, has transformed into a philosopher and bureaucrat afterwards. With the Modernist Ideology, the architect as well as being an intellectual has been the decider of the order and social system (Tanyeli 1989, p.80). In some specific situations, he becomes the helper of the person in charge. In such situations, the relationship between the architect and the client

has the risk of moving far away from the generally accepted architectural ideology, this does not correspond with the ideas of modern ideology that defend the way of dealing with the client as to shaping his wishes.

The relationship between *ideology* and *form* is quite interesting. This relationship exists because of ideology being a symbolic system of thought and form having symbolic and conceptual characteristics. It is possible to state that each ideology has its own specific form. Ideologies that try to shape forms, express the characteristics of the form as its own representational reflections. In cases that the ideology tries to form products other than its own discipline, the relationship between the end product and the ideology remains formal. What they have produced as styles, is actually a combination of styles coming together in a *hybrid, eclectic* manner in the creation process of products. The products and ideology relationship of a profession's ideology is different. The relationship between the *product* and the *profession's ideology* is *stylistic* rather than *formal*. There are many strategies leading to an end product in such a process, there is not necessarily one correct path. This is why architectural ideology has had the potential to produce many acceptable styles. As a theoretical and abstract discipline of thought, architectural ideology finds its reflections in concrete products. Ideology is the object and the product is the subject in this situation.

By observing the end product, one can figure out the identity of the producer and what it represents. The relationship between the *object* and the *subject*, represents the ideology. The object uses the subject in order to explain itself and express its ideology. For example after the Revolution in Russia, the tools used in daily life -plates, tea cups, clothes- were ornamented with objects of production such as sickles, hammers or wheels of machines. These tools became aesthetically very valuable objects. Russia, through this act represented the object of working and producing, the continuity of its ideology, straight into the objects of daily life; ideology in this case has showed the designer the path of how to produce the product; not what the product should be. It actually shows what the product should not be.

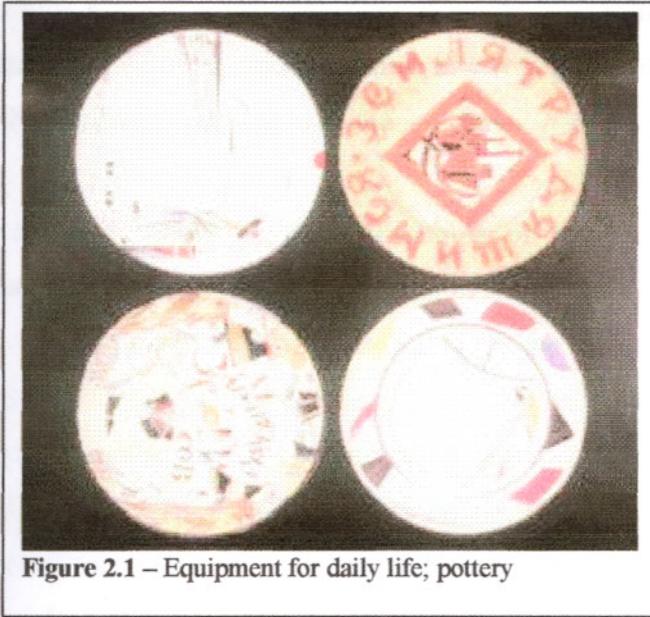


Figure 2.1 – Equipment for daily life; pottery

These definitions given as some specific profession's ideology, will be helpful in understanding the ideology of Modern Architecture. The ideology of Modern Architecture is a truly universal, *autonomous ideology* due to the endeavor of changing the whole world following the Renaissance. It is a complete system of thought aiming to organize the whole sets of relationships between the architect, the profession of architecture, the client and the society. This ideology was the most criticised and evaluated ideology of 20th century because of its certain characteristics. These characteristics are: the aim to create a new social life, the aim to form a new point of view for the society and the client, the aim of realizing an architecture that is stylistical rather than formal. These are also the main reasons that the Ideology of Modern Architecture both *contradicts* and *interacts* with political ideologies.

2.2. POWER

- 'Power: An ability or faculty; pysical strength; military strength; controlling influence; authority, authorization, a person of great influence or authority; a country having international influence or authority' (Webster's Encyclopedic Dictionary 1934, p.787)

- ‘ Power is the ability to make others do what one would like them to do, even if they would rather do otherwise. Power in modern states involves political rule that succeeds in getting most of the people to obey the laws most of time.’ (Girdner 1996, p.9)

Power naturally is one of the most important obsessions of human beings. The reason of aiming to possess power is the wish of the human to have control over other humans and the rest of its exterior surroundings. Kirk Willis, in the introduction of Bertrand Russells’ *Power: A New Social Analysis* states: ‘many philosophers aim to determine the key to social dynamics. For instance *Marx* finds it in *wealth* whereas *Freud* finds it in *sex*. *Bertrand Russell*, however finds them in *power*.’(Russell 1993, p.3). Russell explains a new order of comprehension into the problems of the human government. He discusses the effects of ideas and moral codes in buttressing or undermining power.

Power might be used in separate ways by those possessing it. The way it is used is the determinant of whether it is being used as a tool or an objective. The person who uses power as a tool, has a defined objective (this is not only gaining power) and power is one of the steps leading to that objective. In the case that power is the objective itself, there are no other certain objectives. (Russell 1994, p.270). However, there is one thing that is certain, that is the continuity of power and its’ immortalization. This is why all totalitarian regimes need symbols to represent and protect their power.

Paul- Alan Johnson tells about the two way use of power as being double polarized: ‘... power is the relation between *opposite poles*, it comes into effect because opposing forces are capable of annihilating each other and so must be kept apart by structures maintaining a dynamic equilibrium. Power resides in the relation between *doing* and *nondoing*.’ (Johnson 1995, p.114).

In order for the use of power and its applications to remain as the objectives, the objectives should be more powerful and in advance. The objectives that coincide with people’s life, should cause the happiness of the community rather than the minority, so that equilibrium moves towards the *positive pole*.

Every fact that has the potential to reform, change the way things are going is a possible threat for any oppressing power. Such powers try to oppress and reduce the activities of some alternative powers such as arts and sciences. Such as the Medieval Church trying to hide the works of the Greek philosophers from the society and scientists, and trying to shape the doctrines of these people as they wish.

2.2.1. FORMS OF POWER

Power has been through a journey as ancient and historical as the history of mankind. Mankind tries to achieve power if they have the ability to handle it; in case they don't, they prefer to be under the guidance of another power. The historical and civic situation are the determinants of that power. There is a variety of forms of power, however it is possible to reduce them to a fewer number of forms of power. These forms sometimes *coincide* and sometimes *contradict* with each other.

Bertrand Russell analyses the forms of power into main three groups; *traditional power* which includes priestly power and kingly power, *naked power* and *revolutionary power*, with the limits and interactions of different organs.(Russell 1994, pp. 38-40)

Traditional power takes its power from *habits* and *customs* which do not need legitimation to prove themselves correct; therefore they trust in the public opinion. Power that has been based on habits and customs should be dependent on a system with doctrines that have become taboos. Religion and rules of religion that have become taboos give religious leaders a traditionalized power.

Another kind of traditionalized power that depends on habits and taboos is kingly power. They base their power on religion, pretend to be sacred and act as the representative of God, since they are not God himself. Their power increases through time, however their self-confidence causes them to make mistakes and have to handle revolts.

When the community loses its belief in the traditional power, power turns over to '*naked power*' that does not need the approval of the community. It is generally military-oriented and is based on despotism and imperialism. Individuals and groups act with instincts of power and force people to obey them through fear. They tend to become traditional in a very short time and dictatorship is the way in which they represent themselves. Since naked power gains its power through violence, it usually lasts for a very short time. However, it is very difficult almost impossible to overcome the results it causes. All the actions that have caused hatred throughout the history of mankind have been the results of naked power, such as wars or slavery.

Traditional systems can be demolished in two ways only. In the old systems, naked power comes to force for the society not to disperse. The new systems of belief become accepted in the society and get rid of the old system with their power. Revolutionary power needs the support of the community more than traditional power. Their most important weapon in gaining the society's approval is propaganda. They use many devices for propaganda, ranging from posters and films to buildings and festivals. Through these devices revolutionist attempts have created many original examples.

In cases that the revolution is successful, it becomes traditional in a short period of time. In cases that the battle of the revolution lasts too long, there is the danger of the revolution turning into naked power. Every revolution in every case has to prove its legality. It is wrong, according to revolutionist mentality to criticise the characteristics of other revolutions.

The French Revolution is one of the important revolutions in history. The French Revolution defended freedom, justice and human rights. These ideas spread through the world, forming a brand new liberalist understanding. World War I couldn't solve the conflicts between the two sides of the world however there was the real face of the war like the inescapable conclusion; Russian and Turkish Revolutions. French Revolution in 1789 was the most important event of the 19th century, Russian Revolution in 1917 was the most impressive changing of the 20th century. The thresholds of the USSR history, which have been synchronized with the 20th century, can explain the importance of this event.

The Russian revolution is the last universal revolution the world has been through. It was international and it constituted of doctrines rejecting nationalism, similar to the first rising of Christianity. It was politically similar to the Muslim Religion. (Russell 1994, p.121) Basically the Russian Revolution rejected Liberalism. This revolt gained a great victory. In order to maintain stability, they became a dictatorship dependent on the Red Army. A new development was the government increasing its political and economical powers.

2.2.2. THE POWERS OF THE 20TH CENTURY

The way forms of power come into being is directly related with socio-economical and socio-cultural dynamics as well as power changing hands in the history of civilization. Another reality that can not be rejected is the development process of power. Power, rather than being under the control of one hand, is moving towards its being shared by many hands. In an era that plurality exists in every area, it is obvious that power should be under the control of the majority. Cultural and technological developments have proven the primitivity of the kinds of power with one man, one religion and one doctrine. The basis of power today is scientific realities rather than dogmatic doctrines.

During the interwar years in the first half of the 20th century, there are many examples of powers that have been the main cause of the World War I and have been replaced with new powers as a result. The World War I took place on the lands ruled by traditional powers and ended two great traditions, the *Russian Tsarism* and the *Ottoman Empire* with great revolutions, and formed the first revolutionist powers of the century. In the aftermath of the war, the *Italian and German Fascist Parties* by the use of propaganda had the chance of applying their naked powers in the economical chaos. Russia transformed into naked power with the influence of the leadership of Stalin following the death of Lenin. These three countries that came to power with the use of propaganda, prohibited the right of propaganda as the first activities of their government. The leaders of these three countries, were influenced by the traditional powers of the Great Russian Empire, The Roman Empire and The Greek Empire in their policies. It can be stated that in a way, their visions were to form traditional powers.

In conclusion, the results of the two world wars and the battles of power during the inter-war period is an important and interesting era in which all forms of powers can be observed and has reflections of every period of the history of civilization.

2.2.3. POWER OF ARCHITECTURE

Architecture has always been the expression of power and has been existing side by side with politics throughout the history of architecture. Architecture has also been the most popular and the most effective way to express power. Consequently, the relationship between architecture and power exists and is open to a variety of interpretations. One of these interpretations can be thought of as a phenomenon, the reflection of power on architecture. However, there is one thing that should not be underestimated, that is the power of architecture itself since it shapes the individuals life and also the build environment.

Architecture is the expression of the true nature of the society; politics also is the expression of the nature of the society. The interaction between architecture and politics deserves to be interrogated further. The status of architecture as a political act cannot be denied. Architecture is an action, which exists and lives with social organizations as a part of it. It is clear that all kind of social changes directly influence architecture. The social changes that take place during the revolution periods influence architecture inevitably.

Society as a system is a product of the power structures. There are many organizations and professions in these structures. Architecture is one of these in the power structures. The power of architecture should be evaluated and determined within this total structure. In these power structures, there are *macro* and *micro* powers that we name. State and large corporations can be exemplified as a macro power. Political, judicial and economic power aims to coerce, to force, to take control over people and especially over micro powers. The power of architecture is in the second place in comparison to the power of political organizations. Consequently, it becomes a physical and symbolic tool of macro powers by the politicization of spatial organizations, and transformation of the *aesthetic* to *anaesthetic*.

Architecture, which aims to create space organisations by establishing unification of aesthetic and function, is also a form of social control and a determinant of social behavior to us. Because of this characteristic, architecture can be qualified as a political act. The use of space can be political, even if aesthetic values cannot. If aesthetic terms are politicized, they lose their own characteristics. Susan Buck-Morss, interprets the Fascist aesthetic through Walter Benjamin's observations as, 'Benjamin explored the problem of how Fascism used aesthetics to celebrate war. The aestheticisation of war by the Futurist, in particular, succeeded in masking the immorality of war, by transporting it into the realm of aesthetics. In effect it could be extrapolated from Benjamin's argument that *aesthetics* brings about an *anaesthetisation* of the political, and this applied not only to Fascism but to any form of politics.' (Buck-Morss 1992, p.5). This process of anaesthetisation takes place as a consequence of ideological concerns rather than architectural matters.

All forms of political power that bring forward architectural symbolism, can not politicise aesthetics but can transform *aesthetic* form to an *anaesthetic* shape as in the Fascist architecture which aimed an *eclectic* and *historicist* architectural language. These anaesthetic tendencies are isolated by the aesthetic legitimacy of classical aesthetics.

The main reason of the evolution of the *aesthetic* and *anaesthetic* tendencies in architecture is the *two opposite poles* of power as explained before by Paul-Alan Johnson. These two poles find another reflection in the dilemma of *doing* and *not doing*; a concept that gives positive and negative meanings to phenomenon. The forms of their products and their effects on these phenomena determine the characteristics of their own power. *Creativity*, for instance, is the essential form of the positive power. Creative power tends to be sharing its products. There is never one winner and one loser in a creative work of architecture or art. In this piece, Foucault explores the positive power of architectural creativity; 'I think that (architecture) can and does produce positive effects when the liberating intentions of the architect coincide with the real practice of people in the exercise of their freedom.' (Rabinow 1991, p. 246). Consequently, we can see architecture as a positive power because of its *creative power* and creating *positive effects*.

Politics that is applied on architectural forms transforms not only architecture but also social behaviors that are affected by architecture. However architecture does not lose its *positive characteristics*. The power, which acts on the society, is not the power of architecture; it is the power of politics. Foucault says: ‘ The architect, has no power over me.’ (Rabinow 1991, p.247).

Architecture wants to affect the society and individuals as a positive power due to its creativity characteristic in its *microstructure*. However, the affect of macro power is negative. Architecture in this interaction, can be in struggle or a symbolic vehicle of this struggle. Modern Architecture against Fascist Ideology and Architecture became the symbolic vehicle of the state ideology in the post-revolution periods of Russian and Turkey and is exemplified in the most attractive way.

2.2.4. ARCHITECTURE OF POWER

When all forms of power are evaluated in *micro* and *macro* level throughout history, it is seen that the macro power wants to dominate over the other powers. This is like the relationship between monarchy and architectural power.

In the architectural history the most significant buildings such as Pyramids, Parthenon, Pantheon, Colosseum, Hagia Sophia are remembered with their monarchs who have built them in order to celebrate their victories, exalt the empires and symbolize their power over the buildings. These monarchs not only decided to build and financed these buildings but also added their *architectural visions* during their design and construction processes. The most interesting fact is that, in the contemporary world conditions many politicians are inspired by this kind of architecture that aims to create the forms of symbolizing the power. Hitler, for instance, wanted to revive The Pantheon in the design process of The Volkshalle. The work to realize The Foro Mussolini as a continuity of The Caesar, Augustus and Trajan Imperial Foras are examples of such situations. To exemplify the interesting *monarch- architect* relationships from ancient times up to now help to conceive the political architecture more easy.

- *Pericles (495 BC.- 429 BC.)* was an Athenian statesman and general who ruled for 32 years as Athen's most prominent leader. He aspired to establish Athens as the cultural and artistic center of the Greek world. Pericles did many things to enhance Athen's appearance during his rule. The Parthenon, The Propylaea, The Temple of Athena Nike, The Odeum of Pericles and The Temple of Hephaestus were constructed in line with his instruction.

- *Alexander The Great (356 BC.- 323 BC.)* had as his goal the extension of *Hellenistic ways of life* throughout his empire. Greek democratic liberty (freedom to think and to speak) and the duty of the individual to take his share in the government of his city was enforced on all the lands he ruled.

Alexander founded new towns and improved communications. The so-called '*Foundation City*' were built at the junction of important roads, and were planned on the Greek pattern, with a market square, a school, offices, shoppes, temple, theater, gymnasium and often a fountain. In his short lived life he had designs for the construction and the completion of buildings for dockyards, harbors, lighthouses, temples to be restored and new cities to be founded.

- *The Emperor Augustus (63 BC.- 14 AD.)* was one of Rome's most powerful emperors. He encouraged trade, developed building programs and created a system of government that lasted for centuries. Roman roads and bridges were made possible by the use of an amazing new building material called '*concrete*'. He built temples to encourage and signify the grandeur of the Roman religion. He supplied water to most Roman houses and buildings and completed aqueducts and a sewage system for the city. He built and renovated many temples. He stated that he thought of Rome as a *city of wood* and he left it as a *city of marble*. He was also a patron of the arts, gladly depending on money to improve the artwork of Rome and encouraged the wealthy class act accordingly. In 27 BC. in the Campus Martius, Augustus and his assistant Agrippa built many buildings and complexes for the use and benefit of the people. These included The Pantheon which rebuilt more than a century later by Hadrian, The Mausoleum of Augustus, The Ustrinum Crematorium and Ara Pacis (Altar of Peace).

- *The Emperor Hadrian (76 AD.-138 AD.)* has designed many constructions such as the Temple of Venus and the Temple of Rome, his mausoleum and the constructions at his villa near the Tivoli are sufficiently related to the others in concept, competence and frequent use of the circular motif. These hint that he took a part in designing many of the major structures erected during his reign.

The constructions at Hadrian's Villa near Tivoli are far more revealing of his tastes, being the architectural equivalent of a zoo or a scrapbook of his travels. He experimented with new designs and materials as training for his new architecture. Hadrian's replacement of the Pantheon certainly has to be considered the signal architectural achievement of the Roman period. It is pioneering of the concept of the building as an interior. It is one of the original architectural concepts that illuminate the process of designs even onto this day.

- *Justinian I (483AD.- 565AD.)*'s many public works included the church of Hagia Sophia. The earliest of Istanbul's churches was constructed during the reign of the Emperor Constantine in a basilica form. It later became the cathedral church of the city and was entitled Megala Ekklesia. From the fifth century onwards it became known as the church of the Divine Wisdom- Hagia Sophia. The original church burned down in 404 and it was rebuilt during the reign of Theodosius. The second church was also destroyed by fire in 532. The emperor Justinian commissioned architects Anthemios of Talles and Isodor of Miletus to rebuilt it and emperor ordered a building of great stature and magnificence.

- *Süleyman The Magnificent (1520-1566)* was both a brilliant military strategist and an authority as a governor. Under the rule of Süleyman the Magnificent, there was a true *Ottoman Renaissance* underway. In the golden age of Süleyman the Ottoman Empire reached its zenith in several areas. The Sultan didn't expend all his energy as a military strategist; he busied himself on art and architecture, too. Economic wealth spilled over into other fine arts. Under Süleyman, Istanbul became the center of architecture, visual art, music, writing, and philosophy in the Islamic world.

The University of Virginia was to become the physical model of Jefferson's cultural and educational ideals. In the design of his '*Acedemical Village*', Jefferson envisioned a democratic community of scholars and students coexisting in a single village which united the living and learning spaces in one undifferentiated area. The design intended to represent Jefferson's plan for American education; progressive, yet rooted in classical disciplines; broad based and elective, both centralized yet accessible, as well as being reserved for the privileged elite. The architecture suggests Jefferson's desire to break from Europe both culturally and intellectually, and the actual construction embodies the toil behind the pastoral ideals espoused by Jefferson as the model for life in America.

Chapter 3

SOCIALISM AND ARCHITECTURE

3.1. SOCIALIST IDEOLOGY

The modern political ideologies provide a worldview and values, which guide human politic action, that is the basis for politic rule in modern state. Classical Socialism is based on the ideas of Karl Marx, who rejected the conservative state beliefs of Hegel, even if he was a Hegelian. He proposed three universal criteria in his writings; *rationality*, *universality* and *democracy*. He found the rationality in the Greek rational society, wanted to apply his principles of universality such as classless society to all people of the world and wanted that political rule was used democratically by the largest class in society, the workers. (GIRDNER 1996, p.50). He offered to organize the working class and to realize with them a revolution against the old regimes in order to establish democratic socialism.

Karl Marx's theory, in fact, consisted of a critical approach to Capitalism, which was a system of social production and private ownership. He established his theory based on the class analysis from French social structure, economic analysis of England and historical view from Hegel in his cult work, '*Capital*'. (GIRDNER 1996, p.53). According to him the worker class had to develop a '*class consciousness*' and reject the '*false consciousness*' (MARX 1971, p.21) of capitalist ideology, revolting against old social and economic structures. The largest class of the society, the working class, would establish a democratic society, for the first time in history. Lenin reinterpreted the term of '*democracy*' as the '*dictatorship of the proletariat*'; meaning that the power would be in the hands of the workers. (RUSSELL 1989, p.22).

Marx believed in a high-idealized society from which emerged the classless society. All the people of this society would share equally and use rationally the technology and its productions. It was a part of the process to enter into the era of '*Communism*' of

which principles suggested that 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his need.' (GIRDNER 1996, p.55).

The first Socialist society was attempted to establish by Vladimir Lenin as the leader of the Soviet Union under the Bolshevik Government. The first Socialist Revolution broke out in underdeveloped Soviet Union on October 1917. The government, which required an authoritarian and centralized bureaucracy aimed to mobilize labor and capital for development. This process that was initiated by Lenin and carried out by Stalin from 1925 to World War II. The characteristics of Classical Socialism began to differ with this development process which wasn't lived in the pattern envisioned by Marx. Lenin established the new principles of Socialism, which called 'Leninism'.

3.1.1. LENIN AND SOCIALISM

The World War I deeply embroiled Russia. Briefly; the chaos atmosphere of war were being superimposed everything. The aim of the 1917 October Revolution was the transformation of the political and economic structures of the old Russia. Political and economic revolution was based on socialist policy as a Marxist doctrine. At the same time Socialist regime aimed to create and to give a new cultural breath according to their mottoes; 'We have to learn to work well with precision, exactitude and economy. We need to develop education for work, education for life. *'Education For Way Of Life'* (KOPP 1985, p.9). Although they were based on the Marxist doctrine. These revolutionary efforts were far from the socialist concerns that Marx had in mind. Lenin established his ideology, '*democratic centralism*'. (GIRDNER 1996, p.57). According to him a special group had to guide the society for socialism and eventually communism. The duration of the each stage of this historical process wasn't known, because it had never been tried before in history.

In the bureaucratic and authoritarian socialist states, briefly, the Communist Party held the state power in its hand for development. They made great contributions to the fields of education and industrialization. They also aimed to create an *well-organized, rational and classless society*; and they believed that art and architecture would play a very important role in this creation process.

The nature of revolutions consisted of destruction and reactions against the regime and proposed a new social, cultural, economic and political system. There should have been a revolutionary art and architecture in the country, which revolted against the regime. The Russian Revolutionary Architecture gives examples of social, cultural, economic and political features of the revolutions that preserve their extraordinary relevance even seventy years later.

Russian Avant-Garde Architecture which was the reflection of the revolution was among the most fertile episodes of the whole modernism. All avant-garde movements were aware of changes, progress and advances in science and they had two characteristics in common: the *belief in the new* and *Tabula Rasa*. These modernist characteristics were also common features for the Russian avant-garde movements; beginning from scrap paper.

3.1.2. STALIN AND SOCIALIST REALISM

After Lenin's death in 1924, Stalin became the leader of USSR. He aimed to create a big government like Great Britain and US who were growing state control. The Soviet Union of Josef Stalin became statist and controlled most of the economy. He imposed the official ideology with single official party, controlling the press and limiting its freedom to organize opposition to political parties. The Party Central Committee decided to increase organizational demands of Stalin's nationalistic policies with the first five-year plan in 1928. The state was collectivized and labor was mobilized to develop industries and productive enterprises.

The culture and art during this period turned to the traditional Russian themes, forms and decorative styles of the pre-Revolutionary period. In 1932 the Avant-Garde architecture was marshalled under state control and doctrines of '*Socialist Realism*' (GOLDSTON 1967, p.123) were imposed when Stalin rejected the *Elitist Internationalism* and announced the decision to '*build socialism in one country*' (GOLDSTON 1967, p.108), as nation-state is the fundamental actor in political and cultural structure. In this model the power of state is based on the power of politics and economics. So the Realist view aimed to maximize its political and economic power

more than that of the ideology. Anatole Lunacharsky who would be the main formulator of government policy on the arts confirmed Avant-Garde Architecture and preferred nationalist and populist Soviet Architecture. '*Socialist content*' and '*national form*' identified the basic concepts of Socialist Realist architecture. (AMAN 1992, p.141). The architectural characteristics of the Socialist Realist period, the ornament, the architectural detail, the street, the square and the block referred to architectural monumentality as manifested by Boris Iofan's winning entry for the Palace of the Soviets in Moscow.

Stalin's Socialist Realist cultural and architectural programming opposed the beliefs of Western architects who believed the togetherness of Modernism and Socialism. In the early 1930's Socialist Realism in the cultural areas became the official line. In the architectural field it resulted in a critical assimilation, historical character of architectural spaces and volumes with new functions and materials, decorative and formal details and old architectural forms as a '*banal traditionalism*'. (CURTIS 1996, p.359).

3.2. RUSSIAN ARCHITECTURE

3.2.1. RUSSIAN ARCHITECTURE IN THE PRE-REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

Russian Architecture of the 19th century was directly affected by the character of the *tsars*. Western architectural heritages were under the similar regime. The general rule was *eclecticism* as the taste of the *aristocracy*. During the 19th century, Russian Architecture went parallel with the European Architecture through Rationalism to Nationalism and to Art Nouveau. Beginning from the turn of the century, Russian Architecture continued the monumentality of the classical prototypes. This tradition was also observed later under the regime of Stalin.

St. Petersburg Building College and The Royal College in Moscow were the main centres of architectural theory that were the first statement of opposition to Classicism and the new direction of the Russian Contemporary Architecture. The two Modernist

groups of the 1920's and duality between *Constructivists* and *Rationalists* were created in this period with Krasovsky's following questions: 'Was it to be based on a technological rationality and science of construction or on an aesthetic rationality and science of 'form'' (COOKE 1995, p.8).

In 19th century Russia the 1870's were the highpoint of the freedom movement. In this period Europe knew nothing of Russia however Russia wanted to increase its relationships with the European cultural life. French architect and theorist Eugene Viollet-le- Duc were one of the European models for the new architecture of Russia. He was aware of the impact of new materials and his aim was the combining of old images and modern constructional means to create tastes of medieval structures. According to Viollet tradition could not be rejected completely. However his language based on 'truth to the programme and truth to the methods of construction' (COOKE 1995, p.9) like *Russian Constructivists* and *Rationalists*. The Russian Architecture has been influenced greatly by Viollet-le- Duc as an architect and theorist in the pre-Revolutionary period and the similar effects of Le Corbusier has been seen in Avant Garde Architecture in the post-Revolutionary period.

In the second half of the 19th century there was a general momentum in which signs of fundamental changes in science, in literature, in technology can be observed. Some interactions between these activities can easily be established. Behind these changes in the arts, new trends followed one after another, from Impressionism to Cubism. The younger generation in Russia was heavily under the influences of Picasso, Matisse and Gauguin particularly in painting a few years before the revolution. Vasilli Kandinski, Kazimir Malevich and Vladimir Tatlin had tried new aesthetic trends - Impressionism, Cubism, and Futurism - in their formal terms. They searched for new forms of expression, which went beyond the traditional forms. Kandinski aimed to arrange colour and line based on two keywords; spiritual and feeling. Malevich searched the visualization of four-dimensional space and to create an *Irrational* and *Suprematist* space. Tatlin was interested in curvilinear forms coming from the planes. (COOKE 1995, pp. 14-28).

3.2.2. RUSSIAN ARCHITECTURE, GROUPS AND TRENDS IN THE POST- REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD (1917-1928)

The Russian Revolution can be exercised in the interaction between architecture and politics and it should be evaluated at different positions than the other revolutions. It was not only a political revolution but also a simultaneous Cultural Revolution. They were developed in two different trends and then they were combined by the political revolution. According to Anatole Kopp: 'Soviet Constructivism and more generally Progressive Architecture and Town Planning in the USSR in the 1920's a product of the specific technical, economic, financial, above all social and political circumstances of its time and place. These circumstances no longer exist anywhere and since history never repeats itself, will never exist again' (KOPP 1985, p.6).

The new central committee of the Bolshevik Party invited progressive younger painters, writers and theatre designers to a meeting two weeks after 1917 October Revolution. They wanted to establish the new society in collaboration with artists who had the new aesthetic potential. For instance, Vladimir Tatlin, Kazimir Malevich became important positions in the new government's cultural hierarchy. They harnessed the arts, as no government had done before.

Revolution wanted to build the correlation between architectural policy and social policy. This situation was not new. After The French Revolution which seemed to destroy *social structures* and *communal ties*, Fourier who was a *Socialist Utopist* suggested a new built environment in great detail. In the Fourier conception, everyone would be both actor and spectator, author and reader, painter and art lover. (KOPP 1985, p.15). He intended to use *art as an instrument* for social change and the builder of the new environment. Fourier dreamed of an utopic society in his writings that were published in the first half of the 19th century. He offered an Utopic settlement that was named '*Phalange*' in which huge complexes were placed, '*Phalanstere*' where 1600 people could be settled. Phalansteres consisted not only of housing but also specially designed dining rooms, meeting rooms and libraries. Similarly other utopists, Thomas More and Tommaso Campanella offered housing complexes which developed around communal spaces such as kitchens and dining rooms. (TÜMER 1998, p.50)

Fourier created his society and environment on paper however in the 1920's the USSR seemed to apply social, cultural, political suggestions in the utopic manner of Marx's and Engels'. The new society would be built based on their concepts. Marx also suggested a new social structure and wanted to achieve it with his theory, '*Dialectical Materialism*'. He tried to transform everything mental and spiritual into things purely physical. For this social model, a new housing programme was realized which represented the development of a politically important building type that would be condenser of the new socialist values.

Socialist ideology suggested a new social organization and a farsighted philosophy, which has never been applied. Art was the challenger and interrogator to the old arts and their styles. Vitally, it combined society with ideology.



Monument and Headquarters for the Third Communist International of Tatlin's design is the first Soviet architectural project with El Lissitzky's project for a speaker's rostrum. They expressed the latest mechanical and constructional achievements and aimed to synthesize the creative impulse of art and achievements of science. The discussion on whether "machine aesthetics" was architecture or a form of plastic arts accelerated with the utilization of the concept by Tatlin in the design of his tower. Tatlin's project is like a manifesto of the principles of Constructivist Architecture. Its revolutionary and simple geometric forms aimed to break all links with the past. It has no function; it consists only of the symbolic aspects with its open structural spirals, a cube, a pyramid and a cylinder. Tatlin designed that monument for reaching 400 meters tall and painted red, the colour symbolizing the revolution.

Catherine Cooke believes that the ideological background of the Constructivist Architecture is certainly not based on Marxist discourse. According to her, Constructivist Architects didn't totally know Marxist ideology and their understanding of his philosophy was reduced by the Constructivist Architects in architectural process: 'These architects, like most of their contemporaries, had little background in the Marxist philosophy on which they premised their design approach. Like the vast majority of Soviet people at that date, they had only the most cursory grasp of its history or its theory.' (COOKE 1995, p.118). However, it is possible to observe a lot of similarities between architectural and ideological themes especially in first example, which was named by Vladimir Tatlin as a '*Cathedral of Socialism*'. (CURTIS 1996, p.205).

William J. R. Curtis evaluates the ideological inputs of the architecture of that project more than Cooke does: 'It may be that this was intended to have the extra significance of an image of the dialectical historical process, between thesis and antithesis, with the eventual harmony of a synthesis. If so, Tatlin's tower must be read as an *emblem of Marxist ideology*, in which the actual movements of the parts, and the sculptural dynamism of the armature, symbolized the very idea of revolutionary society aspiring to the '*highest state*' of an egalitarian, proletarian Utopia.' (CURTIS 1996, p.205)

3.2.2.1. RATIONALISM (ASNOVA)

The aesthetic priorities of the pre-Revolutionary period had created several distinctive theoretical approaches and different philosophies. The products of these approaches were similar to each other in their appearances. In the pre-Revolutionary period, Tatlin and Malevich were the leaders in the Avant- Garde. They focused on different subjects; one focusing on material and the other on energetic of abstract form and colour. These different trends could build up new formal languages in the post- Revolutionary period.

During the post-revolutionary period, the avant-gardists determined the architectural climate. The most important groups were The Associations of New Architects (ASNOVA) and The Union of Contemporary Architects (OSA) which represented Rationalism and Constructivism.

The first free association, The Association of New Architects (ASNOVA) set up in 1923 by Nicolai Ladovsky and Vladimir Krinsky. ASNOVA tended to create new forms, which was based on the *psychology of perception* and rooted in *idealistic aesthetic*. They aimed to unite the technical and ideological factors dialectically according to an objective hierarchy. (BENEVOLO 1971, p.556). They were interested in the foreign architectural ideas such as Le Corbusier and Bauhaus and opposed eclecticism. Their conception was architectural rationalism, which was defined by Ladovsky with his own words; 'Architectural Rationalism is founded upon the economic principle just as technical Rationalism is. The difference lies in the fact that technical rationalism is an economy of labour and material in the creation of a suitable and convenient building, but architectural rationalism is the economy of psychic energy in the perception of the spatial and functional properties of the building'. (Lodovsky 1926, p.3). Lodovsky propagated his views through the foundation of ASNOVA in 1925. This organization attained its greatest influence around 1925, when both Lissitzky and Melnikov were associated with it. They wanted to achieve and create not only a more *scientific aesthetic* but also *new building forms*, which would satisfy and express the conditions of the new Socialist state.

3.2.2.2. CONSTRUCTIVISM (OSA)

The Constructivist architectural group which was called Union of Contemporary Architects or OSA was organized in protest against the interpretation of ASNOVA by the architects by Alexander Vesnin, Moisei Ginzburg and the Constructivists artists Alexander Rodchenko and Alexie Gan in 1925. They proposed Functionalism, which adapted the theory of Dialectic Materialism and thought that architecture was primarily a science. They believed the *function of engineering* could be used for every detail that goes into the design in architecture. They aimed to create the living environment that satisfied the requirements of the ideology of the Socialist society. They tried to achieve '*artistic construction of daily life*'. (KOPP 1985, p.10). Their art was active especially in clothing, furniture and daily utensil designs with production systems of Bauhaus.

In architectural system the Constructivists believed integration between social content and architectural form. The building of Socialism for the *collectivization of life* and the *rationalization of labour* and the *utilization of scientific data* became the social roles of architecture. (GINZBURG 1928, pp.143-5).

The Rationalists of ASNOVA and the Constructivists of OSA both sought to adopt architecture to the new circumstances although they differed in their concepts of the architectural aesthetic. The Rationalists based their discourse on '*form follows function*' approach, which naturally led their works to asymmetrical forms. The Constructivists based their architecture on the concept of visible structure.

The principal contrast between the Rationalist and the Constructivists could be also seen in two architectural projects as exemplified in 1923. These were Krinsk's project for a skyscraper and Vesnin Brothers' third- prize winning scheme for a palace of Labour in Moscow. Their comparison according to Cooke is interesting: ' As Krinsky's own project description makes clear, his consciously anti constructive tower was no more than sculpture: another vertical to balance that of the Ivan Belltower in the Kremlin, within the tree- dimensional profile of the city centre.

The rational approach was thus essentially sculptural with these landmark buildings conceived from the outside and internal organization of their new functions playing no special role in generating their form. The Vesnin Brothers' Palace of Labour scheme was characterized by being generated in precisely the opposite way. It attempted the creation of a new social organism, whose inner life flowed not from stereotypes of the past but from the innovative features of the task itself.' (COOKE 1995, p.89)

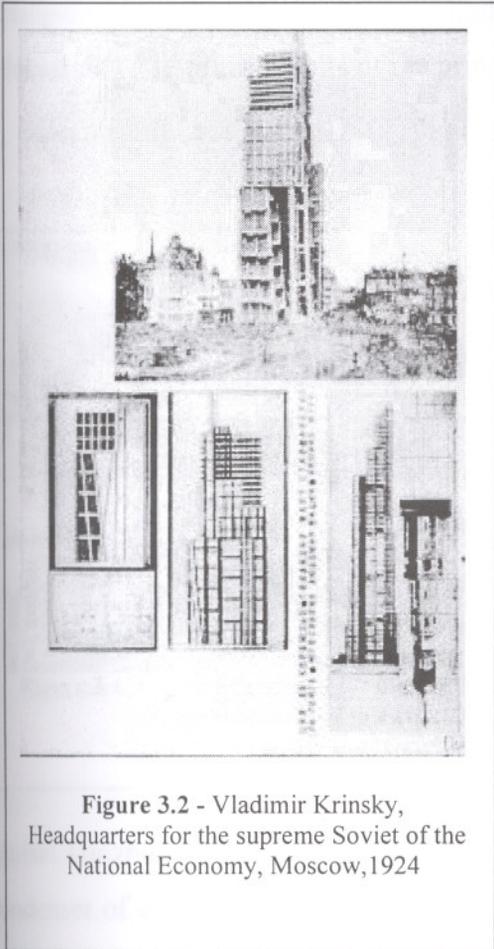


Figure 3.2 - Vladimir Krinsky, Headquarters for the supreme Soviet of the National Economy, Moscow, 1924

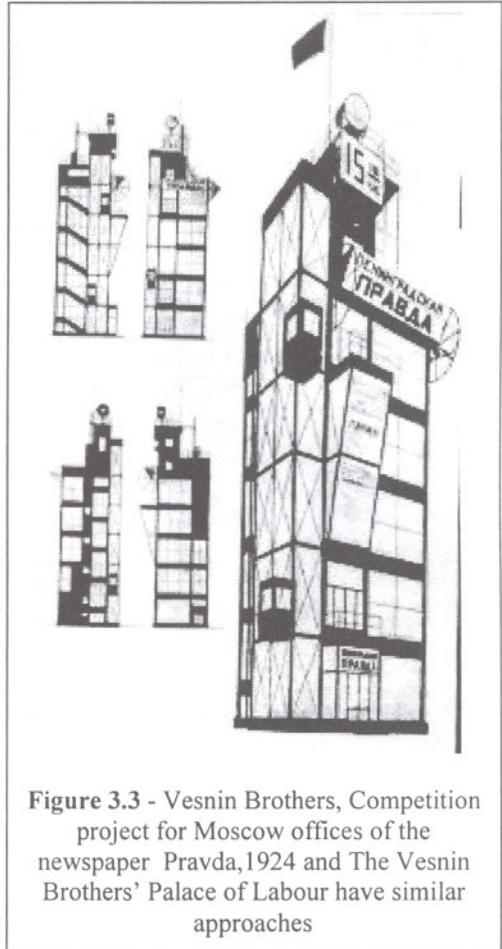


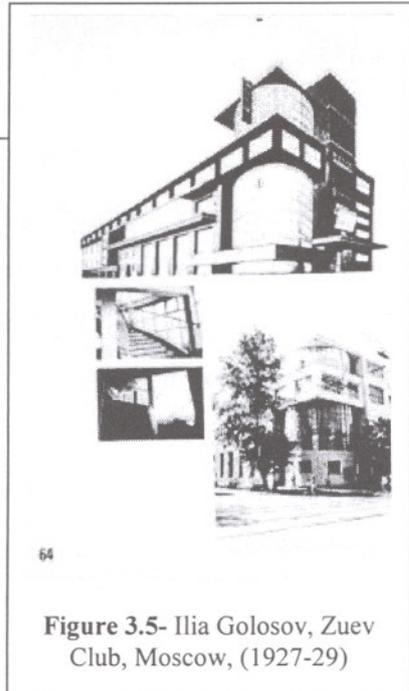
Figure 3.3 - Vesnin Brothers, Competition project for Moscow offices of the newspaper Pravda, 1924 and The Vesnin Brothers' Palace of Labour have similar approaches

These two projects which were known for their expressionist presentation symbolized the architectural frameworks of the Constructivist and Rationalist discourses. However the projects have never been realized. Constructivist buildings had the opportunity to construct and realize their architectural conceptions more than the Rationalists had. Grigori Barkhin's Izvestiia Building and Ilia Golosov's Zuev Club in Moscow were two of them, which were the most durable of Constructivist buildings. The Izvestiia Building (1927) adopted an angular approach with the horizontal and vertical lines that were emphasized by series of balconies and with the four circular windows of the top

story, which were placed asymmetrically. The circles and squares created a dynamic contrast and expressed the Constructivist characteristics. The Zuev Club (1927-29), however, had an ideological background. It was the one of the clubs that were built in order to bring to together workers and professionals in the late twenties and thirties. They provided to create a communal structure *integrating architecture and social politics*. Its focus points were the large glass corners, which contained a stair and a rectangular extension up the corner cylinder. The formal contrast of the sharply defined volumes was one of the results of the principles of Constructivist Architecture.



Figure 3.4- Grigorii Barkhin, Izvestiia Building, Moscow, showing surrounding city, 1927



64

Figure 3.5- Ilia Golosov, Zuev Club, Moscow, (1927-29)

Moisei Ginzburg's Narkomfin Housing Complex (1928-30), one of the results as the condenser of a transitional life-style was an exemplary political statement. Stylistically it exemplified Le Corbusier's 'Five points of the new architecture'. The whole living block was raised on circular columns and the park flowed underneath and another garden was placed on the roof. Ginzburg aimed to develop a new housing concept in the 1920's with social and aesthetic aspects. The Narkomfin Housing Complex was required to accommodate fifty families. The horizontal arteries –glazed corridors- of the building connected to the staircase and by the first-floor bridge to the communal centre consisted of a sports hall on the ground floor, the communal dining room, reading and other recreational rooms above and summer dining on the roof. However, it is interesting that, Le Corbusier later modified and adopted some ideas of the Narkomfin in his housing complex designs.

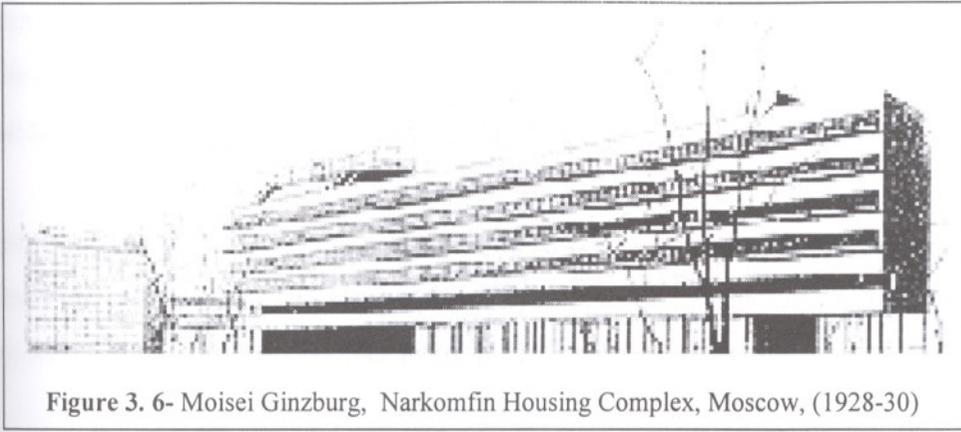


Figure 3. 6- Moisei Ginzburg, Narkomfin Housing Complex, Moscow, (1928-30)

In the realization process of constructivist idea Gropius characterized the Constructivists' works as architecture in the earlier and middle Twenties. In the late Twenties their concepts followed the aesthetic approach of Le Corbusier as in his Five Principles. Moisei Ginzburg who became the leading theorist and practitioner of Constructivist architecture addressed their design tendency to Le Corbusier's concept. He explained his personal views with a letter to Corbusier: ' Like all my friends I value you tremendously not only a subtle master architect but also as a man with the ability to solve radically and fundamentally the problems of organizations.

For me you are today the greatest and most brilliant representative of the profession that gives my life content goal and meaning. This is why your ideas... have quite exceptional interest and importance for us.' (KOPP 1970, p.89).

Ginzburg wanted to learn much from the theories of Le Corbusier in solving problems and finding answers for his questions related to the New Architecture .His fundamental questions were about 'programme' and 'machine aesthetic': 'What, if anything, has the architect to learn from the engineer?' ' What can the architect learn about architecture from the machine?' (COOKE 1990, p.39).

Le Corbusier had given the answers of these questions in his book; Towards a New Architecture: 'The lesson of the aeroplane is not primarily in the forms it has created... the lesson of (it) lies in the logic which governed the enunciation of the problem and which led to its successful realization' (Le Corbusier 1946, p. 102)

Engineer Akashev explained his personal views about aeroplane engineering: ‘the designer of aeroplanes knows what he wants and he knows his science and technology. The last thing the he is thinking about initially is beauty.’ (AKASHEV 1926, p.65)

Ginzburg agreed with Le Corbusier and he found the clue. He wrote his motto manifestly; ‘*Architects! Do not imitate forms of technology, but learn the method of the engineering designer.*’ (GINZBURG 1926, p.31)

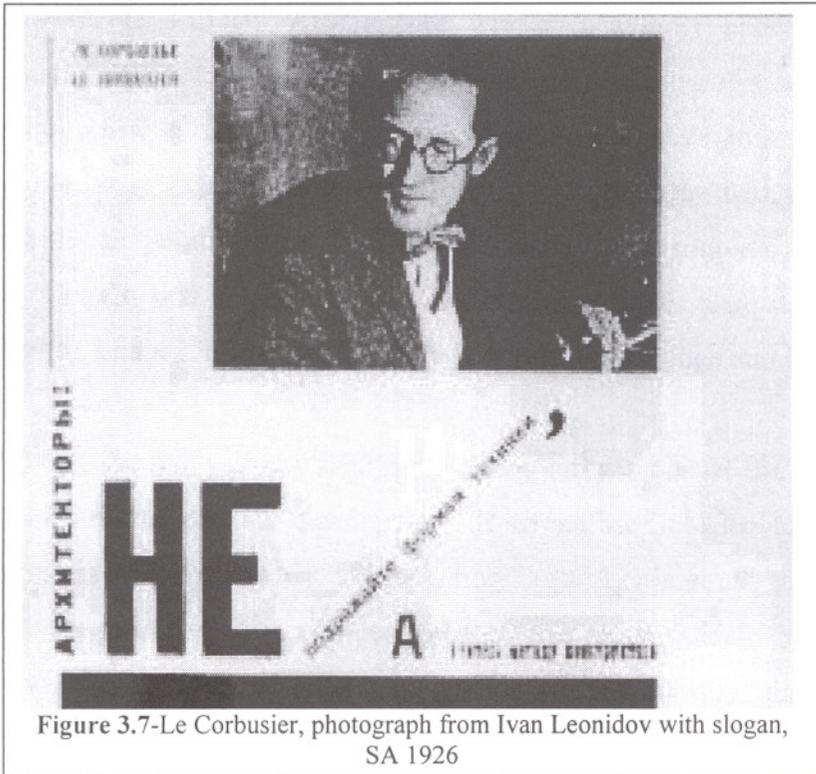


Figure 3.7-Le Corbusier, photograph from Ivan Leonidov with slogan, SA 1926

Different generations, social groups and artists found enough common reasons to work together for the new social organization. The two main groups of Avant- Garde Movement had different principles which were originated in pre- Revolutionary period however they believed in a common discourse: The establishment of *leftist art*, the adaptation of socialism, transformation of relationships between individuals and the foundation of a *classless society*. These issues were also the tools of the Revolution.

Avant-Garde art and architecture which formed an impetus over both social and political grounds, still reveals its character in most of these fields after 70 years. What put an end to its growth and popularity, was the politics and ideological system, which took its place right at the core of it.

3.2.3. RUSSIAN ARCHITECTURE, COMPETITIONS AND URBAN APPROACHES IN THE SOCIALIST REALIST PERIOD (1928-1953)

3.2.3.1. ARCHITECTURAL COMPETITIONS

During the post-revolutionary 1920's the Modernist freedom to produce *fantasies* and *utopias* were replaced by a traditional and more hierarchically organized architecture that characterized the Russian Architecture with a Classicist undercurrent. This *hierarchical traditionalist* trend became the official characteristic of state architecture as Stalin came to power and took control of the whole artistic and architectural activity. The impositions of state architecture were transposed to architecture with the decoration of buildings such as paintings, sculptures and reliefs and using an easily legible *monumentality*, *axiality* and *grandiose scale*. These circumstances were started with the competition for the Lenin Library that illustrated architectural change and development.

The Lenin Library, the main library of the Soviet Union was one of the new types of buildings for the workers cultural development. It served the Socialist Ideology as an intellectual centre in which the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin could be studied. The Lenin Library was preceded by a competition that was announced in 1928. Anatole Lunacharsky who was the theorist of Socialist realism in arts was one of the members of the jury as the Commisar of Enlightenment. The ten architects who participated in the open competition all offered Modernist designs. The other four architects who had been invited for a closed competition believed in traditionalism more than the others did. The eclectic design of Vasily Shchuko and Vladimir Gelfreikh that was the most traditional of the four won the competition. The Shchuko's first design described the forms of classicism such as the modernized colonnade and the portico. This classicist massive and hierarchical design expressed a return to the tradition in the Soviet Union as the extension of ideological content in architecture. The Lenin Library was completed in 1941 as one of the clearest examples of the combination of *functionalism* and early stage of *monumentality*.



Figure3.8-Vasily Shchuko, The Lenin Library, Moscow, (1928-1941)

The struggle between the modern movement and the new tradition appeared during the years between 1931-34 while the government was offering clear signals of changing official taste in the Soviet Union. The competitions for the Palace of the Soviets (1931-33) and for the Peoples' Commissariat for Heavy Industry (1934-36) focused the attention of the Soviet architects on the messages of the Soviet Architecture. The government anticipated that these buildings were to be the architectural monuments as the *ideological reflection* of the Stalinist Russia and defining the style of the Soviet construction with their *monumentality, simplicity* and *integrity*. This situation contradicted the revolutionist ideology and its architectural direction was different from the aims of the Socialist Ideology.

Lenin announced the competition for the Palace of the Soviets in the early 1920's to create a monument for the new city and for the new revolutionary Russia. Some Modernist architects prepared avant-gardist projects for Lenin's ideas that were shelved following Lenin's death. Eight years later, a new competition was organized in the same framework. The architectural climate, however, had been changed by the ideas of Socialist Realism. Anatole Lunacharsky was again the member of the jury. Under his aesthetic guidance, the Palace Construction Committee declared the characteristics of

the building: 'The functional method of design must be supplemented by a corrective: an artistic treatment of the form. All the spatial arts must be employed: architecture, which gives proportionality to the parts; painting, which uses colour; sculpture, for its richness of light and dark, in combination with lighting technology and the art of the theatrical producer.' (COOKE 1995, p. 201). They offered not only an ideological programme but also a synthesis of art and architecture as an eclectic mixture. The Construction Committee later manifested their aesthetic priorities with the utilization of new and traditional architecture, simultaneously contemporary architectural and constructional technology. All of these critical architectural syntheses of old and new found their reflections in the manner of Iofan's project.

3.9.1 The Palace of the Soviets: Gothic because of its height

A number of architects had been invited to participate the competition from all over the World, including projects by Le Corbusier, Perret, Gropius, Poelzig, Mendelsohn and Lubetkin and from the major architectural group of dissidents, inside the Soviet Union, including, ASNOVA, OSA and VOPRA. On 10 May 1933 the jury announced that the winner was Iofan's proposal which had been observed as a '*wedding cake*' (FRAMPTON 1992, p.214) with a gargantuan figure of Lenin at a height of 450 meters. Iofan's Palace of the Soviets was one of the world's biggest skyscrapers and the statue of Lenin who was an official folk hero on the top of it showed a 'rhetorical display of classical element' as a '*colossus*'. (HARBISON 1993, p.61).

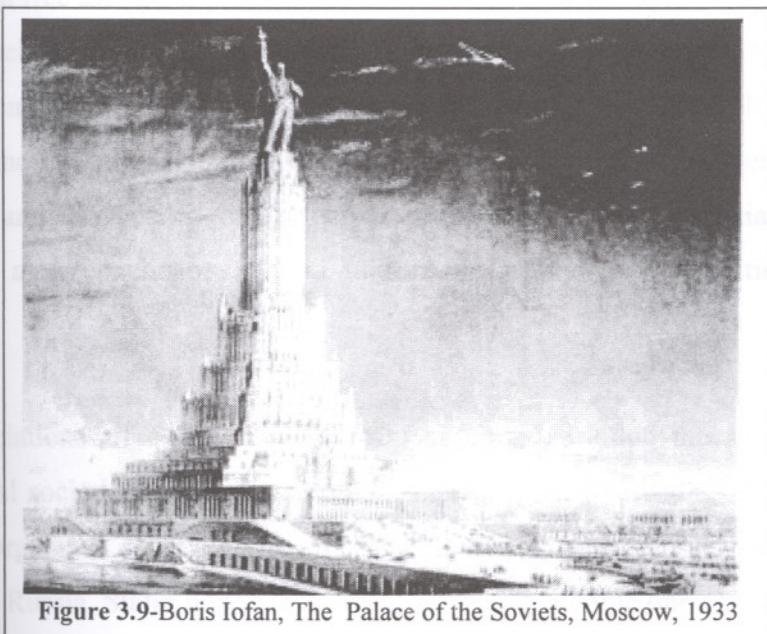


Figure 3.9-Boris Iofan, The Palace of the Soviets, Moscow, 1933

Le Corbusier's project was the most Constructivist like many of the Russian projects with the exposed roof structure of auditoria and the total transparency of external skin. The jury, however, found that Le Corbusier's project was admitted to be a masterpiece of *Functionalism* and pronounced cult of *Machinism* and of *aestheticization*. The jury announced that Iofan's project *glorified* the Soviet leaders with the *colossal statue* of Lenin and achieved a synthesis between the *old* and the *new* and a synthesis of *technique* and *art*. (VOYCE 1948, p.147). In this point, Arthur Voyce argued that the Soviet architecture, which was aimed to form by the Soviet theoreticians, expressed and served Socialist concerns: 'Thus the Egyptian, Babylonian and the other oriental styles, because of its feudal connotations, the Gothic because of its religious aspirations, the Italian Renaissance because of its oligarchic and aristocratic associations are not fit, either.' (VOYCE 1948, p. 148). Boris Iofan's Palace of the Soviets expressed the inspirations and the architectural characteristics of these *old civilizations* rather than that of the *Socialist culture*.

The year 1932 marked a turning point in Soviet architectural history. The VOPRA group (The Society of the All-Union Proletarian Architects) that championed a class, a proletarian architecture had been established in 1929 by the architects who were against Constructivism. In April 1932, the Communist Government announced a declaration directing the reorganization of the entire structure of the existing artistic groups. The architectural free associations, OSA, ASNOVA and VOPRA were dissolved in the same year and their members incorporated into the Association of Soviet Architects (SASS) which was united by the *conservatives*, the *centrists* and the *radicals*. Its function was to centralize the educational, professional and social activities of its members as well as designing and organizing all principal nominations. The Associations of Soviet Architects, as a conclusion, started to run the architectural activities of the whole country.

The Associations of Soviet Architects was founded after the closing of various architectural societies; aiming to establish the Socialist Realism as the corner stone of art. They organized several competitions, which were treated as classified information in Stalinist Russia. Stalin hoped that Moscow would become one of the world's leading

capitals. So he believed in increasing heavy industry as an extension of Five-year plans and aimed to construct a comprehensive infrastructure that would be completed with a subway glorifying Moscow. The capital city had to be completely redesigned. In this process the Palace of the Soviets and the Peoples' Commissariat of Heavy Industry were the most important buildings that were *architecturally* and *ideologically* situated near the Kremlin.

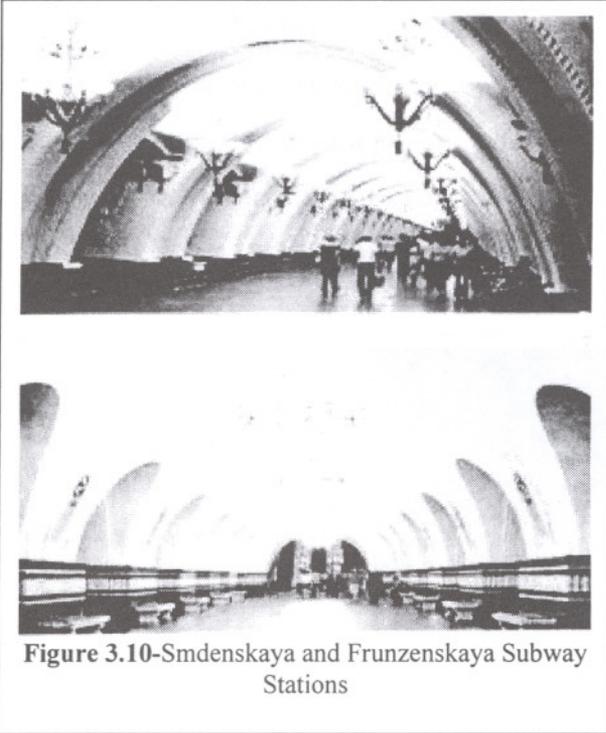


Figure 3.10-Smdenskaya and Frunzenskaya Subway Stations

The competition for the Palace of the Soviets and the Peoples' Commissariat of Heavy Industry proved to be a turning point for Modernist architects because the winning design of the Lenin Library and the Palace of the Soviets shared similar architectural characteristics; *Traditionalism*. The theme in all competitions could be categorised in two distinct trends; *Modernism* which could be roughly separated from *Rationalism*, *Constructivism* and *Traditionalism*. The new leaders did not support the belief of the avant-garde and commissioned the architects of the old school although Modernists believed in the revolution and supported Communism. For the design Peoples' Commissariat of Heavy Industry; three closed competitions were organized. The first round was held in 1934 and lots of spectacular designs that combined the idea of the regime and the visionary ideas of the architects, were represented. The following year, a second round was organized for unknown reasons. Finally after the third round, the government decided that the location of the competition was not suitable and cancelled the major projects because World War II broke out.

The Palace of the Soviets project opened up some discussions, similar problems were faced in the competition process of Peoples' Commissariat. The location of the competition was more central and had great symbolic potency near the Kremlin, St. Basil's Cathedral, Historical Museum, Lenin Mausoleum and GUM department store, manifesting an urban design. The entrants of the competition demonstrated spectacular schemes and reflected architectural plurality. However, some of the projects reached similar formal and architectural solutions. Alexander & Viktor Vesnin with Ginzburg as consultant created series of variants, placed on a podium similarly Fomin's design. The numbers of blocks differed in their variant, however, all of the designs reflected an application of functional methods and technological features such as lift and central heating.

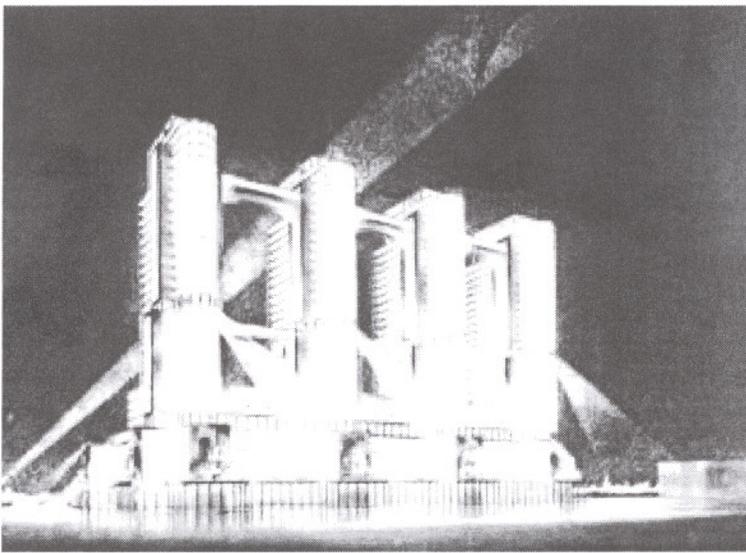


Figure 3.11-Alexander & Viktor Vesnin, Peoples' Commissariat of Heavy Industry, Moscow, 1934

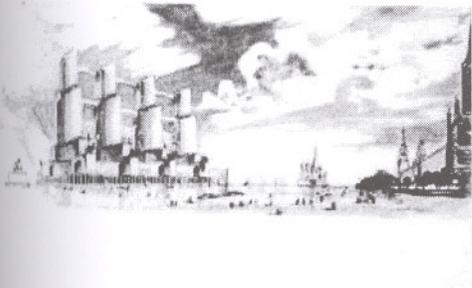


Figure 3.12-Alexander & Viktor Vesnin with Ginzburg, Peoples' Commissariat of Heavy Industry, Moscow, 1934

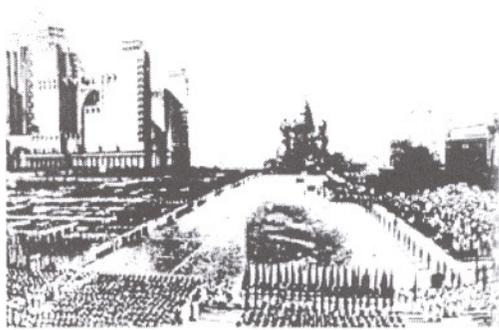
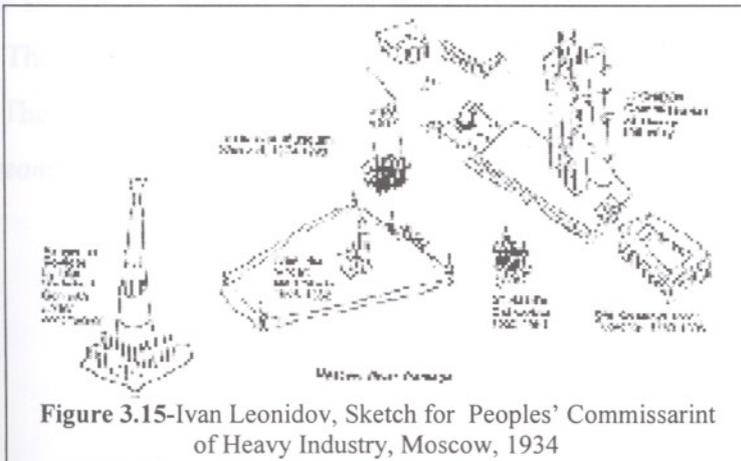
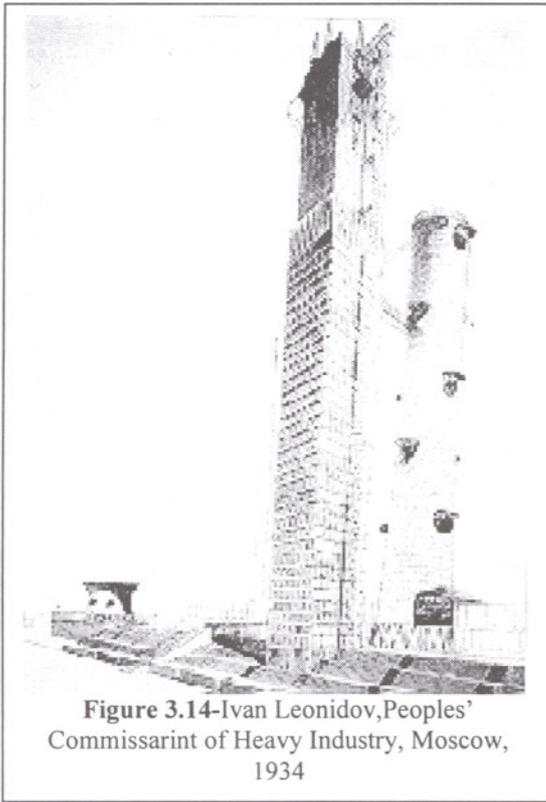


Figure 3.13-Ivan Fomin, Peoples' Commissariat of Heavy Industry, Moscow, 1934

The compositional schemes were unrelated to the urban context and compositions according to demanded aesthetic policy. Only one scheme differed from the other products of the traditionalists and the avant-garde with its genuinely new synthesis. This synthesis was based on *innovation* and *continuity* for the historic city using the vertical elements of medieval Russian compositional systems and technological advantages contextually. The role of the vertical elements was to create a *symbol* and *locational node* in the flat Russian landscape that was differently perceived from every direction. It demonstrated the new aesthetic method using popularly known reference points.



Most of the schemes proposed demolishing large areas around the historical pattern. The competition programme essentially specified a block where the GUM stands. The architects Fomin, Ginzburg and the Vesnin brothers demolished the Historical Museum, eliminating the *problem of contextualism*. Golosov, Fridman and the semi-traditionalist Fomin had got rid of St. Basil's Cathedral. The Vesnins and Leonidov, however, believed that the cathedral was the *optical code* for the Red Square. The avant-garde and surprisingly the traditionalists intuitively supported the concept of demolishing the historical buildings that every project represented as the creation of '*spaciousness*' (COOKE 1995, p.202); which did not correspond with the official taste of the Stalinist era that believed in historical continuity. However, the following year the Stalinist concept would ironically start a great demolishing activity with the same key '*opening up*' (COOKE 1995, p.202) in Moscow's historical pattern aiming to create a new world capital.

3.2.3.2. URBAN APPROACHES DURING THE SOCIALIST REALIST PERIOD

During the first five-year Plan (1928-33) the members of the Association of Soviet Architects (SASS) helped to improve town planning based on the model of continuous and linear city. They aimed the *total collectivization* of domestic life. The theoreticians of the SASS worked to plan several new cities in collaboration with the German left-wing town planners, May, Meyer, Hilbersheimer and Bruno Taut who had to emigrate to Russia to escape the pressure of Nazi regime. In this process the conflict between *innovative* and *traditionalist* town planning could be observed. Whether new schemes of settlement should be adapted or old schemes should be used was an issue of discussion. The political authorities approved the ordinary centralized city on this controversy. The logic of *centralization* demanded to create *zones* within the traditional criteria and *geometrical street-layout*.



Figure 3.16 -Stalin and Kaganovskii, Poster for a new Moscow plan, 1930

In July 1935 Stalin's plan for Moscow was approved in its final form. It was technically successful for the functionally separated zones and widespread green spaces. However; it ideologically consisted of *formalist tendencies* such as its over twenty kilometers monumental axis with a square and some palaces from Red Square to the Lenin hills in which would be placed the Moscow State University. The 1935 plan suggested that the collection of towers would be placed in the naturalistic landscape, the new capital would be framed with street corridors, symmetrical buildings and huge open-court blocks. This plan would be fully realized by 1946.

The 1935 plan carried out the *demolition* and *reconstruction* based on *Socialist Realist aesthetic*. The doctrine of Socialist Realism aimed to find a way of juxtaposition in which share and poverty could be held as social forces so that every people had earned the privilege of living. As a starting point for the plan the Tverskaya Street was chosen which was the Kremlin's northern approach. It was being remodeled and renamed as Gorki Street in honour of Maxim Gorki. This street announced the break Modernism's social and technological reform and the continuity Social Realism's urban-reform traditions of Haussmann's Paris. In the post-revolutionary period urban projects had focused on social housing for the working class but Gorki Street renovated for the members of '*new class*'. Leon Trotsky described this class with its norms and values as *petit-bourgeois*: 'Characteristic of the present Soviet epoch are the numerous palaces

and houses of the Soviets, genuine temples of the bureaucracy.’ (TROTSKY 1973, p. 117-118) Similarly Tverskaya Street accommodated tzarist and mercantile associations in the pre-Revolutionary period. The *social* and *ideological transformations* in the Stalinist era were spatially manifested and exemplified in Gorki Street.

The remodeling of Tverskaya Street was realized by a group whose leader was Mordvinov. He began his career as a Modernist and changed his beliefs when the classicist forms approved by Socialist Realism. He aimed quickly to realize the plan with brilliant *technological* and *aesthetic improvisations*. Similarly the Gorki Street was built using Haussmann’s street widening techniques. Some of the buildings on East Side of the street were demolished and fifty buildings were transported to the new areas. These technical accomplishments were used as a *propaganda tool* in the press and cartoon as *socialist triumphs*.

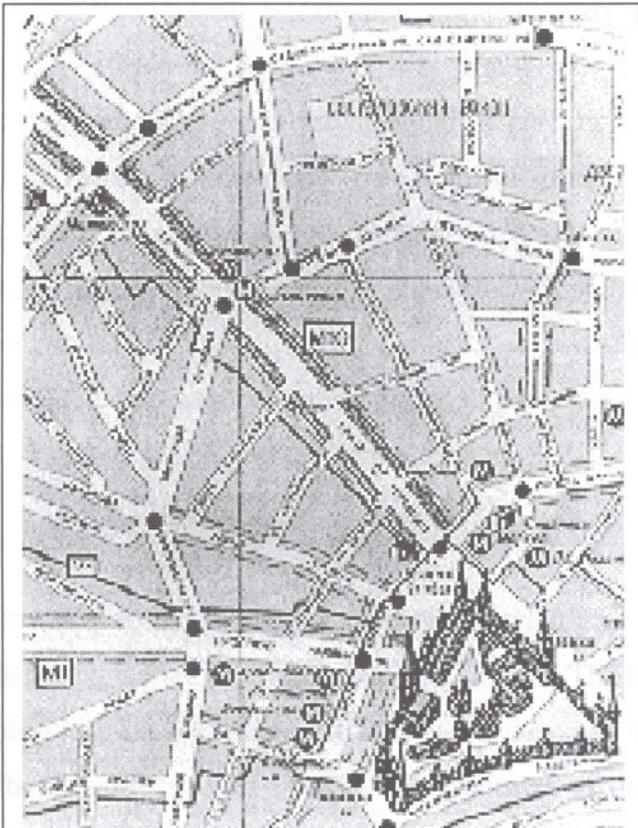


Figure 3.17-In the Plan of Central Moscow, Gorki Street is marked with striped borders

Gorki Street represented social development concept of Socialist Realism as the Moscow thoroughfare with comfortable apartments and stores. The power for the 1917 Revolution had been found in the street seized and projected back into the street for *architectural* and *social design* by Stalin. Leon Trotsky again criticized this social development process: 'Limousines, for the 'activists,' fine perfumes for 'our women,' margarine for the workers, stores 'deluxe' for the gentry, a look at the delicacies through the store windows for the plebs- such socialism cannot but seem to the masses a new refacing of capitalism, and they are not far wrong.' (TROTSKY 1973, p.120). Socialist Realism which found its political dictatorship in power structures also supported Socialist Realist architecture and urban design aiming to create *a new social model* in general and particularly in Gorki Street under the leadership of *the great architect*, Stalin. This process announced that Stalin was far from the Socialist concerns of Leon Trotsky who was one of the theoreticians of Socialism.

In the late 1940's the Soviet Union lost approximately thirty percent human and material as a national wealth in the World War II against Germany. In contrast to this, in this aftermath Stalin ordered several monumental construction projects and rebuilt Stalingrad, Smolenks, Minsk, Kharkov and Kiev from the ground up. In January 1947 the government decided to construct new accommodations for the elite of Soviet society. The typology of these buildings that consisted of *picturesque style* with a pastiche of decorative motifs and classical elements of sixteenth and seventeenth century Russian architecture, were observed from Warsaw to Tashkent in the late 1940's and 1950's. They were represented as the form of Stalin's Socialist Realism in the city skyline.

Since 1930's Stalin believed in the necessity of the creation of a *compositional axis* across the city with the high-rise buildings in the new skyline. The Palace of the Soviets was placed on this axis. Eight tower buildings were designed and seven of these skyscrapers were built in Moscow in 1940's. The Chairman of the State Architecture Committee, G. Simonov noted the new form of skyscraper in Pravda that: 'Moscow's skyscrapers will be an advanced and progressive architecture based on *rich national traditions* drastically different from the *soulless* and *formalistic* creations of modern

bourgeois architects.’ (RONAN 1996, p.9). In this point while criticizing bourgeois architects and their design characteristics, he wanted to legitimize the architectural products of socialist architects. This situation consisted of some dilemmas; they wanted to create the city skyline similarly with the neo-Gothic skyscrapers of New York and also wanted to give *socialist content* within *national form* although these skyscrapers were designed for elite. These buildings ideologically demonstrated the *power, beauty* and *grandeur* of the Soviet Union and reflected Stalin’s own personality.



Figure 3.18- Mikhail Posokhin, Asot Mndoyants, Sadovaya Kudrinskaya, Moscow, 1948



Figure 3.19-L. Rudnev, P. Abrosimov, A. Khriakov, Moscow State University, Moscow, (1949-1953)

The Moscow State University was one of these impressive buildings as the central part of the city to the north. The new university building represented highly decorated stage of *totalitarian architecture* and elements of symmetry as in early Manhattan skyscrapers dominating the city. If a building symbolized an era and an individual, the Moscow State University provided *utopian nations* of communism and differed than the other Stalin’s skyscrapers, which were parallel to the late Stalinist period.

There were some points, which gradually became similar to each other between Nazi and Soviet architectural ideologies although they manifested different ideas and social models. While the avant-garde movement was seeking revolutionary frames commonly in these country, later it was respected with suspicion. Russia and Germany at the end of the social and architectural transforming process reached a *banal traditionalism*. The New Tradition, which expressed the form of stripped classical style, represented itself in the Paris World Exhibition of 1937. Albert Speer's German Pavilion and Boris Iofan's USSR Pavilion shared the same taste of Neo-Classical monumentality as the grammatical rule of pseudo-Classicism.



Figure 3.20-A. Speer's German Pavilion (left) and B. Iofan's USSR Pavilion (right), Paris World Exhibition of 1937

This architectural taste was not restricted to totalitarian state, in the 1930's it could be seen wherever power wished to represent itself. The ideological and aesthetic critiques as *totalitarianism* and *Russian Socialist Realist Architecture* in particular, were summarized by the leftist architectural historians Manfredo Tafuri and Francesco Dal Co as; 'an eclecticism that was unashamedly *kitsch*' (TAFURI and DAL CO 1986, p.188) and by the postmodern theoretician Charles Jencks as; 'coercive and boring symbolism, the repressive forms of tzarism... and the signs of bourgeois power.' (JENCKS 1977, p.91). In this point it is interesting that Leon Trotsky who had to escape from Russia because of his opposing beliefs and Stalin's pressure and was later killed by a spy, argued particularly with the Stalinist traditionalism; 'Every regime has its *monumental reflection* in buildings and architecture.' (TROTSKY 1937, p.117-118)

Chapter 4

FASCISM AND ARCHITECTURE IN GERMANY AND ITALY

4.1. FASCIST IDEOLOGY

Fascism is one of the political systems of the twentieth century, which was adopted by *Adolf Hitler*, *Benito Mussolini* and *Francisco Franco* in the 1920's and 1930's. These charismatic and powerful leaders defined some of the principles of Fascism. At the beginning of the 19th century, the theory of Fascism was shaped by many German philosophers. In the '*catastrophe age*' after the World War I many old philosophic thoughts revived especially in Germany. The Fichte's Theory, put forward in 1807, was one of these old philosophic thoughts. The increase in the number of *Irrationalist* and *Anti-rationalist* trends with the theories of *Kant*, *Fichte* and *Nietsche* affected not only philosophy but also politics and became the starting point of the *National Socialism* as a political ideology. Nietsche was the philosopher who announced the main characteristics of irrationalism and anti-rationalism and established the principles of Fascism. Nietsche stated that humanity is a tool instead of being an aim by itself. In order to shape the human beings of the future they used people as objects to experiment with. Since the aim of this experimentation is the achievement of great amounts of energy, Nietsche believes that it is worth for all the suffering and pain that humanity has to go through. (Russell 1997, p.76)

These ideas in the politics of the National Socialist period in Germany are suitable examples that Fascist ideology based on this Irrationalist idea. The common features of these philosophic ideas are to search goodness in will rather than feelings, to give importance to *power* rather than happiness, to prefer not peace but *fight* and not democracy but *aristocracy*. (RUSSELL 1997, p.77) However there is an important difference that must be mentioned between these similarities. *Race purity* is not an issue that is included neither Fichte's nor Nietsche's doctrines.

Fascism is a mixed trend. There are many differences between Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany. Alex Scobie describes the main characteristics of Nazism as follows: ' At the hearth of Nazi ideology was the '*Führerprinzip*', according to which all state power was vested in a single individual. The other concept central to Nazi ideology was the '*Volksgemeinschaftsprinzip*' the notion that the German people constituted a kind of homogeneous national community of fellowship that made unimportant, or even abolished, all social, denominational, and political differences within the nation.' (Scobie 1990, p.72).

Fascism can be observed in different shapes in different countries. But it has some rules, which can not be changed; for instance, they base the main features of this ideology on *racism, statism, militarism* and *patriotism*. Fascism doesn't believe humanist ideology and the individual is defined in relation to the state. Individual autonomy is nothing. It is only a part of the society, which shapes the *total unity* of it. The individual should use his emotion with his race and with their blood more than by thinking, because thoughts are dangerous for ideology, *mental brutality* is important like *race brutality*. Fascists, generally, tend to represent the interests of the lower middle class that is the social basis of the ideology. They use propaganda as an effective tool to influence this social class. Fascist want to control economy and to create a corporatist economy based on the principle of liberal capitalism.

4.1.1. HITLER AND THE SITUATION IN GERMANY

The Fascist architectural movements were influenced and directed by their leaders; Hitler and Mussolini. Its architectural language couldn't be different from the Neo-classical architecture, which glorified its political leader and didn't support mental freedom and suggested *archetypal architecture*. These were the architectural impositions, which were observed in Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy.

Hitler was not the first leader to use architecture as symbol of political ideology. Throughout architectural history, some leaders had borrowed the forms of classical architecture. Hitler, however, had more differences than the others. According to Uğur Tanyeli, Hitler played three major roles in architecture, which was reflection of his

ideologies; Hitler, 'qualified as an architect of the political ideology, plays critical roles related in architecture for decision-making, directly designs buildings.' (Tanyeli 1992, p.119).

4.1.1.1. PROGRESSIVE GERMAN ARCHITECTURE DURING THE POST-WAR PERIOD (1918-1933)

In the twenties, Modernism was the dominant approach in German architecture. This new style of architecture was developed in Holland, France, Switzerland and Russia at the same time. In order to deal with the architectural policy of the Nazi regime it is appropriate to evaluate the development of Modern Architecture in Germany between the years 1918 and 1930.

At the beginning of the century the masters such as Peter Behrens, Hans Poelzig and Fritz Schumacher were the most important figures of the practical and academic fields of architecture. Behrens and Poelzig designed several buildings and supported the methods of the young architects of the modern movement during the above-mentioned period. In the progressive pre-war architecture, Peter Behrens who was a founder of the Deutsche Werkbund believed that the Modern Architecture should have responded to the needs of both the *industry* and the *art*. In the AEG Turbine Factory, he attempted to fuse industrial needs and materials with the monumentality of Prussian public architecture. The early building of Behrens, which was designed in 1909, was the sign of the later developments in the opposite directions.

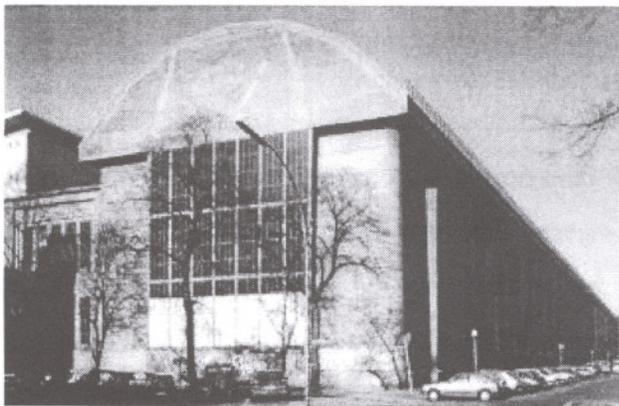


Figure 4.1-Peter Behrens, AEG Turbine Factory, Berlin, 1909

In the pre-war period another group was established by professionals such as Walter Gropius, Paul Bonatz, Bruno Taut, Hugo Haring, Theodor Fischer, Fritz Höger, Otto Haesler and Otto Salvisberg. They were not sympathetic to extreme positions, however, they believed in the avant-garde trends that stood between broader constructional processes and the traditional stylistic repertoire. Shortly before the World War I the most important organisation which aimed to improve industrial design was the Cologne Exhibition of the Deutscher Werkbund. Many architects, craftsman and businessmen organized this exhibition and their products became the most significant buildings such as Factory Administration Building of Walter Gropius and Glashaus of Bruno Taut for the development of the new architecture in the years to come.

Walter Gropius in his Fagus Factory design (1911-1914) demonstrated glass and metal panels between the brick piers as building materials. He gave a vertical facade pattern effect with piers, created a visual contrast between solidity and transparency and joined the glass at the corners of the factory with the fine detailing and proportions. It was a functionalist and also highly artistic formulation. He experimented these design principles again in 1914 in the factory administration building for the Werkbund Exhibition.

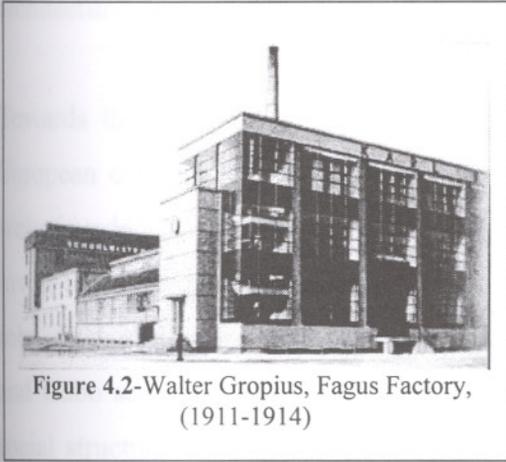


Figure 4.2-Walter Gropius, Fagus Factory, (1911-1914)

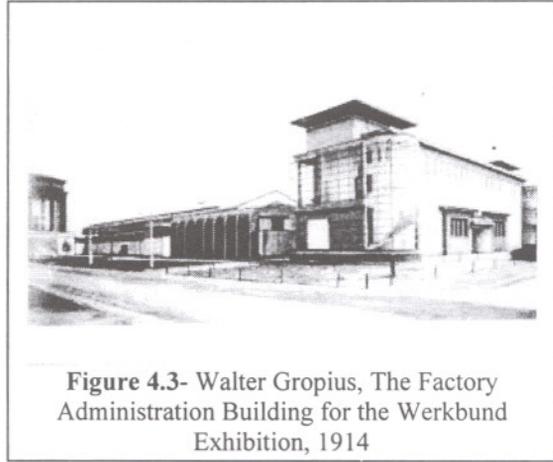


Figure 4.3- Walter Gropius, The Factory Administration Building for the Werkbund Exhibition, 1914

The Glashaus design of Bruno Taut for the same exhibition was the beginning of the new tendency to romanticize industrial materials with its dome, which was a covered coloured glass panel. Gropius, Taut, and other progressive architects were in the common attitude. They produced many stylistic vocabularies to use different forms and materials. They created new types of forms in space almost as abstract sculpture like Glashaus.

After the war years, young architects at the beginning of their careers like Max Taut, Ludwig Hilbersheimer, Ernst May, Adolf Rading, Karl Schneider, Hans Scharoun were attracted to the modern movement. In the progressive German architecture these architects published many books and reviews, designed several highly successful buildings with the linguistic elements of the modern architecture. Their common architectural characteristics were, for instance, the use of smooth, white walls, white plaster surfaces, the proportional relations of the constructional elements and flat roofs. In spite of their efforts to create a new architectural aesthetic, Gropius and Taut especially sought a new social structure for Germany. They believed in the necessity of establishing a new society, which was reintegrated by all spheres of the life. According to Gropius, it was ' a new totalism' between culture and industry, between artists and the society, against the negative affects of war and revolution. (LANE 1968, p.68). They did not refer to the political revolution, however they aimed to start a social and *Cultural Revolution* with the new architecture. So they gave many lectures and published many writings. In the twenties, federal and municipal governments supported these ideas and gave the opportunity to realize their architectural conceptions. General press and architectural journals gave importance and popularity of new architecture was raised. Thereafter Nazi Party began to recognize the political importance of the architecture as an important role of the propaganda.

Towards the end of the World War I, new art and architecture grew out in every European country. At that time many groups, including Dada, De Stijl and Bauhaus were founded by the revolutionist artists and issued revolutionary 'manifestos'. People involved in art and architecture, artists, architects, periodicals, journals discussed the role of the arts in the revolution. In Russia, modern artists, such as Kandinsky, Tatlin and Gabo searched and applied the modern art and architecture as a part of the new social structure. This avant-garde spirit among the arts created the strongest affect in Germany, notably in Berlin. The social heterogeneity of Berlin which consists of the workers, artists, architects caused to spawn the radical ideas in the arts and architecture. In the post revolutionary period Berlin became the center of the modernist activities.

At the very beginning of the Weimar Republic, Walter Gropius and a group of radical architects demanded preparation of a new and socially conscious architecture as a part of the political revolution in order to support the newly founded Republic. The left-wing parties gave also importance to the revolutionary artistic movements. The associations of the new style and republic was established in 1919 and continued throughout the life of the Weimar Republic. In 1919, Walter Gropius set up Bauhaus, in Weimar. He articulated the school's principles in its founding manifesto: 'Together let us desire, conceive and create the new structure of the future, which will embrace architecture and sculpture and painting in one unity which will one day rise toward heaven from the hands of a million workers like the crystal symbol of a new faith.' (Conrads 1970, p.49). This architectural discourse shaped the main role of Bauhaus, which helped to involve the new style in politics. The liberal and left wing parties in the first years of the Bauhaus constructed housing projects. Radical architects had little opportunity to translate their visions into reality. After 1924 the federal housing program provided the new style architecture in very large amount of work rather than the other European countries. During the years 1924-1930 the new architecture succeeded many significant developments in every field of buildings, in schools, factories, movie, theatres, stores, office buildings and above all housing projects, in which Germany became the centre of the revolutionist architecture throughout the world.

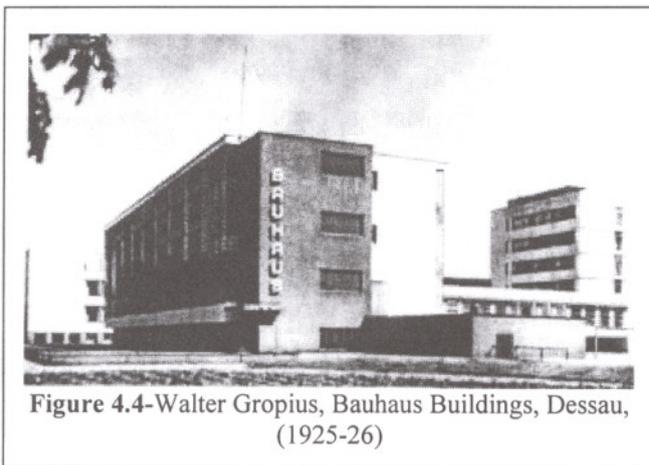


Figure 4.4-Walter Gropius, Bauhaus Buildings, Dessau, (1925-26)

The Bauhaus buildings themselves exemplify the main characteristics of this period in modernist development in Germany. The Bauhaus complex were erected at Dessau in 1926 as a sculptural arrangement of masses in which the origins went on cubic architecture that was developed by the group called De Stijl. In the Bauhaus building Gropius experimented with the visual contrast between solidity and transparency like

with the same principles in the Fagus Factory building before the war. He achieved the manipulation of the forms of the new vocabulary in space. It was the new trend in Germany and throughout Europe.

From 1924 to 1930 the new art and architecture, in spite of the negative affects of political chaos and economic disaster during this period, reached it highest peak in the social, cultural and constructional areas with their ideas and products. This style and movement was described in opposition to the '*Bolshevist*' by the popular right-wing newspapers by 1929. They wanted to start the arguments based on political and stylistic structures of modern movements. Criticism concentrated on modern architecture and its *rootless, uncomfortable, inhuman, Communist and anti-German* nature: ' According to the leaders of the Bauhaus.... The new man is no longer a man, he is a *geometric animal*. He needs no dwelling, no home, and only a *dwelling machine*. This man is not an individual, not a personality, but a collective entity, a piece of mass man. And therefore they build housing developments, apartment blocks of desolate uniformity, in which everything is standardized. These are tenements, built not as a necessity, as in the rapidly growing cities during the second half of the nineteenth century, but as a matter of principle. They want to kill personality in men, they want collectivism, for the highest goal of these architects is Marxism, Communism.' (Curtis 1996, p.352). These racist arguments emphasized that the new German art and architecture and Modern Architecture were rejected for not being a glorification of German culture. Consequently, architectural Nazi propaganda started from 1930 on.

4.1.1.2. ARCHITECTURAL PROPAGANDA AND ORGANIZATION OF NAZIS

- *Oppositions to Bauhaus and Modernism*

Around 1926, the discussion of the racial characteristics of art was started. Schultze-Naumburg, who was the Nazi propagandist and most effective criticist of Modernism, concentrated upon these arguments. He published his racial doctrine in his 1928 book '*Art and Race*' in which he discussed how the arts and architecture expressed racial identity and also argued about the biological and racial origin of Modernism. According to him *Modernism was Un-German*. (HOCHMAN 1989, p.78). In 1929, his articles were published in the right-wing press. When he concentrated racist ideas, Alexander

von Senger who was a conservative Swiss architect attacked 'architectural bolshevism'. He believed that the new architecture was bolshevist and that it destroyed the old cultures and race. (LANE 1968, p.141). The DNVP -a right-wing party- opposed the public housing programs and sought traditional solutions for public housing design. The DNVP supported the theories of Schultze-Naumburg and Senger before the Nazi Party.

The Nazi Party wanted to describe the theories of art and culture into its political program. They believed that Modernism and Bauhaus was a foreign virus from which Germany had to be purged and immediately reduced integrating influence on the life of people. So art and architecture became a part of the political propaganda in the Nazi Party. The *Völkischer Beobachter* (VB) is a Nazi newspaper and its editor was Alfred Rosenberg since 1923. In 1928 the VB began to develop the arguments against modernist architecture.

- *Oppositions in press, The Völkischer Beobachter (VB)*

The architectural propaganda of VB can be exemplified with a series of articles which was entitled 'The purpose of our cultural, political struggle' in the duration of the 1932's election campaign: 'The Bauhaus that was *'the cathedral of Marxism'*, a cathedral, however, which damned well looked like a Synagogue...And they were right, for this architecture came to be the spiritual expression of their spirit... They believed that 'the house is an instrument like an automobile'... Thus these men reveal their character as typical nomads of the metropolis, who no longer understand blood and soil... Bolshevism, the arch-enemy of all mature culture, works toward the victory of this (architectural) desolation an horror. (Lane 1968, p.163).

Hitler's Era

The *Völkischer Beobachter* (VB) announced the construction process of one of Hitler's houses. Although Nazi power was based on an unscrupulous application of mechanization and mass organization in the creation of factories, autobahns and military industries, in architectural area the craftsmanship was a constant thesis of Nazi propaganda in these papers. It announced that only handicrafts were employed and *'no machine had been used'*. This dilemma between architecture and mechanization is one of the contradictions of the Nazi ideology, which was placed in their official newspaper. (BENEVOLO 1971, p.554).

- *Opposing groups, Kampfbund für Deutsche Kultur, (KDK)*

In 1930, Rosenberg founded The Fighting League for German Culture (Kampfbund für Deutsche Kultur) with a group of intellectuals. In the program of KDK they tended to reduce the influence of modernist manifestations in German culture and to develop 'native' and 'characteristic' German art. Around these years Rosenberg recognized the great potential value of Schultze-Naumburg and KDK sponsored him for a tour around Germany to publicize and disseminate his beliefs. Schultze-Naumburg soon became the leading spokesman in the Nazi Party on art. By 1933 the Nazi state KDK was recognized as the chief organ to control the creative professions and in organisation of KDK many of branches for art were established such as the visual arts, literature, radio, film, and theatre.

- *Kampfbund Deutscher Architekten Und Ingenieure (KDAI)*

In this duration Schultze-Naumburg, Alexander von Senger, Konrad Nonn, Paul Schmitthenner, Eugen Hönig and German Bestelmeyer founded another group. This organisation named as the Kampfbund Deutscher Architekten Und Ingenieure (KDAI) was the daughter organisation of KDK. Their role was prominent in architectural propaganda in attacking the new architecture as '*bolshevist art and architecture*'. (LANE 1968, p.158).

- *The decline of the effects of KDK & KDAI*

These two groups, KDK and KDAI which were established by the groups of conservative architects were gathered together and reorganized during the first few months of 1933. In the same year Hitler established the *Ministry of Propaganda and People's Enlightenment* as the party's major cultural organization. KDK and KDAI were integrated in this most powerful and impressive cultural administrative organization. Rosenberg impressed Hitler with his proposals about culture and art. He wanted to become head of that organization. But Hitler preferred Goebbels who was on the left of the party, encouraged and sympathized with modernists such as Mies and Gropius in the early years of the regime. This decision caused a power struggle between Rosenberg and Goebbels and after 1933 architectural policy of the Nazi party fell into the two phases. In this point Gropius and Mies entered to the competition for the National Bank and Mies won. So KDK lost most of its power and influence.

Architectural propaganda between 1930 and 1933 concentrated upon the Modernist Architecture and referred to the '*folk style*' of the German peasant. This architectural propaganda continued and started to produce their architectural forms after Nazi Party came to power.

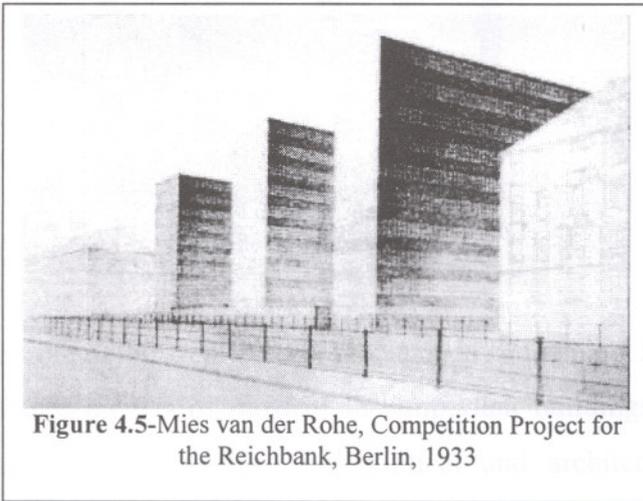
4.1.1.3. NATIONAL SOCIALIST PERIOD (1933-1945)

In the 1930's elections, the Nazis achieved an important victory and Nazi Party became second largest political party in Germany. The political chaos accompanied by economic disaster was used in the propaganda of the Nazi Party; for the achievement of political success. On March 1933 Nazi Party won the elections with a great victory and Hitler came to power for 12 years and changed the developments of modern art and architecture especially in Germany.

- *End of Bauhaus in Germany and emigration of the Modernist artists and architects*
In 1932 when the Nazi Party came to power at Dessau, Bauhaus had to move to Berlin. The first attack of the Nazi Party against Bauhaus occurred, three weeks after the Nazis came to power and Hitler became the Chancellor. The Bauhaus in Berlin was shut down and the function of the building at Dessau changed as a school for government officials. By the end of 1933 Modern architects could no more publish their ideas and defence the modern architecture. It was the first step of the attacks against modern art and architecture as a process, which began, with the closing of Bauhaus that was the internationally famous centre of *avant-garde art and architecture*.

All of the modernist artists and architects had to leave Germany because they were outlawed and unpopular. Erich Mendelsohn was the first to leave Germany in 1933. Gropius and Breuer in 1934, Moholy-Nagy in 1935 went to England and in 1937 the three of them settled in America. Schlemmer, Poelzig and Behrens settled in Austria. Hilbesheimer, B. Taut and May emigrated to Russia. A few architects of the younger generations wanted to stay in Germany and to stay away from the ideological conflicts. Scharoun and Luckhardt brothers continued to build some works in this situation. Mies, who was the architect who spent the longest period in Germany, had to emigrate to America in 1938. In 1933 he was invited to a competition with thirty architects for a

new building of the National Bank of Germany Reichsbank. The jury contained Peter Behrens, Paul Bonatz, Heinrich Wolff; the chief of the Reichbank's building department and some governors of the bank. The architects who were invited, Heinrich Tessenow, Hans Poelzig, German Bestelmeyer, Gropius and Mies all represented different architectural trends. After the competition Mies won the prize with his design. This project didn't symbolise traditional style and classical orders, however it was a reinterpretation of neo-classical tradition of Schinkel and Behrens with its monumentality, massive symmetry, geometrical shapes and proportions. But Hitler and anti-modernist background of the Nazis rejected to give the prize to Mies. Their excuse was its facades, which looked like a department store or an industrial building. In fact, the main reason was not symbolic but politic: 'the implicit monumentality and anonymity of his work could have been appropriate for the regime, while the expression of the latest technology would have added a suitably progressive note. But Hitler's tastes were too bourgeois and backward looking, and this was not at all accidental: ...The regime needed a *past* more than it needed a *future*, *memory* more than *aspiration*.' (Jones 1995, p.66). The result of this competition was a vital turning point for the modernist art and architecture in Germany. A new process for German architecture was being started.



At the early age of the Nazi regime, the conflicts between Rosenberg and Goebbels continued. Both of them aimed to shape the main characteristics of Nazi architecture. Hitler, who knew this struggle, liked to provoke them into fighting since he had already decided that architectural policy of Nazi Party would be out of these two directions.

4.1.1.4. NAZI ARCHITECTURE

- *Architecture of Hitler*

Adolf Hitler tried to create a New World structure, which was based on his ethnic obsessions as the most powerful dictator in 1930's. While he was holding power for 12 years, architecture played a significant role to impose his dogmatic beliefs. Being interested in architecture and aiming to become an architect, Hitler sketched many building designs. However, he couldn't achieve to become an architect. His personal interests in architecture, political and ideological roles of architecture charged him to use architecture.



Figure 4.6-Hitler making an architectural drawing

Hitler played central role in the architectural propaganda of the Nazi Party. He appeared at the openings and ceremonies of most of the important buildings and architectural exhibitions as a speaker to introduce his political and architectural beliefs. His knowledge of architecture and architectural history were eclectic. Roman and Ancient Greek history was his admiration. He wanted to apply a political system, which was established by Roman Emperor Augustus in the *aristocratic* and *hierarchical structure*. The Rome's political power and its monuments and state buildings, which were celebrated political and military triumph, had affected Hitler. He clarified his political

ideology with Roman models which displayed order, discipline, social and political hierarchy. He thought that political characteristics of the Roman model could also apply for Roman imperial architecture that symbolized *power* and *authority*. For him Roman art and architecture was primarily political. Hitler explained in *Mein Kampf* that Colosseum and the Circus Maximus were the symbols of the political power and empire. (SCOBIE 1990, p.39). With this aspect Roman imperial architecture corresponded to his architectural policy. Hitler, however, wanted to apply racist characteristics in architectural area. Hitler admired the *racial purity* and *militarism* of the Spartans. In architectural history Spartan states were the clearest example that were politically based on race. (SCOBIE 1990, p.14).

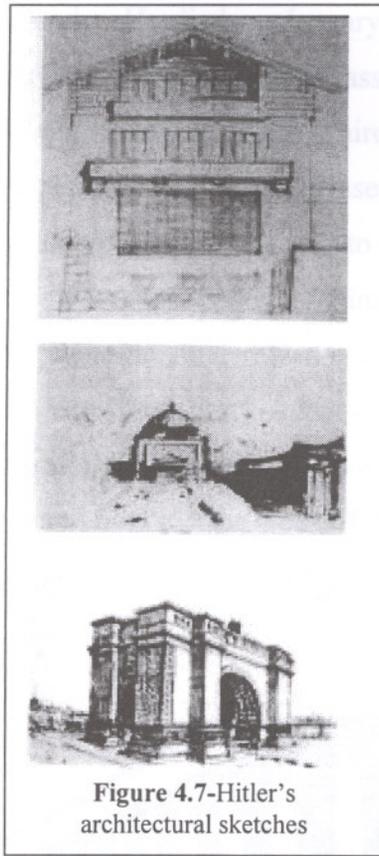


Figure 4.7-Hitler's architectural sketches

He explained his architectural policy in various speeches at the openings of exhibitions and cultural centres that; 'Every great period, finds the final expression of its value in its buildings.' and he added that; 'every political revolution would immediately destroy the great works of past cultures, every great work of art contains an absolute value.' Finally he determined German art and architecture; 'that to be German means to be *logical* and above all to be *truthful*... We must build as large as today's technical possibilities permit; we must build for *eternity*.' (Lane 1968, p. 188-189).

- *Architecture of Troost*

Although Hitler was interested in architecture, he needed an architect to realize his dreams and imaginations. Paul Troost and Albert Speer were employed for his architectural beliefs to come true. When Hitler came to power he chose Paul Ludwig Troost as an architectural adviser. Troost had been a member of the Nazi Party since 1924. In the pre-war period he was one of the progressive historicist architects. He sympathised *traditional classicism*. Troost and Hitler shared same tastes in the example of Schinkel which had purposed link between 'Greek and Teutonic culture'. (CURTIS 1996, p.354). The neo-classical and over-scaled buildings of Troost so attracted Hitler who could be defined as a *scale maniac*. Troost could express the Führer's aspirations in *monumentality* and *disciplined order*. He died on January 1934 before his first large project the House of German Art in the Prinzregentenstrasse; Munich (1934-1936) was completed. It was the first official building of the Third Reich. Hitler who was a collaborator of Troost wanted to reflect in which the House of German Art as the 'stone documents of the new ideology and of his political will to power'. (HOCHMAN 1989, p.200). This building was intended to express the combination of *modernity* and *neo-classicism* with its largeness of scale in the modernized neo-classical style. Its dominant classical colonnade, sharp and clean lines, block masses, flat and limestone surfaces with every enormous architectural elements such as doors, the half meter high door hinges and huge sculptures honoured not only the Gods of the past civilisations but also twentieth century *Gods on earth*. (JONES 1996, p.67).

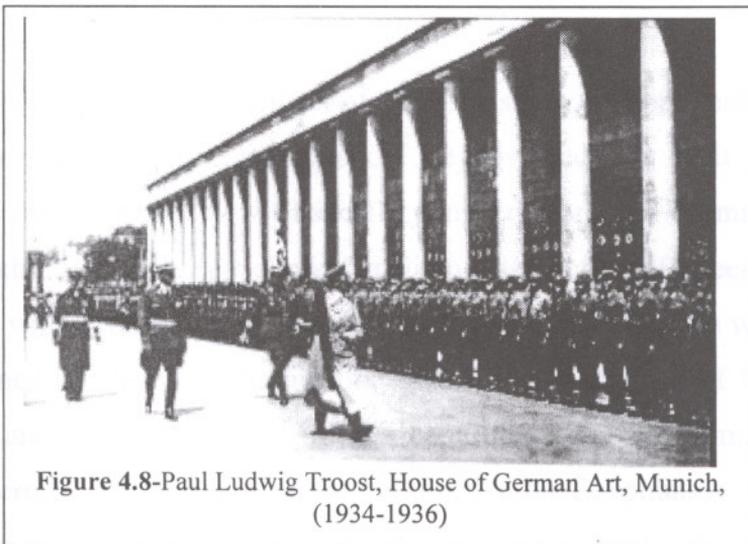


Figure 4.8-Paul Ludwig Troost, House of German Art, Munich, (1934-1936)

• *Architecture of Speer*

After Troost died in 1934, young man named Albert Speer; who would later become one of the most powerful men in Nazi government; took his place. Speer was Heinrich Tessenow's assistant at the Institute of Technology in Berlin-Charlottenburg from 1929 to 1932. He joined the Nazi Party in 1932 and did several architectural jobs for party officials between 1931 and 1933. In 1933 Goebbels gave him his first major commission, the staging of the party rallies at Tempelhof. Inexperienced and young architect, Speer had impressed Hitler with his successful design for party ceremony and his efficient supervision of Troost's design for the remodelling of the Chancellery in Berlin. Hitler turned his interests instead to Speer.

Albert Speer was a well-educated architect by his masters. He took from Tessenow his political and architectural beliefs. Heinrich Tessenow defended craftsmanship against industry, handwork against machine and he aimed to create a taste of architectural sensitivity as he developed austere and *minimal Neo-classicism*. Politically, Nazi ideology satisfied his aspirations. He had prepared his students to gain control of official architecture. Albert Speer acquired his architectural characteristics during the period when he was a member of this small group of young pupils. He developed and continued the architectural style of Hitler's regime, which had been initialized by Troost. Troost was educating Speer to become the architect of Hitler after his own death. The architectural vocabularies of Hitler and Speer such as *monumentality*, *symmetry* and *axiality* were extensions of their architectural theories, which were based on architectural permanence and power.

When Speer became the state architect of Hitler he started to apply not only Hitler's but also his own architectural characteristics. He designed and built the Zeppelinfeld Stadium at Nuremberg, The new Chancellery in Berlin and the German Pavilion at the 1937 Paris exhibition. The Zeppelinfeld stadium was the first of Speer's state buildings to be erected which was based on his '*theory of ruin value*' (Theorie vom Ruinenwert). Speer explained his theory in the meeting of the Four-Year Plan of 1937; 'The stone buildings of antiquity demonstrate in their condition today the permanence of natural building materials... The ages-old stone buildings of the Egyptians and the Romans still stand today as powerful architectural proofs of the past of great nations, buildings which

are often ruins only because of men's lust for destruction has made them such.' (Scobie 1990, p.94). He thought that his new stone buildings could have been lasted forever or for a very long time. Following the World War II, eight years after the announcement of his 'theory of ruin value', his major state buildings in Berlin, the new Chancellery became a ruin, like the monuments of ancient Rome.

- *The Zeppelinfeld Stadium, Nuremberg*

In 1933, the erection of temporary wooden stands on the Zeppelinfeld at Nuremberg was the first major construction of Speer. After the death of Troost, Hitler demanded that a stone structure and master plan for the entire rally complex from Speer was constructed on the same site. It was one of the monumental and colossal Nazi rallies and so was a collective Volk building. The Zeppelinfeld Stadium settled in a large area 290 by 312 meters for 90.000 demonstrators and accommodated 64.000 spectators on its three side stands. On the main stand, which was the 390-meter long, Haupttribüne accommodated 70.000 spectators.

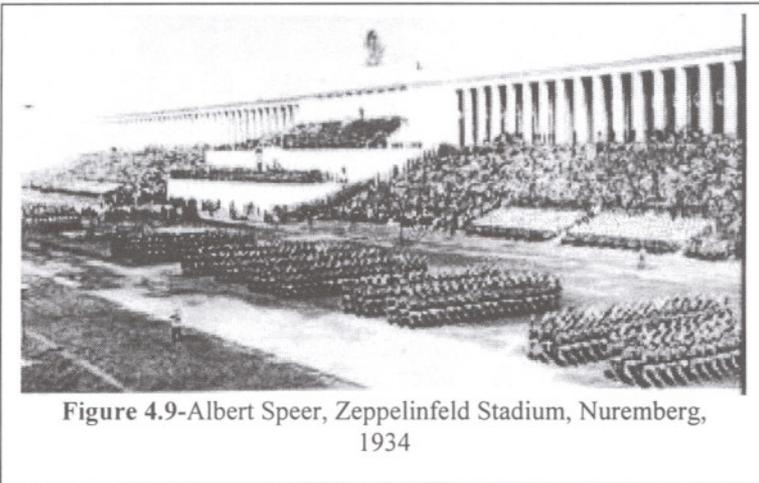


Figure 4.9-Albert Speer, Zeppelinfeld Stadium, Nuremberg, 1934

While explaining the source of his building's inspiration, Speer referred similarities between the Haupttribüne of the Zeppelinfeld Stadium and the west front of the Great Altar of Pergamum. The ceiling behind the frontal colonnade of Pergamum Altar was observed in the ceiling and the colonnaded facade of Troost's House of German Art in Munich. (SCOBIE 1990, p.87). These associations gave some clues to understand Fascist architecture. The Zeppelinfeld Stadium, which was named 'first altar of the movement' (SCOBIE 1990, p.91), conveyed a religious meaning to those who were sitting on the Haupttribüne and addressing to spectators who were listening to the founder of Third Reich in religious silence.

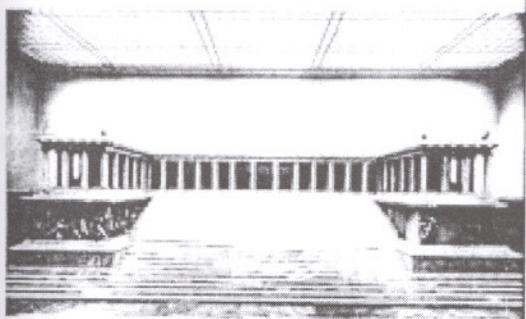
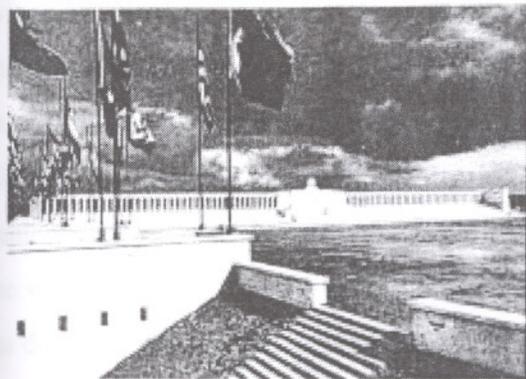


Figure 4.10-Zeppelinfeld Stadium, Haupttribüne, Nuremberg, Great Altar of Pergamum, West front Pergamon Museum, Berlin

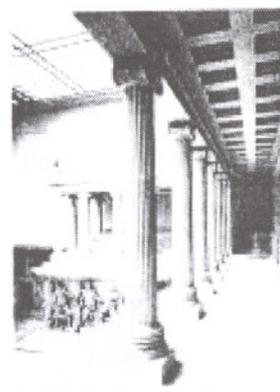
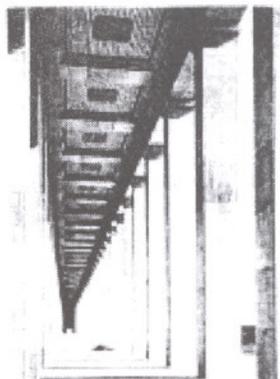


Figure 4.11-Zeppelinfeld Stadium, ambulatory of Haupttribüne, Pergamum Altar, Ionic colonnade

- *The New Berlin Plan*

The architectural evidence of the new buildings and cities of the Third Reich, which reinforced the authority of the Nazi ideology, could be seen in the plans for Nuremberg, Munich and especially Berlin. Within the principles of *greatness, order, clarity, objectivity, symmetry* and *axiality*, Hitler aimed to transform Berlin to a *world capital*. Eight months after Hitler came to power; he attended a meeting with the municipal authorities of the Reich and Berlin for the rebuilding of Berlin on September 1933. Hitler thought of creating a north-south road, which was situated at the west of the Brandenburg Gate. Six months later, the construction of the north-south road in the New Berlin plan, which he had demanded, was presented to him and accepted.

According to Hitler the new community buildings were not to be situated randomly in towns. The centres of the towns and cities had to be reshaped by the community buildings in the prominent positions within the town plan. In the most important city of

the regime, the principles of Greek town planning and notably those of Roman were revived in order to establish New Berlin with centrally located community centres. Hitler instructed Speer his aims for reshaping Berlin with his eclectic architectural knowledge and exemplified with monumental buildings: 'we shall suppress. Nothing will be too good for the beautification of Berlin. When one enters the Reich Chancellery, one should have the feeling that one is visiting the master of the world. One will arrive there along wide avenues containing the Triumphal Arch, the Pantheon (the domed hall), the Square of the People – things to take your breath away. Our only rival in the world is Rome and we shall succeed in eclipsing it. It will be built on such a scale that St. Peter's and its square will seem like toys in comparison... Berlin must change its face for its great new mission... It will be the capital of the world – comparable only to ancient Egypt, Babylon or Rome... Paris will be nothing compared to this!' (HOCHMAN 1989, p.260).

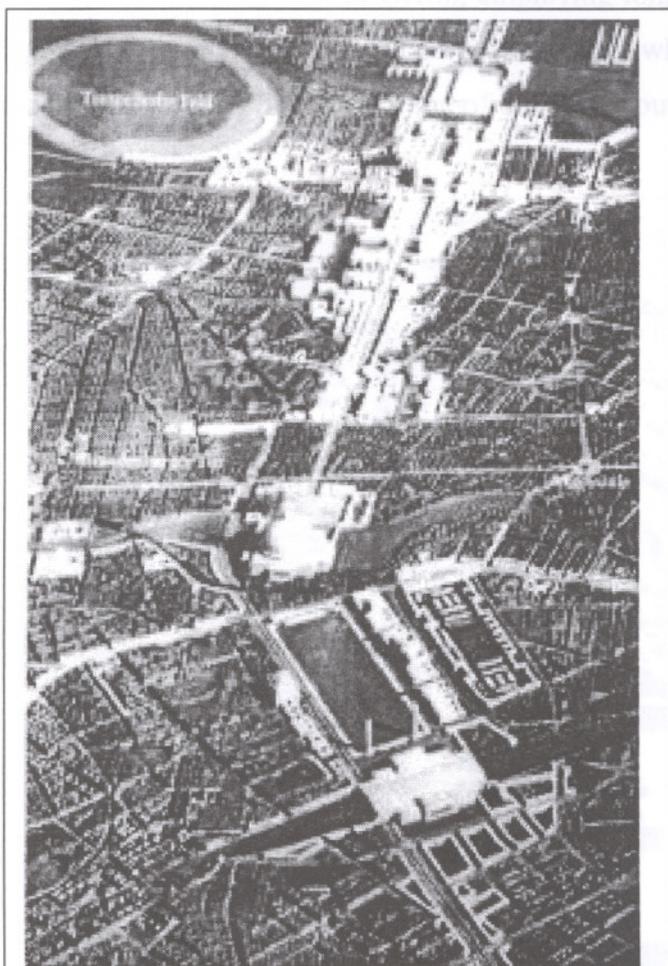


Figure 4.12 -Model of plan for Berlin, (1937-40), the great axis planned by Hitler and Speer

This wish for *architectural eclecticism* came from Hitler's historical knowledge. Through to imitation of classical orders he aimed to create buildings and monuments larger than any building ever built and known. The reshaping plan for Berlin, for instance, was based on Roman planning principles. The typical Roman city, Timgad (Algeria) was founded in AD 100 by Trajan's veterans. The main characteristic of this city is the two major axes in the form of ' T ' junction. One major axis (decumanus) bisects the city from east to west and another axis (cardo) from north to south. This junction creates the town's forum and the town's community buildings are placed around the forum.

- *The Volkshalle, Berlin*

On 4 October 1937, Hitler signed the plans for the reshaping of German cities. Speer was employed as *Inspector General of Construction* for the plan for the centre of Berlin. Hitler and Speer launched reshaping plan of Berlin, employing long avenues and axes which were consisted two major axis: A central north-south axes, which was to join the major east-west axis at right angles. The focal point of the north-south axis was the vast domed Volkshalle on the north side.

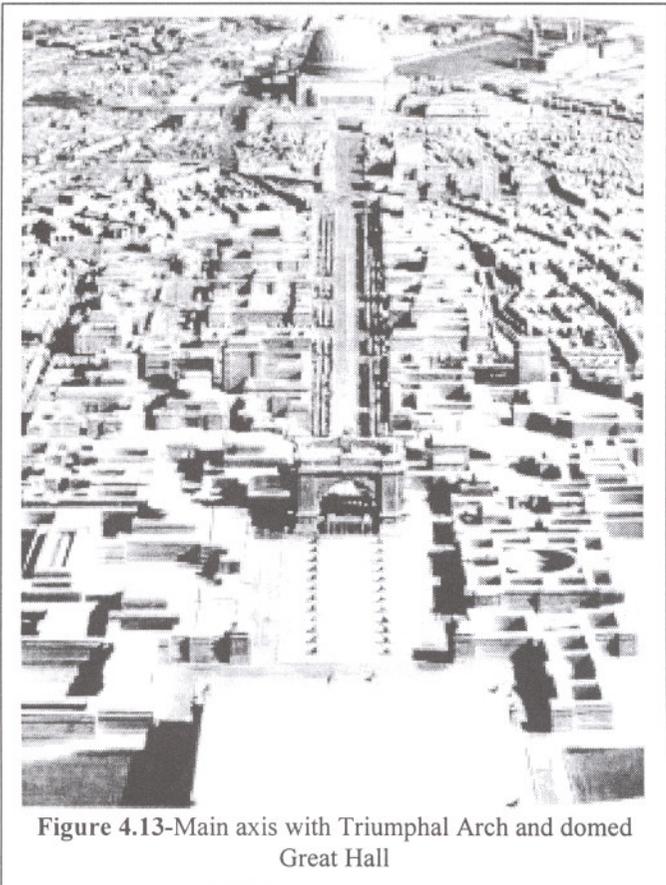


Figure 4.13-Main axis with Triumphal Arch and domed Great Hall

Volkshalle was to become a *Pantheon* of some sort and it could resemble *St. Peter's in Rome* with its vaulted interior space. (CURTIS 1996, p.356). The domes of the two buildings illustrated differences between *Nazism* and *Christian Church*. The themes of Volkshalle's globe, on the lantern of which was gripped by an eagle, symbolized the globe of the World which was controlled by Nazis. They didn't need religious retreats and religious symbols of Saint Peter's globe on which a cross was placed. Just as Volkshalle was connected with ideological meanings to the Saint Peter, so was *Hitler's Volkshalle* connected with symbolic meanings to the *Hadrian's Pantheon*.

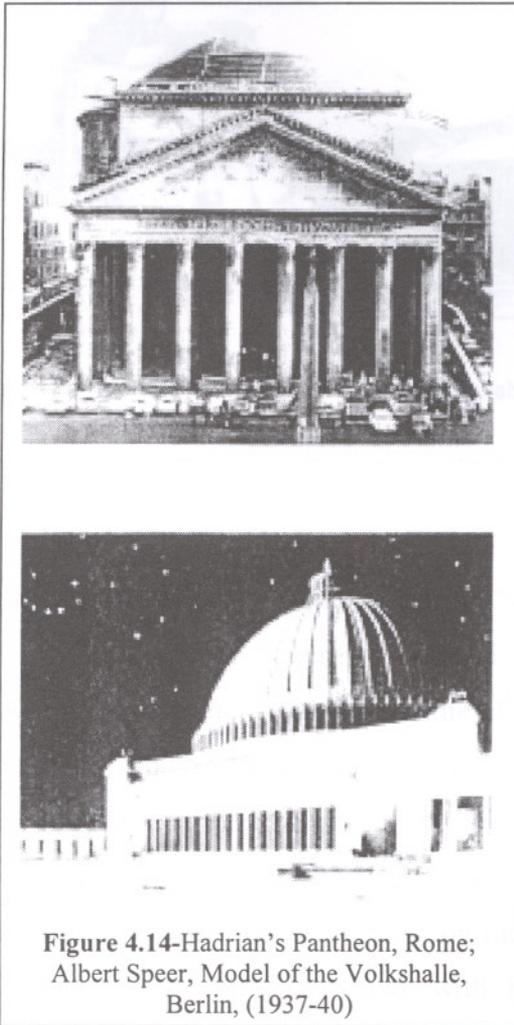


Figure 4.14-Hadrian's Pantheon, Rome;
Albert Speer, Model of the Volkshalle,
Berlin, (1937-40)

According to Speer, when he visited Hadrian's Pantheon on 7 May 1938, Hitler was inspired for the design of Volkshalle. Giesler recorded this admiration with Hitler's own words: ' from the time I experienced this building –no description, picture or photograph did it justice- I became interested in its history... For a short while I stood in this space (the rotunda) –what majesty! -. I gazed at the large open oculus and saw the universe and sensed what had given this space the name Pantheon – God and the

world are one.’ (SCOBIE 1990, p.109). In fact, Hitler’s interest in Pantheon and inspiration for Volkshalle could be predated this visit, because he had already sketched the Volkshalle about 1925. He gave the sketch of the Volkshalle, which showed the domed main building with its pronaos supported by ten columns and a rectangular intermediate block, to Speer.

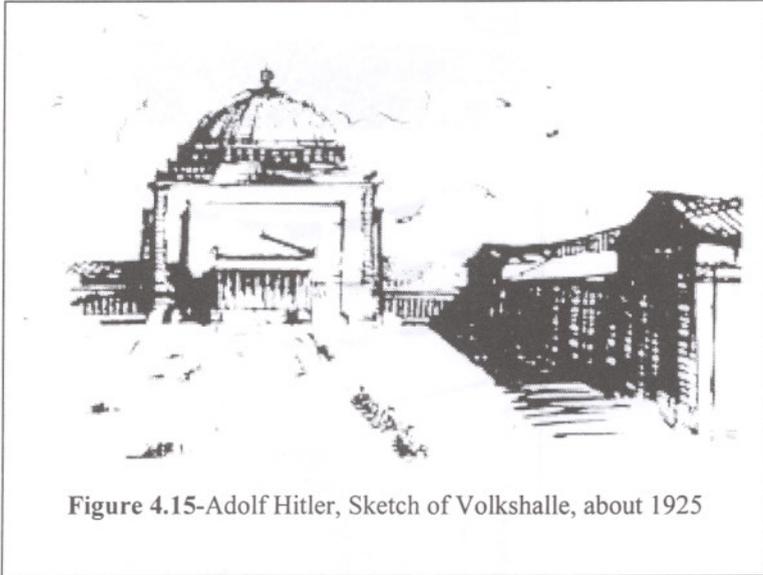


Figure 4.15-Adolf Hitler, Sketch of Volkshalle, about 1925

It was the most important and impressive building in the New World capital as a ‘Monsterbau’ (SCOBIE 1990, p.112). of Speer. Its dimensions were so great when compared to Pantheon. Against the 46-meter diameter dome of Hadrian’s Pantheon, the 250-meter diameter dome of Volkshalle was placed on a massive granite podium of 315 by 315 meters, 74 meters high with a total height of 290 meters. (HOCHMAN 1989, p.260). Their interiors could be compared: ‘ the coffered dome, the pillared zone, which here is continuous, except where it flanks the huge niche on the north side. The second zone in the Pantheon, consisting of blind windows with intervening pilasters, is represented in Speer’s building by a zone above the pillars consisting of uniform, oblong shallow recesses. The coffered dome ‘rests’ on this zone.’ (SCOBIE 1990, p.114). The large niche of the Volkshalle, 50 meters high by 28 meters wide encloses an eagle of 24 meters height that is situated behind Hitler’s pulpit for announcement of the ideology to 180.000 listeners.

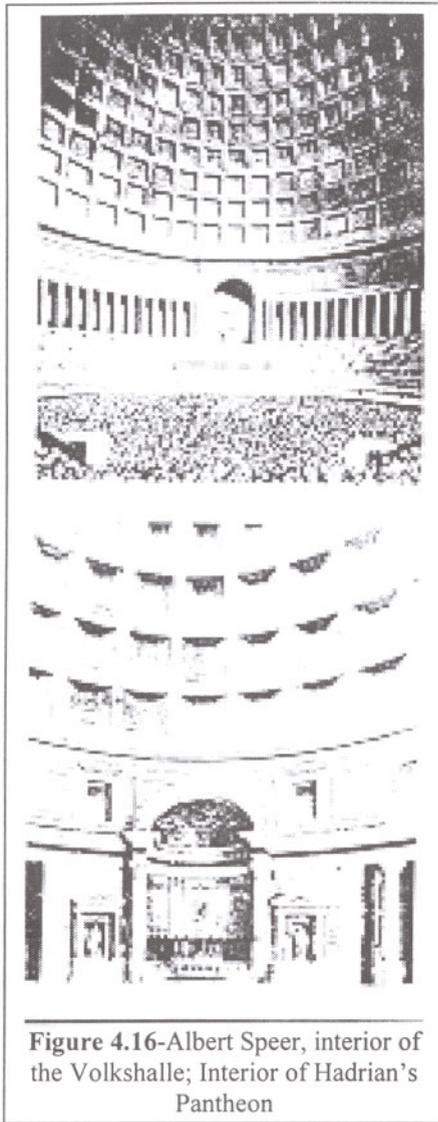


Figure 4.16-Albert Speer, interior of the Volkshalle; Interior of Hadrian's Pantheon

Hitler's Volkshalle represented many ideological and symbolic meanings. The new cathedral of Berlin gave opportunity to people for the worship of Hitler and his successors. The domed hall symbolized the globe of the earth and the eagle (*swastika*) on the top of the dome's lantern controlled the globe which was established by Hitler as cosmocrator (Herr der Welt) (SCOBIE 1990, p.114). Symbolically like other founders such as Augustus and Hadrian.

At the other end of the north-south axis a triumphal arch was placed in honour of Hitler. The new palace and Chancellery on the West Side were part of the south front of the New Berlin plan. These community buildings were placed in strong axial relationship and the forum, which was bounded and ended by the huge and pure geometrical forms, contained one million people to represent achievements of Nazi state and developments of the new world capital.

• *The New Chancellery, Berlin*

In 1938 Hitler decided that the new Chancellery building in Berlin would be based on his own architectural fantasies and interpretations. Albert Speer was officially commissioned to have a new Chancellery as soon as possible and this huge complex was erected in less than eighteen months. In the new Chancellery architectural characteristics such as symmetry and axially for hierarchical orders were rigidly applied like the other buildings of Hitler. The longitudinal east-west axis began with huge bronze doors and extended to the open 'ehrenhof' (SCOBIE 1990, p.100), which was an enclosed paved courtyard. The marble gallery, which was the central part of the whole complex, ended at the reception room. The other axis (north- south) passed through the centre of the marble gallery and Hitler's personal salon and office were placed where the axis bisected the marble gallery. The main architectural characteristics of the complex such as two axis, interactions, halls, galleries came from the aim of to produce an *architectural scenario*. One critic wrote about this: 'The skill and architectural culture with which this structure is planned... is beyond dispute, particularly when one considers... the architectural promenade which a visitor would have to traverse before having an audience with the Führer.' (WILSON 1994, p.184). So 85 percent of the whole building used as circulation space and it could be named a '*promenade architecturale*'. (WILSON 1994, p.184). The scenario was clear: the visitor such as statesman or ambassador who had a meeting with the new Reich had to walk 200-yard over polished floors, around sculptures and swastika flags to reach the patron of the monumental art and architecture. The *psychological game* was created by architectural elements of building, with its overwhelming scale, its pompous axial regimentation and its disciplined repetition to admire visitors. Ironically, Hitler came to his end because of his psychological tension in the bunker next to the Chancellery that aimed to create *psychological tension by architecture*.

In National socialist period, Hitler thought that he was an 'artist' and his politics was an 'art'. (HOCHMAN 1989, p.315). In his artistic process, architecture played a major role to legitimize and propagate political ideology. The ideology needed memories of past and its forms more than it needed aspiration of future. So Germany was temporarily cut off from modern architectural culture of the twenties. The architectural policy of Nazi regime can be determined both general character of its architectural program and its

political significance. The Neo-classical architectural characteristics also paralleled in every European country and in America in the thirties. The Neo-classical State architecture of Nazi Germany differed from the Neo-classical architecture of other countries in Europe and America. Hitler and his official architects used the principles and forms of the antiquity to establish architectural order, grid-iron town plans plus *cardo/ decumanus*, axial symmetry, hierarchical urban space structures as a reflection of the social and political order. It was the major difference than the other Neo-classic State architecture.

Cynicism and *fanaticism* of the Fascist ideology had extended into the architectural field and also these characteristics started to build up the reasons of the World War II. End of the war announced ends of these architectural and political movements. Nazis employed architecture with monuments to celebrate or glorify a victory of ideology like Romans. According to Speer there was a major difference: 'The Romans built arches of triumph to celebrate the big victories won by the Roman empire, while Hitler built them to celebrate victories he had not yet won.' (F. Dal Co, S. Polano 1978, p.43).

4.1.2. MUSSOLINI AND THE SITUATION IN ITALY

In 1930's another Fascist regime was established in Italy in the leadership of Mussolini. Like Hitler, he took a direct interest in architecture and city planning. He aimed to rebuild new Italy depending on historical Rome since he thought that the Fascist regime should be continuity of the Roman Empire not only with political structure but also with architectural characteristics.

The Fascist architectural movement in Italy was influenced and directed by its leaders and existed in some architectural attitudes, which were similarly observed in the architecture of the other totalitarian regimes. The main architectural characteristics were archetypal attitudes for glorification and identification the position of its political leader. These archetypes were used while the city demolished for *archetypal attitudes* was being redesigned.

Conceiving Fascist Architecture as archetypal architecture or in other words Neo-Classical architecture can be misleading. Especially during the Fascist period of Italy, architecture shouldn't be thought apart from architecture of Terragni and Futurists.

Italian architects were aware of the contemporary trends in other countries of Europe. The modern movement began in Italy before the establishment of the Fascist regime. Various architectural trends, however, could develop together with *nationalism* or *rationalism*. In the architectural framework of Italy, the architectural conflicts always existed between 'nationalism versus internationalism and tradition versus modernity'. (BEN-GHIAT 1993, p.124). The architectural trends such as *Futurism*, *Novecentism* and *Rationalism* placed in the framework of architectural theory and practice in the Italy of twentieth century. The situation in Italy in the same period was more complex than the other European countries. Political developments influenced this architectural complexity and plurality heavier than that of Nazism in Germany.

4.1.2.1 ITALIAN FUTURISM IN THE PRE-WAR PERIOD

Art Nouveau and Futurism influenced Modernism in Italy before World War I. Futurism began as an internationalist movement, which aimed to restructure the society, based on their cults; '*war and worship of machine*'. (FRAMPTON 1992, p.214), Futurism impulsed a social structures so it was a concept rather than a style. It was fundamentally opposed to culture and every kind of academic institutions. Its explicit opposition proclaimed itself as a mixture trend.

On 20 February 1909, the article of Filippo Tomaso Marinetti, '*Le Futurisme*' was published in *Le Figaro*, Paris. He announced the iconoclastic principles of Italian Futurism from technical to social phenomena. In 1910, the artist Umberto Boccioni started an anti-cultural polemic of Futurism for plastic arts. In the same year he wrote a Futurist Manifesto on painting and in April 1912, he wrote the '*Technical Manifesto of Futurist Sculpture*' (*Manifesto Tecnico Della Scultura Futurista*) which is the most important Futurist architectural writings of pre-war period. Meanwhile, Sant'Elia was still influenced by the Italian Secessionist movement. Boccioni's manifesto of 1912 and Marinetti's '*Geometric and Mechanical Splendour and the Numerical Sensibility*' (*La Splendeur Geometrique et Mecanique*) of 1914 gave reference to the intellectual and aesthetic frame of the Futurist architecture.

In 1905, Sant'Elia graduated from a technical school in Como as a master builder. Then he started to work and took architectural courses at the Brera Academy. In 1912, he formed the group '*Nuove Tendenze*' with his friends Mario Chiattonne and others. In 1914 this group exhibited in Milan drawings and plans for the Futurist '*Citta Nuova*' New City of Sant'Elia. These sketches consisted of monumental images, massive and symmetrical power-houses, tall blocks in the '*scenographic landscape*' (FRAMPTON 1992, p.88) of the *Citta Nuova*. His design reacted the relationship of buildings and streets and created composed skyscrapers and walkways with his romantic vision.

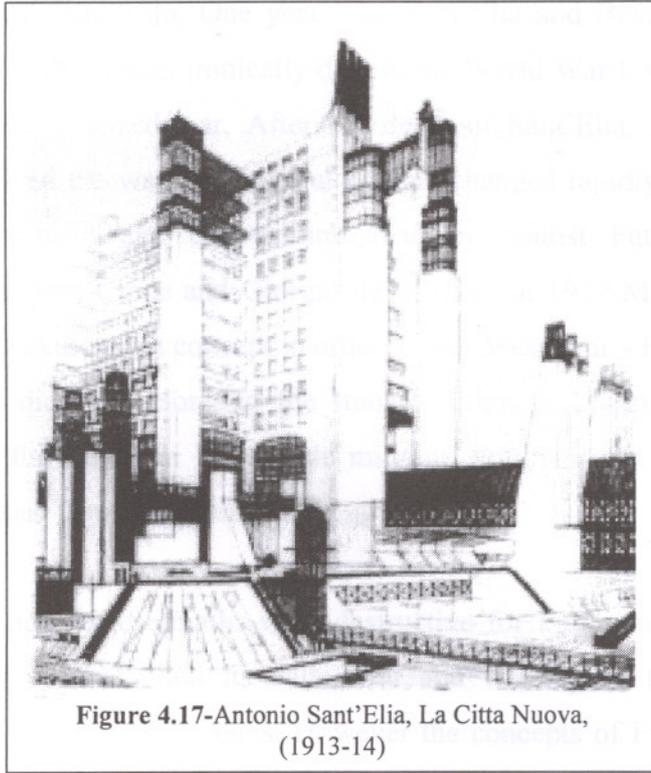


Figure 4.17-Antonio Sant'Elia, La Citta Nuova, (1913-14)

The Manifesto of Futurist Architecture (Manifesto dell Architettura Futurista) appeared firstly in the foreword to the exhibition catalogue with Antonia Sant'Elia's radical ideas. The Manifesto in the same year was immediately reinterpreted by Marinetti, four months after his manifesto. The Manifesto of Futurist Architecture included some contradictory opposition and militant propositions:

'...That oblique and elliptical lines are dynamic by their very nature and have emotional power a thousand times greater than that of perpendicular and horizontal lines and that a dynamically integrated architecture is impossible without them...

.... So we being materially and spiritually artificial – must find this inspiration in the elements of the immensely new mechanical world which we have created, of which architecture must be the first expression, the most complete synthesis, the most efficacious artistic integration...

.... The victory of 'Futurism' already affirmed with 'Words in Freedom', 'Plastic Dynamism', 'Music without Bars', and 'The art of Sounds', a victory for which we fight without pause against the cowardly worship of the past.' (CONRADS 1970, p. 38).

Some aspects of this manifesto incorporated into Fascist rhetoric. And in 1915, Boccioni, Piatti, Russolo, Marinetti and Sant'Elia signed 'Italian Pride', the Futurist

proto fascist political manifesto. One year later Sant'Elia and Boccioni entered on a military career and both of them ironically died in the World War I, which was the first industrialized and mechanized war. After the death of Sant'Elia, Marinetti lead the Futurists who survived the war, but cultural climate changed rapidly. Neo-nationalism was politically powerful and the cultural reaction against Futurism was being formulated by Benedetto Croce and Giorgio de Chirico. In 1919 Marinetti abandoned his architectural internationalist concept in order to join Mussolini's Fascist Party. From now on, Futurism did not belong to the Italians although Marinetti, Boccioni and Sant'Elia took up the Futurism in Italy as militant. Futurism was already the main concept of the Russian Constructivists.

The World War I and its aftermaths were destructive for Futurism. Its revolutionary concerns, restructuring society and its cults, war and worship of the machine were degenerated by the anti-Futurist groups. However the concepts of Futurism were used especially by Fascists. The intelligentsia and the idea of '*restructuring society*' promoted the idea of '*machine culture*' and '*the cult of war*' only thematically corresponded with the Fascist Ideology.

4.1.2.2. ARCHITECTURAL GROUPS AND TRENDS IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD (1920-1930)

- *The Novecentist Group*

After the World War I, Italian culture was characterized by the classical expression in painting by Giorgio de Chirico and in architecture with the classical Novecento Movement by Giovanni Muzio. After Sant'Elia's death, Futurism lost all affects in architectural field and some of the Futurists repeated its revolutionary manifesto. In 1921 Marinetti, however, launched the Tactilist manifesto, the new generation no longer sympathized the manifestoes of Futurism. They hoped to find and share a new tendency.

In 1922, the new group named 'Novecento' (Twentieth Century) was founded by some painters and neo-classic Milanese architects: G. Muzio, P. Portaluppi, E. Lancia, P. Ponti, O. Cabiati, A. Alpago-Novello and U. Oppi. However some former Futurists, Soffici and Papini changed their allegiances and joined Novecentist group, which has in

the past been dismissed as '*protorationalist* or *proto-postmodernist*'. (BEN-GHIAT 1993, p.124). The spokesman of Novocentist, G. Muzio commented their extremist tendencies: 'Today, again, for us it seems necessary to react against the confusion and the exasperated individualism of current architecture, and we must re-establish principles of order for which architecture, an eminently social art, must-in a country which is above all wedded to tradition –involve harmony and homogeneity... We hope that a prosperous period has today begun for the arts, and the culture of the tradition of Classicism comes to flower again within us.' (SCHUMACHER 1991, p. 22). Novecentist architects never accepted the Internationalist Style and directed their attention toward finding expression of Italian national identity. Their works could be evaluated as an updated classicism that overlaid functionalist facades. The Novecentist Movement could be characterized with its significant phase that would be at once *national* and *modern*.

Before the International Style, many of the early twentieth century architects and theorists concentrated their concepts on architectural stability such as Art Nouveau. In this connection, Novecentist Movement could be defined as a stable trend which was parallel to the political, aftermath of the World War I and increasing of Fascism after Mussolini and his Blackshirts marched on Rome in 1922. The Novecentists used two magazines, 'La Ronda' and 'Valori Plastici' and some exhibitions to propagate their conceptions as Novecentist art was formulated between the *traditional* and the *modern*. This trend was considered in the hearts and minds of Italian architects before Fascism came to power. The Novecento intrigued and influenced the Fascists who believed the idea of a '*Third Rome*' as a continuity of Roman Empire. So it could be a branch of the Fascist culture, which had begun to be built by Mussolini.

The other similar traditional and conservative trend took place in various parts of Italy. P. Aschieri and A. Limongelli advocated returning to a simplified neo-classicism and Marcello Piacentini followed this thought aimed to come upon the Viennese repertoire. Their works were evaluated in the most '*orthodox traditionalism* and *ultra-conservatism*'. (BENEVOLO 1971, p.563).

- *The Rationalist Gruppo 7*

In this traditionalist and classicist atmosphere, the Rationalist 'Gruppo 7' appeared with a Rationalist manifesto. In December of 1926 the series of articles were published in the journal *Rassegna Italiana* which was referred Rationalism as the first theoretical statements of the Italian Modern Movement. The Gruppo 7 consisted of seven young architects from the Milan Politecnico; G. Figini, G. Frette, S. Larco, G. Pollini, C.E. Rava, U. Castagnola and G. Terragni. They declared their intention of founding an 'Architettura Razionale': 'The new architecture ... must be the result of a close adherence to logic and rationality... We do not claim to create a style, but from the constant application of rationality, the perfect correspondence of the building to its aims, in fact by selection, style must inevitably result... it is important to be convinced of the need to create types, a few basic types... it is important to see that, for the moment at least, architecture must consist partly of renunciation...' (BENEVOLO 1971, p.564) The Rationalist Gruppo 7 sought the principle of regularity as a synthesis of the nationalistic values of Italian Classicism and the structural logic of the machine age. They didn't tend to break with tradition and also they tended to adopt International Style except the extremist tendencies of part of the European Movement. But their traditionalist concepts differed the other traditionalist trends. They might have been '*antihistoricist*', they were not '*anti historical*'. (ETLIN 1990, p.248). They also sympathized the Deutsche Werkbund and the Russian Constructivists. They didn't want to demolish the architectural terms, they wanted to give new meanings to these: '*tradition*', '*style*', '*rationality*', and '*beauty*'.

1928 was a crucial year, both politically and architecturally in which the Rationalists exhibited their design in Rome and Grand Fascist Council assumed its powers. At the exhibition in the designs of the group, the eclectic mixture of Russian, German and French influences could be observed. Constructivist tendencies, Futurist proposals such as Sant'Elia's 'Citta Nuova', technological and industrial buildings such as Giacomo Matte-Trucco's Fiat Factory of 1923 were aspired their new forms and adopted new vocabularies. Not surprisingly, the modern architecture took root in Italian Rationalist Architecture.

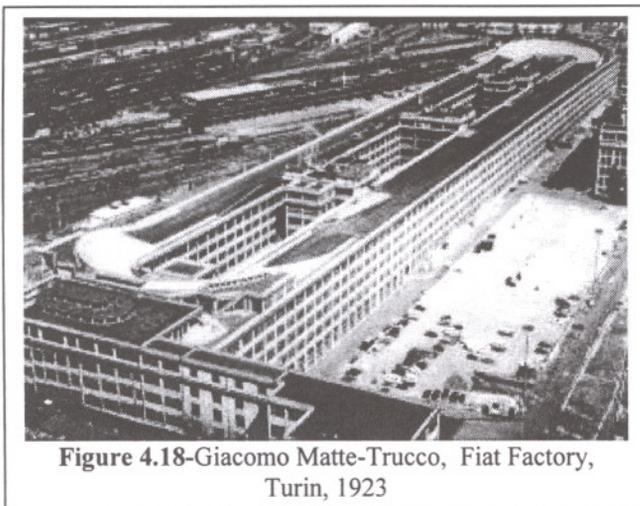


Figure 4.18-Giacomo Matte-Trucco, Fiat Factory, Turin, 1923

- *The Movimento Italiano per l'Architettura Razionale (MIAR) Group*

The Italian Rationalist Movement's exhibition led to the foundation Movimento Italiano per l'Architettura Razionale (MIAR) in 1930. The young architects organized an exhibition under the patronage of the National Union of Architects and the art critic Pietro Maria Bardi. A MIAR declaration published for the opening of the exhibition that pointed out a direction: 'Our movement has no other moral aim than that of serving the (Fascist) Revolution in the prevailing harsh climate. We call upon Mussolini's good faith to enable us to achieve this.' (FRAMPTON 1992, p. 204). The 'Report to Mussolini on Architecture' which was written by Bardi pointed out the same direction of MIAR declaration. He claimed that the Rationalist Architecture was an expression of the Fascist revolutionary principles. But other sponsor of the exhibition, the National Union of Architects, reacted that the Rationalist Architecture was the official party manner. Three weeks after the opening of the exhibition, lead by Mussolini, it has been declared that Rationalist Architecture could not achieve any compatibility of the rhetorical demands of Fascism. Especially Piacentini in the National Union of Architects proposed his highly eclectic '*Lictorial Style*' (Stile Littoria) for the Fascist character rather than the *metaphysical traditionalism* of the *Novecento* and *avant-gardism* of the *Rationalism*. (FRAMPTON 1992, p.204).

During the decade between 1920 and 1930, progressive Italian Art and Architecture were directed by these groups and trends. All of them wanted to be a part of the Fascist organization and wanted to serve political ideology. The groups such as Gruppo 7 and MIAR, which represented themselves on the organizational level, broke up at the beginning of the 1930's. From now on the well-known architects and small groups worked on their own and managed certain individual battles.

4.1.2.3. FASCIST ARCHITECTURE

- *Architecture of Mussolini*

The conflict between modernity and tradition was observed in the Italian Fascist Movement between Mussolini's March on Rome in October 1922 and 1931 when the ideological formation of Italian Architecture were set up by MIAR and Raggruppamento Architetti Moderni Italiani. On October 1922, King Vittorio Emanuele III announced that Mussolini was the new Prime Minister. Mussolini took control of the country. On 31 December 1925, Mussolini explained his architectural decision for Rome as a 'La Nuova Roma'. According to him new Italy had to be shaped based on historical Rome and he aimed to re-plan the Rome to emphasize the Fascist regime as a continuity of the Roman Empire. While creating the new Rome he tried to shape a new fascist architecture: 'my ideas are clear, my orders are exact, and certain to become a concrete reality. Within five years Rome must strike all the nations of the world as a source of wonder. *Huge, well organized, powerful*, as it was as the time of the Augustan Empire. You will continue to free trunk of the great oak from everything that still clutters it. You will create spaces around the Theatre of Marcellus, the Capitol, and the Pantheon. Everything that has grown up around these buildings during centuries of decadence must be removed. Within five years the mass of the Pantheon must be visible from the Piazza Collonna through a large space. You will also free from parasitic and profane architectural accretions the majestic temples of Christian Rome. The millenary monuments of our history must loom larger in requisite isolation' (MUSSOLINI 1926, p. 244-45).

Mussolini saw his position as the inheritor of the Roman Emperors and as the founder of a new Roman Empire. Architectural elements; arches, columns, domes, pillars, exedras and architectural materials; marble, granite, travertine, were used to establish stylistic links between new Roman Empire and Roman Imperial past. So the close resemblance between the Nazi platz and Fascist piazza came from same Roman aspiraticn. Both of them were placed at the center of the cardo and decumanus junction. Other similarities were established between the major projects of the Pope Sixtus V in 16th century. Each leader sought to represent their political aspirations to portray Rome as an international city and the capital city of the world. According to Mussolini his urban planning policy was based on three concepts; *improving hygiene, creating better roads and making the cities more beautiful*. However his policies and urban renewal projects except Rome were generally *antagonistic*. (ANKER 1996, pp.167-170).

The ancient monuments of the Augustan Age received most attention as potential political symbols, but the progressive architecture of the same period searched to create a blend of new in the imperial glories an old that demonstrated continuity with the past. These architectural concepts were linked with Mussolini's Fascist concepts. He liked to refer to Fascism as a '*House of Glass*' (uno casa di vetro), Giuseppe Terragni's Casa del Fascio at Como (1932-36) demonstrated the transparency of the Fascist idea in which combined modern architectural elements with traditional materials. Terragni's Danteum project (1938) also symbolized this concept as a '*Paradise Room*' with modern form and traditional materials. (SCOBIE 1990, p.12).

In the post-war period, Mussolini was seen as the Italy's saviour from the opposite effects and founder of the new political and Cultural Revolution. Mussolini, however, couldn't carry out a Cultural Revolution, which is based on academic culture. His ideas supported all philosophies to be acceptable in cultural expression. At this point, Mussolini requested that the national style would be '*traditional and yet modern*'. In this aspect he differed from his peers such as Hitler. He also sympathized to the modernism and supported the modern approaches to architecture till the late thirties. So his official architects, Piacentini and Terragni placed on the different poles of the architectural scala.

- *Architecture of Piacentini*

In Rome, the architect Marcello Piacentini lead a group, which described themselves, as 'moderates'. They sought to synthesize traditional Roman architectural elements by a process of simplification make these buildings modern and to create a visible discontinuity with the Roman past. Piacentini named this highly eclectic trend, Stile Littorio (Lictorial Style) as the official Fascist manner. So he was reinforced to become the leader of the Raggruppamento Architetti Moderni Italiani which supported the eclectic classicism of the Stile Littoria.

Piacentini announced the cultural and architectural regionalism with his climatic arguments: 'We (Italians) ultimately cannot accept the new fixed formulas of completely glass walls and low ceilings, we must defend ourselves against a burning sun and excessive heat six months out of the year. This means we must still use natural and heavy materials in dimensions that cannot, because of their nature be differentiated from the old ones.' (SCHUMACHER 1991, p.28). In fact, Piacentini aimed to criticize Modern Architecture. According to him, Modern Architecture possessed symbolic basis; not a technical one and also he worked to legitimize his regionalism that would proceed to classicism.

Piacentini was a typical Italian haute-bourgeois and he believed in conservatism and profession against radicalism and liberalism. His domineering personality and authoritarianism were succeeded him the most powerful architects during the inter-war years. So the conflict between Piacentini and Terragni started not only in the reason of their architectural concept differentiation but also his authoritarian personality. These differentiation affected the Mussolini's point of view. Peter Eisenman pointed out this situation. 'It has been said that it was not for aesthetic reasons that Hitler closed the Bauhaus. It must be said that it was because of a certain anxiety brought on by aesthetics-and not by politics- that Mussolini preferred Piacentini to Terragni.' (SCHUMACHER 1991, p. 13). Adolf Hitler might have preferred Albert Speer to Mies Van der Rohe for the same reasons. So, Piacentini often called Mussolini's Albert Speer.

- *Architecture of Terragni*

In 1930's the best architects of the younger generations found some opportunity of fully exercising their talents. Giuseppe Terragni (1904-42) was certainly the most gifted and the most successful among his contemporaneous in Italy. Unfortunately the most important victim of the political regime was also Terragni.

He was born in 1904 near Como. This city played a significant role for his professional career. He enrolled in the Istituto Tecnico in Como like Sant'Elia who firstly influenced him architecturally and he designed his most canonical building, Casa del Fascio for this city. His architectural education was given in the Milan Politecnico. As soon as he graduated, he and his friends from Milan Politecnico published the declaration 'Gruppo 7' as a Rationalist Manifesto. In 1928 he joined the National Fascist Party and received some important commissions as a result of his joining the party. Although he was a moralist in every field, he played politics for opportunistic reasons. Giuseppe Rocchi characterized this situation with his buildings and Contemporary European Architecture: 'The monument at Erba, The Stecchini tomb, the Albergo Posta, the Pirovano tomb, the Danteum, the Casa del Fascio at Lissone, are products of Terragni's right hand, the *autocratic* and *fascist* one; while all the other works are by his left hand, *International* and *European*' (SCHUMACHER 1991, p.83).

The spices of classical figuration and the construction techniques and abstraction of modernity characterized his earliest works. Then he found his inspirational paradigms in Le Corbusier's oeuvre, which 'imbibed the technological imagery and the purity of form'. (CURTIS 1996, p.363). Terragni was a traditionalist and at heart a classicist. He achieved that the combination between Le Corbusier's modernist principles, qualities of proportions, abstraction and traditionalist aspects of Fascist mythology. With this patterns he erected the form of thought and feeling, especially in the Casa del Fascio (The local headquarters of the Fascist Party) of 1932-6 in Como. He commented that the relationships between solid and void, load and support, mass and transparency and introduced shifts, asymmetries and rotations.

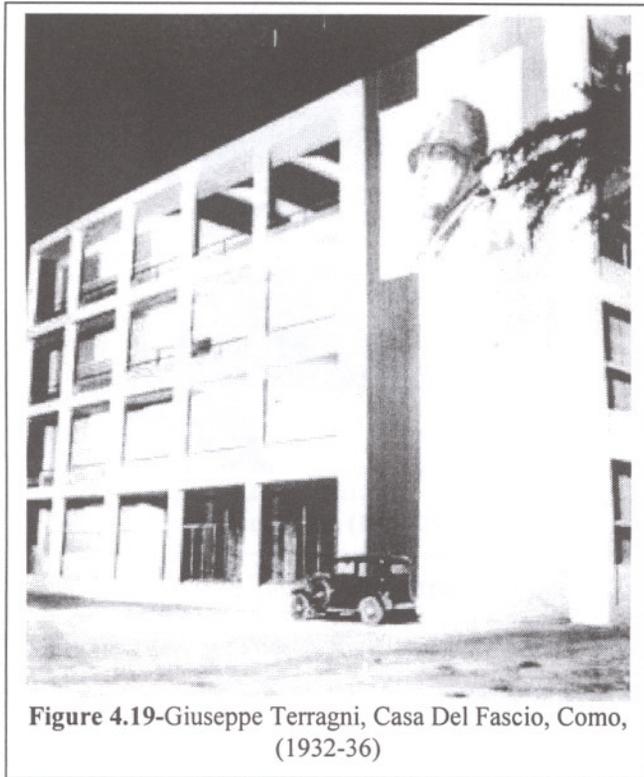
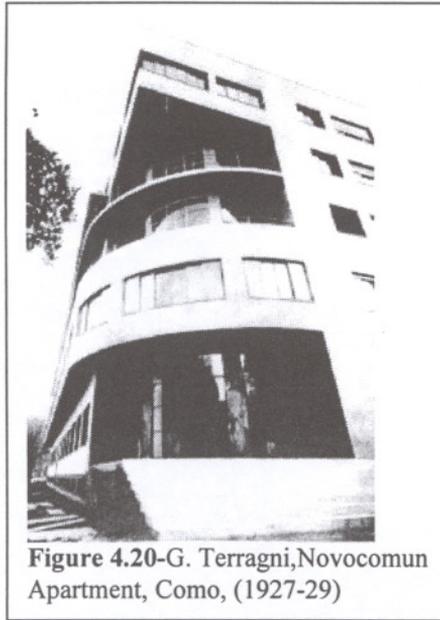


Figure 4.19-Giuseppe Terragni, Casa Del Fascio, Como, (1932-36)

William J.R. Curtis explains Terragni's architecture and architectural relationships as follows: 'Thus Terragni's researches into architectural syntax, however locally motivated, had a more general aspect related to the entire problem of modernity and classicism.' (CURTIS 1996, p.368). The confusion of style and politics were lived and some simplistic connections were established politically and architecturally. Although there are political similarities between Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, Terragni's architecture had never been as banal and ordinary as the architecture of Speer. He profoundly linked to the past in the service of Fascism.

- *The Novocomun Apartment House*

The Novocomun Apartment House in Como, built in 1929, is usually considered as the first Rationalist work to be built in Italy together with Lingeri's headquarters of the Nautical Club Almila at Tremezzo and Pagano's the Gualino office block at Turin. All of these projects had been exhibited in the first exhibition of Rational Architecture in 1928. They showed that a new period for Italian Architecture corresponding to political developments started.



The Novocomun Apartments, the symmetrical, five-story composition was characterized by Rationalist concerns as a *Transatlantico*. The rounded corners of the building were common in the early works of the Modern Movement. The glass cylinders of Novocomun associated with Gropius' and Adler's 1914 Wehrt Pavilion in Cologne, with its rounded glass corners, Erich Mendelsohn's rounded corners and especially Golossov's Zuev Club in Moscow of 1926-28. (FRAMPTON 1992, p.204). Some critics argued about the similarities of these contemporaneous buildings. It could be cited as an influence on Terragni but he had arrived the design of the Novocomun before having seen Golossov's building, which is firstly contained in a German magazine. Although the corners of the buildings commonly referred a classical canon as the corner entrances of the many nineteenth-century apartment houses and manifested Rationalist concerns; The Novocomun Apartment House contextually continued the patterns of the traditionalist apartments.

- *The Casa del Fascio*

In 1932, Terragni designed the most canonical work of the Italian Rationalist movement, the Casa del Fascio in Como and placed at the side behind the Cathedral of Como. In this building, Terragni believed that he embodied the spirit of Fascism: 'Here is the Mussolinian concept that Fascism is a glasshouse into which everyone can peer giving rise to the architectural interpretation that is the complement of that metaphor; no encumbrance, no barrier, no obstacle, between the political hierarchy people.' (CURTIS 1996, p.364).



Figure 4.21-Giuseppe Terragni, Casa Del Fascio, meeting in front of building, Como, 1936

This building and some typical works such as, stadiums, students' houses, recreation centers served the several Fascist fundamental themes to remain, *political prestige*, *propaganda value* and *revolutionary originality*. Casa del Fascio was a typical result of this effort; it was established the basis of strictly rational geometry, square in plan with height equal to one half side of square. The architectural contrast between plans and voids created the tension between the modern and classical with the choice of materials and the character of proportions. The metaphysical spatial continuity was created with the structural piers, which reinforced the control axis of the building. The glass doors separated the entrance foyer from the piazza and also directed the central axis of the building out through 'the axis of the state' and 'the axis of the people'.(CURTIS 1996, p.366). This concept idealized the combination of social situation and political ideology.

Casa del Fascio and the other Rationalist buildings attempted to be understood as a vehicle for the modernization of Italy. Rationalists expressed themselves as the left-wing components of Fascist Ideology. So Italian Rationalist Architecture and Fascism came together only in symbolic meaning. They considered themselves to be creating a Fascist architecture but their projects could be identified as Fascist neither in the *monumental –imperialist* side of Fascism nor in *massive colossal* forms of Fascist architecture. The true examples of Fascist architecture became much more evident after 1936.

4.1.2.4. URBAN APPROACHES DURING THE FASCIST PERIOD

- *The Foro Mussolini*

Edoardo Persico, as an editor of *Belvedere* and Co-editor of *Casabella* from 1930-1936, gave support to the modern movement and compared the Italian Architecture with the European one. After Persico's death, in 1936 the political and cultural difficulties facing Rationalist architecture increased rapidly. In same year, Mussolini announced the creation of the New Roman Empire as the 'Third Rome'. Meanwhile, the Ethiopian invasion commenced. Between 1936 and the World War II showed a significant struggle in both political and architectural areas. While Mussolini was trying to re-plan Rome and create a new architecture, the three huge complexes were being built in Rome, which were provided with three *foras* as a continuation of the imperial fora of Caesar, Augustus, and Trajan. The Foro Mussolini was built by the direction of the architect Enrico Del Debbio. The complex had a style between rationalism and modernism and included some sport centers and a marble stadium, 'Stadio Mussolini'. The sculptures and buildings of the complex reflected its monumentality.

- *The University of Rome*

The second Forum, which was one of the greatest public projects to be completed under Fascism, was the University of Rome whose construction had begun in 1936. This Forum was designed by Piacentini and it showed a 'T' shaped plan with the most important building placed at the middle of the 'T' plan and at the end of the longitudinal axis of the forum.

- *Esposizione Universale Roma '42, (EUR '42)*

In 1937, the plan for the great World's Fair, to be known as 'Esposizione Universale Roma '42' (EUR '42) was announced. It was the third forum of the New Rome. Pagano who always close to official circles, collaborated with Piacentini for the EUR '42 in which the museums, memorials and palaces were given some particular descriptions by Mussolini to form the core of the Third Rome. Many buildings of some architects were constructed in the Piacentini's EUR '42 plan, which recalled the typical ancient Roman town and its north-south (*cardo*), and east-west (*decumanus*) axial roads.

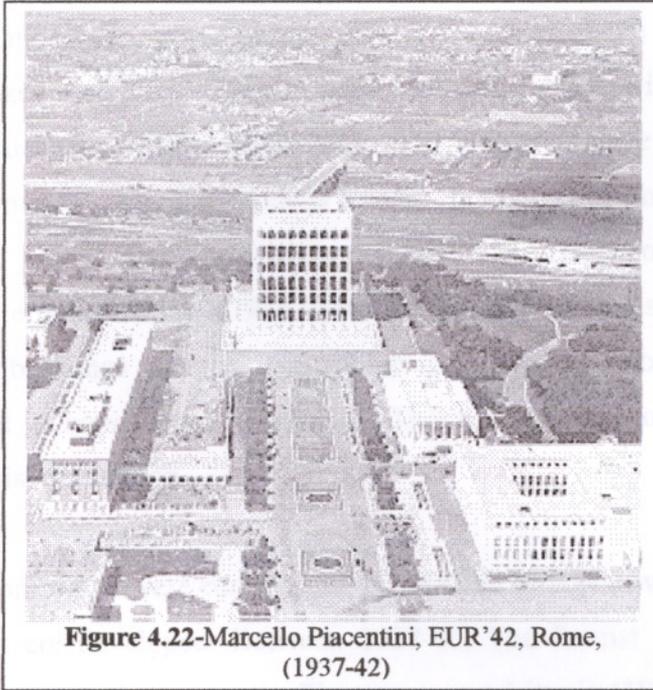


Figure 4.22-Marcello Piacentini, EUR' 42, Rome, (1937-42)

The point these two axis intersected was marked by Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana. The designers of this buildings, G. Guerrini, E. La Padula and M. Romano achieved a rhetorical monumentality using simplifications of Roman architectural elements such as the arches, the column and the pilaster to establish stylistic links between traditional and modern.

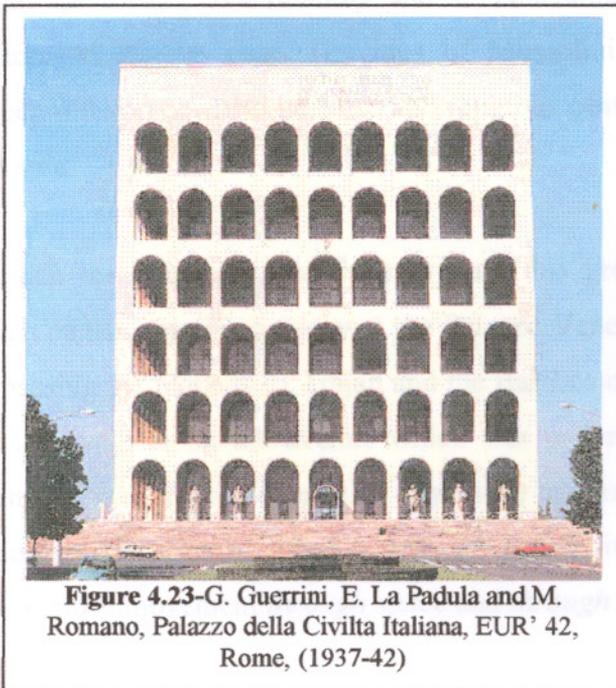


Figure 4.23-G. Guerrini, E. La Padula and M. Romano, Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana, EUR' 42, Rome, (1937-42)

The Piacentini's EUR'42 plan composed of the various architectural principles including the Rationalism, post-Futurism, and symbolism of the Roman imperium to create a legitimized modern civilization. This plan was published in the mean time both in *Architettura* and *Casabella* in June 1937: 'The architects have aimed at giving this monumental complex new and modern values, though with an ideal link with the examples of the great Italian and Roman compositions.' (Benevolo 1971, p.574). The classical characteristics of the EUR'42 plan such as the north - south axis, landmarks and important buildings on the intersection points of the roads evoked positive comments about its *monumental modernity*. This was the Italian example of a rising worldwide Fascist expression.

While the big complexes were constructed, the planing of new towns and the revision of existing cities were developed. Between 1928-40, The Fascist Government built 13 towns and about 60 rural settlements. The new towns Littoria (1932), Sabaudia (1934), Pontinia (1935), Aprilia (1936) reproduced Fascist notions of hierarchy and power with their isolated space and frameworks, the other towns built after 1936, Arsia (1937), Carbonia (1938), Torviscosa (1938) and Pozzo Littorio (1940) served some purposes such as industry and military. In these new towns, political concerns of Mussolini and Fascist Ideology prevailed over urbanistic criteria. Some concerns were demonstrated for downtown Rome, like a latter-day Haussmann. Mussolini was pointed out two important problem for Rome; '*functionality* and *monumentality*' (Mussolini 1926, p 244) in the pattern of Roman past. The idea of Mussolini aimed to create new connection between old and new and political and religious centers with new roads and expansive boulevards.

He had to demolish the necessary buildings to build his processional avenue, Via dell'Impero, which began from his balcony at the Palazzo Venezia and ran through the imperial forum, passing the markets of Trajan and the Basilica of Maxentius, leading to the Colosseum. The walk along the avenue which was undertaken with Mussolini's personal involvement, was created especially to provide vision of the Colosseum from the Palazzo Venezia, the Fascist Party's seat of power in Rome and intended metaphorically to control movement *through space* and *through time*.



Figure 4.24-Mussolini's demolitions for Via dell'Impero, Rome



Figure 4.25-The straight line that takes off from, The Piazza Venezia and the Monument of Victor Emmanuel II, and heads to the Colosseum.

From 1938-39 on, Italy started to live political and economic struggles and had to cancel great projects. Mussolini was moving closer toward Hitler and signed the Pact of Steel between Germany and Japan. Architectural production didn't stop during the World War II, many buildings were suspended and many of them were never completed. It is not possible to state that Modernism continued in the post-war period. However the monumentality of Piacentini did not die with the war. The association between liberal democracy of International Style and repressive regimes of traditionalism determined the characteristics of architectural and political confusions in Italy in the thirties.

4.1.3. TOTALITARIAN ARCHITECTURE IN 1930'S

The totalitarian regimes that came to power between interwar years in Russia, Italy and Germany weren't as prevalent in cultural areas compared to political areas. Their political purposes weren't farsighted and they seemed very conservative compared to other global regimes. These ideologies consist of neither philosophy of Renaissance Humanity nor logic of the Industrial Revolution technology. An art that is the supporter of mental freedom without democracy cannot exist. It wasn't possible to apply the Modernist Manifesto, which was contemporaneous with these trends. The totalitarian regimes of the 1930's first in Stalin's Russia then in Mussolini's Italy and finally in Hitler's Germany appeared and hostiled the *Modern Movement* and adopted *Neo-Classicism* as their official style. Each of these nations had a classical episode in their architectural history, Russia had St Petersburg as completely neo-classical city, Italy had the long ancient career of Rome and Germany had the neo-classical legacy of Schinkel. All of them were the *expression of power and architectural stability, grandeur and endurance*. The leaders of these totalitarian regimes seen themselves as the continuity of the *Tsars, Emperors and Reich*, thought that their states had to be established based on their glorified past. The classical architectural language obtained linkage between old and new and also gave two distinct advantages: *recognition and universality*. So they used the characteristics of Classical Architecture to impose their ideology on their society and the whole societies of the World.

These political regimes were certainly not of the same character nor had they the same aims. However, they resulted in the same architectural forms. Whatever the reasons, Stalinist regime, Fascism and Nazism aimed to keep close control on national life and habits so they imported the psychological situations of people and also the political and architectural propaganda. The classical repertoire offered no formal resistance and surprises and gave popular need for celebratory buildings and for monuments. Sigfried Giedion pointed out this in 1943: 'Monuments are the expression of man's highest cultural needs. They have to satisfy the eternal demand of the people for the translation of their collective force into symbols... The people want the buildings that represent their social and community life to give more than functional fulfillment.' (FRAMPTON 1992, p. 223). Consequently the classical repertoire represented the collective

aspirations of the people. It was the significant achievement of architectural propaganda, which represented itself recognizing *social likeness*, *mass physiology* as the totaliter regimes were coming to power and *continuing their power* and also *expressing political ideology*.

Chapter 5

KEMALISM AND ARCHITECTURE

5.1. TURKISH MODERNIZATION PROCESS AND KEMALIST IDEOLOGY

The history of *Turkish Modernization* began in the second half of the 19th century with a series of reforms. The realization process of the Modernization project can be observed in the Eastern Countries in two different directions. One of these was realized as the natural result of the sprawling capitalism and the other was formulated by elites who were educated in line with western way of thought. The second model exemplified the first step of the Turkish Modernization as a *soft transformation process*. Army officials and bureaucrats were the leaders of the *Tanzimat* (reorganization) for a new social system which attempted to the formation of westernization process and the creation of a bourgeois class. This reformism was not an extension of a natural process; it was intervening transformation with educational, judicial and fiscal reforms under the control of so called social engineers.

The reform plan of *Tanzimat* was an administrative model. According to Şerif Mardin it was based on the old European order, corresponding to ‘*cameralizm*’ which was applied by technicians and governors as a state science. Cameralists represented a kind of *intelligentsia despotizm* and did not believe in democracy. They were planners but not revolutionists. (MARDİN 1998, p. 58). The younger intelligentsia who were young professionals and military students, reacted against these elites and haute-bourgeoisie ideals. They organized the secret cells and inherited the fundamental political, economic, scientific concepts of European positivist social science. Mustafa Kemal was one of the members of this group. Meanwhile the cameralist character of the Ottoman Empire somehow continued in the first years of the Republican Turkey.

The *Tanzimat* elite and the Young Turk searched a new unifying ideology trying to create a dual cultural and social structure. Regardless of these developments of the time, the reality of Anatolia had not yet improved its cultural, economic and social backgrounds. These different directions such as those of the İstanbul Bourgeoisie,

Reformist Intelligentsia and the Anatolian Society intersected at the point, defined as being '*Turk*'.

The second step of the Turkish Modernization process began with the foundation of the Turkish Republic. This new trend was based on *Kemalist Ideology* and was *more radical* than the Ottoman Modernization. However the Kemalist Ideologists who offered modernization were the continuity of Ottoman elites and commonly believed that government must play the most important role. This highly *centralized governmental system* had the ability to use state power in the process of transforming the traditional society, building a modern economy and reshaping the national urban pattern. Ankara itself, as a capital city, symbolized the centralization of the Turkish government.

In the early Republican period, independence and modernization were the main ideas of the ideological trend. The new Turkish Republic had emerged from the struggle for independence against imperialist powers and nationalism was the natural result of this idea of independence. Kemalist ideology, however, aimed to break the traditional links with the socio-political teaching of Islamic and Ottoman cultures and to build a new secular state in which politics and religion were separate. Kemalist principles had to determine the new national identity as being '*Turkish*', was different from the understanding of the term '*Turk*' of the Tanzimat period.

Independence and *Modernization* were the unseparable ideas of the Kemalist ideology. These two ideas, however, represented a duality in their natural extensions; '*Turkification* and *Westernization*'. (ORAN, 1988,1990, p.166). Modernization meant: Westernization starting from the Ottoman period that provided political, economic and social model. The modernization process of Kemalist ideology was different than that of the Ottoman model, since it was a *total project* which aimed to direct the west side of the world abstaining *diffusionist Westernization*. In fact it meant: '*to be Western in spite of West.*' (ORAN, 1988,1990, p.250). These dual cultural and social concepts resulted in a national style in the first years of the Republican Turkey that was thought to provide the identity of the new Republic.

Kemalist ideology pointed out the necessity of national culture. The developments in the modern world corresponded with the new state ideology of the Turkish Republic, such as *functionalism*, *rationalism*, and *progressiveness*. In a short period of time following the declaration of the Republic, the result of these modern phenomenon began to be observed: ‘...the design philosophy of the Modern Movement based upon *technology*, *function*, *materials* and *geometry* was in line with the *positivism* of the Republicans.’(TEKELİ 1984, p.16). In this view, *functionalism* and *rationalism* for economic reasons; *progressiveness* for the image of the new Turkish Republic; *socialism* and *social unity* for principles of the republic were much more appropriate *positivist* and *modernist tendencies*, rather than *nationalist revivalism*. Ideological positivist characteristics played an important role on revolutionist state structure, while the main concepts of the *republican tradition*, *nationalism*, *laicism* and *rationalism* were being established. In this transformation process, the Western model was similarly adopted, aiming to apply its international characteristics only. For instance, the western transformation related to scientific methodology in terms of internationality. In this sense, the Kemalist model proposed to follow the international concepts of the Western civilization process without losing its’ own original identity.

5.2. MUSTAFA KEMAL AND THE SITUATION IN TURKEY

On October 29, 1923 the Turkish Republic was proclaimed and all the associations and links of the Ottoman Empire’s institutions associated with state bureaucracy were broken. Modern Turkey, in its establishment process, experienced a middle class revolution similar to some European countries, such as France and England. Mustafa Kemal was also from the middle class and aimed at establishing the new nation based on the new middle class elite. It would be more difficult for the Turkish Nation to go through this transition. The series of reforms carried out based on Kemalist secular principles, helped this transformation process to be both national and part of the international structure. This model which was established after the struggle against imperialist powers in the second half of the 20th century, inspired some of the Third World countries.

The modernization reforms were based on Western Europe's political, economic and social structures. '...Atatürk reforms introduced into the life of the nation such concepts and values as *innovation, nationalism, functionalism, utilitarianism, objectivism* and a belief in science, *technology* and *progress...*' (BATUR 1984, p.69). In the economic sphere, state capitalism was adopted; on the other hand economic policies directly influenced the built environment. The government rapidly developed an industrial economy, supported transportation, imported public services and infrastructures such as education and health care. The benefits of better education and economic growth were clearly observed in the development of democracy.

These economical and social reforms were part of the total development, for example in cultural and artistic areas. Mustafa Kemal did not believe in extreme nationalism for cultural policy and felt the need to create the Republic's own forms of art. He did not accept the First National Movement which reflected the symbolic references of Ottomanism, since the logic of revolution aims at cutting all relationships of past. Although this movement, suggested a *unity of social pleasures* such as the *Turkish identity*. The cultural policy of the new established republic should have been new and farsighted like the republic itself. In order to achieve this, solutions would be searched for in the Contemporary World.

5.2.1. TURKISH ARCHITECTURE IN THE PRE-REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

Reforms aimed at westernization and the creation of a bourgeoisie society were formulated by the ruling elites in the last years of the Ottoman Empire. Although internal forces directed this reform program, Western powers tended to strengthen their role. Economic dependency and cultural emulation of the Ottoman Empire on Europe increased, for example the establishment of the Ottoman Public Debts Administration (*Düyun- i Umumiye*) which controlled Empire's financial independence. Meanwhile parallel with economic and political developments, new functions and new building types became more Westernized. İstanbul started to go through an architectural and urbanistic transformation similar to other European capital cities.

The new face of İstanbul was constructed by the Balyan Family, until the second half of the 19th century. The neo-classical style became popular for the design of palaces and public buildings. Following these developments, foreign architects who would be more influential such as Vallauray and Jachmund came to İstanbul for major constructions. They tended to create an *eclectic architecture*, using elements of Ottoman-Islamic architecture with the facadist manner aiming to find harmony through the *architectural symbolism* of Istanbul. Y. Yavuz and S. Özkan ctiticized Jahmund's Sirkeci Railroad Terminal and Vallauray's the Public Debts Administration Building not only for reinterpreting the Ottoman-Islamic elements in the neo-classical tradition, but also for reflecting *imperialist capitalism* and *haute-bourgeoisie* as a new social model. 'The Sirkeci Railroad Terminal was still enthusiastically received by the Ottoman elite as a gateway to Europe and to Modernity' (YAVUZ and ÖZKAN 1984, p. 36).

While designing these building, these architects were teaching at the Academy of Fine Arts (Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi) which had been newly established to develop architecture as a profession. As they were setting up the new imperial architecture, their academic positions influenced young architects. Mimar Kemallettin, who was the founder of the First National Architectural Movement with Vedat Tek, was one of these students. Vedat Tek was the first Turkish architect with formal education (in the Ecole Nationale des Beaux Arts). They conceptualised their architecture based on the Ottoman-Islamic elements because the nationalist ideologue Ziya Gökalp influenced the ideas of architectural principles with his duality of 'Civilisation' and 'Culture'. (ORAN, 1988,1990, p.166).



Figure 5.1-Mimar Kemalettin, Harikzedegan Apartments, İstanbul, (1919-22)

The Harikzedegan apartment of Mimar Kemalettin is stated to be the most impressive and representative building complex of this movement. The building conceptualised the combination of Ottoman heritage and the contemporary ideas of national context. This complex exemplified the change in social class; although it was designed for low income families, the members of upper and middle classes settled here for the sake of the popularity of this complex. (YAVUZ and ÖZKAN 1984, pp.47-50).

5.2.2. THE MOVEMENT OF FIRST NATIONAL ARCHITECTURE (1923-1927)

The Turkish Republic was established after the end of the War of Independence. Turkey faced some structural and ideological problems, however the government aimed at solving these problem by means of some series of reforms and radical decisions. The most significant development among these revolutionary concepts was the declaration of Ankara as the capital of the new republic.

The new capital was immediately transformed to a contemporary city with the construction of new types of buildings and some urban planning decisions during the first years of the republic. While there were attempts for the development of Ankara as a modern city, the First National Architectural Movement was continuing which was associated with cosmopolitan Ottoman Istanbul. In the evaluation of Turkish architectural practice, this movement is referred to as a transformation process, the Republican regime conceptualized a different point of view which was revolutionary. However the new types of buildings in the new capital could not stop being influenced by the architectural values of İstanbul and Ottoman images.

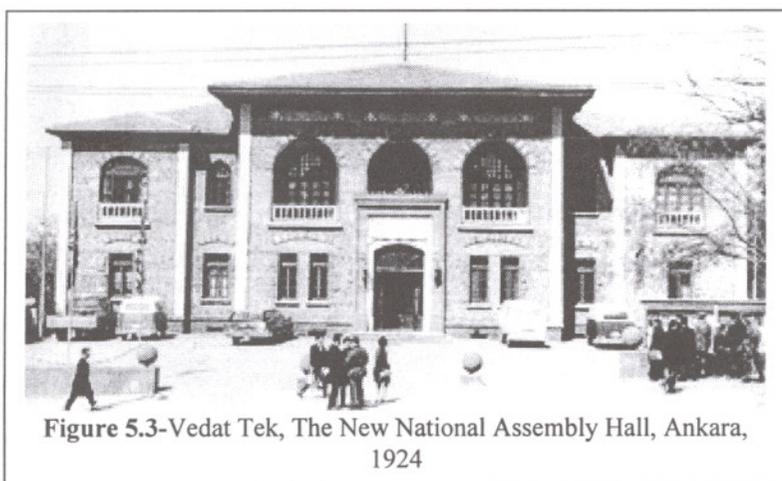


Figure 5.2-G. Mongeri, Ziraat Bank, Ankara, (1926-29)

During the early years of the Republic, the vast building program including the large-scale government, public, service, industrial and school buildings were designed by the architects Mimar Kemalettin, Vedat Tek, Arif Hikmet, Tahsin Sermet and Giulio Mongeri in line with the First National Architectural Style.

The partial city plan which was planned by Heussler in 1924, proposed the new commercial center and administrative district to be located in Ulus. The most significant buildings of this area and of the new capital were the New National Assembly Hall and the Ankara Palas Hotel which were located opposite to one another along Ulus' main artery.

The New National Assembly Hall was designed by Vedat Tek, based on his architectural principles such as extremely detailed *symmetrical organizations*, *rectangular masses*, *central entrances*, *three-partite composition architectural elements*. This modest building, although represents *facadist approaches*, had a *simple plan organization*.



The other building designed by Vedat Tek in association with Mimar Kemalettin was the Ankara Palas Hotel whose construction began in 1924 after the Assembly was constructed. The Ankara Palas Hotel shared some national architectural principles that can be observed in the entrance portal, corner towers, wooden domes, etc. The plan extended around the great ballroom as the heart of the hotel, at the same time the ballroom would be a representation of the new image of government officials and bureaucrats. The Hotel was constructed to serve visiting official statesman and foreign

diplomats so it consisted of new types of functions and building technology such as central heating, electricity systems, toilets and bathtubs. The members of the new Republic gathered for the next three decades aiming to celebrate some anniverseries. They adopted modernity and civilization for the New Republic as a symbol of their own revolutionary concepts. The Ankara Palas Hotel ironically represented the eclectic Ottoman heritage architecture.



Figure 5.4-Vedat Tek and Mimar Kemalettin, Ankara Palas Hotel, (1924-27)

The First National Movement began to lose its dominance in area of architecture in 1927 because of the sudden death of its well-known architects, Mimar Kemalettin and the arrival of foreign building experts to Turkey. The New Turkish Republic had not yet found in the architectural arena the concrete symbols of its ideological concepts. Architectural transformation process of the Young Republic was not synchronized with political revolutionary developments. Throughout the 20th Century, representative architecture of various revolutionary periods could be observed in the early years of ideological transformation throughout the world. The Tatlin Tower was constructed as ‘*a cathedral of Socialism*’ (CURTIS 1996, p.205) two years after the Russian Revolution; the House of German Art was constructed as ‘*the stone documents of the new ideology*’ (HOCHMAN 1989, p.200) three years after the Fascists came to power. The Young Turkish Republic was still looking for *representative buildings and architectural concepts* which corresponded with their ideological background many years following its’ establishment.

5.2.3. MODERN TURKISH ARCHITECTURE IN THE POST-REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

1920's were the transformation period for the abolition of the old ideological and symbolic links and establishment of Republican forms. During the 1930's Kemalist Ideology's symbolic references appeared in daily life of the national-state. The crystallization process of conceptual frameworks in architectural and cultural areas, took a long time for a country living in a revolutionary transformation process. There were several internal and external reasons slowing down and delaying cultural reforms. This is the main reason why the new national-state did not yet have a contemporary cultural background and revolutionary artistic atmosphere, like modernist concepts of Bauhaus in Germany and avant-garde tendency of Constructivism in Russia which contemporaneously appeared with the Socialist Revolution. The New Turkish Republic, in order to improve its cultural structure and increase industrial relationships with Western Europe, signed the Industrial Incentives Act of 1927 (Teşvik-i Sanayi Kanunu) which also allowed foreign technical personels, planners, engineers and architects to work in Turkey. Between 1927-1940 fourteen architects and planners were invited to give a start to the Modern Movement in Turkey.

The four European architects Theodor Post, Ernst Egli, Clemens Holzmeister and Hermann Jansen are the first who came to Turkey. Meanwhile the National Movement in architecture began to be criticized and the International Style started having influence on architectural arena. Foreign architects, both in the practical and educational area emphasized their own architectural conceptions. In the same period there were many young Turkish architects as well, such as Seyfi Arkan, Sedat Hakkı Eldem, Emin Onat, Zeki Sayar, Bedri Uçar wanted to affirm their own identities. This situation resulted in a *competitive atmosphere* between German-speaking and Turkish architects. While this was the case, the architectural projects of 1930's were successful and original. However the number of projects produced were not as many as they were in the later periods . Parallel developments and changes in architectural practice and education can also be observed in cultural, social and economic life.

5.2.3.1. THE CREATION OF THE NEW CAPITAL (1928-1938)

Every centralized regime which was established based on revolutionary concepts, searched to find their concrete ideological symbols in the design process of their new capital city as a heartland. In the Russian Empire the capital city had been changed by different tzars, finally the leader of the Bolshevik Government, Lenin, moved the capital from St. Petersburg to Moscow; later Stalin realized some redesigning projects for Moscow as an extension of Five-year plans. In 1930's two Fascist states, which considered themselves as the continuity of their glorified past, would realize similar planning schemes, for their capital cities. Hitler for Berlin as the capital of the Third Reich, Mussolini for Rome as the capital of the Third Roman Empire would rebuild with new city images based on their ideological concepts. The building process of Ankara radically differed from these capital cities. It could not follow the pattern of old civilizations, actually rejected to become the continuity of the Ottoman Empire. 'Ankara provided a tabula rasa upon which a new order could be constructed.' (BATUR 1984, p. 71). There were symbolic and practical reasons for creating a new capital in the heart of Anatolia, such as the principles of the *Republic, nationalism, populism, secularism, etatism, and reformism*. More importantly, Istanbul was no longer the capital which reflected Ottoman traditionalism as well as westernized Turkish bourgeoisie.

A look at urban design projects and public buildings can summarize the aim of the original and contemporary design tendencies of the Turkish Republic. These were reflected through their use of modest architectural and urban principles and detailed modernist forms. Exhibition halls and pavillions were designed for the creation of the image of the Republic who wanted to improve its cultural structure and to strengthen relationships with Western Europe. The government buildings and the creation of the new capital were realized, not only for new functions of the newly established state but also as the ideologic symbols of its revolutionist manner. Ankara was one of the products of the development policy of the new government. Republican leaders employed a commission for the planning of the new capital; Ankara. The International Competition was organized inviting three foreign competitors; H. Jansen, M. Brix, L. Jaussely. The proposal of the planners did not reach one single solution. The winner of

the competition; Jansen's plan offered a *rationalist method* establishing dominantly *socially conscious planning*. (BATUR 1984, pp. 71-2). The plan, in a way selected by Republican leaders, reflected some ideological characteristics of the regime *abstaining hierarchically, magnificently* established a *city structure*, although the plan was a product of a radical transformation process. While creating a totally new city image, the accumulations of past and the necessities of future were not denied.

Jansen's plan proposed an urban development process creating the *major axes* as the directions of development; *green open spaces* between functionally separated zones; non totaliterian governmental districts. The two main axes: the north-south axis which was named Atatürk Boulevard extended to Çankaya, the east-west axis which intersected the Boulevard, connected to the İstanbul road, determined evolution of the new city's built environment around these axes. Thus, the creation process of the new capital city from 1928 to 1938 controlled the building growth of the city which started in the late 1920's and symbolized the *highly centralized character* of the Republican Government.



Figure 5.5-Hermann Jansen, Ankara Plan, 1932

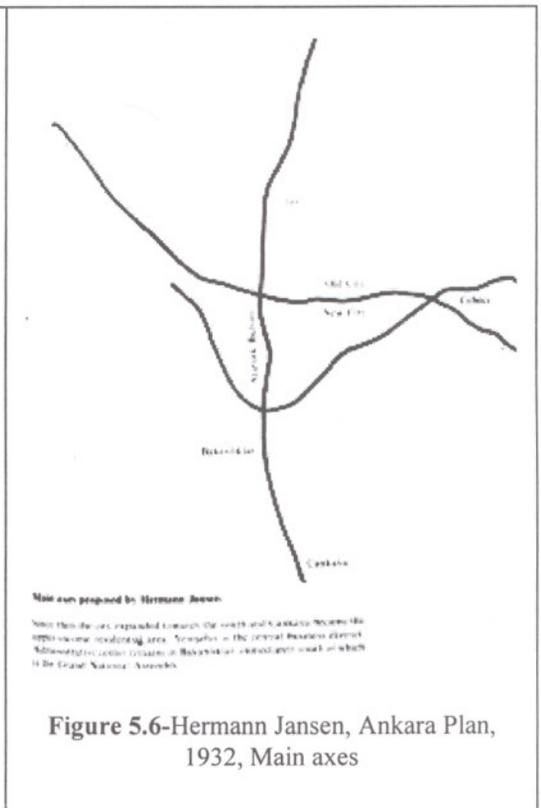


Figure 5.6-Hermann Jansen, Ankara Plan, 1932, Main axes

5.2.3.2. THE INTERNATIONAL STYLE AS A MOVEMENT (1929-1939)

In the late 1920's some developments in the architectural field directed and influenced the cultural and architectural atmosphere of the 1930's. In 1926, the Academy of Fine Arts (Güzel Sanatlar Mektebi) was reorganised. One year later, in 1927, foreign planners and architects arrived to Turkey, the Association of Turkish Architects (Türk Yüksek Mimarlar Derneği) and the Union of Fine Arts (Güzel Sanatlar Birliği) were founded. In 1931 the first national architectural journal of Turkey 'Mimar' was published. At this point, the national-state architecture as the '*visible politics*' (BOZDOĞAN 1998, p. 122) was the extension of the modernization programme. The *realist* and *rationalist* manner of the Kemalist Ideology directed and shaped every political and cultural decision of the State. Consequently the International Style of 1930's which corresponded with the *technology, function, material* and *geometrical ideals* of the Modernist trend was the inescapable result of the *republican positivist philosophy*.

At the beginning of the International Style Movement, between 1927-1930, Theodor Post's Ministry of Health Building was the first significant building. Following this building, Ernst Egli's Court of Financial Appeals Building (Sayıştaş) and İsmet Paşa Institute for Girls, Clemens Holzmeister's Ministry of National Defense Building, the Institute of Agriculture, the Officers' Club and the General Staff Building were constructed. These architects and their designs represented the characteristics of the Vienna School; Sedat Hakkı Eldem criticized this style as the Ankara-Vienna Cubist Architecture: 'Plans and elevations revealed themselves in their ornament-free lines and surfaces. Pitched roofs, tiles and eaves were eliminated. To be modern, a building could not have a hat....The proportions and details of the windows were completely changed: traditional French and Mediterranean forms were replaced by German style proportions and details. Aesthetics were radically transformed.' (ELDEM 1990, s.6).



Figure 5.7-Theodor Post, Ministry of Health Building, Ankara, 1927

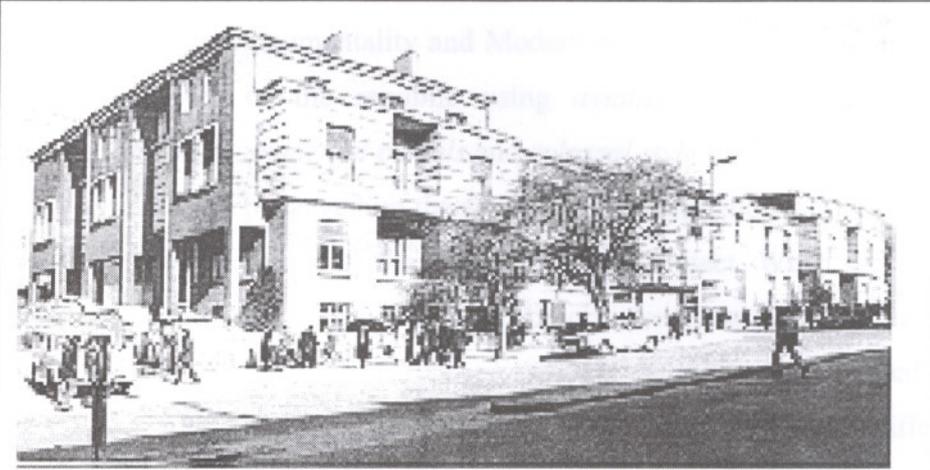


Figure 5.8-E. Egli, Court of Financial Appeals (Sayıştaş), Ankara, (1928-30)

Turkish architects in the 1930's, began to criticize the architectural style which had been introduced by foreign architects even though they did share the same modernist architectural discourse. They also have protested foreign architects who were commissioned by the government. The Union of Turkish Architects –later turned to Chamber of Turkish Architects- and the publishing of the periodical 'Mimar' were the result of aiming to organize Turkish architects and to adopt modern architecture like foreigners. While these arguments were going on, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* as an influential newspaper, aimed to formulate the goal of the ideology in the architectural field and to legitimize the works of foreign architects with the first example of International Style; Theodor Post's The Ministry of Health: 'The Ministry Building has indeed become the most modern building of Ankara. It resembles the latest and most modern buildings of Europe. That the building is erected in Yenışehir has additional significance because in planning our Ankara, we had adopted the principle of constructing grand and monumental buildings in Yenışehir and along its backbone, the Gazi Bulvarı.' (YAVUZ 1973, s.29).

The new architectural process which symbolically started with the Ministry of Health was quite radical and the products of that period shared similar architectural characteristics such as *functionality, rationality, mass plasticity*, using of *traditional stone* as a building material, *anti-ornamantist geometrical forms, flat roofs* and other characteristics. Although E. Egli and C. Holzmeister's general characteristics were similar, their leading characters radically differed in architectural thought. Holzmeister generally used classical rectangular plans, U shaped schemes and symmetrical axial plans. His architectural characteristics were influenced by the Vienna School, which was between classical monumentality and Modern Architectural Movement. He aimed to reflect the power of the republic using *axiality, symmetrical masses, pure geometrical surfaces, monumental portals* and *colossal style of columns*. In other words, these architectural concepts gave him the advantage to design most of the administrative buildings of the new Republic as the most powerful architect. When the architectural features of Holzmeister are evaluated, it can be observed that formally, he was not a representative of the Modern Movement. E. Egli, on the other hand, tended to have a pure, modest, rationalist and functionalist view of the International Style, differing from the symmetrical and axial principles of Holzmeister's monumental buildings. According to Afife Batur; 'as an educator and architect, Egli might be said to represent best the spirit of the young Republic.' (BATUR 1984, p.83). The Court of Financial Appeals Building (1928-30), (Sayıştay) of Egli particularly exemplifies his determined architectural concepts. The modern expressionist manner of Egli's works can be similarly observed in the design of Holzmeister's Presidential Palace Building (1930-32) as an impression of modern villa different from his other works.



Figure 5.9-Clemens Holzmeister,
Presidential Palace Building,
Ankara, (1930-32)

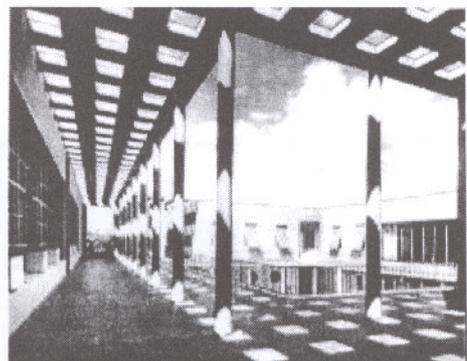


Figure 5.10-Clemens Holzmeister,
Interior of Presidential Palace Building,
Ankara, (1930-32)

At the beginning of the 1930's the influence of foreign architects in practical and educational areas was great. This resulted in young Turkish architects who were given limited commissions in the building program of the Republic, wanting to legislate their professions against foreigners and to gain success in this competitive atmosphere. The winning projects of Seyfi Arkan's Residence of the Minister of Foreign Affairs (Hariciye Köşkü), (1933-34) and Şevki Balmumcu's National Exhibition Hall (Sergievi), (1933-34) were the first examples of the new process in the International Style Movement. These Rationalist buildings exhibited formal characteristics of pure geometries combined with typological elements such as a clock towers, vertically and horizontally arranged strips, windowsills and solid-void combinations as the icons of the modernist aesthetic designed by Turkish architects.



Figure 5.11-Seyfi Arkan, Residence of the Minister of Foreign Affairs (Hariciye Köşkü), (1933-34)

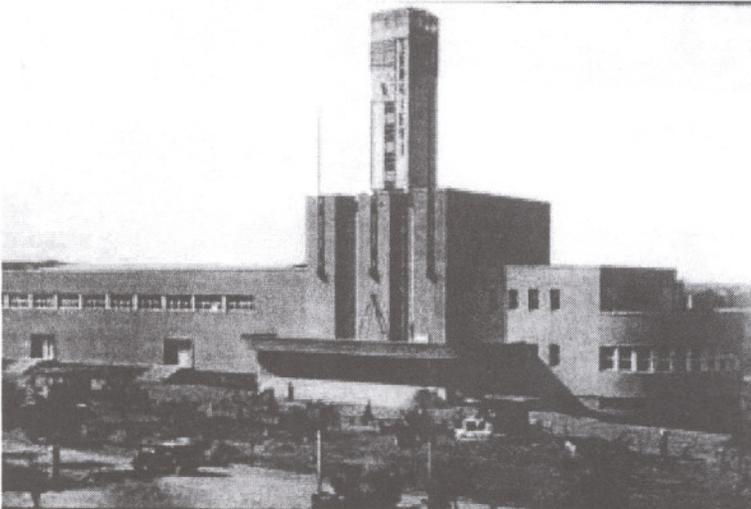


Figure 5.12-Şevki Balmumcu, National Exhibition Hall (Sergievi), Ankara, (1933-34)

Between the years 1930-1940 the International Style was living its third and last period, following the competition for the Grand National Assembly Hall (1938-60). It was the largest and most prestigious complex of the Republic. The winning project in the international architectural competition was Holzmeister's project which gave a vertical effect with its multi storey columns and symmetrically arranged geometrical masses. This monumental complex not only reflected the most radical and rigid architectural principles of Holzmeister, but also began to show the new tendency for new public building designs.

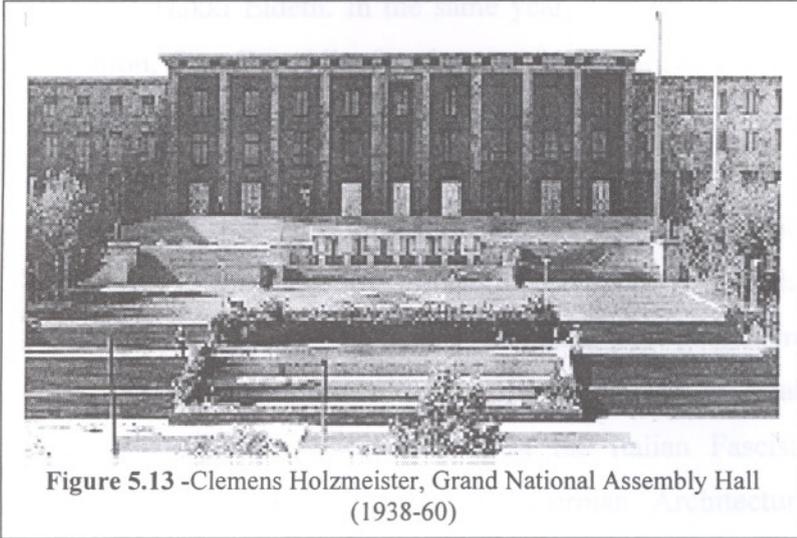


Figure 5.13 -Clemens Holzmeister, Grand National Assembly Hall (1938-60)

In the International Style Movement, German-speaking architects, with their practitioner and educator roles were more informed about contemporary Western Architecture in comparison to Turkish architects. The competitive atmosphere which was created between foreign and Turkish architects was a target for architecture of the Republic as a part of the reformist policy.

5.2.4.THE MOVEMENT OF SECOND NATIONAL ARCHITECTURE (1940-1950)

The International Style of the 1930's was one of the visible results of the Republican project as an official programme in the cultural area. In the architectural field, the Kemalist Ideology, which offered a *total modernization process* in every institution of the state, concluded as the International Style, making use of the *dogmatic symbols* and the basic vocabulary of the Modern Architecture such as flat roofs, white cubic forms, glass surfaces. This architectural attitude evaluated architectural Modernism as a formal and stylistic problematic and ignored the essence of Modernism. The dictated

characteristic of *modernist symbolism* in the Turkish Architecture of 1930s was the wish to adopt an architecture based on the cultural background which broke all the ties with tradition and history and had never went through the evaluation process of modernism in educational, social, industrial and political fields.

The reaction toward the International Style and the commissioning of foreign architects normally began to appear in the middle thirties. These protests resulted in a new search for a national and regional architecture in 1932 with the 'Seminar on National Architecture' of Sedat Hakkı Eldem. In the same year, along with the changes in the architectural education, The Republic faced some economic and political problems because of 1929 Depression and economical relationships between Turkey and the two European countries, Soviet Union and Italy, which applied a new nationalism as the new state regime, became closer. Meanwhile, Fascism was gaining success with the achievements of Hitler and Mussolini who aimed to create huge and crushing archetypal concepts and the representative country of Capitalism and Socialism, Roosevelt's United States of America and Stalin's Soviet Union wanted to establish national characteristics in their state architecture. In 1934 the Italian Fascist Architecture exhibition in Ankara and finally in 1943 the German Architectural Exhibition influenced Turkish Architectural atmosphere in such a way that it became monumental rather than universal. Although it was monumental, it was hardly a reflection of Archetypal Fascist Architecture since it reflected Turkish Nationalism and its architecture.

The First National Architecture was using the background of Ottoman and Seljukid regional character, whereas the Second National Architecture was using the characters of the traditional forms of Civil Turkish Architecture. In this sense, İlhan Tekeli evaluates different principles of the national architectural movements based on social structure: '...this seminar would turn to the Anatolian house and seek a more populist context in the 1940s, it is difficult to observe any populism in its early stages. Interest was centered on the residences, konaks, köşks and yalıs, of the İstanbul upper classes. This choice can also be understood as the reaction of the old cosmopolitan İstanbul culture to the new culture of Ankara; or differently put, an expression of *Ottoman elitism*.' (TEKELİ, 1984, p.20). This populist context which was named as the

characteristic of *modernist symbolism* in the Turkish Architecture of 1930s was the wish to adopt an architecture based on the cultural background which broke all the ties with tradition and history and had never went through the evaluation process of modernism in educational, social, industrial and political fields.

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beginning of consciousness of the Anatolian society would be used in the development process after the Multi-Party System in 1946 by some politicians who wanted to change the ideology of the state. In spite of these background differentiation; the two nationalist periods were similar in the sense that they were the products of two world wars. Especially for Turkey, this situation is an example of the use of the unifying role of architecture, which emphasized Turkish Identity in times of crises.

The symbolic references of the Second National Movement began to appear after the death of Mustafa Kemal and the beginning of the World War II. B. Uçar's State Railroad Headquarters (TCDD Genel Müdürlüğü), (1941) was one of the first and an interesting references to the Second National Movement. It emphasised the public building design principles of Holzmeister and closely resembled the characteristics of German Fascist architecture, its grandeur, monumentality and also its figurative elements such as logo of State Railroad that resembled the Nazi Swastika.



Figure 5.14 -Bedri Uçar, State Railroad Headquarters (TCDD Genel Müdürlüğü), 1941



Figure 5.15 -Bedri Uçar, State Railroad Headquarters (TCDD Genel Müdürlüğü), 1941

The effects of foreign professors such as Bruno Taut and Paul Bonatz who supported nationalistic ideas in education reflected the influence of the new European ideological and architectural order. In architectural practice their efficiency was symbolized as the reflection of 1940's ideological atmosphere in the transformation of Balmumcu's National Exhibition Hall (Sergievi). Paul Bonatz's Opera House (Büyük Tiyatro) that was a conversion of the earlier modern building, was detailed with nationalist elements and given an official, weighted monumental manner. In fact Bonatz with this conversion project symbolized the criticism in his articles and lectures against the Modern Movement.



Figure 5.16 -Şevki Balmumcu, National Exhibition Hall (Sergievi), Ankara, (1933-34); Paul Bonatz, Opera House (Büyük Tiyatro), Ankara, 1948

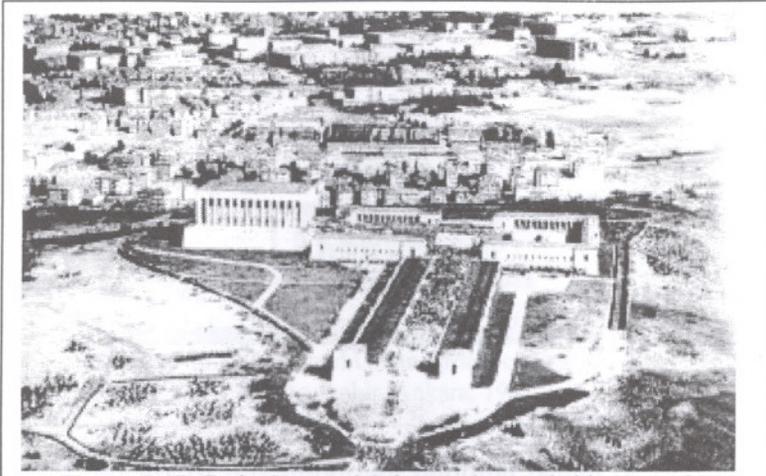


Figure 5.17 -Emin Onat and Orhan Arda, Anıtkabir (Atatürk's Mausoleum), Ankara, (1944-53)

The most important building and construction process of the period is Anıtkabir (Atatürk's Mausoleum). Atatürk did not want to build a mausoleum for himself during his lifetime unlike some other 20th century's leaders. After his death, Turkish National Assembly decided to build a graceful mausoleum for Atatürk and organized a commission. The commission chose Rasattepe for location of the mausoleum and announced the project competition that was open only to foreign architects. It was an ironic situation that the mausoleum had a national manner. Consequently it caused a great protest and the Assembly decided to open competition both foreign and Turkish architects in 1941. One year later the jury that consisted of Paul Bonatz, Ivar Tengbom, Caroly Wichinger, Arif Hikmet Holtay, Muammer Çavuşoğlu and Muhlis Sertel selected 3 projects to be recommended: the projects of Johannes Krugger, Arnaldo Foschi, Emin Onat and associate Orhan Arda. The government decided on the project designed by Onat and Arda because of its national character and appropriate location.

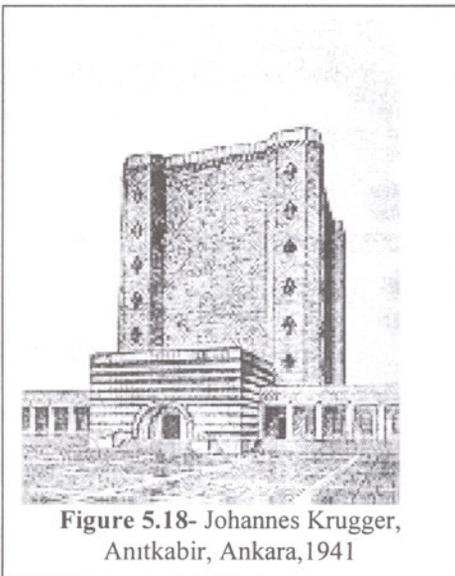


Figure 5.18- Johannes Krugger, Anıtkabir, Ankara, 1941

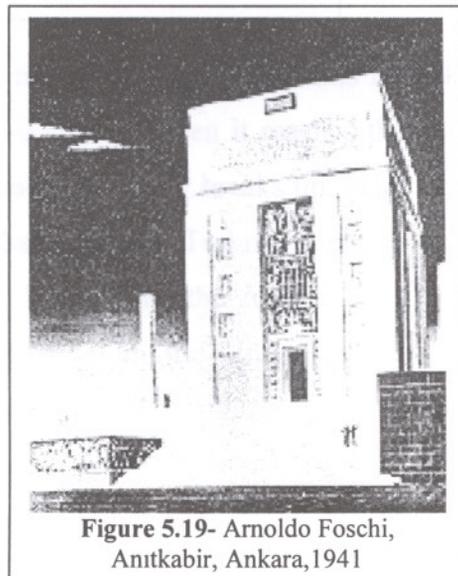


Figure 5.19- Arnaldo Foschi, Anıtkabir, Ankara, 1941

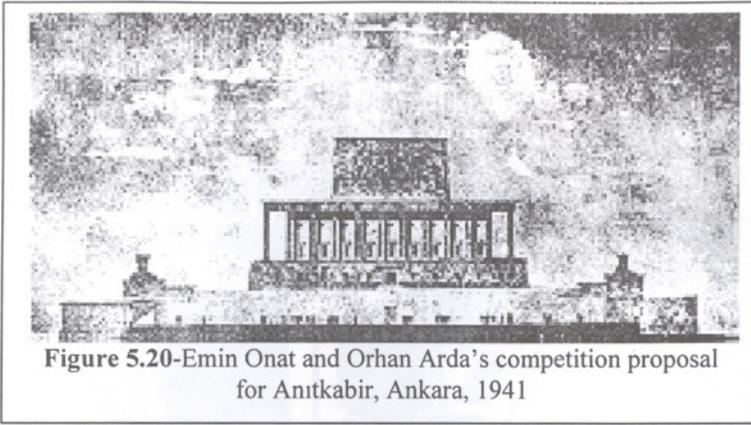


Figure 5.20-Emin Onat and Orhan Arda's competition proposal for Anıtkabir, Ankara, 1941

The construction process of this important building began in 1944 and ended in 1953. Afife Batur evaluated and connected this process which began with nationalistic ideas and ended in an internationalist manner, with ideological developments: ‘...the construction process of Anıtkabir lasted for ten years. The mausoleum was not built as it was designed. The initial project of Anıtkabir was organized around a single axis that inclined towards the hill from the entrance to Anıt Park to the mausoleum building at the top of the hill. The scheme of this initial project reflects the *fascist monumentality* of the 1940’s.

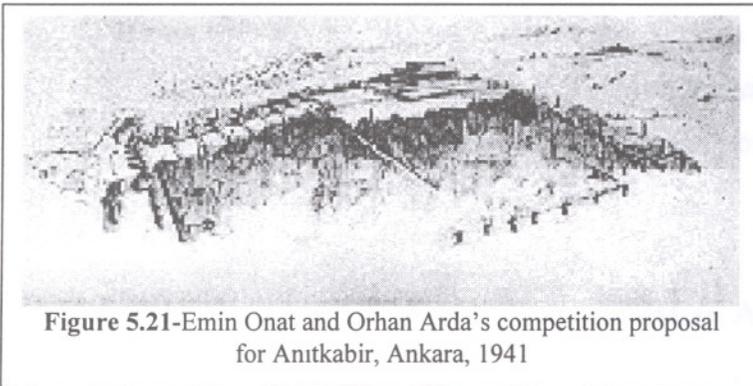


Figure 5.21-Emin Onat and Orhan Arda's competition proposal for Anıtkabir, Ankara, 1941

Within the ten-year construction period, this manner changes. The axis is broken and this monumental line rotates at an angle of 90 degrees when it reaches the courtyard. Consequently, the previous heavy monumentality suddenly breaks up. This change in the project almost symbolizes the political changes in the Turkish Republic during the corresponding period.’(BATUR 1997, s.45). Meanwhile, the Anıtkabir represented a direction in solving architectural identity problem in the sense that it combined historical and modern characteristics searching for their conceptual frameworks and going back to older periods of Anatolian civilizations such as the Hitites and the Byzantines.

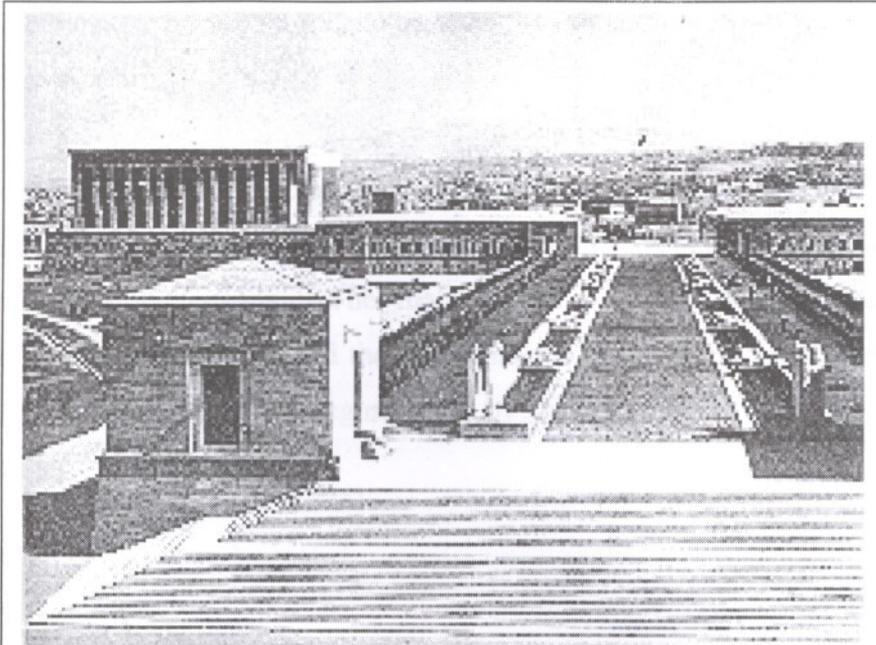


Figure 5.22-Emin Onat and Orhan Arda, Anıtkabir (Atatürk's Mausoleum), Ankara, (1944-53)

The Second National Architecture was the representation of the political, economic, social conditions and impositions of ideologies which created the atmosphere of World War II. During this movement, the identity problem of the Turkish Republic started once again and the duality between *nationality* and *internationality* and was a foreshadow of 1950's new Turkish political policy as the beginning of the break up of the duality of cultural structure.

5.2.5. GENERAL VIEW ON THE EARLY REPUBLICAN TURKISH ARCHITECTURE

In the first three decades between 1923-1950, the Republican Turkey aimed to integrate the economic and cultural conditions of the contemporary world and was starting a radical modernization and transformation process. The cultural policy of national state and modern architecture as the natural result of this policy was the official programme which was determined by both of the Republican phenomenon and Kemalist ideology. In this transformation process; socio-cultural structure faced conceptual dilemmas of *national* and *international* frameworks related to *internal* and *external* ideological or economical factors. The problems of adaptation and acceptance within the modernisation project were not only due to the unexperienced historical conditions and

evaluations; but also to the cultural and geographical position of the Turkish Republic in the World conjecture.

The *national* and *universal* polar structure of Modern Turkish Architecture created *formal, stylistic* architectural ideas and products like the First and Second National and the International Movements. The main reason of this evolution was that the bureaucratic elite group influenced the developments in the architectural field more by the ideological concepts of the regime than by the internal factors and architectural profession.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

In this study, the relationship and interaction between *architecture* and *politics* has been studied and evaluated. The terms '*ideology*' and '*power*' have been accepted as the internal dynamics of architecture and politics and their reflections on architecture have been analyzed. This study has assumed the common existence of the terms '*ideology*' and '*power*' in politics and architecture, and has used these terms as a basic idea in deciphering the relationship between architecture and politics.

The relationship between architecture and politics has been analyzed with respect to the terms '*ideology*' and '*power*', and the following issues have been concluded;

- *The interaction between politics and architecture are revealed because of their aims to create new personal and societal models.*
- *Ideologies, as systems of thoughts, are important determinants of social models.*
- *Ideologies that come into power try to make advantageous use of the micro powers in order to benefit their positive or negative objectives. This situation can be described as power being 'double-polar'.*
- *The characteristics of ideologies and powers determine their platform of interaction with other ideologies. Interaction between ideologies takes place in an environment with either controversies or consensus.*

The study was limited with the countries Russia, Germany, Italy and Turkey and their handling and evaluation of the terms '*ideology*' and '*power*' were observed in the interwar years of the World Wars. The strong ideological backgrounds and the characteristics of their powers, differentiate the evaluation of ideologies and powers from other periods of history.

It is possible to find out about the results that have generated because of the interaction between politics and architecture, through observing the characteristics of the ideologies of the studied countries, the processes that they have been through, and the missions that they have forced upon architecture. The processes of certain ideologies coming to

power in Russia, Germany, Italy and Turkey, have gained importance in the understanding of the architectural developments and transformations;

- *Ideologies have come into power in Russia and Turkey following revolutions; therefore it can be stated that they have appropriated avant-garde art and architecture, which corresponds with their radical ideologies. They have unsurprisingly adopted Modernism, which was, the most revolutionary discourse denying the past of its past.*
- *The fascist parties in Germany and Italy have come into power through the use of propaganda. Architecture has been one of major tools of propaganda in these countries.*

Relationships between the powers and architectural concepts can be established according to *revolutionary and naked power* characteristics;

- *Russia and Turkey as revolutionary powers need the support of art for strengthening the relationships of the society and to carry the emotions of politics to other fields. The term 'newness' finds its reflections in art and architecture in revolutionary characterized societies.*

It is possible to state that the artistic and architectural atmosphere in Russia serves Socialist Ideology. *Modernist Aesthetics* and *Socialist Ideology* have similar concerns that have found their reflections in the artistic and architectural fields in the form of Modernist Aesthetics. The similarities between Modernist Aesthetics and Socialist Ideology can be traced through historical references. The emergence of Modernist Aesthetics in the field of art and the emergence of Socialism in politics can be related to the *Industrial Revolution* and the developments following it. Both aim to create a universal discourse and come into being through a revolution, as a result they offer a new social structure. Similar characteristics can be observed in the *Bolshevik Government* following the Russian Revolution. Modern Art and Architecture has been accepted as the government to become the reflection of the Socialist Ideology, as a result of this, avant-garde art and artists have been supported by the Bolshevik Government. These might be the same reasons that the specific example of the *Bauhaus* has been rejected by the Fascist Ideology in Germany.

- *Germany, Italy and the new Russia under the rule of Stalin -a Russia that has become traditional in a very short period of time- as naked powers have wished to*

become totalitarian and authoritarian. The naked power's aim of uniting the society around a singular idea finds its reflections in the language of architecture through unity, singularity, permanence, continuity, centralization, grandeur and monumentality.

The countries that have been studied in this period have represented their ideologies aiming to enforce them through architecture. Political power makes use of architecture, changing and transforming it in order to be able to use it as propaganda in the process of forming their political discourse. The transformation process and the chosen language of architecture differs for each country, these can be called in a way the formal reflections of ideologies;

- *Ideologies are major determinants in Turkey and Russia. Both revolutionists have supported and strengthened their power and legality with the ideological backgrounds. It is not surprising that the reflections can be observed in architectural products.*
- *The transformation process in Italy and Germany has started with the use of propaganda. The object architecture has been subjected by the personal characteristics of their leaders. It can be exemplified with the architectural sketches of Hitler and the architectural concepts that Mussolini has created.*
- *In Turkey the ideology itself has gained more importance than the person creating it. However the government has never become totalitarian as it has in the Germany of Hitler, the Italy of Mussolini or the Russia of Stalin. The Kemalist understanding of the government has adopted an authoritarian understanding rather than a totalitarian one.*

The authoritarian understanding of the Kemalist State determines the tendencies in the cultural life and architecture-as it's extensions- through the transformative decisions. The best example of this situation is the invitation of foreign architects and city planners to Turkey, with the selection of these people by the politicians. This action is the starting point of the architectural transformation process in Turkey.

Power enforces very important missions on the architectural practice. The missions that political ideology determines, is handled in many different forms of architectural language;

- *Russia aims to make use of art and architecture in an well-organized manner, in the forming of a new rational social model, and to combine the society.*

- Turkey, as a part of its Modernization process, believed that architecture was the most effective phenomena in the cultural area and handed architecture an important role in creating a new social model.

- Germany, Italy and the Russia of Stalin wanted to use architecture in the process of strengthening and enforcing their power on others. They aimed to realize concepts such as hierarchy and order that existed in their political ideologies also in architecture.

As the dosage of the totalitarianity increased in the studied countries, the interference of the leaders on architecture also increased. In their end products, the totalitarian regimes have resulted in similar products and they have adopted the concepts of *Neo-Classical Architecture* as their reflections. These ideologies have aimed to create an unquestionable power, and it is possible to state that their idea of unquestionability in architecture finds its form in neo-classical architecture;

- Political ideologies in the process of using architecture in strengthening their authorities have achieved architectural products that can be defined in architectural terminology as, monumental, grand, symmetrical, axial and permanent.

- Monumentality and grandeur are means of the regime for expressing the authority, respectability and inaccessibility.

- Symmetrical compositions express impossibility to change and add to. This characteristic of symmetrical order symbolizes the impossibility to change of the regime. Symmetry also defines another phenomena, which is the axis.

- Axiality is the reflection of the centralist and individualistic aspects of the political order and hierarchy in architectural and urban scales. Especially the axes in the city plans usually end with buildings characterizing the regime. At the intersection points of the axes, in other words in the center of the urban order, the sacred place of the individual that is aimed to be glorified exists. The best example is probably the plan of Berlin of the Nazi period.

It can be observed in the history of architecture that when the relationship between architecture and politics is evaluated, political ideology and power view the architectural profession as a way of representing themselves. The interwar period that this thesis deals exemplifies this situation in the most striking way. The architectural discourse that tries to establish its own power and ideology and the political ideology

that wants to represent its power have been in interaction in this period. The result has sometimes been a consensus and at other times it has been a controversy of ideas. In all the case studies that were used in this thesis, it was observed that the arguments on architecture have taken place in the process of aiming to form ‘*national*’ or ‘*international*’ architecture. In the process of interaction, the dominant architectural discourse has always been one that corresponds with the political power and its ideology, in the forming of ‘*national*’ and ‘*international*’ architecture.

All studies dealing with history, as well as defining, determining and evaluating historical developments and transformations also carry the duty of forming *historical consciousness*. Historical consciousness has the ability to make projections of the future as well as defining the past. The results of this study also carry the mission of making some estimation concerning the future and the creation of some question marks dealing with the present relationship between architecture and politics. The relationship between architecture and ideology and power has existed through the complete history of architecture, what has changed from time to time is the characteristics of the terms ideology and power. The change in the understanding of these terms has been the main issue of this thesis. Power and ideological concepts based on singular persons, groups or certain ways of thought can no longer exist in the pluralistic structure of today’s world. It might be possible that we will observe the existence of *invisible power* and *pluralistic ideologies* in the future, which are unlike the ideologies and powers that we have and still are experiencing today. It is obvious that ideologies and powers will always continue to have the undeniable force of changing and transforming the characteristics of architecture.

SOCIALISM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rationality • Universality • Democracy • Class Consciousness • Classless Society • Proletarian Utopia 	LENIN	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Democratic Centralism • Elitist Internationalism • Well Organized Society • Rational Society • Classless Society 	Architecture	
		STALIN	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Socialist Realism • Traditional Russian Themes • Socialism in One Country • Power of State, Politics and Economics, • New Class as Petit-Bourgeois 	Architecture	
FASCISM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Racism, • Militarism, • Patriotism, • Mental and Race Brutality • The creation of the lower, middle class 	HITLER	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Racist Characteristics • Aristocratic and Hierarchical Political Structure • Power • Authority, • Order • Discipline • Social, Political Hierarchy • Cynicism, • Fanaticism 	Architecture	
		MUSSOLINI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rebuilding new Italy • Continuity of the Roman Empire, • Restructuring the society, • Political stability, • Social, Political Hierarchy 	Urbanism	Futurism <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Restructuring • Worship of machine
KEMALISM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Independence and Modernization • Turkification and Westernization • State Capitalism 	ATATÜRK	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Governmental Centralism • Nationalism • Functionalism • Realism • Rationalism • Positivism • Progressiveness • Secularism 	Architecture	
				Urbanism	

Table 1.- A Brief Comparison of the Discourses of Ideologies, Leaders and Architectural Concepts

1910's

1920'S

1930's

1940's

- Rationalism**
- Architectural Rationalism
 - Idealistic Aesthetic
 - Scientific Aesthetic
 - Asymmetrical Forms
 - Form Follows Function

- Constructivism**
- Functionalism
 - Function of Engineering
 - Machine Aesthetic
 - Visible Structure

- Nationalism**
- Synthesis of art and architecture & technique and art as an eclectic mixture
 - Synthesis between the old and new
 - Architectural Monumentality, Power, Axiality, Grandiose and Totalitarianism
 - Historicism, Hierarchical Traditionalism, National Forms

- Demolition and Re-construction
- Centralization
- Continuous and Linear City & Monumental Axes
- Functionally Separated Zones & Green Spaces
- High-rise Buildings

- Nationalism**
- Architectural Eclecticism
 - Archetypal Architecture
 - Native and characteristic German art
 - Architectural permanence and power
 - Monumentality, disciplined order, symmetry, axiality, greatness, clarity
 - Forms of Antiquity
 - To be logical and truthful

- Demolition and Re-construction
- Centralization
- Grid-iron town plans
- Major axes & 'T' junction
- Monumentality
- Huge, Powerful, well organized city structure.

- Futurism**
- Restructuring the Society
 - Worship of the war and machine

- Rationalism**
- Synthesis of nationalism and machine aesthetic
 - Synthesis of tradition and universality
 - Architectural Rationality

- Nationalism**
- Eclectic Lictorial Style (Stile Littoria)
 - Architectural Regionalism
 - Archetypal Architecture
 - Architectural power, monumentality, axiality, greatness, symmetry

- Citta Nuova, (New City)
- Utopist City

- Demolition and Re-construction
- Continuity of the Roman Empire & Connection between old and new
- Functional, Monumental, Huge, Powerful, well organized city structure
- Major axes & 'T' junction
- Improving hygiene, Elaborating roads, beautification

- I. Nationalism**
- Architectural eclecticism
 - Extremely detailed, symmetrical organizations
 - Facadist approaches

- Internationalism**
- Technology, material and geometry ideals,
 - Rationality
 - Functionality
 - Axiality, Symmetry, Mass plasticity
 - Pure, Modest, Modernist forms,
 - Tabula rasa

- II. Nationalism**
- Architectural Regionalism
 - Populism
 - Grandeur
 - Monumentality
 - Axiality, Symmetry
 - Archetypal Architecture

- Creation of the new capital
- New city images
- Tabula rasa
- Major axes
- Separated zones, & Green open spaces
- Socially conscious planning

cepts

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CHRONOLOGY

Modern Western Art And Architecture, buildings, projects in relation to Modern History

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>MODERN ART AND ARCHITECTURE</u>	<u>MODERN HISTORY</u>
1901		Mass production of cars begins in Detroit
1903		Wright Brothers' flight
1904	Wright's Martin House	
	Marinetti publishes 'Futurist Manifesto'	
1905	The first garden city by Mervyn Macartney	
	The Stadion, Athens built for the first Modern Olympic Games	
1906	Art Nouveau attacked	
1907	Deutscher Werkbund founded	
1908	Garage Ponthieu by A&G Perret	
	Loos, Ornament and Crime	
1909	Wright's Robie House	
1911	Gropius & Adler Faguswerke	
1914	Sant'Elia, Manifesto	WWI begins
1915		Einstein, theory of relativity
1916	Dada in Zurich	
1917	De Stijl founded	October Revolution
1919	Bauhaus Founded Tatlin Tower in Moscow	Mussolini founds Fascist Party
1920	Mendelsohn's Einstein Tower	Foundation of T.B.M.M in Turkey
1921		The First Constitution in Turkey
1922	James Joyce, 'Ulysses' Wright's Imperial Hotel, Tokyo Perret's Notre Dame du Raincy Chicago Tribune Competition	USSR formed Italian Fascist march on Rome
1923	Le Corbusier, 'Vers une architecture' Vesnin's Pravda Building	Ottoman Empires ends: Turkish Republic proclaimed
1924	Rietveld's Schröder House Breuer's Wassily Chair	
1925	Eisenstein's 'Battleship Potemkin' The Paris Decorative Arts Exhibition	
1926	Fritz Lang, 'Metropolis' Franz Kafka, 'The Castle'	First Television

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>MODERN ART AND ARCHITECTURE</u>	<u>MODERN HISTORY</u>
1927	Martin Heidegger, 'Being and Time' Le Corbusier's La Roche House	Stalin comes to power BBC founded
1928	CIAM founded	Latin letters in Turkey
1929	Mondrian, 'Composition with yellow and blue' Second Surrealist Manifesto Mies' Barcelona Pavilion	
1931	Le Corbusier's Villa Savoye Palace Soviets Competitions	Japan conquers Manchuria Spanish Republic formed
1933	Speer's Tempelhofer Feld Nazis close Bauhaus	Roosvelt starts New Deal Nazi Party wins elections
1935	Brussels International Exhibition	Mao leads Long MarcChina Italy Invades Ethiopia
1936	Terragni's Casa Del Fascio Aalto's Viipuri Library Le Corbusier's The Vertical Garden City	Japan invades China Spanish civil war starts
1937	Picasso's Guernica Wright's Falling Water House	Arab/ Jewish conflict in Palestine
1939	Wright's Johnson Wax Building Aalto's Finnish Pavilion World Fair New York	Nazi- Soviet Pact WW II begins
1940	Mies' IIT Chapel Giedion's Space Time And Architecture Maillart's Saligna-Tobel Bridge Rockefeller Center in New York	
1941		Pearl Harbour US enters war Germany invades Soviets
1943	Le Corbusier's Le Modulor Le Corbusier & Niemeyer ET Al Ministry of Education Rio de Janerio	Allies invade Italy: Mussolini overthrown
1945		Atomic bombs: WWII ends United Nations formed T.B.M.M. signs the constitution of UN
1946		Demokrat Party founds Multi- Party elections in Turkey

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>MODERN ART AND ARCHITECTURE</u>	<u>MODERN HISTORY</u>
1949		People's Republic Of China
1950	Mies's Farnsworth House Niemeyer& Le Corbusier's UN Secreteriat	Demokrat Party comes to Power Turkey becomes membership of NATO
1952	Le Corbusier's Marseilles Unite	
1953	Fuller's Ford Rotunda Dome	Stalin died Korean War ends
1954		First Transistor Radio
1955	Le Corbusier's Ronchamp Chapel	
1957		Soviet Sputnik flight
1958	Niemeyer's President's Palace, Brasil Le Corbusier's Chandigar Secretariat	
1959	Wright's Guggenheim Museum, New York	
1960		Vietnam War starts The Military Junta in Turkey
1961	Saarinen's TWA Terminal Building Kahn's Richards Medical Research Building	Berlin Wall built
1962	Warhol's Marilyn	Cuban missile crisis
1964	Stirling& Gowan's Leicester Engineering Laboratories	US Civil Rights Act Khrushchev ousted
1965	Aalto's Otaniemi Polytechnic	
1966		Cultural Revolution in China
1967	Montreal Expo 67	
1968		Student Revolution Czechoslovakia invaded by Russia
1969		First Man on Moon De Gaulle resigns
1970	Aalto's Finlandia Hall Fathy's Gournia Village	The Military Junta in Turkey
1973	Utzon's Sydney Opera House	
1974	Kahn's Exeter Library	Cyprus invaded by Turkey
1975	Colin Rowe's Collage City The end of the Modernist Utopia: Demolition of housing blocks at Pruitt-Igoe	First Portable Computer
1976		Mao Tse- Tung died
1977	Piano& Rogers' Pompidou Centre	
1978		USSR invaded Afghanistan

YEAR	MODERN ART AND ARCHITECTURE	MODERN HISTORY
1980	Libeskind's Chaos Reigns	Iran- Iraq War starts The Military Junta in Turkey
1981		Reagen US President
1982	Graves's Po Ma in Portland	
1983		HIV virus identified Özal comes to power
1984	Cook's Layer City Johnson's AT&T	Hong Kong agreement UK and China
1985		Gorbachev General Secretary of Soviet Communist Party
1986	Foster's Hong Kong Shangai Bank Rogers' Lloyd's HQ	Chernobyl disaster
1987	Stirling& Wilford's Tate Gallery Spreckelsen's Grand Arch Derrida,' Of Spirit: Heidegger& the Question	
1988	Koolhaas' Netherlands Dance Theatre	
1989	Himmelblau's Office	Berlin Wall down Communism collapses in Eastern Europa
1990		Germany re-united
1991	Foster's Stansted Airport Hadid's Moonsoon Restaurant	Gorbachev resigns: USSR ceases to exist
1992		Sarajevo clashes begin
1993	Koolhaas' Euralille Foster's Mediatheque in Nimes	
1994		Channel Tunnel opens between Britain and France Tarantino's 'Pulp Fiction'
1995		Kobe Earthquake