

REFLECTIONS ON SEASIDE
MUSES / IDEAS / INFLUENCES
NEW & FUTURE PROJECTS

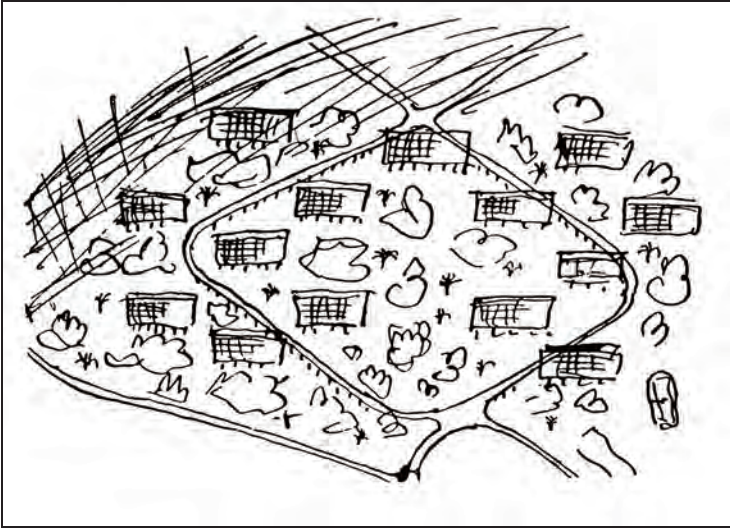


Recuperating Urbanism: Situating Seaside

ROBERT A.M. STERN
WITH LEOPOLDO VILLARDI

I would like to dedicate this article to the great architectural historian and critic Vincent Scully, who died in November 2017 at the age of 97. Winner of the Seaside Prize in 1993, Vincent Scully was my teacher and a teacher of very many architects who have helped make Seaside what it is today. He is much missed.

TO BEGIN, I'D LIKE TO DISCUSS BRIEFLY the state of urbanism as it was celebrated at the 1939 New York World's Fair, while the world went rushing toward global war. Most readers are no doubt familiar with the fair's most prominent attraction, *Futurama* in the General Motors pavilion. Great crowds of people stood in line for hours to visit the exhibition, designed by Norman Bel Geddes. *Futurama* was a revolution in exhibition design: seated on chairs placed on a conveyor belt, visitors gazed down on a vast model of a city as a narrator explained the glories of what they were seeing. The content of the exhibition was also revolutionary. *Futurama*, not surprisingly, given GM's sponsorship, was an auto-utopia, with limited access highways replacing traditional streets, iconic towers replacing background buildings, and districts, all sorted by use, replacing neighborhoods. The sources of this brave new world were many, but principally the work of two architects, the Swiss-French Le Corbusier and the American Frank Lloyd Wright, both of whom detested cities and advocated for their replacement.



Previous Spread
Futurama, General Motors Pavilion,
New York World's Fair, Queens, NY,
Norman Bel Geddes, 1939.

Opposite Page
Left Column:
Top: Saint Paul Cathedral survives 1940
bombing of London, UK.
Photo by Herbert Mason.
Middle: "Planning on a Clean Slate,"
London, UK. Cartoon published in 1944.
Bottom: Master Plan of London, MARS
Group, 1942.

Opposite Page
Right Column:
Top: Silliman College, Yale University, New
Haven, CT. Architects, Eggers & Higgins,
1940. Photograph by Robert A.M. Stern.
Middle: Alfred Smith Houses, Manhattan,
NY. Architects, Eggers & Higgins, 1949–52.
Courtesy NYC Housing Authority.
Bottom: Scheme for the placement of
standard-size units based on 1934 plan for
Nemours. Architect, Le Corbusier, 1940s.

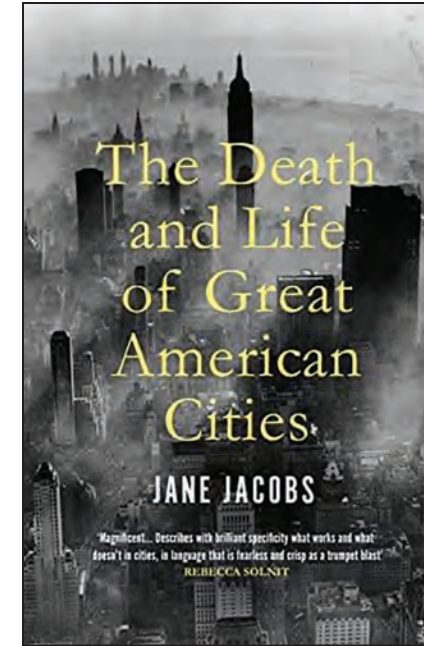
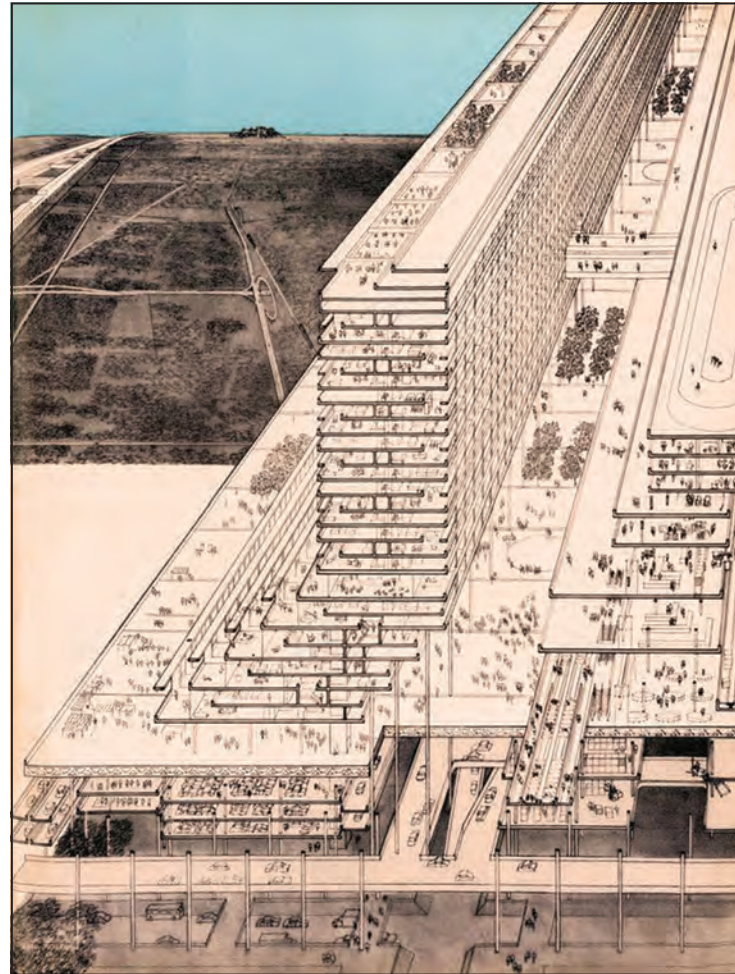
As crowds were viewing the future in New York, war broke out in Europe. Very quickly, London was largely destroyed at its center, as was Rotterdam. Even as London was being blitzed, British architects and planners began to imagine what a new city could be. Drawings from the time reveal the prevailing approach to city renewal: to roll up one's sleeves and get to work wiping the slate clean for a fresh start.

The extent of this urban destruction would make it all too possible to imagine that the brave new world presented in the *Futurama* pavilion in 1939 could be realized. In a plan produced by the MARS (Modern Architecture Research) Group, which consisted of left-thinking modernists who constituted the British wing of CIAM (the Le Corbusier-dominated organization that sought to establish new rules for architecture and urbanism), British modernists proposed girdling central London with a loopy grid of ring roads and replacing historical squares with grassy fingers.

Though American cities were not attacked by foreign invaders, they were made to suffer from enemies in our midst: planners and architects, who, as if to assuage a perceived collective guilt over Europe's misfortunes, took it upon themselves to level our own cities in the name of urban renewal. What is so remarkable is how quickly American architects and planners were willing to jettison all prewar principles and beliefs.

For example, the Alfred Smith Houses on New York's Lower East Side were designed not by young graduates out of Harvard's modernist Graduate School of Design, as one might imagine, but by the team of Eggers & Higgins, successors to the great classicist John Russell Pope. Only ten years before, Eggers & Higgins had completed Silliman College at Yale University, a quadrangular residential college in the Georgian style. In the 1950s, they, like many other established architects who should have known better, adopted Le Corbusier's 1925 Plan Voisin for Paris but misread it as a supervening strategy for slum clearance. In doing so they transformed themselves into tools of Robert Moses, New York City's visionary and ruthless power broker, and gave up all connection to the grand architectural tradition they had been a part of for so long. In their misinterpretation, what Le Corbusier had intended as towers for offices were made to serve as apartments for the poor, while low, street-defining walls of apartments that in Le Corbusier's plan reflected traditional Parisian urbanism were abandoned by Moses and his architects in the name of expedience.

Ironically, as this misadventure was happening in the 1950s, Le Corbusier was changing his ideas about cities so that his iconic office towers surrounded by street-scale apartment buildings gave way to apartment houses lifted heroically above the landscape, but loosely arranged like



Opposite Page

Left Column – Top: *Unité d'Habitation*, Berlin, Germany. Architect, Le Corbusier, 1958. Photograph by Robert A.M. Stern. Middle: Pruitt-Igoe public housing, Saint Louis, MO. Architect, Minoru Yamasaki, 1954. Image courtesy of the Library of Congress. Bottom Two Photographs: Society Hill, Philadelphia, PA. Architects, I.M. Pei Associates, 1964. Left photograph by Robert A.M. Stern. Right photograph courtesy of Society Hill Towers. Right Column – Top: Mill Creek development, Philadelphia, PA. Architect, Louis Kahn, 1951–62. Photograph by Robert A.M. Stern. Bottom: Jersey Corridor project. Architects, Peter Eisenman, Michael Graves, and Anthony Eardley, 1965. Illustration courtesy of Peter Eisenman.

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Book cover. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* by Jane Jacobs, 1961.

suburban houses. Le Corbusier's new strategy rested on the idea of completely self-sufficient apartment slabs that he called *Unités d'Habitation*, the forms of which were quickly imported into America and elsewhere, but again misinterpreted, resulting in the construction of strictly regimented apartment slabs, as in Minoru Yamasaki's Pruitt-Igoe of 1954. This strategy proved catastrophic, and less than 25 years later that project was demolished. There are many explanations for Pruitt-Igoe's destruction, but while it can be attributed partially to insufficient social planning, it was the lack of defined public space in the form of streets and squares, not to mention the sheer vastness and numbing banality of the design, that surely played a crucial role in the project's failure.

Gradually, architects and planners began to wake up to the disasters of urban renewal. They were prompted by Jane Jacobs, whose 1961 book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* was widely read by the public and professionals alike. Philadelphia's much admired Society Hill redevelopment, a sophisticated mix of towers and townhouses designed by I.M. Pei under the leadership of planner Edmund Bacon, went a long way toward a renewed appreciation for traditional urbanism, but the process was inherently flawed because renewal came at

the expense of the forced relocation of the poor from their homes in established neighborhoods. Society Hill was aimed at the affluent. When the same idea was tried out at Mill Creek in outer Philadelphia, it failed due to lack of public investment and lack of the amenities necessary for daily life, like shops, even though it was designed by the socially sensitive and gifted architect Louis Kahn. Mill Creek has since been demolished, but the lives of its residents have been forever compromised.

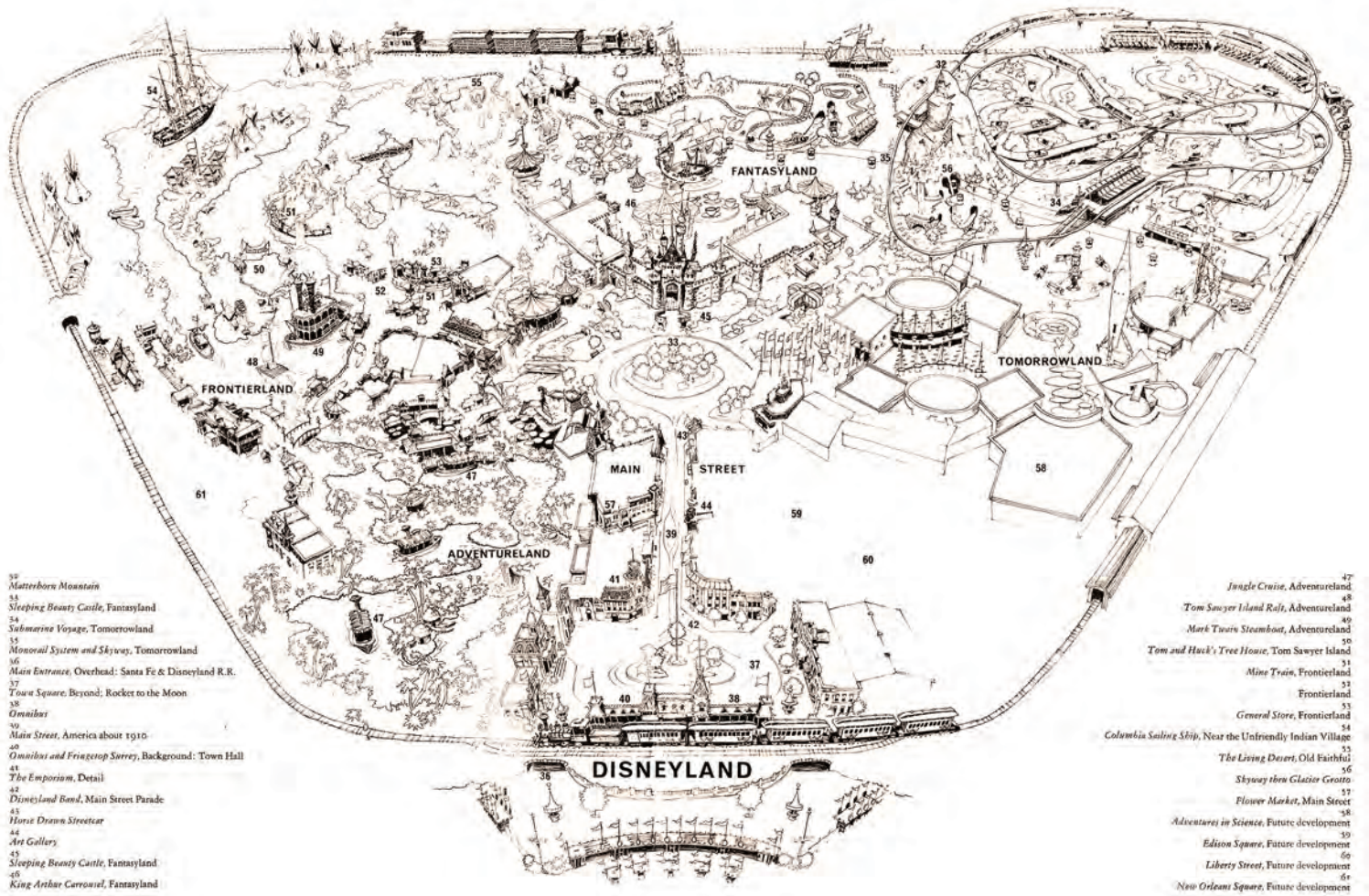
As Jane Jacobs pointed out, as late as the mid-1960s, both established architects and young architects had unquestioningly embraced the 1920s vision of a brave new world that its designer Le Corbusier had long since abandoned. For example, in 1965, Peter Eisenman, Anthony Eardley, and Michael Graves, junior professors at Princeton University, where Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk and Andrés Duany were undergraduates, collaborated on a linear city to extend from Newark to Trenton. The Jersey Corridor project proposed a 60-mile-long monolithic structure combining residential and commercial buildings locked into a continuous road system. Scary as this may seem, the Eisenman-Eardley-Graves megalomania was firmly rooted in Corbusian methodology, derived from the master's unrealized Plan Obus of 30 years before.



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View of various forms of transportation at Disneyland, Anaheim, CA, 1965.

Opposite Page
Map of Disneyland, Anaheim, CA, c. 1965.

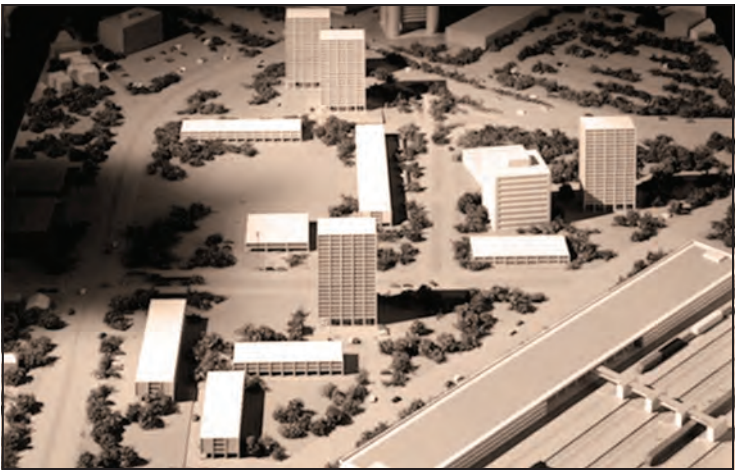
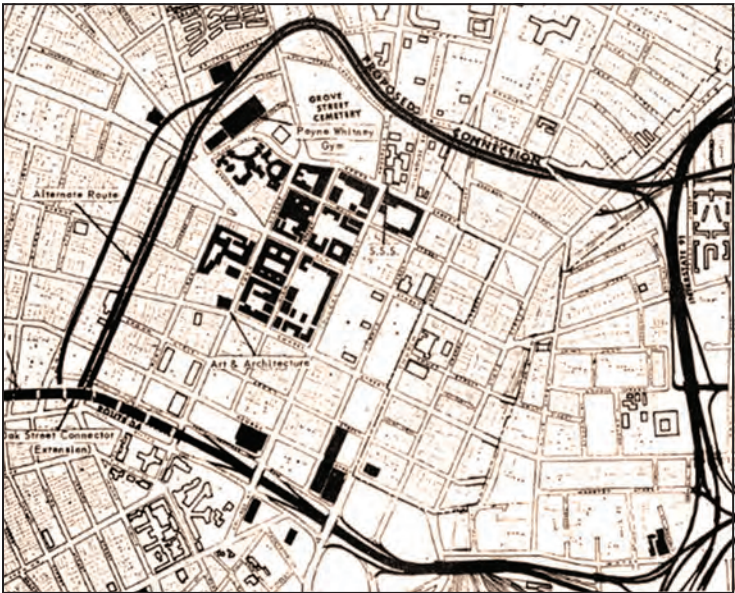
Photographs and map reproduced from Perspecta 9/10, Yale Architectural Journal, Yale University School of Art and Architecture, New Haven, CT, 1965.



DISNEYLAND

The tide began to turn away from the dystopian abstraction of Le Corbusier’s urbanism toward traditional city planning and design in, of all places, the orange groves of southern California, where Walt Disney, against the advice of everyone, invested his personal fortune in the construction of a gated amusement park arranged like a town with a main street, diverse neighborhoods, mixed modes of transportation, parks, and squares. No one but Snow White lived at Disneyland, so it was a town in form only, not in deed. Nonetheless, the public embraced it as if it were a real place, paying substantial entry fees to escape the automobile dystopia of southern California for a pedestrian-focused public life.

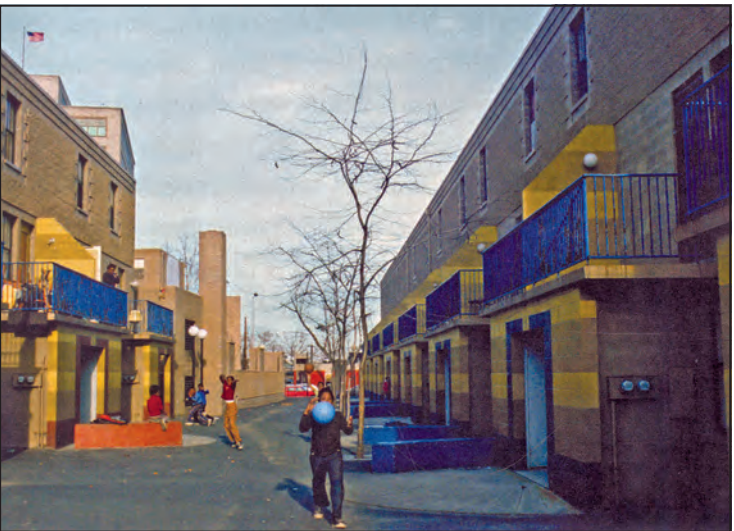
Disneyland opened in 1955, but architects and planners took little notice of it until 10 years later, when James Rouse, a leading developer, delivering the keynote at a major conference on urban development at Harvard, shocked his audience by saying, “The greatest piece of urban design in the United States today is Disneyland.” You can imagine how Josep Lluís Sert, dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Design, and many Harvard faculty, all devout disciples of Le Corbusier, reacted. In his keynote, Rouse went on to praise Disney’s achievement for lifting, as he stated, “an area of activity—the amusement park—to a standard so high in its performance, in its respect for people, in its functioning for people, that it really does become a brand new thing.”



REPUDIATING THE ‘MODEL CITY’

Jane Jacobs and Disneyland notwithstanding, planners and architects were slow to abandon the slash and burn urban renewal strategies of the postwar years. This was especially the case in the city of New Haven, home to Yale University but economically affected by a radically declining industrial base. In the early 1960s, New Haven was the nation’s premiere example of what was deemed “enlightened urban redevelopment.” Hyped as the “Model City,” it had a central redevelopment strategy that depended on Maurice Rotival’s plan of ring roads connected to a central expressway straight out of Le Corbusier’s 1922 City for Three Million Inhabitants project. Rotival’s roads were intended to help suburbanites travel to downtown offices and park their cars in garages, never to traverse the public realm of streets and parks in the course of a typical day before returning home.

Vincent Scully, Yale’s eminent architecture historian, was among the first and most vocal in the community to take on the planning establishment. In 1965, he and a few others led what would become persistent and sustained opposition to prevailing redevelopment practice, most particularly its brutalizing treatment of marginal neighborhoods and communities, like New Haven’s Hill neighborhood, which rioted in response to such treatment in 1967. Scully succeeded in killing



Opposite Page
Top Left: Front-page story, “Violence Erupts in Hill District,” New Haven Register, August 16, 1967.
Middle Left: Proposed New Haven ring road. Maurice Rotival, c. 1960.
Bottom Left: Proposed Church Street South, Hill Neighborhood, New Haven, CT. Architect, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, unrealized project, 1966.
Top Right: Lafayette Park, Detroit, MI Architect, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, 1959. Courtesy Chicago History Museum.

This Page
Top: Two-story balconies overlooking the pedestrian street. Kresge College, UC Santa Cruz, Santa Cruz, CA. Architect, Charles Moore, 1965–74. Courtesy of the Charles Moore Foundation. Photograph by Rob Super.
Middle: Balconies overlooking the pedestrian street. Church Street South, Hill Neighborhood, New Haven, CT. Architect, Charles Moore, 1966–69. Photograph by Robert A.M. Stern.
Bottom: 1934 and 1965 aerial views of Church Street South, Hill Neighborhood, New Haven, CT. Architect, Charles Moore, 1966–69.

Rotival’s ring road plan, but he was too late in his efforts to save the Hill neighborhood, lived in by generations of the city’s lowest-income families; much of it was razed to the ground.

The planners for the Hill’s redevelopment at first called on the great modernist architect Mies van der Rohe, who had recently completed Lafayette Park in Detroit, mixing high-rise apartments and townhouses in a spacious park-like setting. But Mies proved tone deaf to the increasingly loud calls for a plan that did more than locate isolated towers in greenery with no defined streets, a plan for the upper-middle class that ignored the needs of people who historically lived in the Hill.

Opposition to Mies’s plan, bolstered by Scully’s campaign against urban renewal as a whole, ultimately led to the selection of Charles Moore, by then chairman of the architecture department at Yale, to develop a design for a new Hill neighborhood filled with affordable row houses and pedestrian walkways. Moore’s urban village, under-budgeted and without necessary social programs, was only partially realized and ultimately faltered, itself being razed to the ground in 2019. But its lessons were given a second hearing at Kresge College at the University of California’s Santa Cruz campus, where Moore lined pedestrian streets with balconied dormitories accessed via multiple-entry stoops, a tour de force of hill-town urbanism.

This Page
Learning from Levittown, Yale University
Studio Project. Architects, Robert Venturi
with Denise Scott Brown, 1970.

Opposite Page
Venice Biennale exhibition: Drawings of
Subway Suburb, Brownsville, Brooklyn, NY.
Architect, Robert A.M. Stern, 1976.

LEVITTOWN

Common functional alterations made to Levittown houses are conversions of garages and attics to living spaces. Most other alterations are decorative and consist of the addition of masonry or siding facades or the applique of house and yard ornaments bought in stores. The fact that residents' alterations in general reinforce the styling of the house as acquired suggests that many Levittowners are basically happy with their houses despite what the critics say.

COLONIAL

'Twin Oaks' area

JUBILEE

'Kewwood' area

LEVITTOWNER

'Stonybrook' area

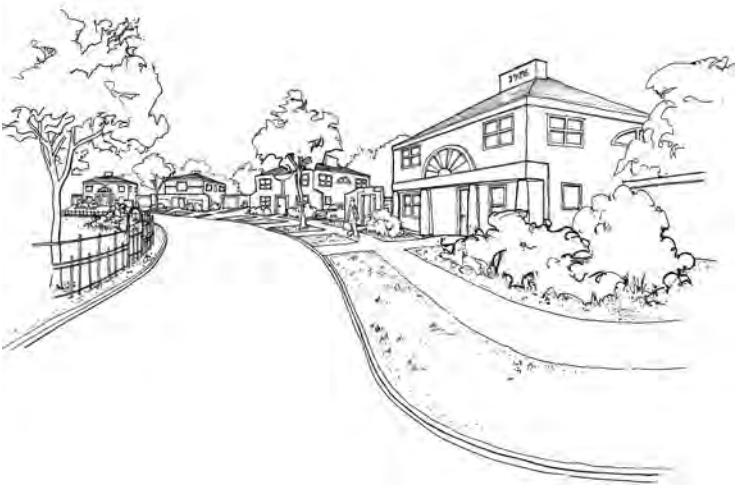
RANCHER

'Red Cedar' area

COUNTRY CLUBBER

'Foraythia Gate' area

On the twentieth anniversary of Levittown, Pa., a booklet was published by the Chamber of Commerce. One of the first residents was interviewed: "It was a never-forgotten experience. The advertisements were impressive and enticing. For only \$100 down payment we could buy our own home in a fully planned community, with every modern convenience. The cost per month was less than that of the average city row house. They had much to offer the city dweller. The models were completely modern, with radiant heat, electric stoves, automatic washers, tiled baths with showers, separate refrigerators. Some even had refrigerators. The grounds were to be landscaped and would include fruit trees. The streets were to be tree-lined. The houses were far enough apart to suit the homeowner and yet close enough for companionship with neighbors. No wonder the sample homes were crowded. In the Falls Township sections, there were at first only two basic models available, the Levittowner and the Rancher. After the Jubilee was added. A salesman advised us just which sections were available, and we then made application for the style we wanted in a specific section. After the application was accepted, notice was sent to us asking an appointment to select the house of our choice. At the appointed time we were shown the plan of the section plots. This section plan, on paper, showed the entire section including the style houses which were to be built on each lot. As for the land itself, in some instances the sections were still woods, or farmland. Sometimes it was possible in the Jubilee sections to see the actual plot, and so be able to choose more intelligently. But we were expected to decide and we did, from a paper plan and within minutes, where we would perhaps spend the rest of our lives. We know of one case where four couples chose their future homes in less than ten minutes, on paper too."

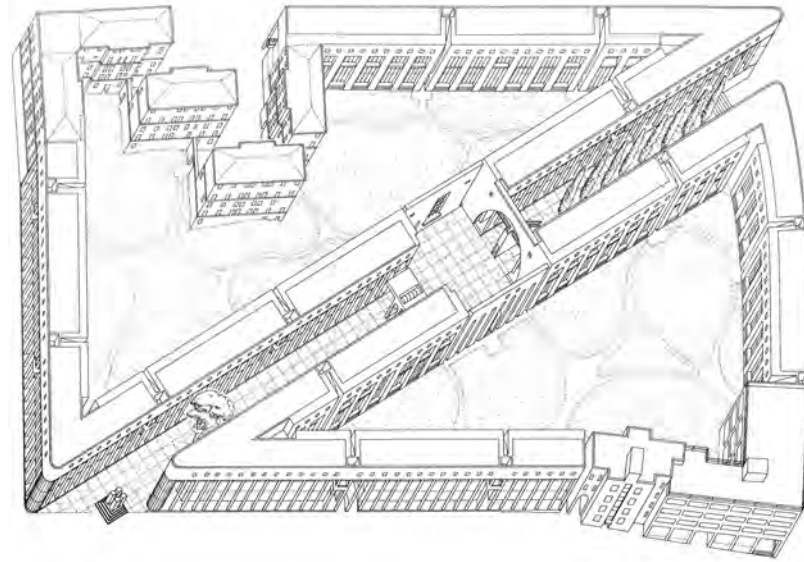


SUBWAY SUBURB

A return to order gradually replaced the social upheavals of the 1960s in both the United States and Italy, as seen in the 1976 Venice Biennale, which had earlier announced its intention to include a distinct architecture section. Architect Peter Eisenman was asked to assemble a group of 11 American architects who would exhibit in opposition to 14 European architects.

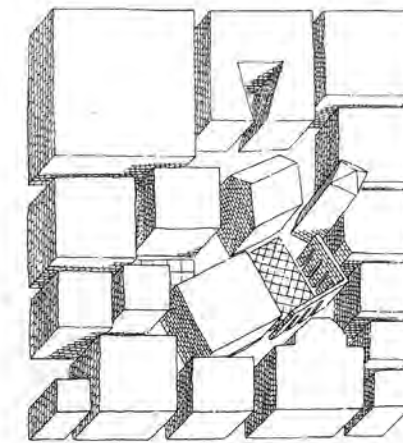
Eisenman asked my advice in developing a theme that would present the American group in a different light from the Europeans. I proposed the suburb. Many of my colleagues were a bit at sea with this idea, fearing a celebration of Levittown, much like the one Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown had undertaken with their Yale students in 1970. But as I saw the suburb theme, recollecting Frederick Law Olmsted's 1868 observation that "no great town can long exist without great suburbs," it was an opportunity to go beyond analysis and social posturing to take a next step toward a recuperated urbanism.

Subway Suburb was intended to break with postwar modernist urbanism by returning a bulldozed area in Brooklyn, New York, to its traditional pattern of streets punctuated by neighborhood parks and to show how the typology of 19th century vernacular houses, such as those in the New Haven neighborhoods (that Scully drew attention to) could be adapted to meet ordinary life in the late 20th century.

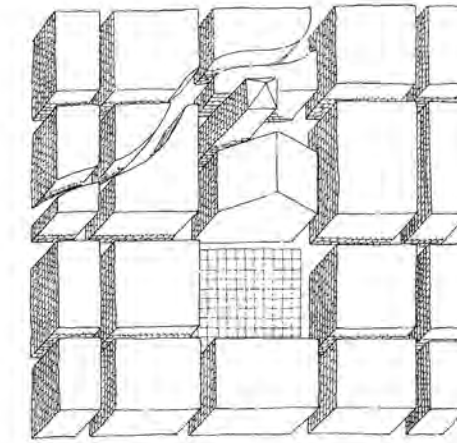


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 Left Column: Plan and perspective, Royal Mint Avenue, Docklands, London, UK. Architect, Léon Krier, 1974.
 Below: Sketch, plan, and perspective, proposed civic center, Derby, UK. Architects, James Stirling and Léon Krier, 1970.

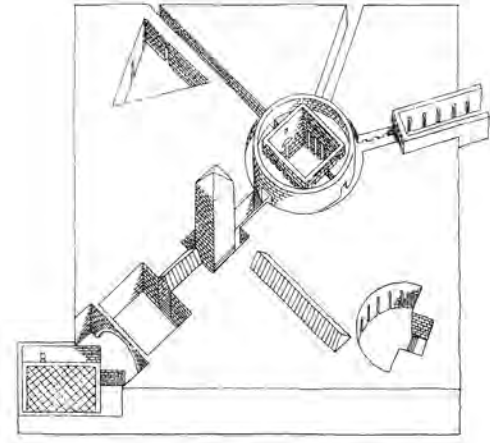
Opposite Page:
 The Reconstruction of the European City. Drawings by Léon Krier, 1978–84.



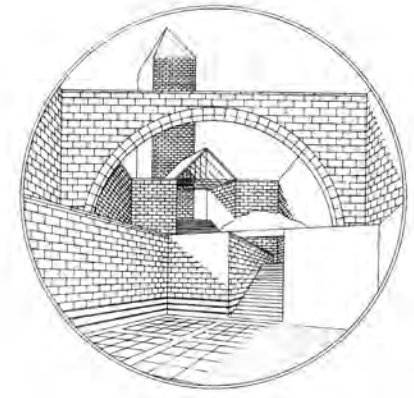
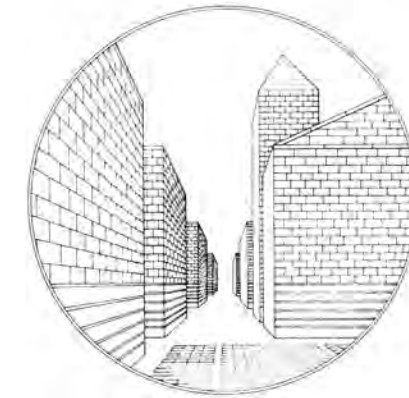
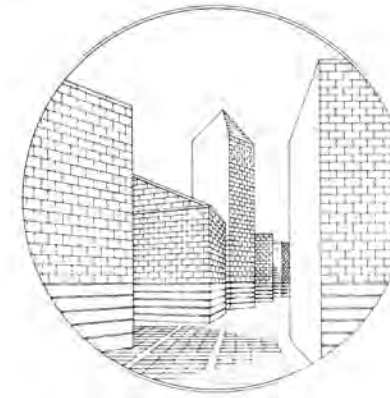
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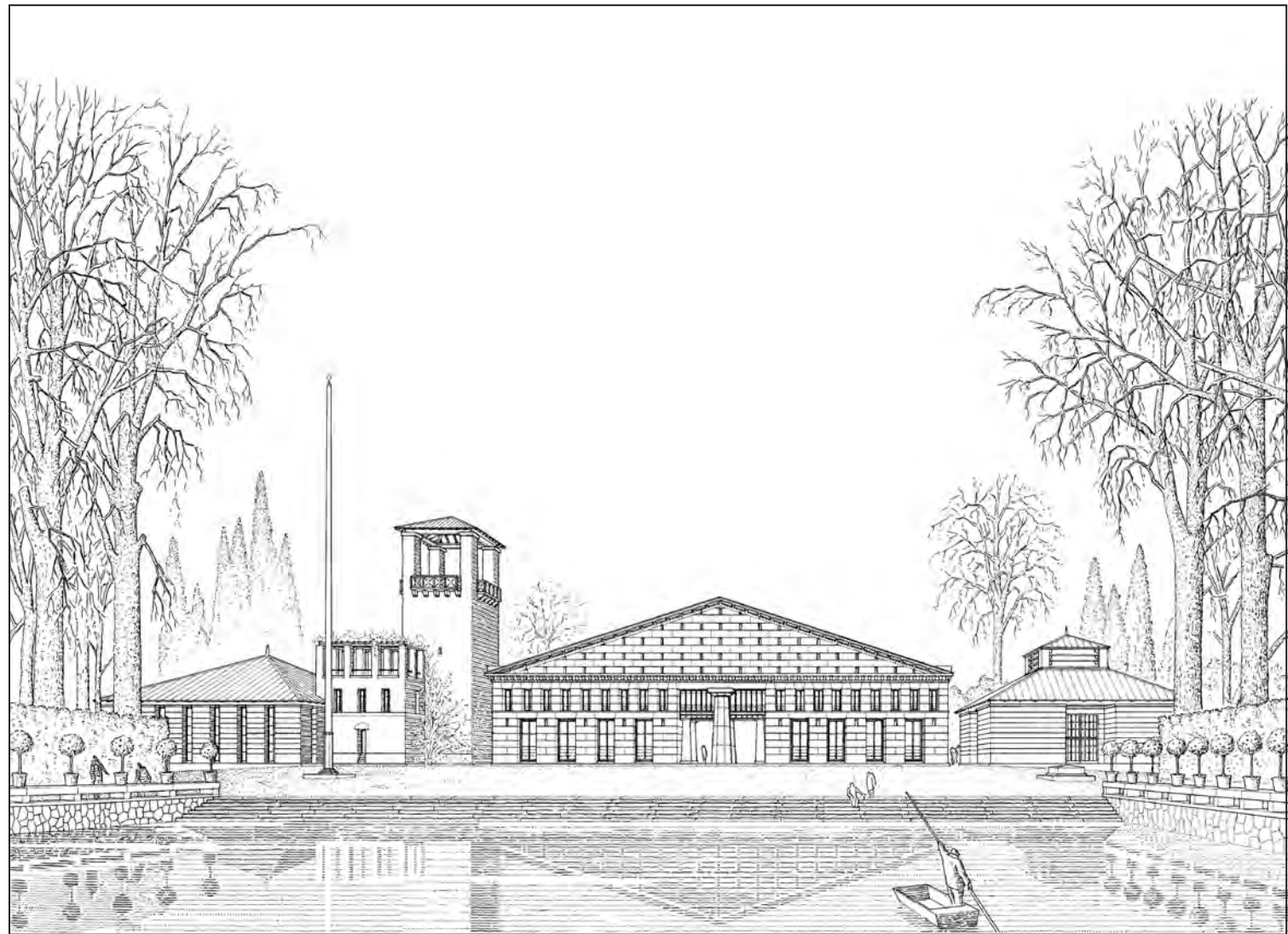
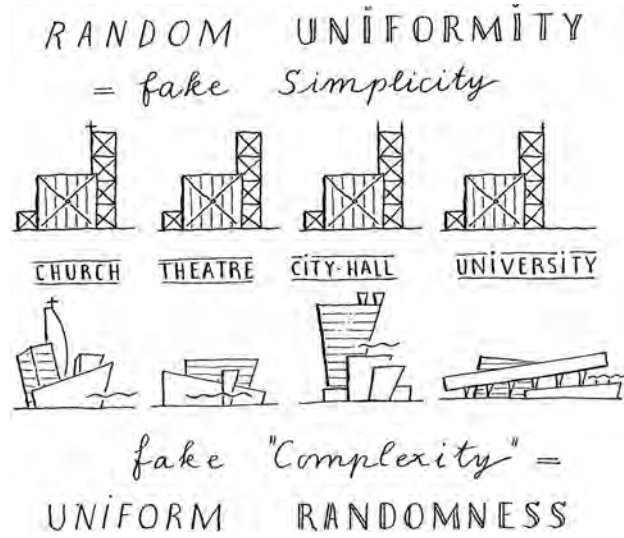
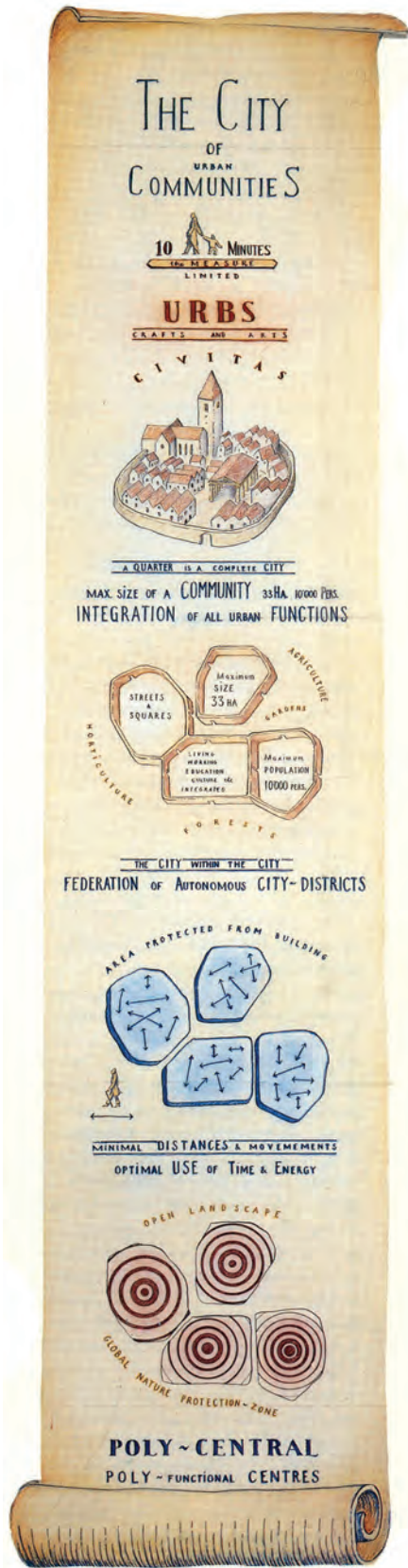
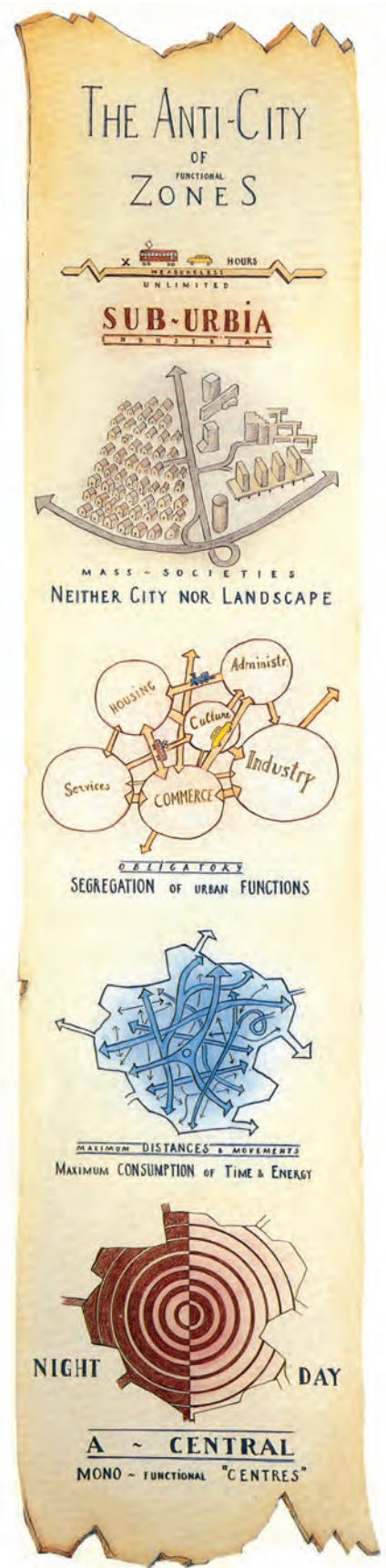


THE INFLUENCE OF LÉON KRIER

At about the same time, Léon Krier, an emerging new talent as a designer and theorist, began to challenge the modernist preconceptions of Europeans. Born in 1946 in Luxembourg, Krier began his career in London working for James Stirling, redirecting that architect's work toward traditional urbanism. That can be seen especially clearly in the unrealized project for a civic center in Derby, in which a typical Stirling strategy of a Crystal Palace-inspired glass wall was made to shape a public square. A few years later Krier, with Stirling, developed a scheme for London's Canary Wharf area, proposing, in place of the predictable solution of isolated towers, a traditional urban arrangement of courtyards bisected by a long pedestrian street. Stirling and Krier parted ways at the end of the 1970s, not necessarily amicably, and Krier

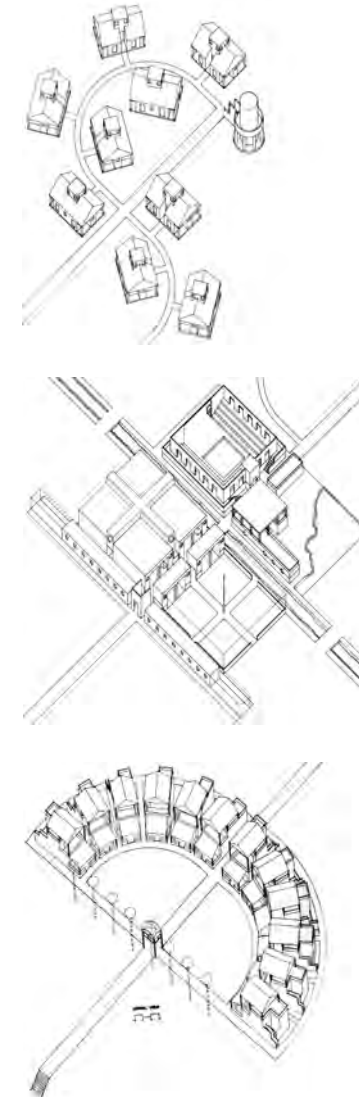
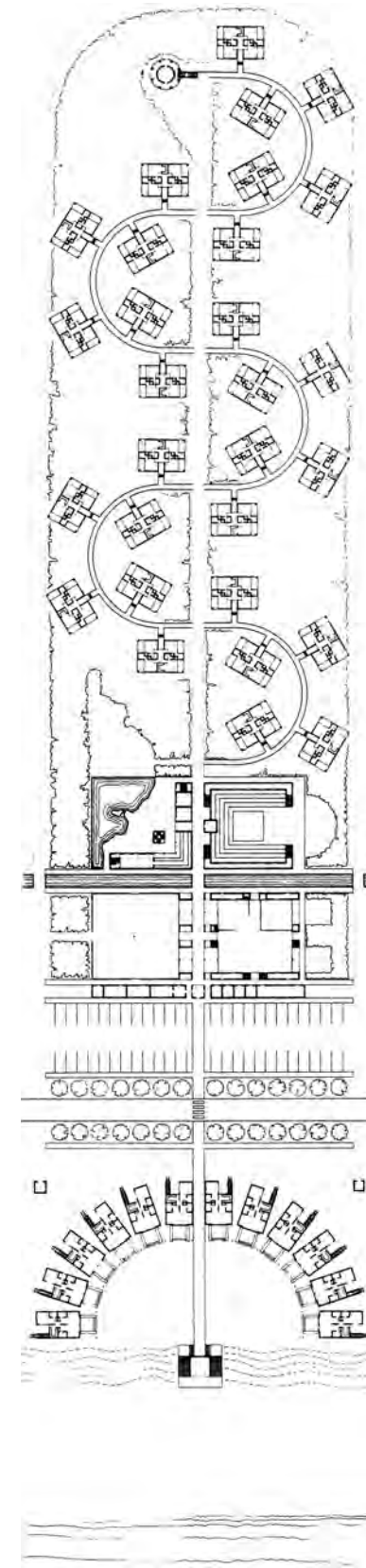
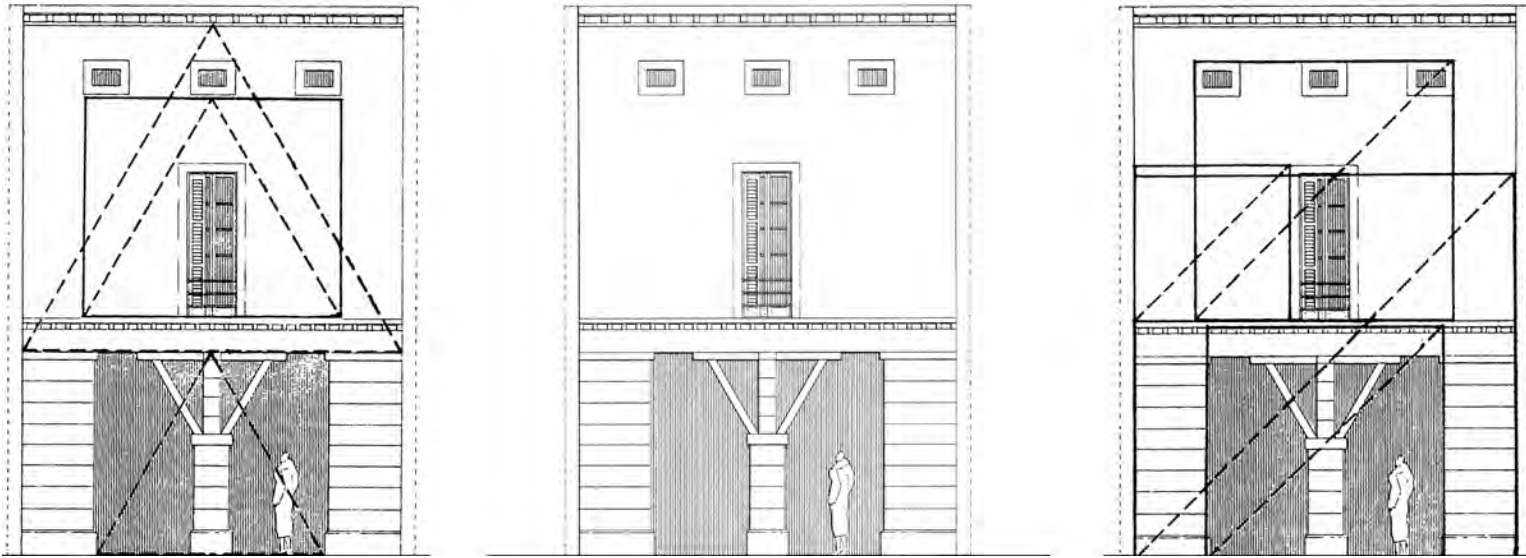
entered a series of competitions on his own. Often his proposals were not selected, but they had maximum impact on the profession. For example, in a project for a school outside Paris, a typical functional program was accommodated in a village-like composition combining figural and background buildings.

In a series of challenging essays accompanied by amazing drawings, Krier argued for a public architecture rooted in classical typologies adapted to serve modern functional requirements. Krier's ideas were seized upon by Duany and Plater-Zyberk, then recent graduates of the Yale School of Architecture, who had been influenced by New Haven's residential neighborhoods and by Vincent Scully's increasing disparagement of modernist planning and postwar urban renewal.



Opposite Page
Left: *The Anti-City of Functional Zones.*
Drawing by Léon Krier, 1978-84.
Right: *The City of Urban Communities.*
Drawing by Léon Krier, 1978-84.

This Page
Top: *Random Uniformity Versus Uniform Randomness.* Drawing by Léon Krier, 1985.
Below: *Perspective view of school at Saint Quentin-en-Yvelines, France.* Architect, Léon Krier, 1978.

**Opposite Page**

Top: Elevation and regulating line analysis for facade designed for the Strada Novissima, Venice Biennale, Italy. Architect, Léon Krier, 1980.

Bottom Left and Right: Strada Novissima, Venice Biennale, Italy.

Curator: Paolo Portoghesi.

Published in Domus, October 1980.

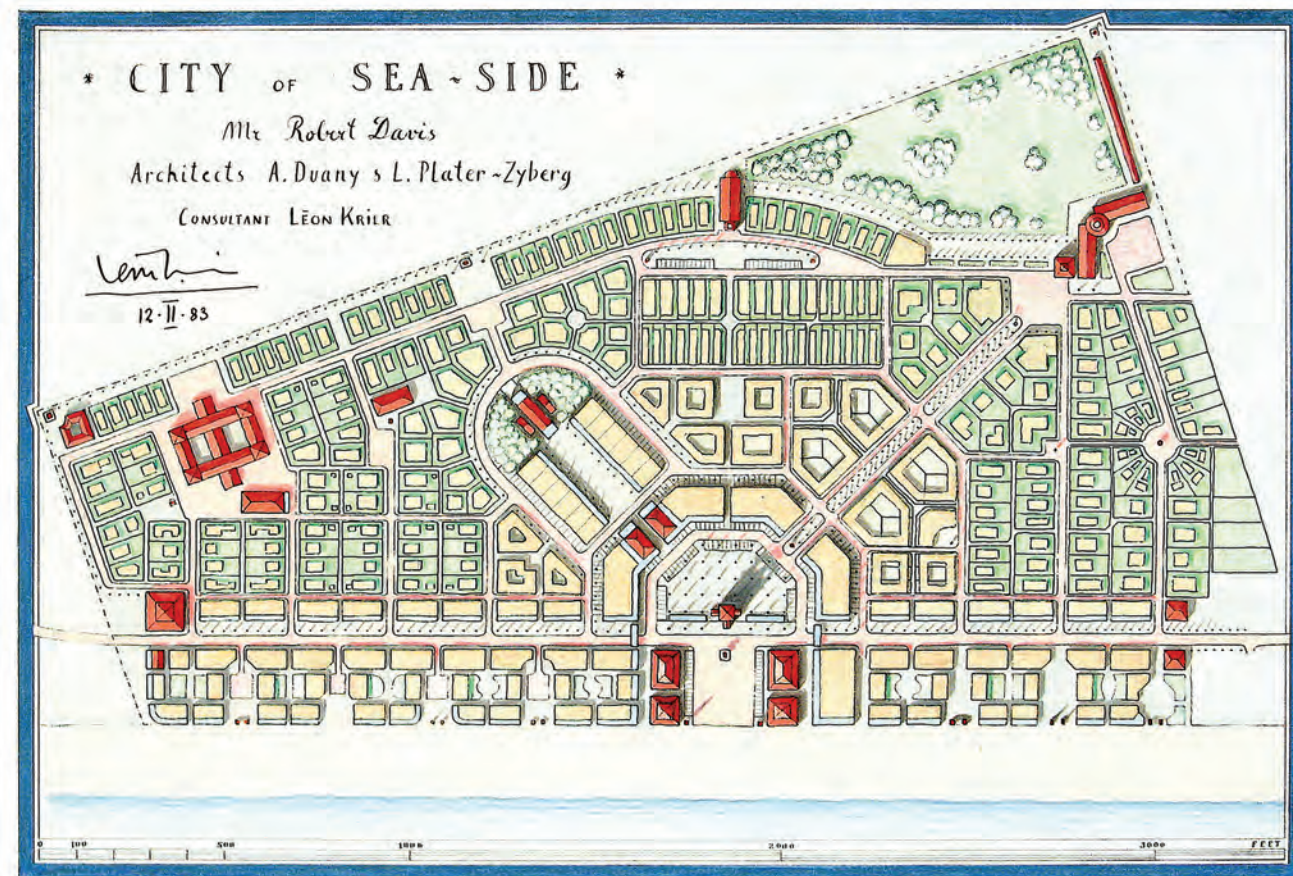
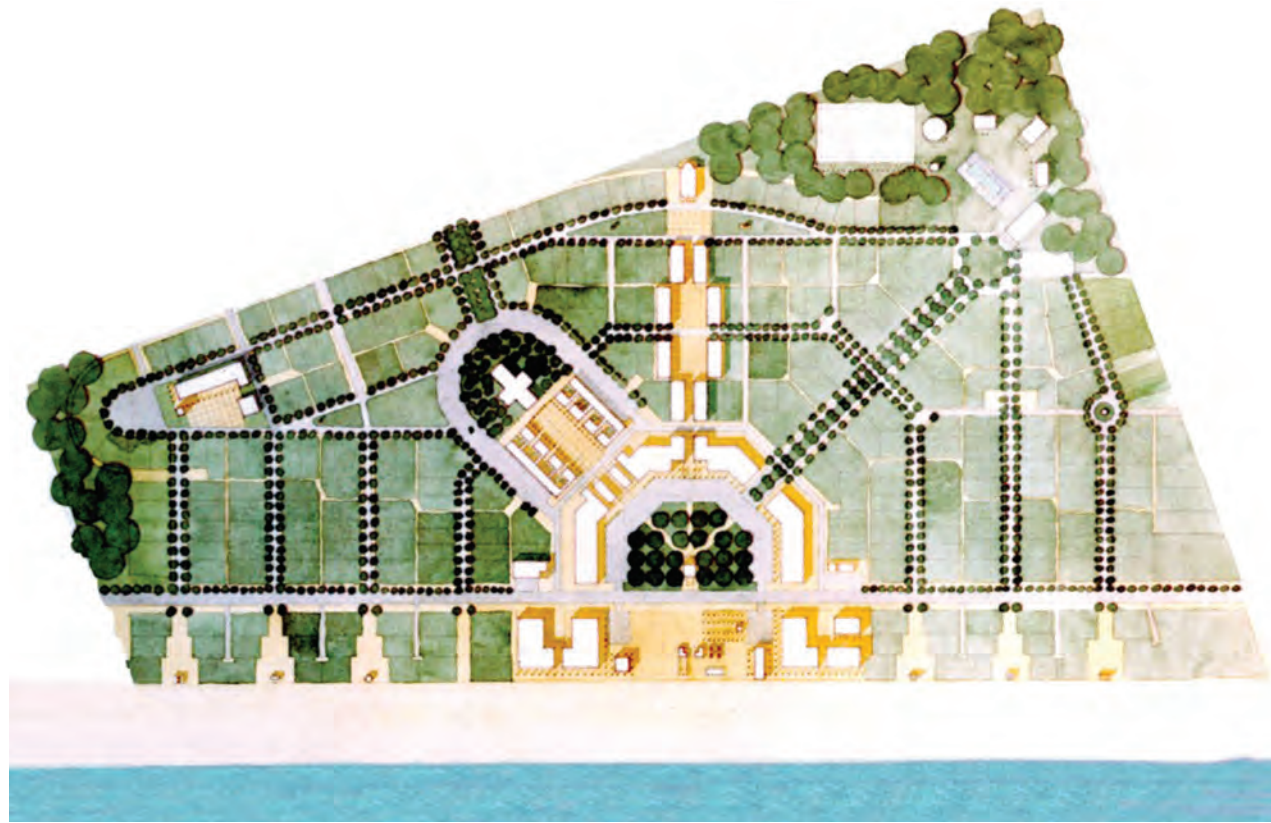
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Plan for 300-foot-wide swath of land within Seaside's boundaries, which was designed by Andrés Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk during their time at Arquitectonica, April 1979.

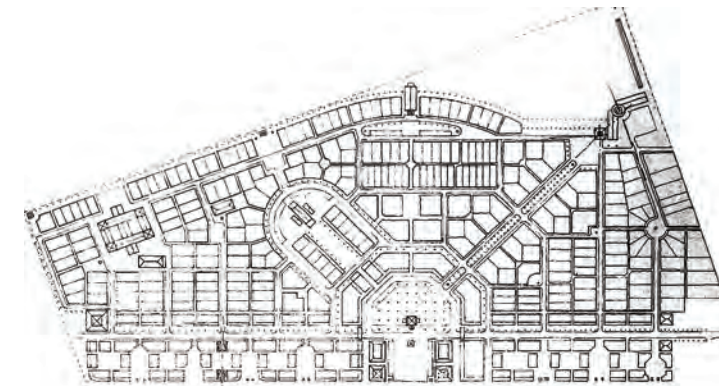
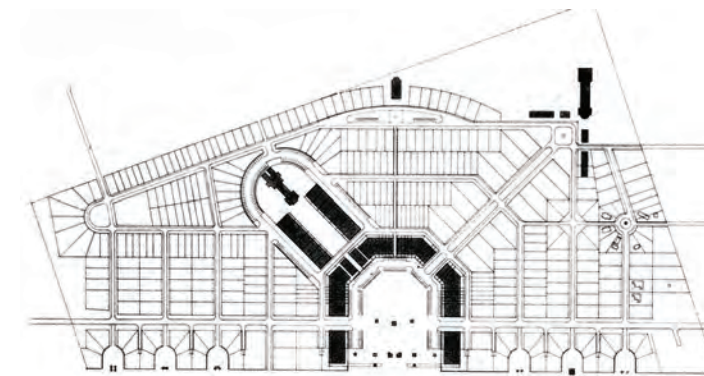
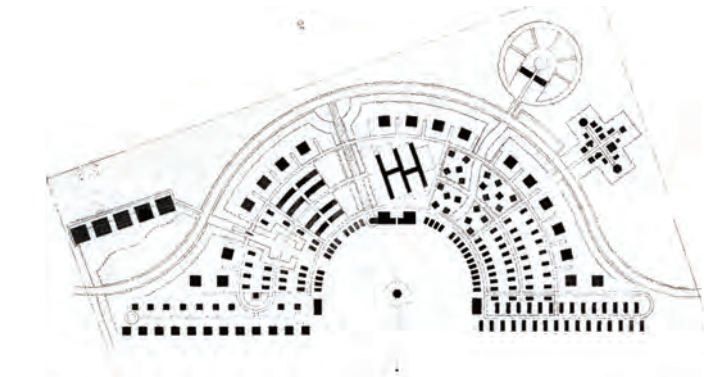
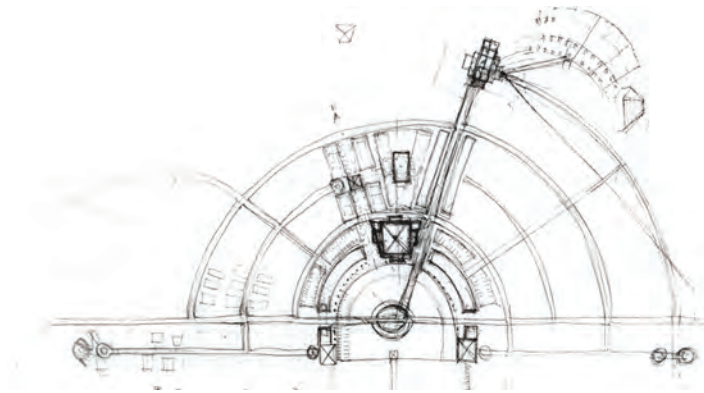
ENTER SEASIDE: AMERICAN VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE AND EUROPEAN URBANISM

The year 1980 marked a watershed in this story—the first time that there would be a Venice Biennale wholly dedicated to architecture. It was curated by the Roman architect Paolo Portoghesi under the heading “The Presence of the Past,” and its principal feature was an interior street, the Strada Novissima, lined with facades designed by 20 international architects, including Léon Krier, Charles Moore, Robert Venturi, and Denise Scott Brown. The Strada Novissima was the signature statement of the new postmodern movement and the most visible exemplar yet of the return to street-based urbanism. At the time when the 1980 Biennale was staged, design work was already going forward on Seaside in Florida.

After graduating from Yale, Duany and Plater-Zyberk situated themselves in Miami, where they cofounded the architecture office Arquitectonica and encountered Robert Davis, who owned 80 acres of family property on the Florida Panhandle and had the idea of developing a model town. At first, Seaside's plan was little more than a collection of planning typologies, girdled by a ring road around the town, a regrettable reversion to Rotival's discredited plan for New Haven. Fortunately, the realization dawned that this strategy was not practical, and 30A's existence as a coastal road came to be accepted as the design developed. By 1980, Duany and Plater-Zyberk had



London 12-II-83
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Top: Plan drawing emphasizing public spaces. This was the first illustrative colored drawing of the Seaside plan, prepared by Rolando Llanes.

Bottom: In 1982, on the recommendation of Andrés Duany, Robert Davis asked Léon Krier to review the Seaside Plan. Krier visited Seaside in November 1982 with Duany and Davis. Krier then prepared this plan, dated February 12, 1983, as his critique of the DPZ plan.

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The upper three plans prepared by DPZ were made between 1979 and 1982, prior to Léon Krier's review. The fourth plan made in 1983, after Krier's review, shows the early formation of Ruskin Place and the addition of the mid-block Krier Walks.

broken away from Arquitectonica, and they took the plan for Seaside in a different direction. Duany has noted in his own writing that Krier's 1979 lecture in Miami, "A New Wave of European Architecture," profoundly influenced the pair's thinking and led to a plan that included a mix of avenues, streets, and alleyways. After seeking advice from Krier in 1982, Duany and Plater-Zyberk adopted a network of mid-block pedestrian walkways, aptly named Krier Walks.¹ Krier also influenced the decision to make Ruskin Place a car-free mews, and he endorsed the radiating boulevards leading to public spaces that face the beach, which are the glory of the Seaside plan. Equal in brilliance is the strategy for encouraging the construction of individual buildings conforming to a code, assuring that each building honored the pedestrian-scaled plan. The rest, as they say, is history. Seaside is an inhabited paradise that changed the world.

Seaside transformed much of the development of the Florida Panhandle. Its progeny include Alys Beach and WaterColor. Its impact could also be felt on a much larger scale in the center of the state, where the Walt Disney Company undertook to develop a town, Celebration. Seaside's influence also spread internationally, from England, where Léon Krier's Poundbury was sponsored by Prince Charles, to suburban Paris.

I began this brief and necessarily superficial overview of the revival of traditional urbanism with the wartime



Opposite Page
Top Left: Unter den Linden Boulevard in central Mitte district of Berlin, connecting the City Palace to Brandenburg Gate, 1945.
Top Right: View of Stresemannstrasse looking toward Haus Vaterland, Berlin, Germany, 1945.
Bottom: Karl-Marx-Allée was 1 1/4 miles (2 kilometers) in length. It was the flagship building project of East Germany's reconstruction program after World War II. Architects, Henselmann, Hartmann, Hopp, Leucht, Paulick, and Souradny, 1952–61.

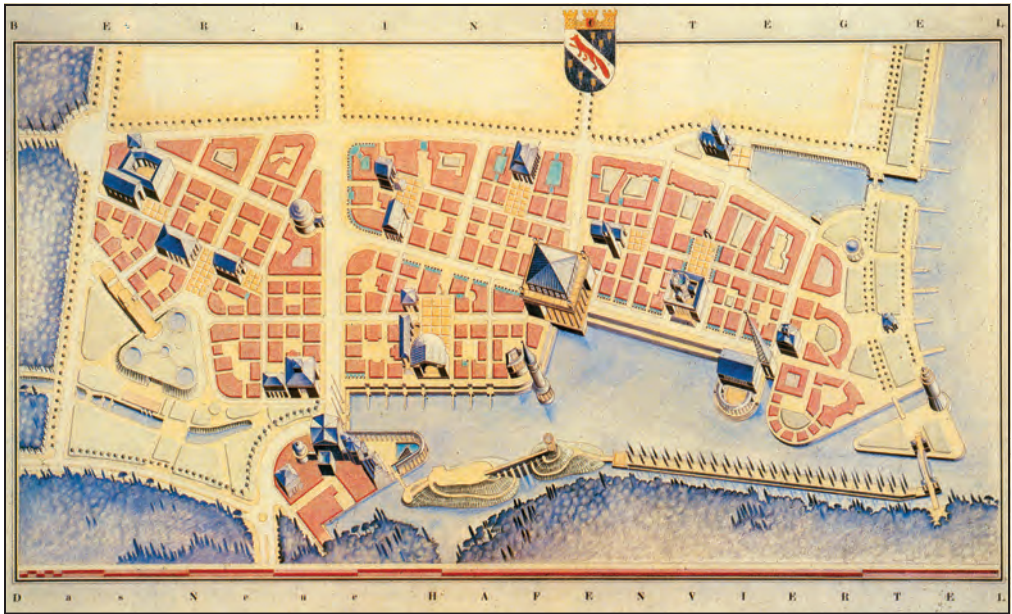
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Top: Hansaviertel, Berlin, Germany, 1957.
Middle: Werkbund Exhibition, Weissenhof-Siedlung in Stuttgart, Germany, 1927.
Bottom: Invitation to the Werkbund Exhibition, Stuttgart, Germany, 1927.



destruction of central London. But, in conclusion, I would like to focus on the destruction of Berlin, which took place in the last days of the war. Postwar Berlin's monumental core was not beyond repair, but it had negative political associations. Architects in the western sector, seeking to embrace democratic principles, proposed the complete destruction of buildings that could have been restored were it not for their links with National Socialism and adopted a plan for a rebuilt city remarkably similar to the unrealized MARS plan for London of 1942.

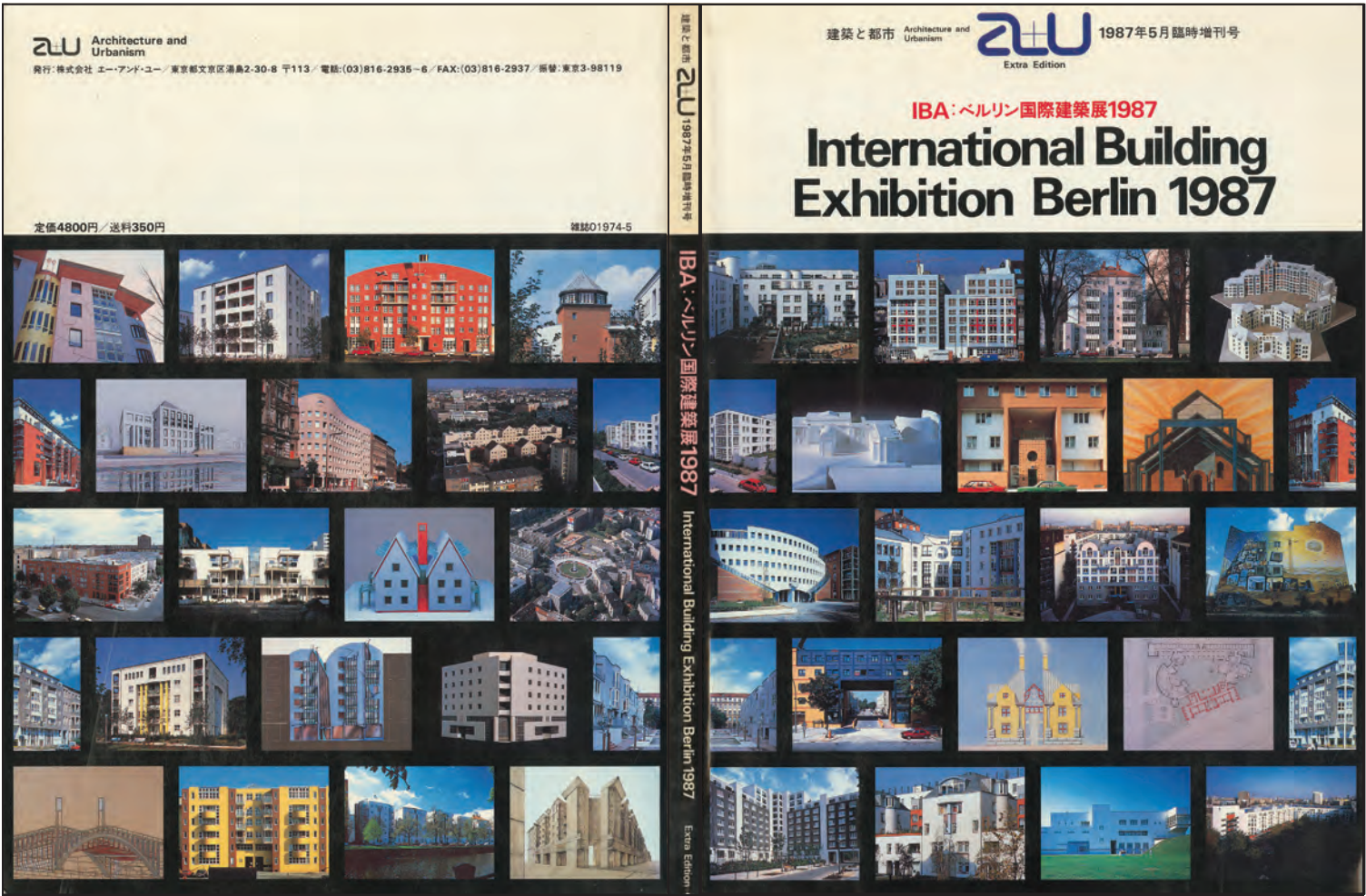
In 1957, West Berliners staged a housing exhibition in emulation of the modernist Weissenhof-Siedlung in Stuttgart 30 years before, in 1927. In contrast to the pedestrian-scaled 1927 exhibit, the 1957 exhibit in Berlin's Hansaviertel district consisted of loosely arranged abstract apartment slabs with little concern for human scale. Ironically, the opposite strategy was pursued in the Communist East, under Stalin's influence, resulting in grandiose but urbanistically coherent street-defining developments.

The failure of Hansaviertel to create a sense of urban community led, in the 1970s, to the creation of a second housing initiative in West Berlin, which was much more ambitious, comprehensive, and successful. The International Building Exhibition, generally referred to as IBA, began to take shape in 1979 and ended with the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989. The scope of the effort



Opposite Page
Top: Tegeler Hafen master plan, International Building Exhibition (IBA), Berlin, Germany. Architects, Moore Ruble Yudell, 1981.
Bottom: Front and back cover of IBA Catalogue, Extra Edition, A&U Architecture & Urbanism, May 1987. The photographs on the front and back covers illustrate various buildings designed by a cadre of international architects.

This Page
Top: Tegeler Hafen master plan, IBA, Berlin, Germany. Architect, Léon Krier, 1980–83.
Bottom: Citizens help break down the Berlin Wall, 1989. Photograph courtesy of the Library of Congress.



was enormous. Architects were asked to design projects on many scales, from small infill buildings to large developments. Most of the new buildings were constructed for social housing, but some public buildings were also part of the effort. Typically the IBA projects were constructed in the central city, but one was located on the city's outskirts at Tegel Harbor, historically a resort district. To adopt a master plan, the IBA pitted American architect Charles Moore against Léon Krier, who proposed a scheme with small buildings on blocks interspersed with occasional iconic buildings. Moore, on the other hand, reflecting an American perspective, developed a looser scheme that notably combined courtyard-defining higher-density apartments with urban villas housing five families each. As at Seaside, various architects were encouraged to express themselves as individuals while also working within a predetermined code.

The destruction of the Berlin Wall put an end to IBA's programs, as Germany began its struggle to adjust to reunification, but their effect continued to be influential in many Western cities, including New York and London. Regrettably, however, IBA's effect has not yet been much felt in the rapidly urbanizing cultures of East Asia, especially in China. For example, over a 20-year period beginning in 1990, the farmland site at Pudong, across from



Opposite Page
Two views of Pudong seen from Shanghai, China, across the Huangpu River, and taken 26 years apart in 1987 and 2013. Published in *The Atlantic*. Photographs by Carlos Barria.

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Top: Wall of high-rise apartment buildings typically found in the suburbs of many Chinese cities. Photograph by Dhiru A. Thadani.
Bottom: Demolition of Pruitt-Igoe public housing project in Saint Louis, MO, built between 1951 and 1955. All 33 buildings were demolished between 1972 and 1976. Photograph courtesy of the Library of Congress.



Shanghai's Bund, was developed as a financial center consisting of self-conscious, self-important towers designed with little or no respect for the pedestrian life typical of all great cities. But of even greater concern is what happened at the same time throughout the rest of China, where vast high-density housing projects just like Pruitt-Igoe were built, reflecting and repeating the worst excesses of the American experience, and leading me to reflect on the 1905 words of the philosopher George Santayana: "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it."²

ENDNOTES
I was pleased and honored to be asked originally to deliver this article as the keynote lecture at the 2018 Seaside Prize ceremony celebrating Seaside's pioneering architects Deborah Berke, Alexander Gorlin, Ernesto Buch, Robert Orr, and Walter Chatham; Seaside's founder, Robert Davis; and its principal planners, Andrés Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk.
[1] See especially Andrés Duany, "Evolution of the Seaside Plan," in Dhiru A. Thadani, *Visions of Seaside* (New York: Rizzoli, 2013), 164–191.
[2] George Santayana, "Flux and Constancy in Human Nature," in *The Life of Reason: The Phases of Human Progress v. 1 "Reason in Common Sense"* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905), 284.