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RECONSTRUCTION AS SITUATED MODERN URBANISM IN POST-WAR MILAN, ROTTERDAM AND WARSAW

By Tom Avermaete (ETH Zurich) and Leonardo Zuccaro Marchi (Politecnico di Milano)

ABSTRACT

P) [D] 6 w't 3vr'frp) (qj) 1[qj m'4 4] r1) 42'041) / rn('p'g'w'2't1n/ / [r'q'6 v'v 3vr'pvn[r(t w't 3n'z) s'1rp) (2314p3w(C'Nr2/ v'g'r'3vr'31n(2s) 1] n3v'g'r'v' / np3) s 3vr'2r'1rp) (2314p3w(/ 1) x'p32) ('3vr'410n([n(q2pn/ r') s'041) / r'Agvr v'w3) 1w't1n/ v'8) s'410n(w] '3r(q2'3) 'npz() 6 [r'qr'3vr]) ([8] w) 1[8A] s3r(1r'q4p'w't 3vr] '3) '3vr] r1r'p1rn3w() s(r6'v) 42w't q'r5r/] / r(32) 1'p'g8 pr(3'r2C

S) 6 r5r1'Agvr'1rp) (2314p3w(/ [n(2's) 1'041) / rn('p'g'w'2'6 r(3'or8) (q'241snprB [r5r' / [n((w't) s(r'w'vo) 41v)) q2) 1'pr(3n['p'g8'n1rn2C'gvr8'6 r1r'w'31v'pn3r[8 p((r'p3r'q'3) '2/ r'p'w'w'w'23n(pr2) s'410v'w'q'r'n(q'w'5) [5r'q'r[no) 1n3r (rt) 3w3w(2'6 v'g'v' / 1r'p'7w3w't'2) p'w[A'r't'n[A'rp) ()] v'p'Ag'rpv(v'pn[n(q]) 1/ v)] t v'pn[p(q'v'g'v(2An2'6 r[[n2'6 v'g'v' / 1r5n'w'w't'n't'r(p'w2C

P) p42w't) ('3vr'p'g'w'2) s'Z v'n(Ae) 33r1qn] 'n(qj m'2n6 Agv'w'n13w[r'm't4r2 3v'n3Aq4r'3) '3vr'w'p'v'm't'r'q'r1r[n3w(2v'w'6 v'g'v'3vr'r7w3w't'sno1v'p'410n(1rp) (2314p3w(/ 1) x'p32'n/ / r'm'n2'n[3r1(n3v'g'r'n/ / 1) npvr2'3) ' /) 23B6 m 410n(w] C'gvr8'r] r1r'n2'r7r] / [n2) s'n'2w4n3r'q]) q'r1('410n(w] 'q'w3w'p3 su)] '3vr'w'p) 4(3r1/ m'32An2'3vr'8'r23no[w'v'n]) q'r1('410n(w3w'p'n/ / 1) npv t1) 4(qr'q'w'n'v'w'v[8(4n(pr'q'4(q'r123n(q'w't) s'3vr'q'w' r(2w(2) s'3w' r'n(q n't'r(p8C

THE MANY FACES OF URBICIDE: MILAN, WARSAW AND ROTTERDAM

gvr'frp) (qj) 1[qj m'pn42rq'n(n((w'v'n3w() s'p'g'w'2'n'p1) 22'3vr'041) / rn(p((3w'r(3C) v'v'r'3vr'w'v'v'w'n/ / r'm'n(pr') s'3vr'q'r'o1w'w'5'm'w'42'p'g'w'2) w'v'3 v'n5'r2rr] r'q'2w' v'n'Agvr'np34n'] n(w'r23n3w(2) s'410v'w'q'r'5m'w'q 2w((v'w'pn(3[8C'gvr'3n[wn('p'g8) s'Z v'n(As) 1'w'23n(pr'Ans3r1'3vr'frp) (qj) 1[q j m'46 n2'n'314r' 2pn33r1r'q'p'g8 n2'1rt'm'q2'w'2'o4'w'3'sno1v'p'n(q'/) 22w[8'r5r(]) 1r'n2'1rt'm'q2'w'2) p'w[3w24r'Cg) 'p) 4(3r1'3vr'Pn2p'w3'1rt'v' r'Agvr'K[[w'q

P) 1pr2/1v̄ m̄v̄8'r) /) 8rq/28pv)) t̄v̄n[6 m̄snr'n2'3vrw'zr8'23in3rt8C
 Mirn3w̄t/28pv)) t̄v̄n[3in4] n'6 v̄v'3vr'Z v̄n(r2r''ingvr1'3vn('3vr'3) 3n[
 /v82v̄n[qr23i4p3w̄(') s'3vr'p̄v̄8'o8'2) B̄n[[rq'3r11)1'o)] owt'6 n2'3vr
 n/1) npv'r) /) 8rq'o8'3vr'L1v̄v̄v'e) 8n[Kw'P) 1pr'or36 rr(' 'n(q' C̄3
 p) (2w̄3rq) s] w̄) i'043'irp411r(3'ng3npz2A6 v̄v̄v'tr(r1ng3rq'2w̄(v̄v̄n(3
 /28pv)) t̄v̄n[n(q') in[v̄ /np3An(7w38'n(q'/n(v̄Cgvr'rssrp3) ('Z v̄n(r2r
) in[r'6 n2'r() 1)) 42A[rnqwt'2)] r') o2r15r12'3) 'p) (p[4qr'3vn3' gvr'B̄n[w̄
 /28pv)) t8'6 n2'4(24v̄no[r's) i'6 m C
 gvr'r1nqv̄n3w̄(') s]) in[r'6 n2/ n̄wrq'6 v̄v'n' 2pn33r1rq'qr23i4p3w̄(') s'5n1w̄42
 /n132) s'3vr'o4v̄3r(5w) () r(3C) n[[/wpr2) s'410n('sno1v̄6 r1r'qr23i) 8rq'n[[
) 5r1'3vr'p̄v̄8A341(w̄t'Z v̄n('w3) n'/1) 42'410n(r(3v̄8's4[[) s'pn5v̄w̄2'n(q
 5) w̄2Cgvr'2pn33r1rq'/n33r1(') s'qr23i4p3w̄('6 n2() 3) ([8'3vr'ir24[3) s'3vr
 qw̄/r12rq'pv̄nnp3r1) s'3vr'3r11) 1'o)] owt'23in3rt8'o43'n2)) s'3vr' n3r1w̄[
 o4n[v̄w̄2) s'3vr'p̄v̄8Cgvr') qr1('mrn2'6 v̄v'6 w̄r'23irr32'2)] r') ir'3vn(' B
] r3r2''n(q'3vr'38/ v̄n[42r) s'o1w̄z2'n(q'irw̄s) 1pr'q'p) (p1r3r'6 r1r() 3
 nssrp3rq'n2] 4pv'o8'3vr'o)] owt'2'n(q'3vr'ir24[3w̄t'swr' Cgvr') [qr1
 (r̄w̄v) 41v)) q2'6 v̄v'3vrw̄6)) qr('o4v̄qwt'2'6 r1r'r̄n2v̄8'qr23i) 8rq'o8'swrD

[K]) (t'3vr'14w̄2) s'3vr'n(pw(3v) 42r2A3vr') qr1('p) (p1r3r'o4v̄qwt'2
 6 v̄v'ir2w̄3rq'3vr'swr'orpn] r'qw/1) /) 13w̄(n[[8'5w̄w̄[rCgvr'snpr') s'3vr'p̄v̄8
 orpn] r's) ir5r1'qr5) 1] rq C

K[3v) 4tv'3v1rr'] v̄v̄(w' '204nr' r3ir2) s'Z v̄n('ir) n̄wrq'4(3) 4pv̄rq'o8'3vr
 o)] o2'n(q'swr An3'3vr'r(q) s'3vr'6 mAn/1) 7w̄ n3r[8' B ') s̄n[[o4v̄qwt'2'6 r1r
 qr23i) 8rqAn(q' B '6 r1r'qn] ntrq Cg v̄w̄v̄ / [wq'3vn3'no) 43' A
 q6 r[[w̄t'2'6 r1r'qr23i) 8rq''v̄ani distrusti''n(q' A '6 r1r'qn] ntrqA6 v̄v̄v
 n]) 4(3rq'3) ' A 'w̄v̄nov̄no[r'q6 r[[w̄t'2An(q'n2w̄ v̄n((4) or1) s̄sn] v̄w̄2
) ('3vr'23irr32 CK1) 4(q' C ' /r) / [r'] 23'3vrw̄v) 42r'2q41w̄t'3vr'6 mAn(q
 4(3w̄ A3vr'irp) (23i4p3w̄('qr5r) /) r(3p) 4[q) ([8'ir23) ir[r22'3vn('vn[s
 3vr'qr]) [w̄vrq'1)] 2'6 v̄v'/1)) (trq'n(q'r() 1)) 42'v) 42w̄t'v̄m̄q2v̄w̄'pn42rq
 o8'3vr'o)] owt'2''sw̄tC'n(q' " C



Figure 1. Ruins in Milan after the bombing in 1943 ©Lamberto Vitali, Fondo Lamberto Vitali Fotografo. Civic Photographic Archive, City of Milan (location: inv. LV 1165)

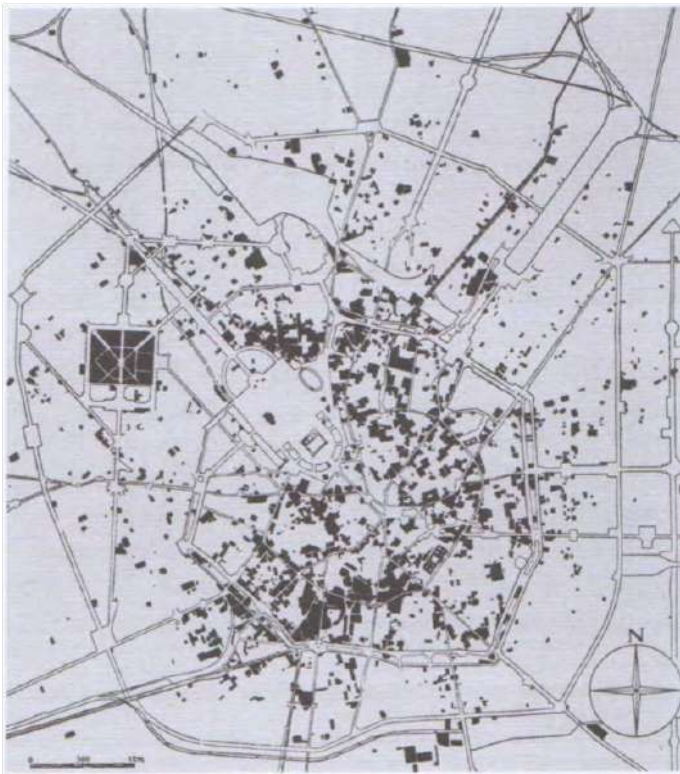


Figure 2. "Tutta la Rovina" - Map of destruction in Milan, in G. De Finetti, Milano, Costruzione di una Città, a cura di G. Cislighi, M. De Benedetti, P. Marabelli, Hoepli: Milano 2002, p. 432

j vvr'w'Z vln('qr2314p3w('vng'orr('2pn33r1rq'n(q'1rp411r(3Aw'3vr'e)[wv
 p38')sj m2n6'410vppqr'3)z'n')ir'r(p)]/n22wt's1]CN41wt'3vr'frp)(q
 j)1[qj mAvr'pn/wn(')s'e][n(q'orpn]r'3vr's)p42)s'2)]r's'3vr'sw1pr23'a ngw
 /)[vvr2'ny rqn3'3vr'2823r] n3vp'n(q'2pw(3wvp'n(wvln3w(')s'3vr'r(3vr'p38
 n2'n/v82vpn[A2]pvn[Av'q4231w[Ap4[341n[n(q'/)[wvvn['pr(31rAw'p[4qwt'3vr
 owd)tvpn['r73r1]wn3w(')s'32'wvno3n(32 C
 K'zr8'n2/rp3)s'3vw/)[v3'w5][5rq'3vr'p)]/[r3r'o[wv1n3w(')s'3vr'r(3vr
 p)(2314p3rq'n(q2pn/r')sj m2n6 C3'ny r'q'3)r'w'wn3r'p)]/[r3r[8'r5r18
 n2/rp3'n(q'p)]/)(r(3)s'3vr'410n('2314p341rAfn5wt(')r7pr/3w(2Cgvr
 qr5n23n3w('r73r(qr'q'or8)(q'o4vqwt2A231rr32'n(q'wsin2314p341rEr5r('31rr2
 6r1r'w'p[4qrq'w'3vr'qr]) [wv('231n3rt8Cgvr')5r1n1pvwt't)n[6'n2'n
 2823r]n3vp'n(q'p)]/1rvr(2v3r'tabula.rasa.gv3w'qr2314p3w(')[v3'6'n2
 p)]/[r]r(3rq'o8'36'))3vr1'n((wvln3w('231n3rtw2Drt1rtn3w('n(q'1rB
 s)4(qwtCSwv'6n[2'6'wv'6'n3pv3]6r12'6'r1r'p)(2314p3rq'2)'3vn3'3vr(')13vr1(
 /m3)sj m2n6'p)4[q'or'r(p)]2rq'n(q'2rt1rtn3rq'si)]'3vr'1r23)s'3vr'p38Cg'vw
 (r6'g)(r'6'n2'341(rq'w'3)n('w'31nB410n('/1w)(A6vvpv'qr3nw'rq' A
 Ur6'wv'p38qr(2'n(q'orpn]r'z(6('n2'3vr'Ur6'wv'Rvr33)"swtC'n(q' " C

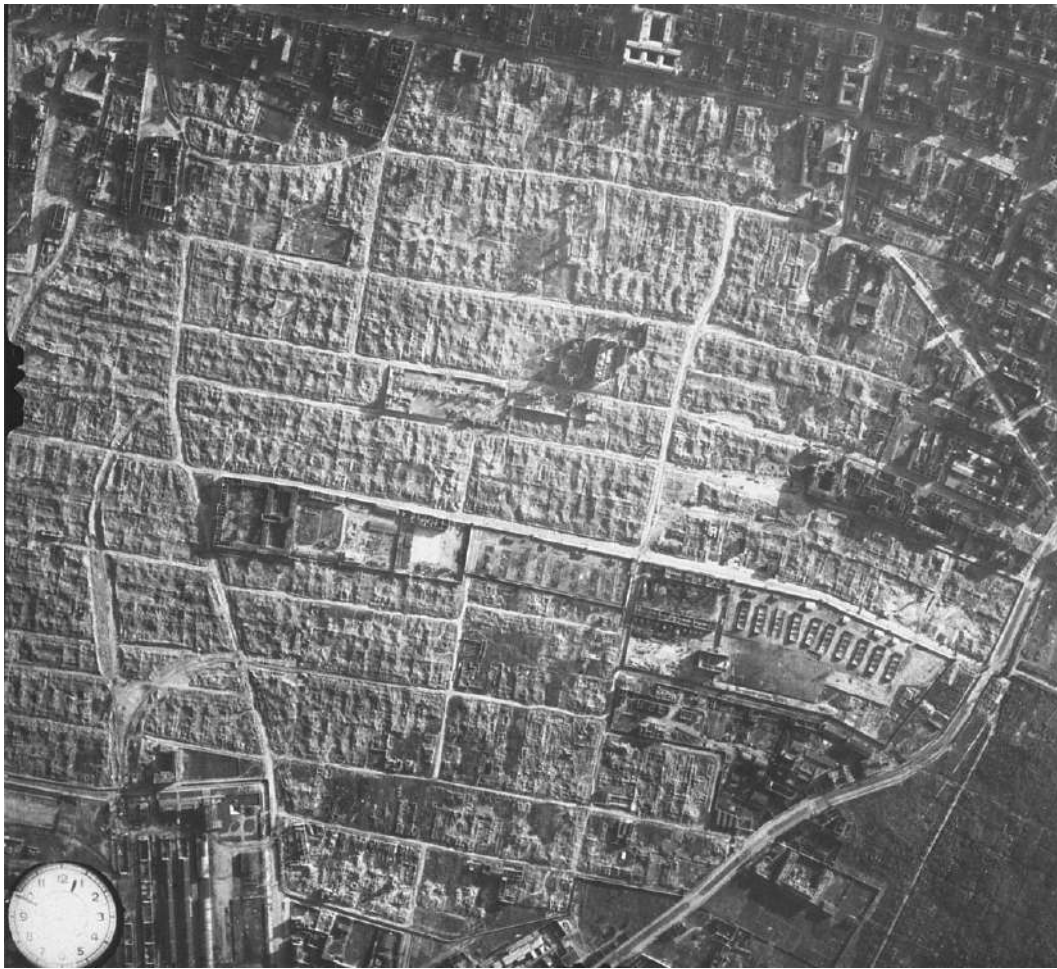


Figure 3. Aerial photograph of northern Warsaw Ghetto area (looking south, north direction located at bottom). In the middle German Concentration Camp in Warsaw (named KL Warschau or KZ Warschau), created in 1943. Public domain, in Wikipedia (accessed on January 20, 2024)



Figure 4. The full destruction of the Warsaw Ghetto, as a reaction of Hitler to the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising in 1943. North-west view, left - the Krasinski's Garden and Swietojska street, photo taken in circa 1950. Public domain, in Wikimedia (accessed on January 20, 2024)

K'3vwq'r[r] r(3) s'3vr'a n9wn (wvln3w('231n3rt8'p) (2w3rq) s'3vr's) 1] 4[n3w() s'n(r(3wr[8(r6 / [n('s) 1'3vr'pvg8Ca n9v8) 6 (/ [n((r1'P1wq1vw'cno23'n(q'vw 3rn] 'sa)] j 419041t'p) (2vq1r1q'3vr'3no4[n'n2n2'3vr'4[3w n3r'on2w's) 1'3vr 1rB) 4(qn3w(') s'j m2n6 Agvr'(r6 'Rr1] n('Mg8 "Warschau – die neue Deutsche Stadt" Gvr' / [n(2'r(5vntraq'n'pvg8'3vn3'6 n2) ([8' % ') s'3vr'r7w3wt j m2n6 Ggvw'(r6 'Rr1] n('pvg8'6) 4[q'or'wvnovg'q'o8' A 'Rr1] n(wvnovg'n(32'n(q' A 'r(2[n5rq'c) [vw' / r) / [rAr / [npwt'3vr' / 1r5w42 /) / 4[n3w(') s' A A 'i m2) 5w(2C K2'n1r24[3Aj m2n6 'snprq') (r') s'3vr']) 23'r73r(2vgr'n(q'3) 3n[wvt qr2314p3w(2'q41wt'3vr'frp) (q'j) 1[q'j mCK'pn/ wgn[3vn3'3)] z'2r5r('v4(q1rq 8rm2'3) 't1) 6 '6 n2'3n(2s) 1] rq'w3' n' n3r1w['n(q'2) pwl' qrnq'pvg8 'w' n'2v) 13

3w r CZ) 1r'3vn(' A 'i m2) 5wa(2'6 r1r'] 41qr1rq'q41wt'3vr'on33[r
 nt nW 23'3vr'a n9wW 5n2w('w' CI('3) 3n[A A 'pwwr(2) sj m2n6 'qwq
 q41wt'3vr'6 m Ca r73'3) '3vr2r'/ r12) (n'l) 22r2A3vr'o4w3r(5w) (] r(3'6 n2'n[2)
 231) (t[8'nssrp3rqCLr36 rr(' 'n(q' ') s'3vr'r(3wr'pww8'6 n2'qr231) 8rq Gvr
 c) [wv']) (4) r(32'6 r1r'n']) 23'n[[qr231) 8rqD 'vw3) 1w'04wqwt2) s'3vr
 r7w3wt' '6 r1r'qr] [wvrrqCS) 6 r5r1A3vr'r5r18qn8'41on('sno1w) sj m2n6
 6 n2'n[2) 231) (t[8'nssrp3rqCI(' Aj m2n6 'p) 4(3rq' A 'q6 r[[wt2CI
 A([8' A '6 r1r'23w'w vnoWno[r C
 Ks3r1'3vr'frp) (qj) 1[qj mAj m2n6 '6 n2')]) 1r'3vn('n'sw[q) s'1400[rC
 g6 r(38] w'w('p40w) r3r12) s'1400[r'n(q'14w'2'6 r1r'n'] n22rq'w'3vr
 q) 6(3) 6('nirn Cbs'3vr'3) 3n'l) s' A] w'w('p40w'srr3) s'04wqwt2'3vn3
 j m2n6 'p) (2w3rq) s'ors) 1r'3vr'6 mA3vr'a n9w'qr] [wvrrq() 'r22'3vn(' A
] w'w(CI(' Aj m2n6 '6 n2'p) (si) (3rq'6 w'n'3) 3n'l'n') 4(3) s'1400[r') s'
] w'w('p40w'srr3"swC " C



Figure 5. Rare Agfacolor photo (invention from 1936) dated August 1944 taken in Warsaw, Poland in the Old Town Market Place (Zakrzewski's Side) during the fight of Poles against the German Nazis called the Warsaw Uprising. Author Ewa Faryaszewska. Public domain, in Wikimedia (accessed on January 20, 2024)

K'2w' w'm'w ntr') s'5n23'qr2314p3w('pv m1np3r1wqr'3vr'N43pv'pww8') s'e) 33r1qn
 n2'n1r24[3) s'3vr'npp4] 4[n3rq'o) owt'2'o8'a n9w'n(q'3vr'K[[w2Cgvr's) 1] r1
 o)] orq'3vr'pww8'pr(3r') ('Z n8' 'n2'n'6 n8'3) '/1) 5) zr'3vr'pn/ w4[n3w(') s
 3vr'a r3vr1[n(q2Cgvr'[n33r1 p) (q4p3rq'n1mw) ('3vr'6 r23r1('2wr') s'e) 33r1qn
 w' '3) 'v n[3w2's4(p3w('n2'n'] t w3w'v40's) 1'3vr'a n9wC Ks3r1'3vr'sw23'a n9w
 n33npzA3vr'pww8'pr(3r'n/ r'n1rq'n2'n'p)] / [r3r'3no4[n'1n2n'6 wv') ([8'n'sr6
 04wqwt2[rsg'n(q'3vr') n' 1w8') s'v] r2Aqr/ m3] r(3'23) 1r2Asnp3) 1w2A
 6) 122v) / 2A6 mirv) 42r2A2pv)) [2Av) 2/ w'n[2Apv41pvr2'n(q'23n3w(2'r(3wr[8
 qr231) 8rq Gvr'qr231) 8rq'pww8'p) 5r1rq'n('mirn) s' 'vrp3nr2 Cgvr'41on('sno1w)
 s'3vr'vw3) 1w'n[pr(3r') s'e) 33r1qn] '6 n2'341(rq'w'3) 'n'5n23) / r('sw[qC
 gvr'2) pw[sno1w'2n6 '3vr'qwn/ / r'n1n(pr') s' 'pwwr(2A6 v'w' A ' / r) / [r') 1

) s'3vr' /) 4[n3w(A6 r1r'[rs3v]] r[r22Cgvr'r23w n3r'q'p) 23] s'3vr'qn] ntr
6 n2'no) 43'] w(w('N43pv't4vqr12Ap) 11r2/) (qwt'3') 5r1'3vrr'ov(w
r41) 2'w'3) qn8 2') (r8 CII '3vr'K[[wq'1mq'w' An's413vr1' A 'v)] r2'6 r1r
qr23i) 8rqAn(q'n/ / 1) 7w n3r[8' 'pwwr(2'qwq CK2'n1r24[3An3'3vr'r(q) s'3vr
frp) (qj) 1[qj m1Ae) 33r1qn] '6 n2'3vr'] 23'qn] ntrq'pww'w' 3vr'a 3vr1[n(q2
"swtC n'n(q' oEswtC n'n(q' o"C
gvr'qwwr1r(3/ n3r1(2) s'n((wvln3w('2)) ('orpn] r'3vr'pn(5n2)) ('6 vvw'n'2r3
) s') qr1('41on('qr2w('n/ / 1) npvr2's) 1'1rp) (23i4p3w('6) 4[q'or'qr5r] / rQC
j vvr'3vr2r'1rp) (23i4p3w('rss) 132'6 r1r'5r18'qwwr1r(3Ar3i) 2/ rp33r[8A3vr8
n[[n/ / rm'n2's) 1) 2) s' 2w4n3rq']) qr1('41on(w] '3vn3'qwwr1'si)] '3vrw
p) (3r' /) 1m8'p) 4(3r1/ m32'w'3vn3'3vr8'6 r1r'on2rq') ('4n(prq'n33w4qr2'3)
3vr'3r' /) 1n[n(q'ntr(p8'q'w' r(2w(2) s'3vr'pww8C



Figure 6a. Rotterdam, Coolsingel before bombardment, 1933. Collection City Archives of Rotterdam, collection 4232, specific number III-168-03-9, 1933
Figure 6b. Rotterdam, Coolsingel after bombardment, 1946, specific. Collection City Archives of Rotterdam, collection 4232, specific number III-254-2-1, 1946



Figure 7a. Rotterdam, Oude Haven before bombardment, 1933. Collection City Archives of Rotterdam, collection 4232, specific number 1970-483, 1933
Figure 7b. Rotterdam, Oude Haven after bombardment, 1946. Collection City Archives of Rotterdam, collection 4232, specific number III-257-19a, 1946

(RE)PRESENTING THE MEMORY OF THE ANNIHILATION

K'sw2'3r' /) 1n[q'w' r(2w('6 wv'6 vvw'] n(8) s'3vr'1rp) (23i4p3w(' / 1) xp32
r(tnrq'6 n2'3vr'3in4] n3vp' r]) 18' s'3vr'1rpr(3/ n23Ceninq) 7vwn[[8A3vr
3no4[n'1n2n') s'3vr'frp) (qj) 1[qj m'6) 4[q') 3'rnq'3] 'pr[roin3w't'n
/ 1) t1r22w3'q'w' r(2w('w'41on(w] An2'2)] n(8'npv'w'p32'n(q'qr2w(r12) s'3vr
]) qr1(') 5r' r(3'vnq'p[lnw' rqa043'1n3vr1'3) 'n2) / vvw3w'n3rq'r(tnr] r(3
6 wv'6 vn3'r7w3r'q'ors) 1rCgv) 4tv'3v'w'r(tnr] r(3'6 wv'n(n((wvln3r'q' / n23

2rr] 2'n'p]]) ('qr()] w'n3] 1)'s] n(8'1rp) (2314p3w(/1) xp32Ag3) z] n(8
s] 1] 2C
T['3vr'p38] s'Z v'n(Ag3) z'3vr's] 1]) s'n('410n(w3vp'pr(242C0wv32) Bn[[rq
(r'wvo) 41v) q'p]] w2w(2'6 r1r't w'r('3vr'q438'3) 'n(n[82r'3vr'pvn1np3r1) s
410n('qr2314p3w('w'3vrw'1r2/ rp3vr'mrn2Cl(') 1qr1'3) 'tnw'z() 6 [rqtr'in/ w[8
no) 43'3vr'1rp) (2314p3w(Agvr'p38'nq] w'w3n3w('vnq'qr5r) / r'q'3vr'2) Bn[[rq
h10n(w3vp'Mr(242" *Censimento Urbanistico*" A6 v'wv'6) 4[q'np3'n2'n('r22r(3w[
n(n[83v'n[3]) [s] 1'3vr'1rt w3n3w('o8'3vr'5m'w42'a r'wvo) 41v)) q'M]] w3r'2C
gvr'h10n(w3vp'Mr(242'p) (2w3rq] n'w[8] s'nf'3n3w3v'n[f'pvr] r" *scheda
statistica* 'Ap) / 1w'wt'n('K / ntr'6 w'v'n(r'wvo) 41v)) q/[n("2pn[r' D
" n(q'n3no[r'w'6 v'wv'3vr'qn] ntr'p) 4[q'or'qr2p1w'rq'w'(4) or12) 1
/ r1pr(3ntr'2Cgvr'qn3n) ('3vr' / [n(2) s'5m'w42'f'3n3w3v'n[f'pvr] r'2'6 r1r
2402r04r(3[8'1r6 1w3r('n(q'24)] n'w'rq'w'() r'Z n'w'c[n(') s'Z v'n(" D B
D " Gvr'h10n(w3vp'Mr(242'6 n2'4(qr13nr('w'() [r'22'3vn(' 'qn82'n(q
) s'r1rq'w'3v'w2v) 13/ r1w'q'n2) [w'1rs'r1r(pr'on2w's) 1'3vr'p) (pr/ 3w('n(q
qr5r) /] r(3) s'1rp) (2314p3w(/ [n(2 C
j v'w'3vr'r(tnr] r(3'6 w'3vr'1rpr(3/ n23'3) z'3vr's] 1]) s'n'04n(3w3v'r
n(n[82w'w'Z v'n(Aw'e) 3r1qn] Agvr'28] o) [w'q'w' r(2w('6 n2/ mn]) 4(3CK3'n
5r18'rm[8'23ntr'Agvr'p38't) 5r1() r(3'1rn[w'rq'3vn3'3vr'3n4] n) s'3vr'6 m
(r'rqrq'36) '38/ r2) s]) (4) r(32CB'p]] w2w(r'q] r]) 1w[2'24pv'n2'3vr
2p4[/ 341r' gvr'Nr231) 8rq'M38 " "o8'3vr'e 422w(B) 1('P1r(pv'2p4[/ 3) 1
b 22w'nmqz'w'r"sw'c "A6 v'wv'28] o) [w'rq'3vr'o)] q'n(q'v) 11) 1) s'3vr'6 m'6 w'v'n
5) w'w'3vr'o) q8[w'r'3vr'qr231) 8rq'v'rn13) s'3vr'p38 CK3'3vr'2n] r'3w' rA
v) 6 r5r1Agvr'p38't) 5r1() r(3'r1rp3rq'n() 3vr1'38/r) s]) (4) r(3'3vn3
w[4231n3rq'3vr'2) [w'm'w3'3vn3'3vr'n((w'w'n3w('vnq' / 1) 5) zrqCK't)) q'r7n] / [r
6 n2'3vr'w[4] w'n3rq'2w(') ('3vr'] n'w'M) [2w'tr[231rr3'6 w'3vr'3r73' Rr3'3
6) 1z "Aan den Slag" "A6 v'wv'r(p) 41ntrq'3vr'p38'w'r(2) s'e) 3r1qn] '3) w'w'
w'p) [[no) 1n3vr'np3w('s) 1'3vr'1rp) (2314p3w(') s'3vr'p38CK2'n(') o2r15r1
1r] m3rqA

[K] w[23'3vr] r]) 1w[2'r1rp3rq'3] '3v) 2r'6 v) 'sr[[w'3vr'6 m'Agv'w]) (4) r(3
6 w[1w'r'n(q'pn[[42'3] '6) 1zCLrs) 1r'42[w'2'3vr] n'w'3n2z) s'o4w'q'w't'n(r6
p38CO) / [8r12'n(q'6) 1zr12] 423'w'w'3) tr3vr1'n(q' / r12r5r1rCgvr'8] 423
6) 1z'n(q'p1rn3r'6) 1zCZ n8'3v'w] r]) 1w[41tr'3vr]) ('n(q'w'2/ w'r'3vr] C



Figure 8. Rotterdam, Monument "Verwoeste stad" by Ossip Zadkine in new location. ©Verhoeff, Bert / Nationaal Archief/CC0 2.24.01.05 Bestand 927-6843

ALTERING HISTORICAL URBAN CONDITIONS AND PLANNING CULTURES

a r733) '1r/1r2r(3w't'3vr'] r) 18) s'3vr'1rpr(3/ n23A410n('1rp) (2314p3w(/1) xrp32'n(2) '2rr'] 3) 'or'pvmnpr31vrq'o8'n(/) 2v3w(w't'5wB B5w'v23) 1vnn[410n('p) (qv3w(2'n(q'/ [n((w't'p4[341r2Cf' Z v'n(A5) 1'w'23n(pr'Anqvpnn[1rp) (2314p3w('6 n2() 3'n(r6 /vr()) r() (CLrs) 1r'3vr'f'rp) (qj'] 1[qj' mA Bn[w('1w' r'] w'w3r1'lr(w' Z 422) [w'w'nq'n[1rnq8'w' / [r] r(3rq'3vr' /) [v3w2) s' qwr(o) 6 r[] r(3) 1'sventramentoC3'6 n2'nw' r q'n31nqvpnn[[8')) qr1(v3w't 3vr'r7w3w't'410n('2314p341r'6 wv' (r6 '1) nq2A' r6 '410n(/'40[w'2/ npr2'n(q (r6 '04w'q'w't'2'o8'42w't'3vr' / w3zn7r'n(q'r5np4n3w't'3vr'1r2wq(32'si)] '3vr'p38 pr(3r' f s) [[nr' [r'p33 " Cc1)] w'r(3'npv w'rp32A4pv'n2'cw1) 'c) 13n[4/ / w n(q'Z'np) 'fr] r(9nA6) ('w' '3vr'p) / r3v3w('s) 1'n(r6 '410n(/ [n(') s Z v'n(A6 v'v'v'6 n2' on2r'q) ('3vr'w'rn) s'3vr'n[]) 233) 3n[qr2314p3w(') s'3vr np34n[p38A5) 1'3vr'1rp) (2314p3w(') s'n(r6 ') (r Cf)] r' s'3vr2r' / [n(2'6 r1r w' / [r] r(3rq'n(q'pn42rq'3vr'l) 22) s'n[]) 23' A 'q6 r[[w't'2'w'3vr'p38'pr(3r C

gvw'r7w3w't'p4[341r') s'qr] [v3w('n(q'1rp) (2314p3w(' p1rn3r'q'n4(w4r /) / r((r22'3) 'qr5r') / ('r6 'npv w'rp341n['s) 1] 2A6 v'v'v'v'nq'n[1rnq8't'nw'rq])) r(34) 'w'3vr'w'3r16 m' / r1w'q'w'3vr'(n] r') s'v8t'w(w' / 1w'pw [r2A2) pwn[or33r1] r(3A'1) t1r22'n(q'w() 5n3w(CZ) 1r) 5r1A3vr' / 1r5w'42'pr[r01n3w(') s 3vr' / w3zn7r 'v'nq'n2) 'w'23n[[r'q'n('n33w4qr'6 v'v'v')] zrq'4/) ('qr2314p3w('n2'n /1) s'vno[r'p) (qv3w('si)] '6 v'v'v'3vr')) qr1(v3n3w(') s'3vr'p38'p) 4[q'r' r1rC K2'3vr'1r() 6 (r'q' Bn[w('npv w'rp3'a n3vn('O1(r23) 'e) t1r12] n'w'3n'w'rq'w' A w'Z v'n('3vr'410n('5) w'2'6 r1r'l)) zrq'4/) ('n2'2w'2) s(r6 /) 22w'v'v'w'2D

P) 1'8rmi2'n(q'8rmi2'6 r'vn5r'42rq'3vr' / w3zn7r'3) 'qr5r') / ('r6 'l) t'vnn[/ 1w'pw [r2) s'2pw(pr'n(q'n3Cgvr'sn3n[[n6 2) s'6 m'v'n5r'1r/ [npr'q'w'n(q qr5n23n3w(2'6 w'4(nppr/ 3no[r'/1) /) 13w(2'nir'3vr'1r24[3CS) / rs4[[8An[] s 3v'w'q'w'n23r1'w() 3'w'5n'w'CW'32/1) s'v'n2] 4pv'n2/) 22w[r C

gvr'(4) r1) 42'qr] [v3w(2) s'Z v'n('w'v'w3r'q'n4(w4r'3vr) 1r3vnn[qrongr n]) (t23'npv w'rp32A410n(/ [n((r12'n(q' /) [v3w'v'n(2) ('3vr'1r[n3w(2v'w or36 rr(')) qr1(w3'n(q'31nq'v3w(Ano) 43'v) 6 ('r6 '04w'q'w't'2'1r[n3r'3) '3vr's) 1] 2 n(q' / 1np3vr'2) s'3vr'v'w3) 1vnn[/ n23Cg v'w'q'rongr'6) 4[q'p4] w'n3r'w' q'w'p422w(2'no) 43'p) (3r73"contesto"An] ow(pr"ambiente"n(q' / 1rB7w3w't n] ow(pr"preesistenze ambientali" Cgvr'2r'p) (pr/ 32'n[] 6 r'q'npv w'rp32'n(q 410n(/ [n((r12'3) '1r[n3r'3) '3vr' / n23'6 w'v) 43'p) / 8w't'v'w3) 1w'04w'q'w't'2'n(q (r'w'vo) 41v)) q2 Cf') 3vr'1'6) 1q2A410n('qr2w(r12'n(q'npv w'rp32'p) 4[q p) (pr'v'3r') s'3vr' / n23'n2'n'p) (3r73') 1'n('n] ow(pr' 3vn3'6) 4[q'or p)] / [r] r(3rq'n(q's413vr'1'qr5r') / r'q'o8'3vrw(r6 '04w'q'w't'2'n(q (r'w'vo) 41v)) q2 Cgvr'p)] / [r] r(3m'w3'or36 rr('31nq'v3w('n(q')) qr1(w3 r] o1nprq'3vr'1rp) (2314p3w(/1) pr22'n(q'q'rongr An(q'w'6 w'4/ 241tr'n2'n 28) o) [w' / 1r2r(pr'w'Z v'n('6 w'v'3vr'LLce 2'g) 11r'i r[n2pn" " Agvr r] o[r] n3w'p) 4(3r1s) 1pr'3) 'no231np3)) qr1(w' n3'3vr'[n23'MIKZ] rr3w't n(q'n' v)] ntr'3) n'v'w3) 1vnn[pr(3r'5w'34n[[8'qr23i) 8rq'o8'1rn[r23n3r 2/ rp4[n3] 12 As) 1'Z n(sir'q) 'gns41w'g'v'w'n33w4qr' s) / r((r22'3) 6 m'q'2'3vr / n23'6 n2() 3) ([8'n] n33r1') s'2w't[r'04w'q'w't'2'o43'n2)) s(r'w'vo) 41v)) q2'n(q r5r(') s'3vr'r(3vr' p38CK2'npv w'rp3'R'w'2r' / r'Nr'P'w'r33w' n'w'3n'w'rq'w' A gvr'6 m'w'p412rq'ld43'3vr'1r'w'n2) 'n] r1w' "w'p) 4[q[w'r1n3r'Z v'n('6 w'v) 43 s413vr'1'qr[n8'si)] '3vr'1rt4[n3] 18/ [n('3vn3'w'2) 'qr[r3r1w'42's) 1'w'2'rp) () 8A s) 1'w'2[w'r CS r(pr'Agvr'qr2314p3w(') s'6 m'6 n2'2rr('o8] n(8) s'Nr'P'w'r33w2 p) (3r' /) 1m'w'2'n2'n('r7pr[[r(3'1rn2) (3) 'non(q) (/ 1r5w'42'410n(/ [n(2'n(q 3)]) qr1(w'r'3vr'1nq'w'p) (pr(3r'w's) 1] n'410w') s'Z v'n(A6 v'v'v'v'nq' / n22r'q

sl) 'n] r3l) / [w'3] 'n] rt n] / [w'6 wgv'n/ n1n2w] / [w' s'4(p) (3l) [[rq
r7/ n(2w('w'3vr/ r1wvr18 CP1)] '3vw/ r12/ rp3vr'3vr'qr2314p3w(') s'3vr
6 m'orpn] r'n(') / / 134(w8'3) 'r2314p341r'3vr'r(3wr'p8 C
T' 3vr'e) [wv'p8] s'j m2n6 Airp) (2314p3w('6 n2'2w' vmi[8'p) (2wr1rq'n2'n
p) 4(3r1/ 1) xp3's) 1'3vr'q6 r[[w't'p) (qv8w(2'w'3vr'p8'ors) 1r'3vr'f'rp) (q'j) 1[q
j mC['3vr'w'3r16 m/ r1w'q'3vr'p8'2'qr5r] / / r(3'6 n2'23l) (t[8'nssr'p3r'q'o8
3vr'2/ rp4[n3vr] t'v2'n(q'14[r2] s/ 1v'n3r'r(3r1/ 1wr2Cm'v8'v'nq' /) w'3r'q) 43
3vn3'3v'w]) qr' s'41on('qr5r) / / r(3'p1rn3r'q'24o23n(3w[2] pwl'q'w/ m'v8w2C
f)] r') s'3vr]) o2r15r'q'3vn3'3vr'[mtr'[47418'o) 41tr) w's[n32' v'nq'n3'[rn23'3r(3w
r2'n2] 4pv['wv'3n(q'nw'n2'3vr'w'v'nov'n(3) s'n) (rB)]] s'n3 CK[2] 3vr
qr(2w8) s'w'v'nov'n(32/ r1' s'n3'6 n2'p1v8'p'qr'n(q) / r('s) 1'w' / 1) 5r] r(3 C
erp) (2314p3w('orpn] r'n('w' /) 13n(3))] r(3's) 1'w' / 1) 5w't'3vr'[w'w't
p) (qv8w(2'w'3vr'p8'ors) 1r'3vr'f'rp) (2314p3w(' / [n(2'pn('or
p) (2wr1rq'n'p) 4(3r1/ 1) xp3's) 1'3vr'r7w3'w't'q6 r[[w't'p) (qv8w(2'3vn3'n'w' r'q
3) '1r2) [5r'w24r2) s) 5r1p1) 6 q'w't'An2'6 r[[n2'3] 't4.mn(3r'or'3r1'23n(qm'q2) s
[wv'3n(q'nw'An(q'or'3r1'v8'tw(w'p) (qv8w(2CRr(r1n[[8'3vr'1rp) (2314p3w(/ 1) pr2'2'6 n2'p)
qr5r) / / r(3'3) '2) pwl'w3'5n[4r2'n(q'6 n82) s'41on(' / [n((w'tC
T' e) 33r1qn] Airp) (2314p3w('6 n2'p) (2wr1rq'n('w' / 1) 5r] r(3'23n3rt8's) 1
v'w3] 1v'n[41on('p) (qv8w(2'sl)] 'w2'w'pr/ 3w(C'gv'r'41o'v'w'qr) s'3vr'f'rp) (q
j) 1[q'j m'6 n2't'r(r1n[[8'1rt'mqr'q'n2'3vr/ r1srp3) / / 134(w8'3) 'nqq1r22] n(8
) s'3vr/ 1) o[r] 2) s'w'q4231w[/ 1rB m'e) 33r1qn] Aw'p[4q'w't) 5r1p1) 6 qr'q'n(q
w' /) 5r1w'v'rq(r'w'v'o) 41v)) q2'n(q'3vr'n'o2r(pr') s'o1) nq'2pn[r']) qr1(w
s'n2314p341r2'w'3vr'r7w3'w't'p8'C'gv'r) [q] r'q'w5n[pr(31r') s'e) 33r1qn] '6 n2
/) 1[8'o4'w'3n(q'v'wv[8'p1v8'p'qr'q's) 1'w2'pvn) 3w'n(q'vn/ v'nq'm'q' / [n((w'tC
erp) (2314p3w('6 n2'n] n'1) p'n2w('s) 1]) qr1(w'w't'3vr'p8'C'gv'r'w'qr2wr's) 1
]) qr1(w'n3w('6 n2'n[1rnq8' n/ no[r'n]) (t' /) [w'v'w'w' (2Am'pv'w'p32'n(q'41on(/ [n((r12'r5r('ors)
1r'3vr'6 m C'gv'r'41on('qr2314p3w('6 n2'1rt'mqr'q'n2'n() p'n2w('3) w' / 1) 5r'3vr'v8'tw(w'p'n(q'2/ n3w[04n[w'w'2) s'3vr') q'41on(2314p341rC['3vr'1rp) (2314p3w(' / [n(2An('w' ntr') s'n(r6 'p8'6 n2'p1rn3r'q'3vn3
6 n2'pvn1np3r1v8r'q'o8) / r((r22A2/ npw'42(r22'n(q'nw'Ag'n(2s) 1] w't'3vr'1n3w
) s) / r('2/ npr'w'3vr'p8'pr(31r'sl)] ' C' '3' C C

DEFINING THE MULTIPLE TEMPORAL LAYERS OF THE FUTURE CITY

a) 3) ([8'n(r(t'ntr) r(3'6 wgv'3vr'1rpr(3] r]) 18) s'3vr'p8'n(q'w2'v'w3) 18
pvn1np3r1v8r'2'3vr'41on(w]) s'3vr'1rp) (2314p3w(' / 1) xp32A043'n[2] 'n5w'w(') s
3vr'3r' /) 1n[[n8r12) s'3vr'p8'Ce r3v'w'z'w't'3vr's4341r') s'3vr'r(3wr'p8' n2'n
] n33r1) s'1rp) (2314p3w('6 n2Asl)] '3vr'5r18'ort'w(w't'An('n) o'v8w('w'Z'v'n(C
T' ' An(r6 'a n3w(n['h1on('W'6 "a) C "6 n2'1n3w'w'qA6 v'w'v' / n5r'q'3vr'6 n8
s) 1'n(r6 ' / [n((w't'w'2314) r(3'3vr'Rr(r1n[er't4[n3] 18'c[n(') 1'Piano
Regolatore Generale"ce R" Cf / rp'w'p's) 1'3vr'ce R'6 n2'3vn3'w'p) (2wr1rq'3vr
r(3wr'p8'CE'qrs'w'rq'1rp) (2314p3w('n2'n] n33r1) s'5m'w'42'3r] /) 1n[[n8r12) s
41on('qr5r) / / r(3Ar23no[w'v'w't'n('ro4'w'n[r(pr'or'36 rr('m'n2'3vn3'v'nq'3) 'or
/ 1r2r15r'q'Ag'n(2s) 1] r'q'Ar'o4'w'3) 1'r7/ n(qr'q'Cl') 1qr1'3) n/ / 1) npv'3vr'p8'n2
3v'w'2'w' 4[3n(r'w8) s'3r' /) 1n[41on([n8r12'3vr'ce R' / 1) 5vr'q'3vr'[rt'n[on2w
s) 1'r7/ 1) / 1w3w('n(q's) 1'3vr'sw] r') or'q'qr(r22) s/ [n(2's) 1'2w't[r
(r'w'v'o) 41v)) q2'6 w'w'3vr'5w'w('s) 1'3vr'6 vr1'41on(3r11w) 18CKo) 5r'n[[A
v) 6 r5r1'3vr'Piano Regolatore Generale'6 n2'n('w'2314) r(3's) 1'p) (2wr1w't'3vr
5m'w'42'n'p3) 12'n(q') t'v2'3vn3'p) 4[q'p) (31w'43r'3) '3vr'qr5r] / / r(3) s'3vr
5m'w'42'3r] /) 1n[[n8r12) s'3vr'p8'C'gv'r/ [n(') ssr1rq'n'qr3n'w'r'q) 5r15w6) s'3vr
w'5r23] r(32'3) 'or] nqr'o8'3vr'p8't) 5r1() r(3'3) '2nsrt4m'q'3vr'p) [[rp3vr
w'3r1r23n(q'qr'w'r'6 v'w'v'5r(341r2'p) 4[q'24o2r'o4r(3'8'or[rs33) / 1v'n3r'n(q
w'q'w'w'4n['w'5r23] 12"sw'c " C



Figure 9. PRG of Milan, area outside the ring road, project of the urban planning division, 1944-45. Luigi Lorenzo Secchi Archives Fund. Unit: Section A, 18, File 2, Historical Archives and Museum Activities Service, Politecnico di Milano, ACL

T[j m2n6 Agvr'] 4[3w[vpg8' s'3r] /] in[[n8r12'6 n2'n[2] 'n3'zvr'vrm3] s'3vr
41on(w3vp'n/ / 1) npv'3) '1rp) (2314p3w(Ch(qri'3vr'vrnqwt' P4(p3w(n[
j m2n6 An() 3w('n[1rnq8'/1) /) 2rq'w'3vr' 2'o8'3vr') qr1(w3n'pvp3p32
Uh('Mv' w[r6 2zvn(q'f98]) ('f81z42Agvr'c) [wv'pn/ vgn[qrswrq'w2'41on((2314p3w('231n3rt8Cgvwr(p)] / n22rq'3vr'1n/ w[qr5r] /) r(3) s(r6
(rwwvo) 41v)) q2'3vn3'6 r1r'on2rq') ('nqn/ 3n3w(2) s/ 1rB6 m' MlKZ / 1w'pw[r2) s
3vr'2) Bpn[[rq' s4(p3w(n[pvg8 '24pv'n2'3vr'V)]) 'Tv) 42wt'r23n3r' " B "A
6 vvpv'6 n2'p)] /) 2rq' s/ 1rsno1vgn3rq'r[r] r(32A) / r('t1) 4(q's)) 12'n(q't1rr((2/npr2'w'or36 rr('o4vqwt2CK3'3vr'2n] r'3w' rAv) 6 r5r1AP4(p3w(n[j m2n6
n[2) r(5wnt rq'3vr'1ro4vqwt) s'3vr'r(3wr'v23) 1wp'r(31rAw'p[4qwt'3vr
1rp) (2314p3w(') s'rvv3'v4(q1rq'qr)) [wv'rq'o4vqwt'2'n(q'3vr'r7np3
1r/1) q4p3w(') s(4) r1) 42'v23) 1vgn[]) (4) r(32An2'n) 4(3r1s) 1pr'3) '3vr
an9wn33r] / 33) r1nqvn3r'c) [wv'wqr(3w8'n(q'p4[341r Cgvr'1rp) (2314p3w(') s
j m2n6 w[4231n3r'2'n)) qr1('41on(w3vp'n/ / 1) npv'w'6 vvpv'qwsr1r(3'3r] /) in[
[n8r12'p) r7w3D3vr'w] rqw3r'p) (2314p3w(') s(r6 'v) 42wt'(rwwvo) 41v)) q2
p)] ow'rq'6 wv'3vr'ro4n[8'w /) 13n(3'1rp) (2314p3w(') s'3vr'v23) 1vgn[pvg8 2
] r]) 18'n(q'wqr(3w8C
gvw'p) r7w3r(pr') s'3r] /) in[wv'2'1ro4wqr'n'sw] [rtn[on2w'n[2] 'w'j m2n6 C
P) [] 6 wt'3vr'Nrpirr') s' 'bpg ori' An[[3vr'n(q'6 wv'w'3vr'o) 1qr12) s
j m2n6 '6 n2'31n(2sr11rq'3)] 4(vpw'n[/ 1) / r138Cgvr'] 4(vpw'n[wn3w(') s[n(q
6 n2'p) (2vq1r1rq'n'on2wv/ 1r1ro4wvgr's) 1'3vr'pn/ vgn[2'1rp) (2314p3w(A
1r23) 1n3w('n(q'qr5r] /) r(3Ch([wv'w'Z vn(Agv'w'w] / [wq'3vn3'3vr'23n3r'6 n2
3vr'2) [r'np3) 1) s'3vr'1rp) (2314p3w(Ar(tntwt'6 wv'3vr'qwsr1r(3'3r] /) in[
1rt'w' r2) s'3vr'pw8CK2'2)] r') o2r15r12() 3rqAw'qr/ 1vgrq/ 1vgn3r') 6 (r12) s

3vrw'qwrp3Anp3gr'p) (3w43w (' 3' 3vr'qr5r) /) r (' 3) s'3vr'pw8 CK33vr
ortw (w't) s'3vr' 2An[] s'3vr'pr (3n['qw31wp32'or) (trq'3' 3vr'pw8A6 v'vr
3vr'2411) 4 (qw't'or[3'6 n2] nw [8' / 1vgn3r[8] 6 (rqC
T (' 3vr'N43pv'pw8) s'e) 33r1qn Agvr'5m'w42'3r /) 1n[[n8r12] s'3vr's4341r'pw8
6 r1r'n[2] 'n3'3vr'vrm3) s'3vr'irp) (2314p3w (/ [n (2CK[1rnq8'q41w't'3vr'frp) (q
j) 1[qj mA [n (2's) 1'1r04w'w't'6 r1r'q1n6 ('4/ 'n (q'n[[3vr'14w'2'6 r1r'p'rnrqC
Ks3r1qr]) wv'w't'4 (1r/ mwno[r'04w'w't'2'n (q'ir) 5n[] s'3vr'1400[rA
r] r1tr (p8'v) 42w't'n (q'2v) / / w't' snp'w'w'2'6 r1r'r1r'p3rqCK ('r22r (3w[
pvnmp3r1w3w) s'3vr'2r'r731r] r[8'1n/ w'1r] (2314p3w (/ 1) pr22r'2'6 n2'3vr
r7w3r (pr) s[pr'm'p43'043's'r7w[r / [n (2'3vn3n[] 6 rq's) 1'w] r'qw3r'np3w ('043
n[2] r (p) / n22rq'3vr ('rpr22m8r[n23w'w'3] 'nqn/ 3'3) r5) [5w't'p) (qw'w (2Cw'8
mpv'w'p3j w[r] 'Rr11w'j w'3r5rr ('6 n2'3n2zrq'6 w'v'n (r6 'irp) (2314p3w (/ [n
x423's) 41'qn82'ns3r1'3vr'o)] o'w't) (' Z n8' C
c1) sw'w't's1) '3vr' (t) w't'qron3r2) ('pw8') qr1 (w'gn3w (Ap'w8'n'p'v'w'p3
j w'3r5rr ('26 w3[8's) 1] 4[n3rq'v'w/ 1) /) 2n['s) 1'3vr'w'w'w[er]p) (2314p3w ('c [n (C
K' / w) 3n[n2/ rp3) s'v'w/ [n ('6 n2'w2'pvnmp3r1w'gn3w ('n2'n's[r7w[r's1n] r6) 1zC
gv'w's1n] r6) 1z' () 3) ([8'nw' r'q'3) 'qr[w'r'n3r'3vr'p) (3) 412) s's4341r'410n
qr5r) /) r (3'043'6 n2'n[2] 'p) (pr'w'rq'n2'n'q) p4] r (3'w'3r (qr'q'3) '23w' 4[n3r
qw'p422w (2'6 w'v'3vr'5m'w'42'23n2rv) [qr12'r (tnr'rq'w'3vr'pw8 2
irp) (2314p3w (C
S) 6 r5r1Aw'U4[8' Agvr' pp4/ n3w ('n43v) 1w'w2] n (qn3rq'n'v'n[3'3) 'n[[
p) (2314p3w ('np3w'w'w2C'g'v'w'] n (qn3rq' / n42r' / 1) / 3rq'n'1r'p'5n[4n3w (') s'3vr
w'w'w[/ [n (2'n (q'w' 23w'n3r'q'n1r (r6 rq's) p42) ('s4 (p3w (n[]) qr1 (w'gn3w (Cf w
8rm2'ns3r1'3vr'w'pr/ 3w (') s'3vr'sw23/ [n (Aw' Agvr'L'n2w'p'c [n ('qr5w'rq'08'3vr
(r6 'pw8'n'p'v'w'p3M) 1 (r[w'5n ('g1m'n6 n2) ssw'w[[8'nq] / 3rq'w'w'z'r'w2
/ 1r'qr'p'22) 1A i n ('g1m'n2'L'n2w'p'c [n (3) z'3vr's) 1]) s'n's[r7w[r's1n] r6) 1z
1n3vr1'3vn ('n1'w'w[/ [n (Ca) 3no[8A] ([8') s'3vr [n (q'6 n2'rm] mizrq's) 1
1r04w'w't'An[] 6 w't'2w (w'w'n (3' /) 13w (2) s'e) 33r1qn] 3'1r' nw') / r ('s) 1
/ 1) 2/ rp3w'410n (3'n (2s) 1] n3w ('n (q'qr5r) /) r (3C

T (' nqq'w'w (3) '3vrw'qw3w'p3w'r'n / 1) npv'3) '3vr'3r /) 1n[q'w' r (2w (2A410n
irp) (2314p3w (/ 1) x'p32) s3r ('n[2] 'qw [n8rq'n2/ rp'w'w'n33w4qr'3) 6 n1q2'3vr
04r23w (') s'nt'r (p8'w'410n (w) Cj v'vr'410n (/ [n ((r12) 1'410n ('qr2w (r12
38/ w'n[[8'6 r1r'2rr ('n2'3vr'4 (04r23w (rq'] nw'nt'r (32'w' /) 23B5 m'410n (/ 1) x'p32An'p) (pr/ 3w ('3vn3'6) 4[q] ([8'or's4[[8'04r23w (rq'w'3vr'n3r' 2Agvr
2p) / r') s'3vr'ntr (p8'6 n2) s3r ('01) nqr (rq'n (q'] 4[3w [wq'w'3vr'irp) (2314p3w (/ [n (2) s'3vr' 2'n (q' 2C
b (r'n/ 1) npv'3) 'r7/ n (qw't'3vr'p) (pr/ 3) s'nt'r (p8'w'410n (w) 'w5) [5rq
w'p) 1/) 1n3w't'n'q'v'r12r'in (tr') s'r7/ r13w'r'Cl (' 3vr'pn2r') s'Z v'n (2
irp) (2314p3w (An () 3no[r'qr'p'w'w ('6 n2] nqr () 3'3) 'on2r'3vr' / [n ((w't'n (q
qr2w (/ 1) pr22) ([8] ('3vr' w'3r1 (n[z () 6 [rqtr 'vr[q'08'3vr's4 (p3w (m'w2) s
3vr'pw8'nq] w'w31n3w ('n (q'pw8' / [n ((w't') ssw'p'2Cl (' 23rnq'AZ v'n (2] n8) 1'n (q
5v'p'8 n8) 12) / 3rq'3) 'np3w'n3r'3vr'p) [[rp3w'r'r7/ r13w'r'n5n'w'n [r'w'3vr'pw8A
r (p) / n22w't' / 1vgn3r'w'q'w'4n[2An22) pw3w (2'n (q'sw) 2) 432w'qr') s'3vr
nq] w'w31n3w (Cg) npv'w5r'3v'w'Agvr'] n8) 1'r23no[w'v'rq'3vr'f'34q8'R1) 4/ 's) 1
3vr'a'r6 'c [n (') s'Z v'n (An[2] 'pn[[rq'Il Parlamentino'08'Z n8) 1'R1w' / w'p)] / 1w'w't
] r] or12Agvr'] n3'1w'8) s'6 v)] '6 r1r'r73r1 (n[Cgvr2r'] r] or12'6 r1r
) 1tn (w'rq'w'3) ' M]] w2w (2Ar'npv'1r2/) (2w [r's) 1'qw'sr1r (3'n2/ rp32) s'3vr
irp) (2314p3w (/ 1) pr22 Cg'v'w'r7/ n (2w'r'n' / m'n342) s'p)]] w2w (2'r (no[rq
Z v'n (3) [r5r1ntr'r7/ r13w'r'6 r[[or8) (q'6 vn3'6 n2'p) (3n'w'rq'6 w'v'w' r7w3w't
pw8' / [n ((w't') ssw'p'2A4[3w' n3r[8'nppr[r1n3w't'n (q'r (vn (p'w't'3vr'04n[w8) s'3vr
irp) (2314p3w (Cg'v'w'2w (w'w'n (3'1r2r15) w') s'r7/ r13w'r' / [n8rq'w' /) 13n (3'1) [r2
w'5m'w'42'23n2r2) s'410n ('irp) (2314p3w (C
T (' p) (3'n23A' m1n26 2'sw23/ 1r2w'qr (3B n8) 1An'p'v'w'p3Z m'w ('f / 8pv'n[2z'w
pr (3n[[w'rq']) 23) s'3vr'3rpv (w'n['qr'p'w'w (2'n (q'w' / [r] r (3n3w ('s) 1'3vr'pw8 2
irp) (2314p3w (Cf'r5r1n['t) 5r1 () r (3n['ntr (pw'2'6 r1r'r23no[w'v'rq'3
p) 1q'w'n3r'n (q'q'w'r'p3'3vr'5m'w'42'23n2r2) s'3vr' / 1) pr22Cg'vr'L41rn4's) 1'3vr

erp) (2314p3w(') s'3vr'Mn/ vgnl"Lf"Aw 23n[rq'o8'3vr'e) [vav'a n3w(n'l'M 4(pW
n(q'3vr'Wn4t41n[t] 5r1() r(3'ntr(p8'1r2/) (2w[r's) 1'iro4vqwt'j m2n6 A
4(qr13) z'/ v3) 3n[1] [r2'24pv'n2'qn] ntr'n22r22] r(3Aqro1w'1r)) 5n[
p)) 1qWn3w(A] n23r1/[n('q1ns3wt'n(q'vW3) 1vgn[o4vqwt'1r2rmpvCf v] vni[8
3) 'Z vln(ALbf'2) 4tv3r7/ r13vwr'or8) (q'3vr'r7w3wt'pW8'nq) wv31n3w(2A
n331np3wt'nipvv3r p32Ar7/ r132'n(q'r5r('234qr(32'6 v) '6) 1zrq) ('qr2w(
/1) xrp32'1r[n3rq'3] 'j m2n6 2'1rp) (2314p3w(Cgvw'p) [[rp3v3r'r7/ r13vwr
p) (5r1trq'6 v3w'W'Lf A6 vWv'6 n2'1r2/) (2w[r's) 1'p1ns3wt'3vr'o[4r/ 1w'3) s'3vr
(r'6 'j m2n6 'n(q'w v3w3wt'3vr'1rp) (2314p3w(C

PUBLIC PARTICIPATION AS A FULLY- FLEDGED ASPECT OF MODERN URBANISM

K'2rp) (q'6 n8'3]] 4[3w[8'ntr(p8'w'41on(w] Aw 5) [5rq'w v3w3wt' / 4o[vp
/ m3vWn3w('w'3vr' / [n((w't' / 1) pr22C] vW'r] mW 231rn] '41on('qr2w('p4[341r
ortn('3) r' / vn2vwr' / m3vWn3w(') ([8'w'3vr[n3r' 2A' 4o[vw'5) [5r] r(3
n' / rm2'3) 'vn5r'orr('n' / 1r1ro4v3v'w'3vr'p) (3r73) s'41on('1rp) (2314p3w(A
/ m3vW4[m[8'w'Z vln(C
gvr'vqrn) sp) [[rp3v3r' / m3vWn3w('w'3) '3vr'qrpvw(B] nzwt's) 1'Z vln(2
1rp) (2314p3w('tnw'rq'o1) nq'nppr/ 3n(pr'n(q'41tr(p8'nsgr1'3vr'6 ni Cgvw
2vW3'3) 6 niq2/ m3vWn3w('6 n2'q1v3r('o8'3vr'(r6 'qr)) p1n3v'2/ vW'3v'n3
s) [D] 6 rq'3vr'[v3r1n3w('s1)] 'sn2pv2'q'v3r'n3) 12vW A] n1zrq'o8'r5r(32' 24pv'n2
3vr'sw23'qr)) p1n3v'nq] wv31n3v3r'p) (24[3n3w('nsgr1'36 r(38'8rm2A3vr's1rr
/) [vgnn[r[rp3w(2A3vr'1rsr1r(q4] Cg) 'snpvW3n3r'3vW' / m3vWn3w(An'qr2w(
p)] / r3v3w('6 n2'p) (2vqr1rq'3vr') 23'n/ / 1) / 1v3r'n/ / 1) npv An[D] 6 w't'5mW42
vqrn2's) 1'1rp) (2314p3w('3) 'or'qWp422rq'6 v3v'3vr'6 vqr1'pW3v3r(18CS r(pr An(
vqrn2'p)] / r3v3w('6 n2'[n4(pvrq'o8'3vr'Z 4(vW'n[v38) s'Z vln('w'a) 5r] or1
An331np3wt' ' / 1) / 2n[2's1)] ' '3rn] 2Aw p[4qwt'1r() 6 (rq'n1pvv3r p32
n(q'41on(' / [n((r12 Cgvv2r'3rn] 2'6 r1r'w'5v3r'q'3) 'qWp422'3vrw' / 1) xrp32'w' n
/ 4o[vp] rr3wt'n3'Mn23r[[] f s) 19r2p) As) 23r1wt'n'o1) nq'pW3v' / r('qWp422w('3)
r(tnr'3vr'r(3vr'pW3CK2'n1r24[3A3vr'sw23'Piano Regolatore Generale) s'Z vln(
" 'BcW() i r(n(9v'Aq1r6'4/) ('3vr'p)] / r3v3w('r(318'o8'3vr'Ke'3rn]
"K1pvv3r33ve w(v3v3K[ovw'ALr[tv'3] 2) AL) 33) (wM143vARniqr[[nAc n(n(3vA
cr11r2433vAc 4ppwAc 43r[[vln(q'e) tr12"6 v) 2r' / 1) / 2n[orpn] r'n's1n] r') s
1rsr1r(pr's) 1'3vr'pW3 2'1rp) (2314p3w(CZ) 1r) 5r1Av3w'31) q4prq'3vr' / 1) / 2n[
) sn'2rp) (q'pr(31r) s'3vr'pW3 n2'n'p) 4(3r1s) 1pr'3) '3vr'r7w3wt') () pr(31v3A
) / r(w't'n's413vr1'qWp422w('s) 1' s) [D] 6 w't'234qW2) ('3vr' /) [8pr(31v3p'pW3'n2
n('41on(')) qr['] s'qr5r[[] /] r(3 "swC "C



Figure 10. "New city plan, planimetry of the centre as at 2000". The 1948 town plan: planimetry of the centre, within the circle of the bastions. Luigi Lorenzo Secchi Archive Fund. Unit: Section A, 18, File 2, Historical Archives and Museum Activities Service, Politecnico di Milano, ACL

T j m2n6 Agvr'p8't) 5r1() r(3'1rp) t(wq'3vr'w'5n[4no[r'1r2r15) w' s
 r(3v42w2) Aw'w'w'vr'n(q'/ r12r5r1n(pr'6 wv'w'3vr'1r341(w't') / 4[n3w(C
 Ktr(pw2'w'5) [5rq'w'3vr'1rp) (2314p3w('2n6'3v'w'r(3v42w2) 'n2'n'p14p'w[
 1r2) 41p'r'3) 'or'vm(r22rq'q' m2n6' r') /) 8rq'5m'w'42] rn(2'3) 'o1w't'3vr'410n(
 1rp) (2314p3w(' / 1) x'p'3) '3vr'p'w'w'r(2'n(q'] n'zr'w'n'p) [[rp3vr'r'ss) 13Cgvr
 (n3w(n[[8'q'w'3v'w'43r'q'w'4231n3rq'] ntng'w'r'Stolica" Mn/ w'n['p'w'8"An(') s'w'w'w[
 / 40[v'p'n3w(') s'3vr'L41rn4's) i'3vr'er'p) (2314p3w(') s'3vr'Mn/ w'n["Lbf" A2r15rq
 n2'n'6rrz[8'/ 1) t1r22'1r/) 13CK13p[r2A1r/) 132) ('p4[341n['np3v'w'w'2An(q
 rq'w' 1w['p)]] r(3m8'/ 40[w'vr'q'w' 'Stolica'zr/ '3vr'/ 40[w'w's) 1) rq') ('n[[
] n33r12'p) (('rp3r'q'3) '1rp) (2314p3w(Cgvr'1r24[3w't'r(t'n'r] r(3) s'3vr'/ 40[w
 w'j m2n6 2'n/ w'1rp) (2314p3w('6 n2'r5w'r(3'w'3vr'w'p) (31w43w(2) s' s'w'8
] w'w(') n(Bv) 412A'/ m3w'p4[m[8'w'1400[r'1r') 5n[C
 T '3vr'p'w'8') s'e) 33r1qn) A' m3w'w'n3w('6 n2'n(2) 'p) (2w'r1rq'n('r22r(3w[
 q'w' r(2w(') s'410n(' / [n((w'tCg) '2423n'w' / 40[w'w'5) [5r] r(3Ae) 33r1qn] 2
] 4(w'w'n[w'8'w'w'w'3r'q'3) 412Cgvr2r'2) Hn[[rq' er'p) (2314p3w('e'w'r2') 1tn(w'rq
 o8'3vr'eOg' B3vr'p'w'8'31n(2/) 13'2r15w'r' B6 r1r'5r18' /) / 4[m'6 w'v'o) 3v
 / 1) s'22w(n[2'n(q'3vr'6 w'r1/ 40[w'w's)] ') (6 m2q2 C['nq'q'w'w(Agvr
] 4(w'w'n[w'8'w'5r23r'q'w'3r(2w'r[8'w' / 40[v'p'n3w(2'3v'n3'p) 4[q't'r(r1n3r
 r(3v42w2) 's) i'3vr'1rp) (2314p3w('6 w'v'q'w'ss'r1r(3/ 1w'n3r'w'5r23) 12'n(q'3vr
 o1) nq'/ 40[w'p'CZ ntng'w'r2[w'r'Rotterdam Builds!'n(q'The City on the MaasAn) (t
 6 w'v'sw[' 2'24p'v'n2'And Still...Rotterdam!'n(q'Keep At It! 2v) 6 pn2r'q'3vr') (t) w't
 1rp) (2314p3w(' / 1) pr'22'n(q'p) (5r8rq'w'r'n2's) i'3vr'p'w'8' 2'q'r5r[] /] r(3'3)

pxwrr(2 Cg) 412A/ 40[vpn3w(2'n(q') 5w2'6 r1r'() 3) ([8] rn(2's 1'w5) [5wt
3vr'/ 40[vw'w' 3vr'1rp) (2314p3w('o43n[2] '2r15r[3] 'npo4nw'3zvr] '6 wv'3vr'(r6
wrr(3w8') s'3vrw'pw8As) 23r1wt'r(3v42w2] A/ 1wrrAv) /r'n(q') /3w w] 'n) (t
e) 33r1qn]] r12C

RECALIBRATING PUBLIC AND PRIVATE AGENCIES

T('1rp) (2314p3w(/ 1) xpp2A3vr'o1) nqr(wt'n(q'6 wrr(wt') s'41on('ntr(p8') 3
) ([8'w5) [5rq'3vr'w p[42w(') s'4(p) (5r(3w(n[r7/ r13w'n(q'3vr'w5) [5r] r(3
) s'3vr'6 wrr1 / 40[vw'w' 41on(/ [n(wt' qrpw(2'o43n[2] '3vr'1rpn[vn3w(') s
3vr'1r[n3w(2vw'or36 rr(/ 40[vn(q' / 1vgn3r'ntr(pw2Cl' 3vr'rml[8'23nr2]) s
Z wn(2'1rp) (2314p3w(A3vr'23nr'n224] rqn'sw] '1rt4[n3] 181) [rCK2'n
) o2r15r1) s'3vr'rm[8'1rp) (2314p3w('rss) 132'w'Z wn(') 3rqAf w pr'3vr
o)] ow'tA/ 1vgn3r'pn/ vgn[w'Z wn('vn2'o4w[3]) 1r'pw r] n2'3vn('r6'v)] r2 C
T('1r2/) (2rA3vr'Z 4(vpw'n[v8] s'Z wn('qr3r1] wrrq'3vng'p1r3nw' n2/ rp32) s'3vr
o4w[3r(5w) () r(3'2v) 4[q(') 3'or'r(3vr[8'rs3] / 1vgn3r'w vgn3vrA6 wv'v) 42wt
orwt'n/ m3p4[n's) p42) s/ 40[vn3r(3w(CK2'n1r24[3A3vr'] 4(vpw'n[v8
23nr3q'np3wt'n2'n1rt4[n3] 1'n(q'3) z'n/ 1)] wrr(3'1) [r'w'qwrp3wt' 3vr
1rp) (2314p3w(/ 1) pr22'3vng't4wrrq' / 1vgn3r'w vgn3vr2C
K'qw2w' p3vr'snr3) s'3vw'1rt4[n3] 181) [r'6 n2'3vr] 4(vpw'n[v8 2'qrpw(' 3
w'3i) q4pr'n/ r1w'q) s' pn] ' q) 6 ('w'1rp) (2314p3w('np3vsw2Cgvw'23nr3t8
w5) [5rq's1rr9wt'p) (2314p3w('1r2) 41pr2's) 1'n2/ rpwswq' / r1w'qAn[] 6 wt's) 1
3vr'qr5r[] / r(3) s'o4n[vn3vr'1rp) (2314p3w(/ [n(2Cl' / [r] r(3rq'w'Z wn(4
) 4(3w' Agvw'242/ r(2w('23nr3t8'vn[3rq]) n' 1'o4w[4wt'np3vsw2'3] / 1r5r(3
3vr'qw/ r12w(') s'p) (2314p3w('] n3r1w[2A3vr] 5r142r') s'3vr'3in(2/) 13'2823r' A
n(q'3vr'2pn3r1wt') s6) 1zr12Cgvr'[rt n[/ 1) 5n[] s'3vr' 1r[rn2r "lo sblocco"
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n'p) vr1r(3'1rp) (2314p3w('23nr3t8Ar(241wt'3vng' / 1vgn3r'w vgn3vr2'qw(') 3
) o2314p3p) [[rp3vr'w'3r1r232'n(q'3vr') (tB'r1] '5w('s) 1'3vr'pw8 2
qr5r[] / r(3C
T('e) 33r1qn] Agvr'w' / [r] r(3w('n(q'qr5r[] / r(3) s'3vr'j v3r5rr(/ [n(6
6r1r') 1pvr23nr3q'3v1) 4tv'36) t) 5r1() r(3'ntr(pw2Kfeb "Kq5w) 18'b sswpr
s) 1'e) 33r1qn] 'Mg8'c[n("n(q'NTj Oeb "e) 33r1qn] 'erp) (2314p3w((Nr/ m3] r(3' Cgvrr2r'ntr(pw2'6 r1r'1r2/) (2w[r's) 1's) 1] 4[n3wt'1rp) (2314p3w(/ [n(2'n(q'3vr'np34n[1ro4w[4wt' Cgvrr2r'ntr(pw2'p) 4[q'w] rqw3r[8] n3r p) (pr13r'q'np3w('2w'pr'3vr'qr231) 8rq[n(q'w'3vr'pr(3r'6 n2'r7/ 1) / 1w3r'q'n(q' 1ro4w[4w(r[0'8'3vr]) 4(vpw'n[v8] s'e) 33r1qn] C'e1vgn3r') 6 (r12'6 r1r't1n(3r'q n'(r6' o4w[4wt'2w'6 wv'n' ro4w[4r(3rp) ()] w'5n[4r'3] '3vr' / 1r5w'42) (r'w 3vr'8'p)]] w3r'q'3] '1ro4w[4wt'CM]] / r(2n3w('s) 1') 23'o4w[4wt'2'6 n2'p) (3wt'r(3 4/) ('3vr'p)] / [r3w(') s'3vr'1rp) (2314p3w(Apn[4[n3r'q'on2rq]) ('3vr'2r[[wt 5n[4r'q41wt'3vr'qr2314p3w('6 wv'nqrrq'w'3r1r23 C S) 6 r5r1A/ [n((wt'3vr'1rp) (2314p3w(') s'e) 33r1qn] '6 n2'() 3) ([8'n] n33r1') s 23nr'w vgn3vrCK't1) 4/) s[] pn[042w'r22] r([r[0'8'Mrr2'5n('qr1'W'r46 Agvr qwrp3) 1') s'3vr'i n('a r[[r'snp3] 18' 'n28] o) [] s'w'q423i w[n(q'mpvw'rp341n[]) qr1(vgn3w('Bs) 4(qrq' M40'e) 33r1qn] C'M [[no] 1n3wt'6 wv' / 1) t1r22w'r]) qr1('mpvwrp32) s'3vr'b/ o) 46 t1) 4/ Agvr8'w s4r(prq'3vr'qr2w(') s'n(r6 s4(p3w(n[w3/ [n('s) 1'e) 33r1qn] 'n(q'np3vr[8'r(t'ntrq'6 wv'3vr'Kq5w) 18'b sswpr s) 1'3vr'e) 33r1qn] 'Mg8'c[n(Cl' 'e) 33r1qn] Agvr' / 1vgn3r'2rpp3 1'p) [[no] 1n3r q 6 wv'3vr'mpvwrp341n[]] 4(w8'n(q'orpn] r'n(w' /) 13n(3'ntr(3'w'3vr 1rp) (2314p3w(/ 1) pr22Cgvr'M40'e) 33r1qn] r(241rq'3vng'3vr'pw8,2rp) ()] w w'3r1r232'6 r1r'w'3rt1n[3] '41on('1rp) (2314p3w(C

A SITUATED MODERN URBANISM

gvw'p) (pwr'r7n] w'n3w(') s'41on('/1) xp32'w'Z v'n(Aj m2n6 'n(q'e) 33r1qn] 1r5rn[2'3vr'1wv'2/ rp314] ') s'] qri('41on('qr2w('n/1) npvr2'qr5r]/ r/q 441wt'3vr'1rp) (2314p3w('/1) pr22r2's) [l] 6 wt'3vr'frp) (qj) 1[qj mCgvr 1nqvn[no2r(pr) s'3vr'/ n23Aq4r'3] '3vr'5n23'2/ n3w['n(q'2) pww['n((wv'n3w(') s 3vr'6 m'2rr] 2'3) 'vnr'w'q4prq'n'q'vssr1r('3'38/ r') s]) qri('41on(w] '3vn3 23n(q2) 43'orpn42r') s'v2'4(p) (5r(3w(n[r(tnr] r(3'6 vgv'3vr'q'v r(2w(2) s 3w' r'n(q'nt r(p8C

Nw3wt4wvwt'3vr] 2r[5r2'si] 'p) (3r) /) 1m8'41on('/[n((wt'5r(341r2A3vr 41on('1rp) (2314p3w('w'vgn3vr2'w'Z v'n(Aj m2n6 'n(q'e) 33r1qn] '4(w4r[8 nqqr22'3vr'3r] /) 1n[231n3n) s'3vr'pw8C['3vr2r'41on('1rp) (2314p3w('/1) xp32' 41on('qr2w('w'sw] [8'n(pv) 1rq'w'3vr'] r)) 18') s'3vr'pw8A'v'v23] 18'n(q'3vr p) r7w3r(pr) s'q'vssr1r('3'3r] /) 1n['n8r12A'p[4qwt's4341r') (r2C f w] 4[3n(r) 42[8A3vr2r'1rp) (2314p3w('r(qrn5) 412'23n(q) 43's) 1'3vrw 4(p) (5r(3w(n['p) (pr/ 34n[wn3w(') s'nt r(p8'w' 41on(w] Ch([w'r') 3vr1/) 23B 6 m'041) / rn('41on('/[n((wt'/1) xp32'3vn3/ 1w] m'v8'5r23r'q'nt r(p8'w' 23nr np3] 12A3vr'1rp) (2314p3w('rss) 132'w'Z v'n(Aj m2n6 An(q'e) 33r1qn] qr]) (231n3r'n('n38/ vnn['p]]] w] r(3'3) 'o1) nqr('3vr'2p) / r') s'41on(r7/ r13vrA3] w'p[4qr'3vr'6 vqr1/ 4o[wp'w' 41on('qrpw(B] nzwt'n(q'3) 1rp[n[w1n3r'3vr'1r[n3w(2vw'or36 rr('23nr'n(q/ 1vgn3r'np3) 12C gvw'q4n['s) p42) ('3w' r'n(q'nt r(p8) 43[w'r2'3vr'3r(r32) s6 vn3'6 r'/1) /) 2r'3) 3r1] 'n2v4n3r'q]) qri('41on(w] Cf 4pv'41on(w] ') 3) ([8'v[4231n3r2'3vr p]] / r7'pvn[[r(tr) s'1rp) (2314p3wt'pw8r2'nsgr1'3vr'2/ n3w['n(q'2) pww[n((wv'n3w(') s'6 m'CBn[2] 'v[4] w'n3r2'v) 6 A6 vgv'w'3vr'/ 1rpniw'42'n(q'pvntrq p) (3r73) s'1rp) (2314p3w(A3vr'3r(r32) s'n'q'vssr1r('3'41on(w3w'n/ 1) npv'6 r1r s) 1] 4[n3r'q'3vn3) s'r1r'q'n('n[3r1(n3vgr'3) '3vr'tr(r1n['w'pn/ npv8') s]) qri(41on(w] '3) r(tnr'6 vgv'] 4[3w[r'3w' r'q'v r(2w(2'n(q'vgr12r'nt r(pw2C

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

gvw'1r2rn1pv/ n/ r1'w'6 1v3r('w'1r2/) (2r'3) 'n('w'5vgn3w('si]] 'ha Of Mb'n(q 3vr'j) 1[q'Ln(zC

NOTES

- [1] See: Pertot, Gianfranco. 2016. "Premessa. Milan alla fine della Guerra". In *Milan 1946. Alle origini della ricostruzione*, edited by Gianfranco Pertot, Roberta Ramella et al., 11. Milan: Silvana Editoriale.
- [2] Gribaudi, Gabriella. 2005. *Guerra totale. Tra bombe alleate e violenze naziste: Napoli e il fronte meridionale, 1940-1944*. Torino: Bollati Boringhieri, 48.
- Quoted in Baldoli, Claudia. 2010. "I bombardamenti sull'Italia nella Seconda Guerra Mondiale. Strategia anglo-americana e propaganda rivolta alla popolazione civile". In *DEP Deportate, esuli, profughe. Rivista telematica di studi sulla memoria femminile 13-14*, 39.
- [3] See: Pertot, Gianfranco. 2016. Op. Cit., 14.
- [4] De Finetti, Giuseppe. 2002. *Milano. Costruzione di una città*, edited by Giuseppe Cislighi, Mara De Benedetti, Piergiorgio Marabelli, 436. Milan: Hoepli.
- [5] *Ivi*, 451.
- [6] See list of destroyed buildings: Ramella, Roberta. 2016. Op. cit., 307.
- [7] *Ibid.*
- [8] Consonni, Giancarlo. 2022. "La risposta al problema della casa a Milano negli anni della Ricostruzione (1945-53)." *Territorio 102: 7-13*. Consonni Giancarlo, and Graziella Tonon. 1979. "Le condizioni abitative dei ceti popolari e le lotte per la casa dal 1943 al 1948". In *Milano tra guerra e dopoguerra*, edited by Gabriella Bonvini and Adolfo Scalpelli, 639-702. Bari: De Donato.
- [9] See: Popiołek-Roßkamp, Malgorzata. 2018. "Warsaw: A Reconstruction that Began Before the War." Conference Proceedings. In Haddad, Elie (Chair), Butelski, Kazimierz, El-Daccache, Maroun. El-Khoury, Roula, and Boguslaw Podhalański. *Post War Reconstruction. The Lessons of Europe* (Beirut: Lebanese American University, 2018), 44-52.
- [10] Ciburrows, Adolf. 1964. *Warsaw. A City Destroyed and Rebuilt*. Warsaw: Polonia Pub. House, 44.
- [11] *Ivi*, 46.
- [12] *Ibid.*
- [13] *Ivi*, 56. W. Tomkiewicz, *Straty kulturalne Warszawy (Warsaw's Cultural Losses)*, Warsaw 1948.
- [14] *Ivi*, 7.
- [15] *Ivi*, 62.
- [16] These numbers depend upon sources: 75% is mentioned in: Dziejwski, Stanislaw, and Stanislaw Jankowski. 1957. "The Reconstruction of Warsaw." *The Town Planning Review 28*, no. 3 (October): 63; 85% is the number stated in Ciburrows, Adolf. 1964. Op. cit., 62.
- [17] Dziejwski, Stanislaw, and Stanislaw Jankowski. 1957. Op. cit., 64.
- [18] Chmielewski, Jan Maciej, and Monika Szczypiorska. 2015. "Could Warsaw be differently rebuilt - alternative history of the city." Accessed December 15th, 2023. http://www.kaui.pan.pl/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=446&kaui-1-2015-jm-chmielewski-m-szczypiorska-abstract&catid=80:1-2015&Itemid=56.
- [19] Ciburrows, Adolf. 1964. Op. cit., 56-62. See: Wólkowski, Wojciech. 2021. "Architecture in Warsaw, 1939-1944." *Journal of East Central European Studies 70*: 689-708.
- [20] The Nazi air raid of the 1940 destroyed 25,479 homes, 31 department stores, 2,320 smaller shops, 31 factories, 1,319 workshops, 675 warehouses, 1,437 offices, 13 banks, 69 schools, 13 hospitals, 24 churches, 10 charitable institutions, 25 city and state buildings, 4 stations, 4 newspaper headquarters, 2 museums, 517 cafés and restaurants, 22 party venues, 12 cinemas, 2 theatres and 184 other commercial buildings.
- [21] Plan Witteveen, the first reconstruction plan <https://www.wederopbouwrotterdam.nl/en/tijdlijn/plan-witteveen/>; See McCarthy, John. 1998. "Reconstruction, regeneration and re-imaging. The case of Rotterdam." *Cities 15*, no. 5: 337-344.
- [22] Fact sheet 75 years of post-war reconstruction in Rotterdam, 2, www.rotterdamviertdestad.nl.
- [23] Fact sheet 75 years of post-war reconstruction in Rotterdam, 1, www.rotterdamviertdestad.nl. See Couperus, Stefan. 2015. "Experimental Planning after the Blitz. Non-governmental Planning Initiatives and Post-war Reconstruction in Coventry and Rotterdam, 1940-1955." *Journal of Modern European History 13*, no. 4: 516-533.
- [24] See: Ramella, Roberta. 2016. Op. cit., 158.
- [25] *Ivi*, 38.
- [26] See also Meyer, Hans. 2002. "The promise of a new, modern society in a new, Modern city, 1940 to the present". In *Out of Ground Zero: case studies in urban*, edited by Joan Ockman, 86. New York, Munich: Temple Hoyne Buell Center for the Study of American Architecture, with Prestel.
- [27] Statement by Karel Paul van der Mandele, 1945, in "Post-War Reconstruction". Accessed December 16th, 2023. <https://www.wederopbouwrotterdam.nl/en/post-war-reconstruction/>.
- [28] See Pertot, Gianfranco. 2016. Op. cit., 75.
- [29] *Ivi*, 18.
- [30] *Ivi*, 77.
- [31] *Ivi*, 76.
- [32] *Ivi*, 102. E. N. Rogers, "L'architettura e il cittadino", 18 July 1945.
- [33] These debates took amongst others place in the Milanese architectural magazine *Casabella-Continuità* (before *Costruzioni-Casabella*) edited by Ernesto Nathan Rogers in the 1950s.
- [34] After the war, this debate was still undeveloped and the quantitative dimension of the destruction revealed the cultural inadequacy in the fields of restoration, urban design to face it. Finally, as De Finetti remarks "the profane thought of rebuild the ancient buildings as they were, ... is the only one that has been affirmed with great force in Milan". De Finetti, Giuseppe. 2002. Op. cit., 436.
- [35] About the reconstruction of historical buildings, like the Santa Maria della Pace convent in Milan, by Ignazio Gardella and Giovanni Romano, see Barazzetta, Giulio, Guerritore, Camilla, and Marco Simoncelli. 2023. "An Exemplary Case Study of Post-WWII Reconstruction in Milan." *Nexus Network Journal 25*: 319-338. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00004-022-00639-3>.
- [36] See also Neri, Raffaella. 2019. "Milan 1945, the Reconstruction: Modernity, Tradition, Continuity." Conference proceedings. In Haddad, Elie (Chair), Butelski, Kazimierz, El-Daccache, Maroun, El-Khoury, Roula, and Boguslaw Podhalański, *Post War Reconstruction. The Lessons of Europe* (Beirut: Lebanese American University, 2018), 31.
- [37] See Zuccaro Marchi, Leonardo. 2018. *The Heart of the City: Legacy and Complexity of a Modern Design Idea*. London: Routledge, 100.
- [38] Originally in Italian: "Omaggio a una Milano che la speculazione aveva praticamente distrutto". Tafuri, Manfredo, and Francesco Dal Co. 1976. *Architettura Contemporanea*. Milano: Electa, 339.
- [39] De Finetti, Giuseppe. 2002. Op. cit., 451.
- [40] With the war, the last urban plan by Albertini ("Milano del duemila" - 1934) was abandoned. The war highlighted the necessity of concrete plans and sanctioned the rejection of megalomaniac, huge, unrealistic, utopian urbanization of the all Milanese territory (13,100 hectares) designed for a population of 2-3 millions of inhabitants (1,139,000 inhabitants in 1939 in Milan). Other variations already tried to reduce and reframe the plan before the war, such as the plan by Luigi Lorenzo Secchi.
- [41] After the war, the new mayor- Antonio Greppi- and all the vice-mayors have been previously involved in the Resistance against fascism. There was strong political will to contrast the previous regime, which was mirrored in the planning process as well. The abandonment of the previous plans was also expression of a political position. One of the vice-mayors - Vincenzo Rigamonti - was directly dealing with "War damage" issue ("Danni di Guerra"). Pertot, Gianfranco. 2016. Op. cit., 17.
- [42] Boleslaw, Bierut. 1951. *The six-year plan for the reconstruction of Warsaw*. Warsaw: Ksiazka i Wiedza, 91.
- [43] *Ibid.* In 1939 small flats - one/two rooms - were the 68.6% of the total flats. The density of the one-room flat was 3.8 persons per room, the three-room flat was 1.6 and the six-room flat was only 0.9.
- [44] See Meyer, Hans. 2002. Op. cit., 89.
- [45] Reinhardt, Hans. 1955. *The Story of Rotterdam. The city of today and tomorrow*. Rotterdam: The Public Relations Office of the City of Rotterdam, 31.
- [46] See: Ramella, Roberta. 2016. Op. cit., 37.
- [47] See: Mumford, Eric. 2000. *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 182-183.
- [48] Chmielewski, Jan Maciej, and Monika Szczypiorska. 2015. "Could Warsaw be differently rebuilt - alternative history of the city." Accessed December 15th, 2023. http://www.kaui.pan.pl/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=446&kaui-1-2015-jm-chmielewski-m-szczypiorska-abstract&catid=80:1-2015&Itemid=56.
- [49] *Ibid.* One Central Commission [Commissione Centrale], 13 members, coordination role, definition of zoning and functional distribution in the city; Eight Neighborhood Commissions [Commissioni di quartiere], 44 members; Nine Technical Consultative Commissions [Commissioni consultive tecniche], 53 members; One Advisory Board of the Regulatory Plan for completing the permitting applications to build [Commissione consultiva di Piano regolatore], 15 members; One General Inspection board [Commissione generale di controllo], 19 members.
- [50] Ciburrows, Adolf. 1964. Op. cit., 66.
- [51] *Ivi*, 144.
- [52] Until the period of reconstruction, there were three methods for commissioning urban plans that were adopted in Milan: the direct commissioning to well know professional figures, the design by technical bureaucracy, and the ideas competition. The first methods was ill judged because cultural reasons and inopportune political influences. The bureaucratic choice was in stark contrast with the idea of "urban plan as an art work" and with the necessity of fresh innovative ideas. The idea competition remained the main methods for a new plan of reconstruction.
- [53] See Ramella, Roberta. 2016. Op. cit., 37.
- [54] Riboldazzi, Renzo. 2016. Op. cit., 61.
- [55] See: Neri, Raffaella. 2019. Op. cit., 34. See: Bonfante, Francesca, and Cristina Pallini. 2015. Op. cit., 142-160.
- [56] Ciburrows, Adolf. 1964. Op. cit., 147.
- [57] "Fact sheet 75 years of post-war reconstruction in Rotterdam", 1, www.rotterdamviertdestad.nl.
- [58] "Post-War Reconstruction". Accessed December 16th, 2023. <https://www.wederopbouwrotterdam.nl/en/post-war-reconstruction/>.
- [59] De Finetti, Giuseppe. 2016. Op. cit., 441.
- [60] Engineer Johan Ringers was the government minister who oversaw the entire reconstruction. "Plan Witteveen, the first reconstruction plan". Accessed December 12th, 2023. <https://www.wederopbouwrotterdam.nl/en/tijdlijn/plan-witteveen/>.
- [61] Reinhardt, Hans. 1955. Op. cit., 8.

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