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Rooijendijk, C.

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# That City is Mine!

Urban Ideal Images in Public Debates and City Plans,  
Amsterdam & Rotterdam 1945 - 1995

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# That City is Mine!

*Urban Ideal Images in  
Public Debates and City Plans,  
Amsterdam & Rotterdam  
1945 - 1995*

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT

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aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam,  
op gezag van Rector Magnificus,  
prof. mr. P.F. van der Heijden  
ten overstaan van een door het college van promoties ingestelde  
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**Promotores:**

Promotor: Prof. dr. L.A. de Klerk (Universiteit van Amsterdam)

Co-promotor: Prof. dr. P.T. van de Laar (Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam)

**Beoordelingscommissie:**

Prof. dr. G. Mak (Universiteit van Amsterdam)

Prof. dr. R. van Engelsdorp Gastelaars (Universiteit van Amsterdam)

Dr. R. Gabriëls (Universiteit Maastricht)

Prof. dr. R. Kloosterman (Universiteit van Amsterdam)

Prof. dr. A.M.J. Kreukels (Universiteit Utrecht)

**Faculteit:**

Faculteit der Maatschappij- en Gedragwetenschappen

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## Preface

Researching urban ideal images means spending endless amounts of time in municipal archives. For three and a half years, I spent day after day, ploughing through newspapers, journals and books, which came out of seemingly bottomless depots. My eyes became sore trying to read the blurred characters in the old documents, and my back and neck became stiff because of the old chairs and low tables that forced me to sit in an uncomfortable position. I drank lousy coffee (and soup that was even worse) and spent long days in dusty, musty rooms with windows so tiny you would think the architect of the building was afraid of fresh air. But I liked being there. A lot.

The most interesting people gather in the archives. First of all, most of them are old, and by that I mean *really* old, which has its consequences. Some of them have such a bent back that just a tiny breeze would blow them down but luckily the tiny windows in the archives are always closed, so there are no breezes.

There are these two old men, both of whom are hard of hearing, and for some reason do not wear a hearing aid, but who simply have to tell each other every single discovery they make. And thus, in very loud voices, they try to communicate with each other, and since these gentlemen happen to discover lots of interesting things, this happens quite often. Most of the visitors are familiar with these two men and have accepted the phenomenon, but every once in a while it is more than someone can take. Then, he or she stands up, shouts whether they can ‘*Please be quiet!*’, and sits down again. This makes no sense at all. The chances are that the gentlemen do not hear anyone shouting and, moreover, like old people should, they do not bother too much about other people. And thus, it is quiet for a while, until the scene repeats itself.

There is another man who puts on a dejected face and mumbles to every new visitor that he receives unemployment benefit ‘...*because of my leg*’. But sometimes he forgets about his leg and then suddenly runs like the wind. And then there is this woman of an advanced age. She always looks neat and tidy, immaculately dressed, has a nice hair-do, lovely make-up and wears pink lipstick. And nobody knows exactly what she is doing in the archive. The fact is, she is forgetful at the very least, and probably has Alzheimer’s. For hours, she sits in the very same chair, without any documents in front of her, but busy, busy with her own thoughts.

What I love about these people are their stories, stories about their ancestors and their great-great-great-grandmother, and how they giggle when they discover a healthy child was born after just three months of marriage. I loved their stories about how the city used to be, about the streets, the people, the houses, the noise, and the smell of oil, sweat, spices and coffee in

the harbour – stories I was looking for. I was looking for people who wrote about their city, and the more articles I read, the greater my admiration grew for them. So many fought for their city, shouted for attention, and cared, cared so deeply about their city. Their utterances in newspapers, journals and books revealed fear, hope, anger, frustration – and never indifference. I have tried to capture these stories in this book and I hope I have allowed at least some of the passions and emotions of the storytellers to trickle through the sentences.

I had the utmost pleasure doing my research, which I think concerns one of the most interesting topics an urban geographer can study. For this, I should like to thank Professor Willem Salet – former director of the Amsterdam study centre for the Metropolitan Environment (AME) – and Professor Robert Kloosterman, the current director of the Amsterdam Institute of Metropolitan and International Development Studies (AMIDSt). They gave me not only support but also complete liberty to design my very own research something I had asked for during my interview for a position as a PhD candidate in 2001. I thank them for their confidence in me and for a wonderful PhD-period.

This book owes its birth to the supervision of Professor Rob van Engelsdorp Gastelaars. In 1999, after having said that I wanted to write my MA thesis under his supervision, he gave me a book by Robert Beauregard, told me to read it and to not come back till I had finished it. It took me one day. The topic gripped me, held me, and I do not think I will ever get rid of it. I am thankful to him, too.

Professor Len de Klerk was my promoter and day-to-day supervisor during this PhD research. I am very grateful for the lengthy and inspiring discussions we had about my texts, which he always read very carefully, including the innumerable endnotes. I am also thankful to Professor Paul van de Laar, my co-promotor, who contributed fruitfully to this book in a later phase. I was very lucky to be under such good supervision while being able to carry out my very own research.

The staff of the municipal archives of Amsterdam and that of Rotterdam were most helpful in providing assistance with finding newspapers, books and journals. One day, a staff member in Rotterdam told me he had never seen anyone absorbing so many books, journals and newspaper articles in one day as I did. But without their quick working pace, without their help, I could never have done so.

Writing a dissertation on urban ideal images requires asking time, energy, and help from others; from colleagues at the AMIDSt and at other universities, as well as from friends, family and my dearest Rémi. Responses given on research days; dinners at Yland and Ibis; little talks at the coffee table next to the mail boxes or near the photocopier; lunches in the Hortus Botanicus, 't Loosje and in Agora; conversations during get-togethers at the

institute; good talks over glasses of wine in Saas-Fee; critical discussions at study group meetings; flan in the oldest café in Maastricht; comments on journal articles; annual evaluations; conferences; conversations with roommates at the institute: all this helped me to structure my ideas and to record them in this book. And although I am quite self-willed, I am sure that lots of the efforts made by those mentioned above are reflected in this book. I thank you all.



For Rémi



# Chapter 1 Perception is Reality

*While the great Dutch portraits are of dour-looking burghers and the French ones of half-clad ladies in luxurious interiors, Gainsborough painted gentlemen and their wives complacently surveying their rolling acres. The great French 19<sup>th</sup> century novels – Flaubert and Balzac, for instance – are resolutely bourgeois. The great British 19<sup>th</sup> century novels are either rural – Austen and Eliot – or they are about how horrible towns are – Dickens and Mrs Gaskell<sup>1</sup>.*

## **Mainspring**

"I grew up when the cities were dying", is the first sentence of Robert A. Beauregard's *Voices of Decline*<sup>2</sup>. Beauregard recalled wandering with his mother through Detroit's derelict landscapes, its collapsing industries, slums, and the desolate shopping areas. He remembered declining cities and decaying urban fabrics, and how they framed his life and the lives of those who came of age in the last half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the United States<sup>3</sup>. The writer of this book, who was born in Amsterdam in 1973, has no such memories. Instead, I remember wandering with my mother and little sister through Amsterdam's vivid landscape and busy shopping streets, under the huge, impressing facades. To my juvenile mind, Amsterdam was lively and vital and I was sure that one day, I would live in the very centre of it. So was Detroit a city in decline and Amsterdam a flourishing city? Well, it is all a matter of perceptions.

## **Perceptions**

Humans have no option but to construct perceptions. Reality produces endless stimuli, but humans are physically unable to notice all of them. In fact, if the human sensory system were able to react on all exterior stimuli, mankind would go raving mad. In order not to lose their mind, people have to filter the exterior stimuli, facilitated by two features. First, our senses respond primarily to changes. Second, our senses tend to stop responding to things that do not change<sup>4</sup>. This is why if you fall asleep during a concert with a high snooze factor, it is very likely that you will wake up with a start as soon as they stop playing music. It is also why you do not notice the constant hum of cars driving along the motorway a mile from your back



garden, until a miserable visitor asks you whether you mind that horrible noise. If people become aware of these stimuli – and that certainly does not happen all the time – they attach a meaning to stimuli, attach values to them and, if necessary, react. Thus, human brains form internal representations of fragments of the outside world, or ‘perceptions’<sup>5</sup>.

Psychological experiments have shown that, to a very large extent, other people determine our individual perceptions<sup>6</sup>. In 1930s, the psychologist Muzafer Sherif conducted one of the first laboratory studies in which social influence was systematically demonstrated. He led individuals into a completely darkened room and asked them to stare at a fixed point of light and to tell him how far the light was moving. Although the light was in fact not moving, in the end, the estimates of how far it moved varied greatly between individuals, differing from about an inch to six inches. He then put three people in the room instead of one, so that they could hear the other people making estimates of how far they thought the light was moving. After a few trials with any given group, similar estimates were made and a group norm had been established. Furthermore, different groups converged on different values, again varying from a few inches to several feet. Even when individuals did not think the same way as their group members, often they still *said* that they agreed with them and behaved similarly, in order not to become an outcast. As a result of the influence of group members, and despite genetic and biological differences between group members, within a particular group similar perceptions are likely to occur.

Perceptions tend to be homogeneous within groups and heterogeneous between groups. All other things being equal, people tend to adopt the perceptions of their own group, and to reject the perceptions of other groups. This is why parents do their utmost to get tickets for a concert for a Rolling Stones concert while their children are busy remodelling their baggy pants which are almost falling off their bottoms while listening to 50 Cent; it is just a fact of life and a result of parents and children being members of different groups. For group perceptions, groups do not have to be especially well established. In the case of Sherif’s experiment, even a year later and even when the group members were no longer present, the group perception could still be found in individuals<sup>7</sup>. In addition, to be part of a group, its members do not even have to know each other. In fact, it is possible that some group members will never meet each other but still are part of the same group because they are connected indirectly with each other, and as a result share the same group norm. Strangely enough, individuals often do not think of social structures as influencing their behaviour, but tend to make internal attributions about behaviour, even when the real causes of the behaviour are external<sup>8</sup>.

A simple explanation can be given for the construction of group perceptions. Compared to other species, humans are biologically imperfect. Compared to other animals, we have a relatively small number of instincts, and those that

we do have are not well developed. Fortunately, at least for ourselves, we have found out that if we organize ourselves, we increase our chances of surviving. Because of these organizations – which sociologists call ‘institutions’ – people can react to the outside world without the need to constantly reflect, explain or justify their behaviour<sup>9</sup>. Thus, humans construct perceptions, which are formed in groups, and act accordingly.

## Perceptions vs. reality

Mentioning the word ‘perception’ almost automatically evokes discussions about reality. Reality is probably the most elusive concept in the scientific world. Two main positions can be identified. The first one is the French rationalist view of Destutt de Tracy, Saxon and Durkheim that emphasizes truth as being a “... *correspondence with reality which observation and reason should enable all people of good will to recognize through the application, in the social sciences, of methods not radically different from those obtaining in the natural sciences*”<sup>10</sup>. The second, German one is associated with Hegel, Marx, Mannheim and Habermas, and it emphasizes the making of truth, and being suspicious of any ‘objective’ way of deciding what is true. The two positions should be regarded as the extremes of a scale, allowing many positions in between<sup>11</sup>. No scientist has managed to solve the problem of describing reality correctly, let alone established whether such a description is possible and there was no need or intention to solve this problem in this research.

Here, the most important thing is that although people may be able to describe or observe facts, this is not that interesting. Perceptions, not facts, structure human behaviour, whereby people tend to use facts only if desired – to strengthen perceptions – and to ignore them if they are not. Mannheim (1968) has related seeing or being blind to facts, to power relations: ruling groups see other facts than oppressed groups do<sup>12</sup>. But in previous research, I have shown that, regardless of power relations, different groups with different perceptions use and ignore different kind of facts<sup>13</sup>. Examples can be found in everyday life. Recently, for example, it turned out that only 30% of the Dutch train conductors agreed with a planning proposal; however, one person concluded that the plan should be adopted because “*That is a lot, considering the fact that it concerns conductors*”<sup>14</sup>. It is as the Amsterdam group *De Dijk* sings in one of its songs: “*If you don’t look at it the way we do, you must look better*”<sup>15</sup>. Thus, in a way, facts are simply not that important, at least not when it comes to understanding human behaviour.

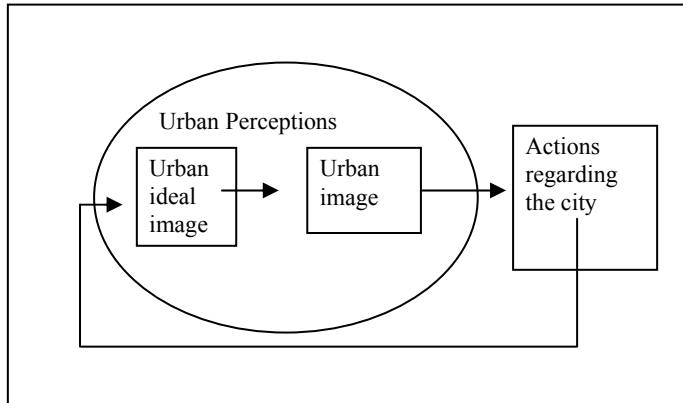
## ***Urban perceptions: urban images & urban ideal images***

To understand human behaviour in general, perceptions have to be identified, and to understand human behaviour towards cities, we have to look for *urban* perceptions – that is, perceptions regarding cities. In the scarce literature on urban perceptions, different definitions have been used to describe this phenomenon, and all lack a more specific elaboration of the two main components the general definition contains<sup>16</sup>.

Urban perceptions consist of two main elements: perceptions of the city's present state, and perceptions of what the future of the city should look like. If one considers the relation between those two, as I have done in previous studies, it appears that the latter tend to influence the former<sup>17</sup>. For both, I shall coin two new terms, namely 'urban image' for the former, and 'urban ideal image' for the latter.

By urban ideal images I mean utopia as it is used in *Utopie: Utopisch denken, doen en bouwen in de twintigste eeuw* (Van Middelaar (ed.) 2002), meaning a dream, a belief in a better world – not a fictitious world or religious projection, but an ideal that man can realize tomorrow<sup>18</sup>. Urban ideal images are the compasses for action. Because of particular kinds of urban ideal images, people can be satisfied with the current condition in cities and design actions to preserve that state. Or, again because of urban ideal images though different ones, the present city can be viewed as not yet perfect, which will lead to actions meant to improve the present city, that is, actions to make it a more perfect one. Because of the urban ideal image of a city with at its core a flourishing central business district, the bendy streets of a historic city centre are considered too small, and therefore plans are drawn up to widen them<sup>19</sup>. Thus, the boundary between the urban ideal image and actions is thin: while wide streets should be considered as part of the urban ideal image, the actual construction of wide streets is an action. Simply because of the correlation between them, not only is it wise to make a distinction between urban images, urban ideal images and actions, but to understand human actions, it also seems necessary to focus on urban ideal images. Henceforth, I shall use the term 'urban perceptions' to refer to both urban images and urban ideal images, and the latter two if further specification is desired (figure 1).

**Figure 1 Urban perceptions**



## ***Differences and similarities between urban ideal images***

Only a few researchers have studied urban perceptions of American and European cities. Beauregard (1993, 2003), Bender (1975) and White and White (1962) have studied urban perceptions in the United States, while Lees (1985) has studied urban perceptions in, besides the United States, Great Britain, France and Germany<sup>20</sup>. In brief, these researchers have in common that they were not interested in differences between perceptions, but only in similarities. All studied hundreds of books, journals, newspapers and city plans in order to identify a similarity between these contributions, namely an urban perception shared by all individuals, a leitmotiv, or – as I shall call it for now – the ‘undertone’ that unites them.

It is clear that things may differ between countries. White and White (1962) described the undertone of books written by American intellectuals in the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries as being anti-urban, as opposed to the pro-urban view of the French in this period<sup>21</sup>. Lees (1985) preferred the word ‘ambivalent’ to describe the urban perception of the majority of those who wrote about cities from 1820 to 1940; these people were famous/obscure and schooled/unschooled commentators. For them, the urban world was a mixture of both good and evil, providing both dangers and opportunities<sup>22</sup>. Lees found the most pro-urban perceptions among the Americans, followed by, successively, the French, the Britons and – the most anti-urbanites – the Germans<sup>23</sup>. As a result, Lees concluded that nationality matters, and that urban perceptions differ as a result of differences between societies<sup>24</sup>. Beauregard (1993, 2003), having studied more recent urban perceptions,

stated that in particular since WWII, the more pro-urban inclination of Americans seems to have become blurred: *“I know of no observer who has claimed that Americans love their cities...To the contrary, Americans are supposed to cling tenaciously to a deep-felt dislike of large urban places”*<sup>25</sup>. He stated that this is the dominant perception, the one shared by most people.

The consequences of this shared undertone of urban perceptions are far-reaching. The urban perception structures the behaviour of people – what they should do and where they should invest and live<sup>26</sup>. As a result, suburbs have the highest living standards and the best schools, just like the suburbs of the suburb-loving Britons. *“Not only does the countryside have the best schools and hospitals’, points out Tony Travers, head for the Greater London Group at the London School of Economics, ‘but it also has universal provision of services, like post offices and buses, mandated by central government”*<sup>27</sup>. On the contrary, in France, the elite live in Paris – in the city – and *banlieu* (suburbs) are dustbins filled with the poor, the unfortunate and immigrants<sup>28</sup>. One of the explanations Beauregard gives for the American urban perception is that the dominant American capitalistic ideology needs and legitimizes uneven growth. It is based on the assumption that growth and progress outweigh decline<sup>29</sup>. Moreover, Beauregard said that the urban perception of declining cities functions as a scapegoat for all the ills of society: declining cities make the insecure and unsafe society a bit more concrete<sup>30</sup>. Beauregard said, strikingly, that declining cities are necessary for the American society and therefore it is very unlikely that they will ever disappear. Declining cities, inseparable from though loosely tied to realities, exist because Americans have made them so<sup>31</sup>.

Beauregard remarked on the failure of urban theory to confront in any meaningful way the issue of representation, and that therefore this kind of research should be executed on a much wider scale<sup>32</sup>. For example, in the Netherlands, no similar research has been done. Historical studies on Dutch urban planning issues are rare, and although there are a few studies on urban perceptions, they focus solely on planners<sup>33</sup>. Unlike the United States, the Netherlands is a corporatist welfare state with features of a social-democratic welfare state<sup>34</sup>. Therefore, I thought it would be interesting to see whether the undertone of urban perceptions in the Netherlands differs from that found in the United States. But there is more.

The value of identifying the undertone lies in a clarification of the attitude and thus the behaviour towards cities in general in a particular society. But although this undertone can explain why people invest or live in cities, or instead prefer the suburbs it cannot explain exactly what people want their cities to look like. The undertone cannot explain why there are conflicts about the inner city and whether it should become a central business district or a historic quarter, whether roads should be bendy or straight, and whether old neighbourhoods should be preserved or

comprehensively redeveloped. The weakness of only identifying the undertone lies in the fact that it ignores differences of opinion regarding elements of cities.

In his research on intellectuals participating in debates about poverty, nuclear energy and Salman Rushdie, Gabriëls (2001)<sup>35</sup> has shown the value of looking for differences between individuals who, on a higher level, can indeed share ideas too. That kind of research is very scarce, and it is remarkable that, as far as I know, there is no single study which has done so concerning individuals discussing cities. Moreover, as stated, while researching urban perceptions, it seems wise to focus on the urban ideal images, as those tend to be the driving forces of life. Thus, a combination of looking for the undertone of urban ideal images and identifying the differences between them in a single research project seemed to be an extremely interesting prospect and such research is needed if one wants to understand human behaviour towards cities. This research is the first attempt ever to do so, and is thus meant to fill in the first bits of the identified gap in knowledge.

## ***Urban ideal images in public debates***

Urban ideal images cannot be observed that easily. Of course, one could visit all groups in a particular society and ask about their urban ideal image, but since that would take so much time, it is virtually impossible. Luckily, there is a particular space where group representatives carrying the urban ideal image of the group gather: the arena of public debate. On this bird table full with the most delicious seeds, specimen can be studied.

Urban ideal images manifest themselves in full glory in public debates, and particularly in controversial public debates. Public debates are facilitated by a more or less autonomous and open arena called the public sphere, which is accessible to anyone and offers freedom of assembly, association and expression<sup>36</sup>. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the public debate took place in coffee houses, where people met and discussed in order to keep a check on government by way of an informed and influential public opinion. These interpersonal discussions among elites became substituted generally by mass communication<sup>37</sup>. Curran (1996) described the current public debate as a:

*... model of a public sphere as a neutral zone where access to relevant information affecting the public good is widely available, where discussion is free of domination and where all those participating in public debate do so on an equal basis. The media facilitate this process by providing an arena of public debate, and by reconstituting private citizens as a public body in the form of public opinion<sup>38</sup>.*

Studying urban ideal images in public debates is like studying bird species feeding at a bird table. Participants in the public debate are members of groups and, as stated, urban ideal images are formed in groups. Thus, as Gabriëls (ibid.) has shown us, by studying the urban ideal image of those who participate in the public debate, one automatically studies the urban ideal images of more people than only those who participate. Just as the behaviour of one particular bird on a bird table can reveal something about a whole species, the urban ideal image of a participant in the debate also reveals something about the urban ideal image of his or her group members. Moreover, following Gabriëls (ibid.), particularly in controversial public debates, people feel the need to express their ideas and to contrast them with those of their opponents<sup>39</sup>. Urban ideal images are expressed in public debates regarding the city, whereby the inducement can be a protest, a planning proposal, a city plan, a reaction to a city plan, etc. The participants in public debates about urban issues fall into two main categories, namely the urban intellectual and the city planner.

## **The urban intellectual**

Intellectuals have been studied both frequently and quite well. Mannheim introduced the term *freischwebende Intelligenz* ('socially unattached intelligentsia') to describe his idealistic view on intellectuals and their specific task in society. He stated that, despite differences related to birth, status, profession and wealth, the bond between intellectuals is education<sup>40</sup>. They are, like 'normal' people, tied to class and status, but as they are also capable of freeing themselves from it, they are therefore *relatively freischwebend*<sup>41</sup>. Because of their position in society, intelligentsia are critical to political power and are therefore not ideological. They do not think dogmatically or fanatically but dynamically and flexibly, and therefore they are able to construct some sort of objective reality from all the subjective realities found in society<sup>42</sup>. Of course, a difficulty arises from this: if people view reality subjectively, how can some of them observe an objective reality? More importantly, these theories were developed and published in the 1930s, when education was reserved for the lucky few, an elite. Since then, at least in the Western part of the world, education has become available to the masses.

To some, education of the masses has led to the death of the intellectual. According to Jacoby (1987), public intellectuals (writers and thinkers who address a general and educated audience) have quit the scene<sup>43</sup>. Universities that swallow up intellectuals are considered wrongdoers. Younger intellectuals, almost exclusively professors, no longer need or want a larger public but are satisfied with their own academic world. Independent

intellectuals, who wrote for the educated reader, are disappearing<sup>44</sup>. However, although their position, task and identity may have changed, Gabriëls (ibid.) has shown that intellectuals are far from dead<sup>45</sup>.

A more pragmatic and current description of intellectuals comes from sociologists, who regard intellectuals as those who earn their living with their minds<sup>46</sup>. And Gabriëls (ibid.), a philosopher, defines an intellectual as someone who expresses opinions in public that concern many people and are controversial. According to Gabriëls, being an intellectual is just one role out of many: nobody is intellectual all the time, and in principle everyone can fulfil this role. But in practice, for the most part, intellectuals derive from certain layers in society<sup>47</sup>.

In public debates about urban issues, we seem to be dealing with a special kind of intellectuals. Unlike the intellectuals described above, intellectuals who participate in city debates do not discuss globally important things but subjects concerning the city, mostly interesting only inhabitants<sup>48</sup>. Moreover, intellectuals participating in city debates are more bound to the subject they discuss because often they live, recreate and work in the city while mostly they do not earn a living by discussing urban subjects. Still, these intellectuals fulfil an intellectual role by participating in the city debate and expressing opinions that concern many inhabitants of the city. Moreover, for that they must have received at least some education. Of course, it is possible that a pastry cook will enter the city debate, but if so, it is likely that he or she is fairly well educated but for some reason chooses to make pastries. Therefore, by virtue of the identified differences and similarities between the intellectual who discusses subjects of nationwide importance and the intellectual who participates in city debates, I shall introduce a new term for the latter, ‘the urban intellectual’ – a yet unknown species.

## **The city planner**

City planners, too, enter city debates. Here, the term ‘city planner’ embraces both officials working for the city government and involved with city planning, and local politicians – the decision makers – involved with city planning. Contrary to urban intellectuals, some research has been done on the urban ideal images of planners, though hardly on the urban ideal images of city planners<sup>49</sup>.

Everyone has urban ideal images, and ‘everyone’ includes city planners. But contrary to working-class intellectuals, city planners are not supposed to act according to their personal urban ideal image, but to support one that represents the urban ideal images of various categories of people, namely an urban ideal image that is bound to serve the public interest<sup>50</sup>. Therefore, one can expect both differences and similarities between the urban ideal images of urban intellectuals and those of city planners.



Moreover, as mentioned, the public debates in coffee houses were originally meant to control and influence those in power. And today, in a democracy, ideally a planning proposal is launched in the public debate, after which the public gets the chance to react, and planners can adjust their plans accordingly. Therefore, I decided to find out whether urban intellectuals can influence the urban ideal images of city planners. Surprisingly, it appeared that no one had studied this.

## ***Variable/invariable urban ideal images***

The question whether the urban ideal images of urban intellectuals can influence the urban ideal images of city planners evokes another interesting question, that is, whether urban ideal images *can* change. One important characteristic of urban ideal images is that they tend to be conservative, stubborn as a mule, and open to exterior influences only as long as they fit in their own image. For example, Faludi and Van der Valk (1994) have described how little the urban perception of Dutch planners – which they call the ‘Dutch planning doctrine’ – changed during the 20th century despite massive changes in the societal order. Moreover, at least two phenomena described by psychologists lead one to suspect that urban ideal images are not very likely to change.

First, humans are apt to interpret new information in a way that tends to confirm their pre-existing views; this is known as ‘confirmation bias’<sup>51</sup>. Mynatt & Doherty (2002) illustrate this by showing that the majority of basketball fans believe that a player who has scored two or three goals in a row has a better chance of netting his next shot than a player who has missed two or three shots in a row, despite data showing just the opposite, thereby proving that people have a great capacity for self-delusion<sup>52</sup>. Mynatt and Doherty mentioned four different facets of confirmation bias, namely that people tend to focus on positive information, not to consider alternatives, not to look for contrary facts, and to explain away contrary facts when they happen upon them<sup>53</sup>. Thus, beliefs are supported by powerful biases, and it is possible that this may also apply to urban ideal images<sup>54</sup>.

Second, considering *dissonance theory*, there is another indication which may reduce the likelihood that urban ideal images change. “*Dissonance theory makes a straightforward prediction – the more time, money and effort people expended or invested to get something, the better they will like it, all other things being equal*”<sup>55</sup>. For example, if my friend and I both buy an *Aprillia RSV 1000 Erre Factory* (a super Italian motorbike) but my friend has to pay 1000 euros more for it, dissonance theory says that he will like his motorcycle more than I will do. According to Mynatt and Doherty (2002), a great deal of evidence supports this hypothesis<sup>56</sup>. Thus, one may expect that if urban ideal images have existed

for a while – implying that quite some time, money and effort have already been spent – it is less likely that they will be changed.

Still, psychologists have also shown us that it should not be impossible for urban ideal images to change. The ‘insufficient justification effect’ may explain why this may happen: “*This simply refers to the fact that if people engage in behavior that is inconsistent with their beliefs and if they have little justification for that inconsistency, they may change their beliefs to bring them into line with their behavior*”<sup>57</sup>. Indeed, on the basis of existing literature, one may expect that urban ideal images do not *tend* to change, although they are *able* to.

First, urban ideal images seem to be able to change with the passage of time. Lees (1985) has identified ‘...*certain rhythmic alternations of sentiment*’ regarding urban perceptions. These alternations roughly correspond to cyclical changes in the economy<sup>58</sup>. Beauregard, too, has identified a correspondence between societal developments – declining industries after WW2 – and a more gloomy perception of cities. Still, neither has identified a true change in the undertone, but only trifling differences.

Second, urban ideal images seem changeable as a result of the arrival and departure of group members, that is, *special kinds of* group members. As sociologists have shown, although of course urban ideal images cannot exist without their carriers, not all carriers are equally important for the continuation of an urban ideal image, and most of the carriers are replaceable without causing the urban ideal image to change. However, some individuals are essential for the survival of the image, and these are called, in the words of Berger and Luckmann (1991), ‘significant others’<sup>59</sup>. However, it remains unclear which urban intellectuals or city planners can be a significant other, and to what extent they cause urban ideal image to change, remains unclear.

Third, urban ideal images seem to be changeable through the influence of others, that is, non-group members. Urban ideal images are presented in city debates not as options but as models for the future city. Every single group is convinced of its rightness: their ideal is the only right one and has to be adopted by others. To gain support for their own ideal, and to reduce support for the ideal of others, special strategies are adopted. Zijderveld (1974) has mentioned five different strategies to gain support for perceptions, mainly based on Berger and Luckman’s research (1966)<sup>60</sup> supplemented with Zijderveld’s own empirical research. First, talking about the image may gain support. Second, actions – particularly noisy actions mobilizing massive amounts of people – may be used to gain support. Third, it seems helpful to label the threatening party negatively while adoring the own group’s past or present heroes or ‘saints’. Fourth, it might be helpful to make disparaging remarks or jokes about other groups. And fifth, it is important to bring in new members<sup>61</sup>. Thus, although it seems likely that urban ideal images *may* change as a result of strategies, due to a lack of

research it is unclear whether they do and, if they do, to what extent they change and what strategies are used to bring about such change.

Thus, on the basis of existing literature, one may expect that the urban ideal images of urban intellectuals and city planners do not tend to change, but are able to change. Moreover, if urban ideal images do change, we may expect them to do so with the passage of time, as a result of the arrival and departure of significant others, and/or as a result of the strategies of urban intellectuals and city planners. However, it remains to be seen what strategies these intellectuals and planners use, who does or can fulfil the role of significant other, and most importantly, what urban ideal images are carried by urban intellectuals and city planners.

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<sup>1</sup> The Economist 2-5-2002 (Vol. 368, No. 8336), p. 29

<sup>2</sup> R.A. Beauregard, *Voices of Decline. The Postwar Fate of US Cities*, Routledge, New York/London 2003, p. vi

<sup>3</sup> R.A. Beauregard, *Voices of Decline. The Postwar Fate of US Cities*, Routledge, New York/London 2003, p. viii

<sup>4</sup> C.R. Mynatt & M.E. Doherty, *Understanding Human Behaviour*, Allyn and Bacon, Boston/London/Toronto/Sydney/Tokyo/Singapore 2002, p. 79

<sup>5</sup> C.R. Mynatt & M.E. Doherty, *Understanding Human Behaviour*, Allyn and Bacon, Boston/London/Toronto/Sydney/Tokyo/Singapore 2002, p. 77

<sup>6</sup> e.g. R. Gabriëls, *Intellectuelen in Nederland. Publieke controversen over kernenergie, armoede en Rushdie*, Boom, Amsterdam 2001, p. 47

<sup>7</sup> C.R. Mynatt & M.E. Doherty, *Understanding Human Behaviour*, Allyn and Bacon, Boston/London/Toronto/Sydney/Tokyo/Singapore 2002, pp. 258-260

<sup>8</sup> C.R. Mynatt & M.E. Doherty, *Understanding Human Behaviour*, Allyn and Bacon, Boston/London/Toronto/Sydney/Tokyo/Singapore 2002, p. 263

<sup>9</sup> A.C. Zijderveld, *De relativiteit van kennis en werkelijkheid. Inleiding tot de kennissociologie*, Boom, Meppel 1974, p. 22

<sup>10</sup> D. McLellan, *Ideology. Concepts in social thought*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis 1986, p. 9

<sup>11</sup> D. McLellan, *Ideology. Concepts in social thought*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis 1986, p. 9

<sup>12</sup> K. Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia. An introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge*, Routledge & Kegan Paul LTD, London [1936] 1968, p. 40

<sup>13</sup> C. Rooijendijk, *Stedelijke Beeldvorming Amsterdam 1945-2000*, University of Amsterdam (M.A. thesis), Amsterdam 2001; C. Rooijendijk, *Aan doorbraken en dempingen went men wel*, *Agora*, 2002 (Vol. 18, No. 3), pp. 29-32; C. Rooijendijk, *Volkomen Amsterdammer*, *Groniek*, 2004 (No. 1), pp. 89-100; C. Rooijendijk, *The narrow-mindedness of contemporary devotees of cultural heritage. Cultural urban heritage in images of Amsterdam in the fifties and nineties*, In: L. Deben, W. Salet & M. van Thoor (eds), *The Future of the Historic Inner City of Amsterdam*, Aksant, Amsterdam 2004, pp. 298-311; C. Rooijendijk, *Urban ideal images in Postwar Rotterdam*, *Planning Perspectives* (forthcoming paper, accepted 2004)

<sup>14</sup> Translated from: "Van de conducteurs is 30 procent positief over de stiltezones. Van der Kar: 'Dat is veel voor conducteurs'". (*De Volkskrant* 2-9-2003, p. 15)

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<sup>15</sup> Translated from: “Wie dat niet zo ziet, moet anders kijken” (Fragment from “Mijn Liefjes Ogen”, written and sang by the Amsterdam musicians *De Dijk*)

<sup>16</sup> Mynatt & Doherty (2002) speak about *internal representations of fragments of the outside world*, Lees (1985) speaks of *perceptions* and Beauregard (1993, 2003) of *discourse on urban decline*

<sup>17</sup> C. Rooijendijk, *Stedelijke Beeldvorming Amsterdam 1945-2000*, University of Amsterdam (M.A. thesis), Amsterdam 2001; C. Rooijendijk, *Aan doorbraken en dempingen went men wel*, *Agora*, 2002 (Vol. 18, No. 3), pp. 29-32; C. Rooijendijk, *Volkomen Amsterdammer*, *Groniek*, 2004 (No. 1), pp. 89-100; C. Rooijendijk, *The narrow-mindedness of contemporary devotees of cultural heritage. Cultural urban heritage in images of Amsterdam in the fifties and nineties*, In: L. Deben, W. Salet & M. van Thoor (eds), *The future of the historic inner city of Amsterdam*, Aksant, Amsterdam 2004, pp. 298-311; C. Rooijendijk, *Urban ideal images in Postwar Rotterdam*, *Planning Perspectives* (forthcoming paper, accepted 2004)

<sup>18</sup> M. de Keizer (et al.), *Utopie. Utopisch denken, doen en bouwen in de twintigste eeuw*, Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdokumentatie/Walburg Pers, Zutphen 2002

<sup>19</sup> C. Rooijendijk, *Stedelijke Beeldvorming Amsterdam 1945-2000*, University of Amsterdam (M.A. thesis), Amsterdam 2001; C. Rooijendijk, *Aan doorbraken en dempingen went men wel*, *Agora*, 2002 (Vol. 18, No. 3), pp. 29-32; C. Rooijendijk, *Volkomen Amsterdammer*, *Groniek*, 2004 (No. 1), pp. 89-100; C. Rooijendijk, *The narrow-mindedness of contemporary devotees of cultural heritage. Cultural urban heritage in images of Amsterdam in the fifties and nineties*, In: L. Deben, W. Salet & M. van Thoor (eds), *The future of the historic inner city of Amsterdam*, Aksant, Amsterdam 2004, pp. 298-311; C. Rooijendijk, *Urban ideal images in Postwar Rotterdam*, *Planning Perspectives* (forthcoming paper, accepted 2004)

<sup>20</sup> R.A. Beauregard, *Voices of Decline. The Postwar Fate of US Cities*, Blackwell Publishers, Cambridge MA 1993; A. Lees, *Cities Perceived. Urban Society in European and American thought, 1820-1940*, Manchester University Press, Manchester 1985; M. White & L. White, *The intellectual versus the city. From Thomas Jefferson to Frank Lloyd Wright*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge MA 1962; T. Bender, *Toward an Urban Vision. Ideas and Institutions in Nineteenth-Century America*, The University Press of Kentucky, Kentucky 1975

<sup>21</sup> M. White & L. White, *The intellectual versus the city. From Thomas Jefferson to Frank Lloyd Wright*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge MA 1962

<sup>22</sup> A. Lees, *Cities Perceived. Urban Society in European and American thought, 1820-1940*, Manchester University Press, Manchester 1985, p. 307

<sup>23</sup> A. Lees, *Cities Perceived. Urban Society in European and American thought, 1820-1940*, Manchester University Press, Manchester 1985, p. 311

<sup>24</sup> A. Lees, *Cities Perceived. Urban Society in European and American thought, 1820-1940*, Manchester University Press, Manchester 1985, p. 311

<sup>25</sup> R.A. Beauregard, *Voices of Decline. The Postwar Fate of US Cities*, Routledge, New York/London 2003, p. 12

<sup>26</sup> R.A. Beauregard, *Voices of Decline. The Postwar Fate of US Cities*, Routledge, New York/London 2003, pp. 18-20

<sup>27</sup> *The Economist* 2-5-2002 (Vol. 368, No. 8336), p. 29

<sup>28</sup> M. Wagenaar, *Stedebouw en burgerlijke vrijheid. De contrasterende carrieres van zes Europese hoofdsteden*, Toth, Bussum 2001

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- <sup>29</sup> R.A. Beauregard, *Voices of Decline. The Postwar Fate of US Cities*, Routledge, New York/London 2003, pp. 19, 242
- <sup>30</sup> R.A. Beauregard, *Voices of Decline. The Postwar Fate of US Cities*, Routledge, New York/London 2003, pp. viii, 243
- <sup>31</sup> R.A. Beauregard, *Voices of Decline. The Postwar Fate of US Cities*, Routledge, New York/London 2003, pp. xi, 20, 238-245
- <sup>32</sup> R.A. Beauregard, *Voices of Decline. The Postwar Fate of US Cities*, Routledge, New York/London 2003, p. xi
- <sup>33</sup> A. Faludi & A. van der Valk, *Rule and Order. Dutch Planning Doctrine in the Twentieth Century*, Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht/Boston/London 1994; W. Korthals Altes, *De Nederlandse planningdoctrine in het fin de siècle: voorbereiding en doorwerking van de Vierde nota over de ruimtelijke ordening (Extra)*, Van Gorcum, Assen 1994
- <sup>34</sup> G. Esping-Andersen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, Polity Press, Cambridge UK, 1990. More information about the Netherlands can be found on: <http://www.worldfactsandfigures.com/countries/netherlands.php>, or: <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/nl.html> (accessed 13-9-2004)
- <sup>35</sup> R. Gabriëls, *Intellectuelen in Nederland. Publieke controversen over kernenergie, armoede en Rushdie*, Boom, Amsterdam 2001
- <sup>36</sup> D. McQuail, *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory*, Sage, London [1983] 2000, p. 157
- <sup>37</sup> J. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, MIT Press, Cambridge MA [1962] 1989; J. Kloek & W. Mijnhardt, *1800: Blauwdrukken voor een samenleving*, Sdu Uitgevers, Den Haag 2001
- <sup>38</sup> J. Curran, *Mass media and democracy revised*, In: J. Curran & M. Gurevitch (eds), *Mass Media and Society*, Edward Arnold, London 1996, p. 82
- <sup>39</sup> R. Gabriëls, *Intellectuelen in Nederland. Publieke controversen over kernenergie, armoede en Rushdie*, Boom, Amsterdam 2001
- <sup>40</sup> K. Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia. An introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge*, Routledge & Kegan Paul LTD, London [1936] 1968, p. 138
- <sup>41</sup> K. Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia. An introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge*, Routledge & Kegan Paul LTD, London [1936] 1968, p. 138
- <sup>42</sup> K. Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia. An introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge*, Routledge & Kegan Paul LTD, London [1936] 1968, pp. 130-146
- <sup>43</sup> R. Jacoby, *The Last Intellectuals. American Culture in the Age of Academe*, Basic Books, New York 1987
- <sup>44</sup> R. Jacoby, *The Last Intellectuals. American Culture in the Age of Academe*, Basic Books, New York 1987, p. 6
- <sup>45</sup> This is also illustrated by quite recent discussions in the media, for example in the Dutch weekly newsmagazine *Vrij Nederland*, which dedicated a whole number on the identity of current Dutch intellectuals (*Vrij Nederland* 9-2-2002)
- <sup>46</sup> R. Eyerman & A. Jamison, *Social Movements. A cognitive approach*, Polity Press, Oxford 1991, p. 95
- <sup>47</sup> R. Gabriëls, *Intellectuelen in Nederland. Publieke controversen over kernenergie, armoede en Rushdie*, Boom, Amsterdam 2001, p. 41
- <sup>48</sup> C. Rooijendijk, *Stedelijke Beeldvorming Amsterdam 1945-2000*, University of Amsterdam (M.A. thesis), Amsterdam 2001; C. Rooijendijk, *Aan doorbraken en dempingen went men wel*, *Agora*, 2002 (Vol. 18, No. 3), pp. 29-32; C. Rooijendijk,

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<sup>49</sup> e.g. A. Faludi & A. van der Valk, *Rule and Order. Dutch Planning Doctrine in the Twentieth Century*, Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht/Boston/London 1994; W. Korthals Altes, *De Nederlandse planningdoctrine in het fin de siècle: voorbereiding en doorwerking van de Vierde nota over de ruimtelijke ordening (Extra)*, Van Gorcum, Assen 1994; H. Berndt, *Das Gesellschaftsbild bei Stadtplanern*, Krämer, Stuttgart 1968; and see also L.A. de Klerk, *Particuliere Plannen. Denkbeelden en initiatieven van de stedelijke elite inzake de volkswoningbouw en de stedbouw in Rotterdam*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1998

<sup>50</sup> Charles Hoch, *What Planners Do: Power, Politics, and Persuasion*, Planners Press, Chicago 1994; D. Evers, *Building for Consumption: An institutional analysis of peripheral shopping center development in Northwest Europe*, David Evers (PhD thesis), Amsterdam 2004, p. 71

<sup>51</sup> P.C. Wason, On the failure to eliminate hypotheses in a conceptual task, *Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 1960 (Vol. 12), pp. 129-140; R.D. Tweney, M.E. Doherty & C.R. Mynatt, *On scientific Thinking*, Columbia University Press, New York 1981

<sup>52</sup> C.R. Mynatt & M.E. Doherty, *Understanding Human Behaviour*, Allyn and Bacon, Boston/London/Toronto/Sydney/Tokyo/Singapore 2002, pp. 200-201

<sup>53</sup> C.R. Mynatt & M.E. Doherty, *Understanding Human Behaviour*, Allyn and Bacon, Boston/London/Toronto/Sydney/Tokyo/Singapore 2002, pp. 201-206

<sup>54</sup> C.R. Mynatt & M.E. Doherty, *Understanding Human Behaviour*, Allyn and Bacon, Boston/London/Toronto/Sydney/Tokyo/Singapore 2002, p. 199

<sup>55</sup> C.R. Mynatt & M.E. Doherty, *Understanding Human Behaviour*, Allyn and Bacon, Boston/London/Toronto/Sydney/Tokyo/Singapore 2002, p. 211

<sup>56</sup> C.R. Mynatt & M.E. Doherty, *Understanding Human Behaviour*, Allyn and Bacon, Boston/London/Toronto/Sydney/Tokyo/Singapore 2002, p. 212

<sup>57</sup> Experiments done by P.G. Zimbardo, M. Weisenberg, I. Firestone & M. Levy, Communicator effectiveness in producing public conformity and private attitude change, *Journal of Personality*, 1965 (Vol. 33), pp. 233-255; and L. Festinger & J. Carlsmith (1959), Cognitive consequences of forced compliance, *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1959, (Vol. 58), pp. 203-210, in: C.R. Mynatt & M.E. Doherty, *Understanding Human Behaviour*, Allyn and Bacon, Boston/London/Toronto/Sydney/Tokyo/Singapore 2002, p. 211

<sup>58</sup> A. Lees, *Cities Perceived. Urban Society in European and American thought, 1820-1940*, Manchester University Press, Manchester 1985, p. 311

<sup>59</sup> P. Berger & T. Luckmann, *The social construction of reality. A treatise in the sociology of knowledge*, Penguin Books Ltd, London [1966] 1991, p. 169

<sup>60</sup> P. Berger & T. Luckmann, *The social construction of reality. A treatise in the sociology of knowledge*, Penguin Books Ltd, London [1966] 1991, pp. 140-142, 146

<sup>61</sup> A.C. Zijderveld, *De relativiteit van kennis en werkelijkheid. Inleiding tot de kennissociologie*, Boom, Meppel 1974, pp. 83-84



## Chapter 2 Researching Urban Ideal Images

Researching urban ideal images is a voyage of discovery. Since this research is unique, I had to find my own way into this new territory. And because the territory I entered was virgin, it is important to explain and justify the steps I took.

The literature on urban perceptions discussed in Chapter 1 lacks a sufficient description of the methods and methodology the researchers used. This gap has to be filled. The concept of urban perceptions is relatively new, and is unknown to many people. Moreover, the concept of urban perceptions, and thus of urban ideal images, is in itself not as tangible as many of the other issues human geographers and planners study, such as housing or transport. Therefore, this chapter is dedicated to the clarification and justification of my method and methodology.

### **What?**

This research was designed to answer the question: what similarities and what differences between urban ideal images in Rotterdam and Amsterdam 1945-1995 can be identified? To answer this question, I formulated the following sub-questions:

- What urban ideal images did urban intellectuals and planners articulate?
- What similarities and differences can be found between these urban ideal images, and what levels can be identified?
- To what extent did occupation, nationality and ideology influence similarities and differences between urban ideal images?
- To what extent and on what level did urban ideal images change?
- To what extent did these changes occur as a result of (a) the passage of time, (b) the arrival and departure of significant others, and (c) strategies?

This research is about urban ideal images in two Dutch cities. Needless to say (but necessary to know), it has nothing to do with ‘city marketing’, a current favourite research topic concerning images of the present situation. City marketing is about creating nice urban images in the heads of strangers – namely tourists, businessmen, foreign investors, potential inhabitants, multinationals – and is meant to seduce them into visiting, investing or settling in the city in order to enhance urban life, whereas this research is



about the urban ideal images of people who know the city very well, want their day-dreams about their future city to be put into practice, and act accordingly.

## **Where?**

The Netherlands became a monarchy in 1815. It was neutral in World War I but was invaded and occupied in 1940 by the Germans and remained under German occupation until World War II ended in 1945. Currently, it is a modern, industrialized country that covers some 40.000 sq km and accommodates about 16 million people. Unlike the United States, the Netherlands is a corporatist welfare state with features of a social-democratic welfare state<sup>1</sup>.

Probably more than any other nation in the world, the Dutch believe in the possibility of creating their land according their ideals – and they have every good reason to think they can. For centuries, the Dutch have been reclaiming land (polders) from the sea, lakes and moors, and as a result, today more than a quarter of the current country is self-made. This has induced the Dutch to use the land sparingly and usefully, planning the use of every single square metre. Even nature is made suitable for the benefit of the community; for example, it is almost impossible to find any dead tree, as they are removed very soon after they have died. The creation of a welfare state after WWII further increased the financial means for the Dutch to create a country that to a high degree is the result of realized ideals, as a famous cliché tells us: *God created the world, but the Dutch created the Netherlands*<sup>2</sup>. Because the Netherlands is so different from, for example, the United States, I thought it would be very interesting to investigate urban ideal images in Dutch cities. Surprisingly, this had not been done.

Amsterdam – capital of the Netherlands – and Rotterdam – which has the biggest harbour in the world – are the two largest cities in the Netherlands. For the sake of the reliability of this research, I wanted to study as many species of urban ideal image as possible. To improve the chances of spotting many species, I looked for very large ‘bird tables’, that is, the most controversial city debates. I therefore decided to select two cities instead of one, as it seemed likely that just one city would not provide enough controversial city debates. Moreover, since Amsterdam and Rotterdam contain the two largest urban populations in the Netherlands, the number of potential birds visiting the bird tables is the largest too. In addition, in general, large cities are often discussed: a lot happens in big cities, and many people working for news media live in them. I therefore chose to study urban ideal images in Amsterdam and Rotterdam.

## **When?**

In the light of my aim to identify changes in urban ideal images and because of their presumed conservative character, it seemed wise to take quite a long research period. Until the Second World War, urban planning in the Netherlands was mainly a private undertaking, executed by industrialists, businessmen and other private actors; governmental planning was considered a doubtful intrusion upon free entrepreneurship. But after the war, governmental planning became widely accepted by the political right and left, also as an instrument for rebuilding the national economy. Moreover, Amsterdam and especially Rotterdam suffered severe war damage, resulting in both the chance and the need to redesign the urban fabric<sup>3</sup>. I therefore chose to investigate urban ideal images in the period 1945-1995.

## **With whom?**

Because I wanted to identify the urban ideal images of urban intellectuals and city planners, I did not focus on social movements (as did, for example Mamadouh 1992<sup>4</sup>, and Eyerman and Jamison 1991<sup>5</sup>) or on the mentalities of a small though influential group of interrelated individuals (as did, for example, De Klerk 1998<sup>6</sup>): both kinds of studies included people I did not need to include, and excluded people I definitely needed in order to answer my research questions. These studies tell us everything about a particular group, and nothing about other groups. Moreover, as urban ideal images are formed in groups, it is not necessary to study all members of a particular group. To answer the research questions, it was sufficient to study the species at the bird table – urban intellectuals and city planners – because, being group representatives, they tell us enough about the urban ideal images of the groups they belong to.

This research included everyone who had participated in a selected number of city debates in Amsterdam and Rotterdam. As I studied public city debates, this research is not about intellectuals like *Anil Ramdas*, *Paul Cliteur*, *Abram de Swaan* or *Paul Scheffer* talking and writing about poverty, environmental pollution and intercultural and religious conflicts, but about their urban counterparts such as *Luud Schimmelpenninck*, *Jasper Grootveld*, *Kor Kegel* and *Geert Mak*, who are concerned with the urban fabric, that is, with the housing, urban environment, and cultural history of their cities. Moreover, I studied them together with those responsible for planning the city: city planners.

## **How?**

Because of the innovative character of my research, the design had to be descriptive and explorative, and as a result it lacks clear hypotheses. It would have been unwise to design it as a comparable study since Amsterdam and Rotterdam have different urban fabrics. For example, Amsterdam has the largest historic city centre of the Netherlands while Rotterdam's centre was completely destroyed in WWII and rebuilt according to highly modernist principles<sup>7</sup>. Therefore, both cities were regarded as suppliers of empirical data for a descriptive and explorative research.

## **Controversial city debates**

The decision to include all participants in specific city debates meant that only a limited number of the latter could be selected. In the literature on Dutch city planning, the period 1945-1995 is often subdivided into (1) 1945-1960/65, (2) 1960/65-1980/85 and (3) 1980/85-1995. In this period, two major 'turns' in planning took place. During these turns, local urban planners' ideas about how to plan their cities changed dramatically<sup>8</sup>. On the basis of historical studies of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, for each sub-period, I selected the most controversial debate in each city, which, as it appeared, automatically included the mentioned turns<sup>9</sup>. Thus, I selected six debates; more would have been practically impossible.

It turned out that the inner city was more or less involved in all six debates, not because I intended to focus on the inner city but because the inner city turned out to loosen the most tongues and thus produce the most controversial debates. This is not that strange. In a way, the inner city – particularly in Europe – belongs to all city-dwellers because of the central functions and large facilities that are located there. Moreover, it is usually the oldest part of the city, it is undeniably connected with the history of the city and the historic city itself, it has been part of human memory for the longest, and many people have formed a strong attachment to this quarter. Still, the themes of the selected debates differ over time and between the two cities, ranging from the building of a metro system in the 1970s to waterfront regeneration in the 1990s.

To be able to identify the influence of urban intellectuals in public city debates on urban ideal images of city planners in city plans, it was important to determine the beginning and the end of controversial debates as precisely as possible. I therefore determined, on the basis of existing literature on the urban history of both cities, the tentative beginning and end of the chosen debates. I then studied newspapers printed before these tentative beginnings and after the tentative ends to find out whether the themes of the city debates indeed were not discussed before the tentative beginnings and not after the tentative ends. This led to the conclusion that I had established the beginnings and ends correctly. And while the city

debates started due to planning proposals from both urban intellectuals and city planners, I found that the debates always ended with final city plans decreed by the local city councils. Thus, fortunately, I could kill two birds with one stone: I could study the influence of the public debate on final city plans and correctly determine when the debates ended.

## **Methods for gathering empirical data**

As I was looking for sources that would enable me to answer the research questions best, I decided not to use written or verbal surveys. One disadvantage of surveys is the unavoidable influence of both the writer of the questions and the interviewer<sup>10</sup>. Writers and interviewers simply cannot avoid influencing the answers of their interviewees. Moreover, people are not always that willing to talk about their past urban ideal images, and are hardly capable of doing so<sup>11</sup>. The problem of interviewing participants in debates about former ideals is the unverifiable and unavoidable reinterpretation of original ideas and goals. Besides, some of the participants in the debates are now as dead as a doornail. Following Beauregard (1993, 2003), I wanted to study the debates as they were written and heard by people at the time. Doing research over such a long period and aiming to compare urban ideal images limits the sources that can be chosen. As a result, I decided to focus on written sources only and to make newspapers my primary source.

Newspapers provide a constant source over time. Of all the alternatives, newspapers seemed by far the most ideal source. Having said that, a few notes must be made. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the first prototypical newspaper appeared, issued on a regular basis. It had a public character, multiple purposes and was openly for sale. In the first instance, newspapers were primarily meant for urban-based business and professional people, and provided information, records, advertising, diversion and gossip<sup>12</sup>. Later, the newspaper became one of many means of mass media meant to reach a mass public, which has consequences for the content of newspapers. As Beauregard (1993) and McQuail (2003) have stated, because mass media like newspapers need their readers to remain subscribers, they write about themes they think their readers will appreciate. Consequently, it may be harder for a newspaper to pay attention to the voices of minorities – to the diversity of visions in a particular society. But, conversely, newspapers help individuals to construct, maintain or alter their ideals, which may itself have an effect on diversity<sup>13</sup>.

The extent to which mass media in general and newspapers in particular influence society is highly controversial: some people think that the media simply provide information and mirror the world, while others think that the media is pure propaganda, promoting the dominant perception. Following Schudson (1995), I think that the media are both, or neither.

Schudson has shown that the media are not that powerful, and that it was not the media that turned the public against the Vietnam War, or brought down Richard Nixon. Instead, the media mediate: by making knowledge public, they actually change the character of knowledge and allow people to act on that knowledge in new and significant ways<sup>14</sup>.

The degree to which newspaper journalists are able to objectively report the news is also highly controversial. Van Dijk (1985), for example, has shown that differences between the ideological principles of newspapers result in reporters describing the same phenomena differently<sup>15</sup>. In my view, it is at least difficult for reporters to report objectively. I therefore decided to include as many different newspapers – that is newspapers based on different ideological principles – as possible. Moreover, to solve the problem of large newspapers having difficulty paying attention to minorities, I included national, regional and local newspapers. As a result, my source comprised over 40 different newspapers, which are briefly described in figure 2. As some newspapers are closely related to Dutch political parties, I include a brief overview of Dutch political parties in figure 3. Henceforth, I shall use the official names of the political parties only, and not include a description<sup>16</sup>.

**Figure 2 Brief description of newspapers included in the research**

*De Tijd* (1845-1959): Catholic, daily newspaper.  
*De Maasbode* (1868-1959): Roman Catholic, daily newspaper.  
*De Tijd* and *De Maasbode* merged temporarily into *De Tijd/Maasbode* (1959-1965). Was continued as *De Tijd* (1965-1974).  
*De Nieuwe Dag* (1932-1959): Catholic, daily newspaper. Became a supplement of *De Tijd/Maasbode*.  
*Reformatorisch Dagblad* (since 1971): Dutch reformed (Protestant), daily newspaper.  
*De Telegraaf* (1893-1945 and since 1949 (had been pro-German during the war and therefore was officially banned for a couple of years): Right-wing, conservative, populist, daily newspaper.  
*Algemeen Dagblad* (since 1946): Right-wing, populist, daily newspaper.  
*Het Nieuws van de Dag* (1870-1998): Moderate liberal, daily newspaper.  
*De Rotterdammer* (1903-1975): Christian, daily newspaper. Was continued as *Trouw* (since 1975): Christian, daily newspaper.  
*Nederlands Dagblad* (since 1944): Christian, daily newspaper.  
*Het Vrije Volk* (1945-1986): Social Democratic, daily newspaper; closely related to the political party SDAP.  
*Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* (1982-1991): Daily newspaper for the Randstad, generally known as a city planner mouthpiece. Merged with *Het Vrije Volk* into *Rotterdams Dagblad* (since 1991): Regional daily newspaper.  
*Het Zuiden* (since 1928), from about 1984 a free, weekly Rotterdam newspaper.

*Algemeen Handelsblad* (1828-1970): Liberal, daily newspaper.

*Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (1844-1970): Liberal, daily newspaper.

*Algemeen Handelsblad & Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* merged into *NRC-Handelsblad* (since 1970), Liberal, intellectual, daily newspaper.

*De Volkskrant* (1919-1941 and since 1945): Originally a Catholic trade union newspaper, but became a left-wing, intellectual, daily newspaper

*Het Parool* (since 1941): Originally an illegal, anti-German underground newspaper during WWII.

*Nieuw Utrechts Dagblad* (1946-1982): Daily newspaper for the Utrecht region. Became a supplement of *Het Parool* in 1982.

*De Waarheid* (1947-1990): Communist, daily newspaper, issued by the political party CPN.

*Rotterdams Stadsblad/De Havenloods* (since 1951): Free local weekly newspaper, generally known as a mouthpiece for neighbourhood groups.

*De Groene Amsterdammer* (1877-1940 and since 1945): Radical, progressive, left-wing, weekly newsmagazine.

*Schager Courant* (1945-1995): Local newspaper, merged with several other local newspapers into (and became a special edition of) *Noordhollands Dagblad* (since 1995), Regional daily newspaper.

*Nieuwe Noord Hollandse Courant* (1945-2003): Regional daily newspaper, became a special edition of *Noordhollands Dagblad*.

*De Noord Amsterdammer* (1945-1992): Free, local Amsterdam newspaper.

*Haagse Post* (1914-1969): Social liberal, weekly newsmagazine. Merged with *De Tijd* into *HP/De Tijd* (since 1990): Moderate progressive, weekly newsmagazine.

*Elsevier* (since 1880): Moderate liberal, weekly newsmagazine.

*Vrij Nederland* (since 1940): Originally an illegal, anti-German underground newspaper. Left-wing, weekly newsmagazine.

*Intermediair* (since 1965): Weekly magazine, mainly for job vacancies (Higher & university educated).

*Het Financieele Dagblad* (since 1943): Financial, daily newspaper.

*Cobouw* (since 1937): Daily newspaper for trade and industry.

*Economisch Dagblad: handels & transportcourant* (1972-1987): An almost daily (5x a week) newspaper for trade and industry.

*Typhoon* (1944-1992): Originally an illegal, anti-German underground newspaper. Daily newspaper for the region Zaanstreek.

*Wieringer Weekblad, Gooi- en Eemlander, Weekblad Schuttevaer, Alkmaarse Courant, Haarlems Dagblad, and Dagblad van Noord-Limburg*: Regional daily and weekly newspapers.

*Amsterdams Nieuwsblad, Amsterdams Stadsblad, and Echo*: Free local weekly Amsterdam newspapers.<sup>17</sup>

### Figure 3 Brief description of Dutch political parties

SDAP (1894-1946): *Sociaal Democratische Arbeiderspartij*. Social democratic, labour party, anti-militaristic, socialist. Closely related to the newspaper *Het Vrije Volk*.

VDB (1901-1946): *Vrijzinnig Democratische Bond*. Left-wing, liberal party.

CDU (1926-1946): *Christelijk-Democratische Unie*. Protestant-Christians democratic party, anti-militaristic.

SDAP, VDB, and CDU merged into PvdA (since 1946): *Partij van de Arbeid*. Social democratic party.

DS'70 (1970-1983): *Democratisch-Socialisten 1970*. Social democratic party, broken away from PvdA. Wim Drees Jr was one of the leaders of DS'70 and son of Willem (Wim) Drees (SDAP, PvdA), one of the most important post-war prime ministers of the Netherlands.

KVP (1945-1980): *Katholieke Volkspartij*. Catholic people's party.

ARP (1879-1980): *Anti-Revolutionaire Partij*. Christian democratic, Protestant, antirevolutionary party.

CHU (1908-1980): *Christelijk-Historische Unie*. Christian democratic party, mainly Dutch Reformed.

KVP, ARP, and CHU merged into CDA (since 1980): *Christen-Democratisch Appèl*. Christian democratic party.

CPN (1935-1990): *Communistische Partij van Nederland*. Communist party.

PPR (1968-1990): *Politieke Partij Radicalen*. Radical Christian party, broken away from ARP and, mostly, KVP.

PSP (1957-1990): *Pacifistisch-Socialistische Partij*. Pacifist, socialist party, wanted to reform society.

EVP (1981-1990): *Evangelische Progressieve Volkspartij*. Evangelical, progressive people's party.

CPN, PPR, PSP and EVP merged into Groen Links (since 1990): Left-wing, progressive, socialist Green Party.

PvdV (1946-1948): *Partij van de Vrijheid*. Liberal party.

PvdV merged with some liberal-minded members of the PvdA into VVD (since 1948): *Volkspartij voor de Vrijheid en Democratie*. Liberal party.

D66 (since 1966), *Democraten 1966*. Social-liberal party.

Boerenpartij (1958-1981). Very right-wing political party, initially for and of farmers.

CD (1984-1994): *Centrum Democraten*. Ultra right-wing, racist, xenophobic political party.<sup>18</sup>

Newspapers were my main source, although I also consulted other sources. First, I studied all books, journals, protest papers and reports of hearings that were mentioned in the newspaper contributions to the selected debates. In my view, it is only when books, journals and protest papers are discussed in newspapers that these contributions form part of the public debate. As a result, I have mostly not included, for example, the countless number of pamphlets, neighbourhood newsletters and action group newspapers that were printed and distributed in the turbulent 1960s and 1970s. Although these writings reveal a lot about the urban ideal images of the groups involved, most of them were not part of the public debate in the sense that they were discussed (except by those who had produced them and perhaps a few others). But those which did receive public attention (i.e. those books, journals and protest papers which were discussed in newspapers) were included in this research, and provided extra information about urban ideal images.

Second, to acquire information about the urban ideal images of city planners, I studied all planning proposals and city plans that were presented between the beginning and the end of the selected city debates, supplemented with the contributions of city planners to these debates. Thereby, whenever city planners explicitly mentioned that they were speaking as a private person, they were regarded as an urban intellectual. In addition, to gain supplementary information about the influence of the public debate on final city plans, I also studied reports of council meetings from the beginning to the end of the selected city debates. I did so in order to establish whether city planners were informed about the urban ideal images articulated in the city debates; the thought behind this was that the influence of urban intellectuals on the urban ideal images of city planners would have been possible only if city planners knew about these urban ideal images, which these council meetings would show. In addition, I wanted to study the reactions of city planners to these public debates and the process of adopting or rejecting the ideas of urban intellectuals, again to determine the influence of urban intellectuals on the urban ideal images of city planners.

All empirical material was found in two wonderful treasure houses: the Municipal Archives of Amsterdam and those of Rotterdam. In Rotterdam, newspaper articles before 1993 were not electronically catalogued, which meant I had to work with card index boxes. Per subject, these cards referred to articles by telling newspaper title and date. Thus, each time, I had to go through the entire newspaper (on microfiche) to find the relevant article. Since the subjects on these cards were quite general, I checked all potential subjects relevant to our selected debates. In Amsterdam, most of the material has been electronically catalogued. In these electronic catalogues, and in some card index boxes, references are made to boxes with relevant, cut-out articles. Remarkably, it turned out that Amsterdam has more different newspapers than Rotterdam, which meant



that I studied more papers in Amsterdam than in Rotterdam. The books, journals, protest papers, neighbourhood newspapers and city plans were studied in the libraries of both archives.

In total, I studied 84 contributions related to the first debate (Basisplan, Rotterdam); 136 related to the second (Kaasjager, Amsterdam); 391 related to the third (the rehabilitation and redevelopment of 19<sup>th</sup> century neighbourhoods, Rotterdam); 702 related to the fourth (the metro, Amsterdam); 280 related to the fifth (Kop van Zuid, Rotterdam); and 529 related to the sixth (IJ-oever, Amsterdam) – a total of 2122 contributions published in more than 40 daily and weekly newspapers, and in journals, brochures, reports and in books.

## **Analysing data**

### *Identifying changes in urban ideal images*

To identify to what extent urban ideal images changed, I needed to construct a point of departure, namely a body of knowledge in 1945. According to Hall (1988): “*Much if not most of what has happened – for good or for ill – to the world’s cities, in the years since World War Two, can be traced back to the ideas of a few visionaries (...)*”. Hall mentioned the names of, amongst others, Howard, Unwin, Geddes, Mumford and Le Corbusier<sup>19</sup>, and called them the ‘founding fathers’:

*...there are just a few key ideas in 20th century planning which re-echo and recycle and reconnect. Each in turn stems from one key individual, or at most a small handful of such: the true founding fathers of modern planning (there were, alas, almost no founding mothers; of the consequences, the reader must judge)<sup>20</sup>.*

To capture the ideas of these founding fathers, I selected various sources. I took the works of Bosma (1993) and Van der Cammen and De Klerk (1986, 2003) as a starting point<sup>21</sup>. It appears from these studies that there is widespread agreement that people who wrote papers for the *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924*<sup>22</sup> influenced Dutch post-war planning<sup>23</sup>. There is, however, no consensus on the influence of CIAM (*Congrès Internationaux d’Architecture Moderne*, which was established in 1928). Although various studies stress the importance of CIAM, and particularly the 1933 Charter of Athens, now and again this influence is contested. For example, Van der Woud (1983)<sup>24</sup> and Gold (1998)<sup>25</sup> tried to refute this widely supported idea by attempting to prove the relative unimportance of CIAM. They stated that CIAM, and particularly Le Corbusier, was capturing and asserting retrospective ownership of ideas that in 1933 were already quite well developed.

According to Van der Woud (1983), CIAM did not have much influence on pre-war planning and certainly not on post-war urban planning. In addition, he stated that CIAM's ideas were not new, but had been elaborated and practiced long before CIAM described them<sup>26</sup>. According to van der Woud, the Charter of Athens was published only in relatively obscure periodicals, and the idea that CIAM was influential is based not on facts but on CIAM propaganda<sup>27</sup>. On the other hand, although the Charter of Athens may not have been published on a large scale, it might be that the practical implications of the CIAM concept were in the hearts and heads of the Amsterdam and Rotterdam planning officers, as is shown by, for example, the General Extension Plan for Amsterdam, 1935 (*Amsterdam Algemeen Uitbreidingsplan, AUP*). Moreover, it had been Amsterdam architects organized in *De 8*, and their Rotterdam colleagues organized in *De Opbouw* who were among the most active contributors to CIAM meetings, both before and after the war. As a result, Van der Woud's statement might apply to cities like Nijmegen and Breda, but not to Amsterdam and Rotterdam<sup>28</sup>.

Of course, as mentioned, many ideas about spatial planning are not new but have existed for centuries<sup>29</sup>. But the date an idea was first written down is not as interesting as knowing when an idea was first *read and accepted* as a coherent concept for urban planning. The fact that Joseph Stübben and Rudolf Eberstadt described a separation of urban functions in 1890 and 1909, respectively<sup>30</sup> - thus proving that this idea was not new in 1933 - does not in itself prove that Dutch planners had read and accepted that concept before 1933. Thus, I did not want and did not need to exclude the possibility that urban planners in Amsterdam and Rotterdam were influenced by CIAM. In my view, therefore, it is quite acceptable to include both the *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam* and the Charter of Athens in my reconstruction of the body of knowledge in 1945.

Thus, I have studied papers written for the *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924*<sup>31</sup>; reports on this conference (1924)<sup>32</sup>; Bosma's dissertation (1993)<sup>33</sup>, which provides extra information on the people who wrote papers for this conference as well as information about other presumed founding fathers who did not write a paper for the congress; and the Charter of Athens (1933) as described by De Klerk (1980)<sup>34</sup> and Van Geuns (1974)<sup>35</sup>. Although I am aware that I have probably not truly solved the problem of the origins of ideas, as Hall (1988) has stated: "*As usual, history is a seamless web, a Gordian knot, requiring some more-or-less arbitrary unpickings in order to get started*"<sup>36</sup>.

**Figure 4 The body of knowledge of urban planning, 1945<sup>37</sup>**

**Elements regarding the city as a whole**

*Orientation in city planning*

- a. Backwards. Idealize the bygone<sup>38</sup>
- b. Forward. Idealize the future<sup>39</sup>

*Focus of planning*

- a. History, community, nature<sup>40</sup>
- b. Trade & industry<sup>41</sup>

*Basis of city plan*

- a. Survey done by specialists<sup>42</sup>

*Character of city plan*

- a. Flexible plan, not detailed, open to continuous revision<sup>43</sup>
- b. No formalism/conservatism, no modernism/romanticism but embroider on tradition<sup>44</sup>
- c. Formalism<sup>45</sup>

*Planning actors*

- a. Full scope for individual initiatives (government control as lax as possible)<sup>46</sup>
- b. Full scope for local, regional and national governments<sup>47</sup>

*Role of the public in city planning*

- a. Plans should be supported by a powerful body of public opinion<sup>48</sup>

*City plan in relation to the city's environment*

- a. City as part of a larger whole: the region. City plan should be drawn in relation to regional developments<sup>49</sup>

*Accent city-countryside*

- a. Countryside for the purpose of the city<sup>50</sup>
- b. Restore balance between city and countryside by strengthening the countryside<sup>51</sup>

*Border between city and countryside*

- a. Clear, sharp<sup>52</sup>
- b. Gradual transition<sup>53</sup>
- c. Faded: penetrate countryside into the city<sup>54</sup>

*City extension*

- a. Satellite town<sup>55</sup>
- b. Garden cities<sup>56</sup>
- c. Suburbanization (concentric)<sup>57</sup>
- d. Radial belts along arterial roads & surrounded by nature<sup>58</sup>

*City size*

- a. Can be large/infinite but has to be green & not too high, etc.<sup>59</sup>
- b. Small/limited cities<sup>60</sup>

*Classifying urban parts*

- a. City centre top of the urban hierarchy<sup>61</sup>
- b. Decentralization in smaller, equally important towns or urban quarters<sup>62</sup>

*City functions*

- a. Zoned<sup>63</sup>
- b. Mixed<sup>64</sup>

*Architecture & building materials*

- a. Contemporary architecture, experimental modern building materials<sup>65</sup>
- b. Harmonious architecture<sup>66</sup>
- c. Architecture as a side issue. Introducing harmony leads to grievous monotony<sup>67</sup>

*Heights & density of the city*

- a. High/variable/sliding building heights & density, declining towards edges of city<sup>68</sup>
- b. Height of buildings dependable on land use (efficiency)<sup>69</sup>
- c. Low-rise buildings & low density<sup>70</sup>

*Building heights*

- a. No limit on high-rise buildings<sup>71</sup>
- b. Limit on height of high-rise buildings<sup>72</sup>
- c. No high-rise buildings<sup>73</sup>

*History*

- a. Keep in mind historical development & future possibilities (comprehensive redevelopment)<sup>74</sup>
- b. Preservation of valuable historic places and buildings<sup>75</sup>
- c. Pattern of living riddled with history (rehabilitation)<sup>76</sup>

## **Elements regarding dwelling**

### *Location dwelling*

- a. New neighbourhoods far from industrial areas and existing built-up areas and bordered by open space filled with light & air<sup>77</sup>
- b. New workers' neighbourhoods adjacent to industrial areas<sup>78</sup>

### *Structure dwellings*

- a. Decentralized, pre-industrial, autonomous settlements around a village square (Brink)<sup>79</sup>
- b. Decentralized housing communities without through traffic & lots of green/nature<sup>80</sup>

### *Location of upscale houses*

- a. Prohibit housing for well-to-do at the best locations as regards pleasure in nature<sup>81</sup>
- b. Housing for the well-to-do at nice locations (e.g. along the river)<sup>82</sup>

### *Focus of dwelling provision*

- a. Focus on social housing<sup>83</sup>
- b. Focus on upscale housing<sup>84</sup>

### *Character of individual houses*

- a. Identifiable houses<sup>85</sup>
- b. Homogenous whole<sup>86</sup>

### *Character of building blocks*

- a. Open building blocks<sup>87</sup>
- b. Closed building blocks<sup>88</sup>

## **Elements regarding work**

### *Location of businesses and services*

- a. Centralization of businesses & services in one influential city centre<sup>89</sup>
- b. Businesses & services located in many rather than one influential city centre<sup>90</sup>

### *Location of industries*

- a. Decentralization of industries into accessible industrial areas<sup>91</sup>
- b. Trade & industry within urban neighbourhoods<sup>92</sup>

## **Elements regarding leisure**

### *Green elements*

- a. Parks, gardens, playgrounds, sport grounds, existing waterfronts in new and old neighbourhoods and industrial areas<sup>93</sup>
- b. Unbroken green arterial as a respiratory organ<sup>94</sup>

### *Green buffers*

- a. Open spaces as a buffer around built-up areas and roads<sup>95</sup>
- b. No buffers but nature integrated into the city<sup>96</sup>

### *Nature*

- a. Nature subordinate to commercial development<sup>97</sup>
- b. Preservation of existing 'natural' monuments mainly outside the city<sup>98</sup>
- c. Bringing nature into the city<sup>99</sup>

### *Waterfronts*

- a. Commercial use. Spaces and piers not used by trade and commerce, used for recreation and yacht landings: enjoyment of waterfronts<sup>100</sup>
- b. Non-commercial use. Waterfronts preserved for non-commercial reasons<sup>101</sup>

## **Elements regarding transport**

### *Focus*

- a. Fast & efficient transport between industrial areas, residential areas and recreation areas. Rationally designed<sup>102</sup>
- b. Preserved old street pattern. Limit width of roads to enlarge recreational facilities<sup>103</sup> or because they are unaesthetic<sup>104</sup>

### *Mobility*

- a. Limit mobility by localizing life for reasons of efficiency (to keep roads fast)<sup>105</sup>
- b. Meet mobility needs by constructing roads (to keep roads fast)<sup>106</sup>

### *Traffic types*

- a. Zoning traffic types<sup>107</sup>
- b. Mixing traffic types<sup>108</sup>

In the above figure, I divided urban ideal images into several elements, classified and described in general terms, so that I could use them to identify changes of urban ideal images over time, in Amsterdam and Rotterdam. But

in order to identify differences and similarities between urban ideal images, I had to reorganize the elements in the figure into a useful instrument for analyzing urban ideal images.

### ***Identifying differences and similarities between urban ideal images***

The existing literature provided indications that the elements captured in figure 4 would not appear randomly in countless combinations by the urban intellectuals and city planners I would study, but instead could be classified along two major lines. Françoise Choay (1969) has described these lines, and calls them the ‘culturalist’ and the ‘progressist’ model, both of which were developed in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century. The models were formed against the background of discontent with the 19<sup>th</sup> century urban fabric<sup>109</sup>. The 19<sup>th</sup> century had brought not only technological progress but also the explosive and chaotic growth of cities. Progressists were progressive in outlook, regarded the chaotic situation as temporary, as a phase that had to be gone through in order to reach the most perfect future city, like puberty before adulthood. On the contrary, culturalists nourished the past, were nostalgic, envied both present and future, and thought that the future city should have the characteristics of the ancient Greek city and the tight-knit organic communities of the Middle Ages. Of course, the split between those who look towards the future and those who look back at the past is a common phenomenon and is as old as the hills. Rembrandt Harmenszoon van Rijn, the famous Dutch painter, had a great aversion to new developments in Amsterdam, where he lived from 1633 until 1669. While rich merchants settled themselves along the brand-new canal belt, Hendrick de Keyser constructed the Exchange, the *Westerkerk*, *Noorderkerk*, *Oosterkerk*, *Zuiderkerk* (churches) were built, and Jacob van Campen’s Theatre and his new Town Hall arose on Dam Square, Rembrandt looked towards the past. He turned his back on the new great glory of Amsterdam and excluded these new developments from his paintings<sup>110</sup>. However, Choay managed to take a step further and to link ideas regarding the desired layout of the city to this commonly known dichotomy. The resulting rearrangement of the elements that were captured in figure 4 can be seen in table 1.

**Table 1 The culturalist and the progressist model of planning**

	<b>Culturalist</b>	<b>Progressist</b>
<b>General</b>		
<b>Orientation</b>	Backwards, idealize bygone, regressive	Forward, idealize the future, progressive
<b>Focus of planning</b>	History, community, nature	Trade & industry
<b>Border between city and countryside</b>	Clear	No clear borders: penetrate countryside into the city
<b>City functions</b>	Mixed	Zoned
<b>City extension</b>	Concentrated, compact cities. Anti-tentacular suburbs	Spread-out, linear city
<b>City size</b>	Small and small-scaled, the perfect cultural whole of the past	Infinite, green, large-scaled
<b>Architecture &amp; building materials</b>	Manmade, as diverse as in nature, identifiable, based on aesthetics. Anti-straight lines, regularity and symmetry	Contemporary architecture, experimental modern building materials. Harmonious architecture: standardization, based on pragmatics. The right-angle, straight lines and a simple geometric order
<b>Height &amp; density of the city</b>	Variable & sliding building heights and density, declining towards the city's outskirts	Low-rise buildings & low density
<b>History</b>	Pattern of living riddled with history	Keep in mind historical development & future possibilities
<b>Dwelling</b>		
<b>Location</b>	Mixed with other functions, inside city	New neighbourhoods far from industrial areas and existing built-up areas and bordered by open space filled with light & air
<b>Structure</b>	Decentralized, pre-industrial, autonomous settlements around a village square (Brink), tightly knit (Gemeinschaft)	Decentralized housing communities without through traffic & lots of green/nature, (satellite cities)
<b>Character of individual houses &amp; housing blocks</b>	Identifiable houses	Homogenous whole, unit of housing for thousands of people (super-blocks).



		Standardized models of housing
<b>Stratification</b>	Houses representing social inequality	Houses concealing/eradicating social inequality
<b>Work</b>		
<b>Location of businesses and services</b>	Businesses & services located within neighbourhoods or in various centres. Centre with a town square & humanly scaled as a living room	Centralization of businesses & services in one accessible, influential city centre
<b>Location of industries</b>	Trade & industry within urban neighbourhoods. Anti-industrial areas at the city's outskirts	Decentralization of industry into accessible industrial areas at the city's outskirts
<b>Leisure</b>		
<b>Green elements</b>	Little green (continuous urban fabric)	Unbroken green arterial as a respiratory organ
<b>Green buffers</b>	No buffers	Open spaces as buffers around built-up areas and roads
<b>Nature</b>	Nature outside city	Bringing nature into the city
<b>Transport</b>		
<b>Focus</b>	Bendy roads for reasons of aesthetics	Fast & efficient transport between industrial areas, residential areas and recreational areas
<b>Design</b>	Ring roads, rich network of pathways	Radial transport pattern
<b>Mobility</b>	Meet needs of mobility by constructing roads	Meet mobility needs by constructing roads (to keep roads fast)
<b>Priority</b>	Pedestrians	Motorists <sup>111</sup>

If one compares table 1 with figure 4, it is noticeable that not all elements of the latter were mentioned by Choay, and that some elements described by Choay are not in it. It is also noticeable that some founding fathers are classified as both progressist and culturalist. Further, while in table 1 there are always just two, totally opposite visions mentioned regarding an issue, from figure 4 it appears that hybrid visions are also possible. This was also observed by Mamadouh (1992), who used these two models, among other things, for her research into social movements<sup>112</sup>. Choay explains this by stating that both models should be regarded as polar models, whereby individuals can mention elements that belong to both poles but predominantly belong to just one of them, and to a higher or lesser degree.

As an illustration, she mentions the example of Ebenezer Howard: although Howard's garden city includes the progressist element of zoning, it also condemns standardization and encourages variety in the handling of space and building, shows respect for the medieval town and requires precise limitations in space— elements that belong to the culturalist model<sup>113</sup>.

Choay's dichotomy of progressists/culturalists seemed very suitable for my research into urban ideal images. The elements described in table 1 were mostly not at all new. Eugène Haussmann's plan for Paris (1850) contained a separation of traffic types and green arteries as nature, was based on a survey and was meant to be kept flexible. In addition, Frederick Law Olmsted's design for New York's Central Park (1857) was based on a separation of traffic types, too, aiming for a recreational area inside the city to diminish the contrast between city and countryside<sup>114</sup>. In fact, there was a separation of work and housing in Amsterdam as early as the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when canal belt was constructed<sup>115</sup>. But although one might expect the elements of figure 4 and table 1 to be outdated during my research period, as Mamadouh (1992) has shown us these two models could to a large extent still be applied to conflicts between social movements and the local authorities in Amsterdam regarding the future of the city in the period 1960s-early 1980s.

I used table 1 as the starting point for my research. I expected elements of table 1 to be applicable to the urban ideal images of the urban intellectuals and city planners I would study, but did not know to what extent. Moreover, I expected table 1 to change as a result of the data I obtained from my empirical research, although again I did not know to what extent. Thereby, I did not know to what extent these new elements would be similar to the elements of figure 4 that were not described by Choay, nor to what extent they would be truly new elements. What I did expect was that I would be able to add some new elements describing the inner city in particular. From Van der Cammen and De Klerk (2003)<sup>116</sup>, we know that pre- 1940 planning focussed mostly on urban extension plans, and that the inner city developed more or less 'naturally' as a business district serving the whole city. But after 1945, ideas about the layout of the city centre and how to guide the central business district process with city planning were developed – which I expected to come to light in the urban ideal images of the urban intellectuals and city planners. But there is more to it.

On the basis of existing literature, I cannot but conclude that urban ideal images seem to be manifest at hierarchically structured levels, although previous authors have not used such terminology. The highest level – which I shall call level 1 – is the undertone, that particular element of the urban ideal image that is shared by almost everyone. It is the level described by Beauregard as 'voices of decline', or declining cities. Despite a shared level 1, differences between urban ideal images can manifest themselves on lower

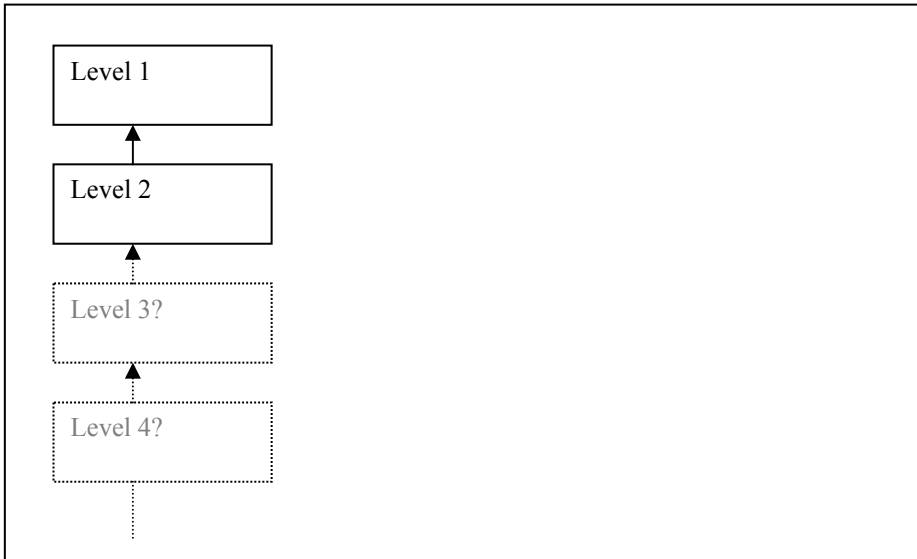
levels, which can change without changing level 1. Healey (1999), who was studying the location of businesses, stated that:

*New phrases and ideas, and new proposals, may appear in plan texts or in justificatory vocabularies, as the planning policy authors are exposed to shifting ideas. But these may be merely a cosmetic surface on policy frameworks which remain largely intact*<sup>117</sup>.

In fact, it appears that levels of urban ideal images have to be seen in a causal connection whereby urban policies seem to belong to a lower level, and are meant to realize or maintain level 1 (figure 5). For example, in England and the US, investment in suburbs instead of executing urban regeneration plans enhances the level 1 of declining cities. Inversely, the schemes of Eugène Haussmann, with their wide boulevards and the separation of city functions, were meant to realize an attractive centre for the French urban elite and thus a flourishing Paris. These levels can be compared to a house a couple has just bought. Both want a most perfect future home (level 1), and luckily it is at the very right spot. Although their ideas about how to design the interior may differ dramatically— one may want a modern interior while the other prefers period furniture and Greek pillars (lower level(s)) – these interiors are both meant to realize their shared ideal: their perfect future home (level 1). How many levels of urban ideal images can be placed in a causal connection remains to be seen.

Thus, urban ideal images can be divided into several elements that seem to manifest themselves on different levels. As a result, I expected to be able to add to and rearrange the elements in table 1. In any case, level 1 was missing from table 1 and therefore I expected to find at least 2 levels, but had no clue how many more levels there would be. Thus, I classified the elements that were derived from my empirical research in adjusted versions of table 1, on the basis of differences and similarities between urban ideal images, into several levels. As a result, I shall give a more complete version of figure 5 in Chapter 9.

**Figure 5 Levels urban ideal images**



As my goal was to categorize urban ideal images, I made the first two categories ‘culturalists’ and ‘progressists’, and the third, ‘city planners’. As I was interested in the differences between the urban ideal images of city planners and those of urban intellectuals, I needed the artificial third category, although it was likely that it would show most resemblance to either the first or the second category. Mamadouh (1992) has shown that city planners in Amsterdam from the 1960s to the early 1980s held ideas that belonged mostly to the progressist model, and thus it was likely that I would find the same<sup>118</sup>. I further elaborated the research on the basis of these three categories.

The research questions were answered for these three categories. Thus, on the basis of the urban ideal images articulated in the selected city debates, individuals were put in a certain category. Then, for each category, I described the similarities and differences between the urban ideal images, as well as the similarities and differences between the three categories. Moreover, I identified and described for each category the changes of urban ideal images over time. These similarities and differences, both in time and between each other, were structured hierarchically into different levels. In addition, I studied and described for each category the factors that are regarded to influence the differences and similarities between urban ideal images and over time.

As Lees (1985) has shown, level 1 is influenced by nationality, resulting in differing levels 1 between countries<sup>119</sup>. While in post-war Great Britain and the United States, level 1 can be described as declining cities, in

France, level 1 seems to consist of more flourishing cities. Moreover, despite similarities regarding the undertone, Lees touched upon some differences of opinion between people. His conclusion was that there is a correlation between both occupation and ideology on the one hand, and one particular element (i.e. 'Orientation', figure 4) of the urban ideal image on the other hand. People with a creative job (novelists, poets, all-purpose cultural philosophers, etc.) and people who are a medical doctor or a clergyman, or/and who are socially, politically and culturally conservative – whether right- or left-wingers – tend to look backwards, idealizing past cities, feeling nostalgic sympathy for the bygone, and especially for the Middle Ages. On the contrary, economists, economic historians, architects, planners etc., and/or those who support a liberal ideology, feel sympathy for the future, for growth, for changes for the better<sup>120</sup>. However, it of course remained unclear to what extent occupation and ideology influenced the other elements of the urban ideal images that I studied in this research and on what level that occurred.

To determine the influence of nationality, ideology and occupation on differences and similarities between urban ideal images, I had to identify the occupation and ideology of both the urban intellectuals and the city planners (their nationality, of course, was clear). Ideology is both a highly elusive concept and a very controversial concept<sup>121</sup>, and for the sake of safety I decided to use it in as general a sense as possible, namely as it is defined in the largest Dutch dictionary (*Van Dale Groot woordenboek der Nederlandse taal*)<sup>122</sup>: “a complex of ideas, underlying a philosophical system connected with their social or political purport”. Of course, the occupation of city planners was clear, and the ideology of the political party city planners would be easy to identify. To identify the occupation and ideology of urban intellectuals, I decided not to study additional sources. This was done mainly for practical reasons, namely a lack of time to study even more. However, it turned out that I was able to determine from the 2122 selected contributions the occupation and ideology of most urban intellectuals. Moreover, it is of course not necessary to know the occupation and ideology of every single individual in a category to draw a quite reliable picture of that category.

To determine the influence of time, of the arrival and departure of significant others, and of strategies on changes in urban ideal images, I had to acquire some more information. To determine the influence of time, I identified and described Dutch societal changes and international developments throughout the research period. The influence of significant others on urban ideal images was more difficult to identify. Significant others can be identified only if the members of a group are known, and because of the research design, this applied only to the third category. As a result, I could identify the influence of significant others on urban ideal images only for the third category, namely that of city planners. To identify

strategies, I started with the strategies mentioned by Zijdeveld (1974), that is, discussing, actions, labelling opponents negatively while adoring heroes or saints, making disparaging remarks or jokes about opponents, and bringing in new members (Chapter 1).

The list of strategies seemed rather short and the strategy ‘bringing in new members’ problematic: bringing in new members appears to be the *result* of actions, discussions or disparaging remarks and jokes, and not so much a strategy in itself. On the basis of my empirical research, I expected to be able to add strategies to Zijdeveld’s list and to specify them, but I had no idea what strategies or how many I could expect to find. Regarding the influence of strategies on changes of urban ideal images, I was particularly but not solely interested in the influence of strategies of urban intellectuals on urban ideal images of city planners. It therefore seems important to emphasize that I of course realize that there is life outside public debates, and that many more factors influence local authorities and their final city plans (as is illustrated by, for example, scientists involved with the well-known concept of governance) than only the city debates I studied. However, in my view, that does not cancel out the potential influence of public debates on final city plans and therefore, regardless of these other potential factors, I thought I would be able to identify the extent to which city debates had influenced urban ideal images in final city plans. With identifying strategies, I served another goal: to show the dynamic in public debates, which is quite contrary to the studies of Beauregard and Lees where little attention is paid to human interaction in city debates.

Thus, I was able to answer the research questions. Following Lees (1985) and Beauregard (1993, 2003), because they are not quantifiable, I did not weigh the 2122 contributions but counted every single contribution equally<sup>123</sup>. Moreover, I felt no need to add any textual analysis. Text analysts like Van Dijk<sup>124</sup> have done research into vocabularies, grammar, sentence constructions, etc. But because of the character of my sources, I could not always study the original word choices of individuals, as their words were edited by journalists or, sometimes, reported by others. In addition, I would be writing this dissertation is written in English while the debates were in Dutch, so it would not have been possible to reproduce vocabularies exactly. And, most importantly, to answer the research questions, the method and methodology described above seemed sufficient.

## **Describing data**

As Hall (1988) stated: “*The past is a foreign country, with a different language, different social mores and a different view of the human condition*”<sup>125</sup>. Therefore, just like Beauregard (1993, 2003), I shall describe urban ideal images in the words in which they were written, as much as such is possible. Anyone concerned with describing past ideas should let the

people who developed them tell their own tales, and so I shall try to let them do so. But of course, as the original debates were in Dutch, that will not be fully possible.

In addition, my aim was to write a readable dissertation that would meet all the scientific demands. Readable scientific texts are necessary for scientists to justify their role in society; it is their social function and obligation. Scientists should not fulfil the role of *Rapunzel*, who was kept in a tower without stairs and was visited only by the jealous witch who had captured her, and she had to climb up Rapunzel's long, golden hair<sup>126</sup>. Scientists may construct their ideas in ivory towers, but when they have finished thinking, they have to leave their tower and explain their ideas to the outside world.

In this book, the endnotes are an essential part of the thesis. They are also worth reading although this is quite a job. In the endnotes of Chapters 3-8, the individuals who participated in the debates are mentioned by name. However, to keep the space taken up by the endnotes as limited as possible, whenever in a newspaper article many individuals articulated their urban ideal image, only those participants who revealed the most about their urban ideal image are mentioned<sup>127</sup>. In addition, the occupation of the participants is given, as it was recorded in the contributions. Thereby, I use the word 'journalist' to comprehend editors, reporters, correspondents and commentators working for newspapers. Columnists are mentioned separately, because compared to journalists they are supposed to take a more independent position than the newspaper that pays them for their column. Again for practical reasons, often the occupation of individuals who participated is not mentioned every time. Next to the name and occupation of the participant, I provide the newspaper in which the contribution was printed, followed by the date. The date is given according to the European system of day/month/year.

The empirical material consists of three parts, corresponding with the periods 1945-1960/65, 1960/65-1980/85 and 1980/85-1995, each of which comprises two chapters describing the empirical research: one city debate in Rotterdam and one in Amsterdam. Each part starts with an introduction describing developments in the world and in Dutch society, followed by a description of the prevalent international ideas on city planning and national Dutch planning ideas. In the Netherlands, local planning authorities are to a large extent financially dependent on the national government – and thus, to some extent, are their city plans.

## **Why?**

The scientific relevance of this thesis lies in its contribution to theories of and extensive empirical research into the urban ideal images of urban

intellectuals and city planners. It provides formerly unknown knowledge about the differences and the similarities between urban ideal images and over time. It also reveals an unknown part of Dutch urban planning history and as well as something about the urban identity of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, about meanings and interpretations, and about the urban fabric. In this respect, this thesis reveals a new source of knowledge – the public debate – as a resource for scientific research in the field of urban planning history. Here, a unique method and methodology has been used, in which newspapers play the leading role. In addition, this thesis provides lots of empirical data about the occupations and ideologies of urban intellectuals and city planners, and about strategies used to defend their ideals. It also imparts information about more and less influential city planners – being more or less significant others – regarding urban ideal images, about the influence of strategies on urban ideal images, and particularly about the influence of urban intellectuals on the urban ideal images of city planners.

In addition to its scientific relevance, this thesis is also of social interest. The transparency of the public debate is a contribution to the democratic planning process and it is interesting for those participating in debates to know the influence of their voices, namely the result of the effort they made to participate in city debates. In addition, knowledge of the urban ideal images of urban intellectuals may help city planners when trying to gain public support for their city plans – something which is currently considered to be so important in the Netherlands. Inversely, knowledge of the urban ideal images of city planners may help urban intellectuals when trying to gain support for their ideals from planners. Moreover, from this research, both urban intellectuals and city planners can learn about the more and the less successful strategies, which will be helpful when participating in future city debates. However, the primary aim of this thesis is to make us all more aware of urban ideal images and how they structure our behaviour towards cities.

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<sup>1</sup> G. Esping-Andersen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, Polity Press, Cambridge UK, 1990. More information about the Netherlands can be read at: <http://www.worldfactsandfigures.com/countries/netherlands.php>, or: <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/nl.html> (accessed 13-9-2004)

<sup>2</sup> *De Architectuurkrant*, April-May 2004 (No. 49), p. 6; *The Economist* 2-5-2002 (Vol. 368, No. 8336), p. 29

<sup>3</sup> H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, *Ruimtelijke ordening. Van plannen komen plannen*, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 1996; H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, *Ruimtelijke ordening. Van grachtengordel tot Vinex-wijk*, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 2003; L.A. de Klerk, *Particuliere Plannen. Denkbeelden en initiatieven van de stedelijke elite inzake de volkswoningbouw en de stedbouw in Rotterdam*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1998

<sup>4</sup> V. Mamadouh, *De Stad in Eigen Hand. Provo's, kabouters en krakers als stedelijke sociale beweging*, Sua, Amsterdam 1992



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- <sup>5</sup> R. Eyerman & A. Jamison, *Social Movements. A cognitive approach*, Polity Press, Oxford 1991
- <sup>6</sup> L.A. de Klerk, *Particuliere Plannen. Denkbeelden en initiatieven van de stedelijke elite inzake de volkswoningbouw en de stedebouw in Rotterdam*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1998
- <sup>7</sup> H. Meyer, *City and Port. Urban Planning as a Cultural Venture in London, Barcelona, New York, and Rotterdam: changing relations between public urban space and large-scale infrastructure*, International Books, Utrecht 1999
- <sup>8</sup> H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, *Ruimtelijke ordening. Van plannen komen plannen*, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 1996; H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, *Ruimtelijke ordening. Van grachtengordel tot Vinex-wijk*, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 2003
- <sup>9</sup> H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, *Ruimtelijke ordening. Van plannen komen plannen*, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 1996; H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, *Ruimtelijke ordening. Van grachtengordel tot Vinex-wijk*, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 2003; P. van de Laar, *Stad van Formaat. Geschiedenis van Rotterdam in de negentiende en twintigste eeuw*, Waanders, Zwolle 2000; G. Mak, *Een kleine geschiedenis van Amsterdam*, Olympus/Contact, Amsterdam 2001; R. Roegholt, *Amsterdam in de 20<sup>ste</sup> eeuw, deel 2 1945/1970*, Uitgeverij Het Spectrum, Utrecht/Antwerpen 1979; C. Rooijendijk, *Stedelijke Beeldvorming Amsterdam 1945-2000*, University of Amsterdam (M.A. thesis), Amsterdam 2001
- <sup>10</sup> D.B. Baarda & M.P.M. De Goede, *Methoden en Technieken*, Stenfert Kroese, Houten 1995; D. Silverman, *Interpreting Qualitative Data. Methods for analysing talk, text and interaction*, Sage, London 2002
- <sup>11</sup> We did one interview which was both interesting and useless: the person, who had participated a lot in public debates in Amsterdam, was not willing to speak about his former ideas because he said they had been 'a delusion'
- <sup>12</sup> D. McQuail, *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory*, Sage Publications, London 2000 [1983], p. 20
- <sup>13</sup> R.A. Beauregard, *Voices of Decline. The Postwar Fate of US Cities*, Blackwell Publishers, Cambridge MA 1993, p. 24; D. McQuail, *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory*, Sage Publications, London 2000 [1983], pp. 170, 171
- <sup>14</sup> M. Schudson, *The Power of News*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge MA/London 1995; D. McQuail, *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory*, Sage Publications, London 2000 [1983]
- <sup>15</sup> T.A. van Dijk (ed), *Discourse and communication. New Approaches to the Analyses of Mass Media Discourse and Communication*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/New York 1985
- <sup>16</sup> Small political parties which were not involved with any of the six debates are not described. Local political parties, if participating in the selected debates, are briefly described in the empirical chapters.
- <sup>17</sup> Sources: <http://www.kb.nl>; <http://www.iisg.nl>; [www.google.nl](http://www.google.nl) (accessed 13-9-2004)
- <sup>18</sup> Source: <http://www.parlement.com> (accessed 14-9-2004)
- <sup>19</sup> P. Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*, Blackwell, London 1988, pp. 1-5
- <sup>20</sup> P. Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*, Blackwell, London 1988, p. 7
- <sup>21</sup> K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993; H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk,

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Ruimtelijke Ordening. Van Plannen komen plannen, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 1986; H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, Ruimtelijke ordening. Van grachtengordel tot Vinex-wijk, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 2003

<sup>22</sup> International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers; International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part II: Report

<sup>23</sup> K. Bosma, Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993; H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, Ruimtelijke ordening. Van grachtengordel tot Vinex-wijk, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 2003; J.R. Gold, Creating the Athens Charter. CIAM and the Functional City, Town Planning Review, 1998 (Vol. 69), pp. 1933-1943; S.V. Ward, Planning in the 20<sup>th</sup> century: the advanced capitalist world, John Wiley & Sons, Chichester 2002; A. van der Woud, Het nieuwe bouwen international, Delft University Press, Delft 1983

<sup>24</sup> A. van der Woud, Het nieuwe bouwen international, Delft University Press, Delft 1983

<sup>25</sup> J.R. Gold, Creating the Athens Charter. CIAM and the Functional City, Town Planning Review, 1998 (Vol. 69), pp. 1933-1943

<sup>26</sup> A. van der Woud, Het nieuwe bouwen international, Delft University Press, Delft 1983, e.g. pp. 130, 132

<sup>27</sup> A. van der Woud, Het nieuwe bouwen international, Delft University Press, Delft 1983, p. 143

<sup>28</sup> H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, Ruimtelijke ordening. Van grachtengordel tot Vinex-wijk, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 2003

<sup>29</sup> H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, Ruimtelijke ordening. Van grachtengordel tot Vinex-wijk, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 2003; P. Hall, Cities of Tomorrow, Blackwell, London 1988

<sup>30</sup> A. van der Woud, Het nieuwe bouwen international, Delft University Press, Delft 1983, p. 130

<sup>31</sup> International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers

<sup>32</sup> International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part II: Report

<sup>33</sup> K. Bosma, Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993

<sup>34</sup> L.A. de Klerk, Op Zoek naar de Ideale Stad, Van Loghum Slaterus, Deventer 1980

<sup>35</sup> L. van Geuns, CIAM-Planning. Vier benaderingen van het Charter van Athene, University of Amsterdam (M.A. thesis), Amsterdam 1974

<sup>36</sup> P. Hall, Cities of Tomorrow, Blackwell, London 1988, p. 6

<sup>37</sup> In this figure, urban ideal images are unravell'd into several elements. For each element, all different alternatives are mentioned. The amount of alternatives varies per element, from one to a maximum of four alternatives. The alternatives are marked with the letters a., b., c., and d. Not all founding fathers described all elements.

<sup>38</sup> R. Unwin (Chief Housing Architect to the British Ministry of Health, Hampstead, London), In: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers, p. 17; M.J. Granpré Molière (Dutch Architect, Urban Developer), In: K. Bosma, Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, pp. 196-197; D. Hudig (Secretary Dutch Institute for Housing and Urban Development) in his early works, In: K. Bosma,

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Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 148

<sup>39</sup> CIAM, In: L.A. de Klerk, *Op Zoek naar de Ideale Stad*, Van Loghum Slaterus, Deventer 1980 & in: L. van Geuns, *CIAM-Planning. Vier benaderingen van het Charter van Athene*, University of Amsterdam (M.A. thesis), Amsterdam 1974; T. Adams (Director of the plan of New York and its Environs), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*; R. Schmidt (City councillor, planner, 'Director Siedlungsverband Ruhrkohelnbezirk'), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993

<sup>40</sup> G. Langen (Government architect, Germany), In: *International Federation Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part II: Report* p. 25 & in: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 168; R. Unwin (Chief Housing Architect to the British Ministry of Health, Hampstead, London), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 18; R. Schmidt (City councillor, planner, 'Director Siedlungsverband Ruhrkohelnbezirk'), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 271; F. Schumacher (Urban planner Hamburg), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 109; M.J. Granpré Molière (Dutch Architect, Urban Developer), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 14 & in: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, pp. 197, 199; L. Mumford (Writer, urban planner, architectural critic etc.), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 173

<sup>41</sup> T. Adams (Director of the plan of New York and its Environs), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 170; R. Schmidt (City councillor, planner, 'Director Siedlungsverband Ruhrkohelnbezirk'), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 170 & in: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 183

<sup>42</sup> D. Hudig (Secretary Dutch Institute for Housing and Urban Development), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 153; T. Adams (Director of the plan of New York and its Environs), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 51 & in: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 170; P. Abercrombie (Professor of Civic Design, University of Liverpool), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, pp. 36-47; R. Schmidt (city councillor, planner, 'Director Siedlungsverband Ruhrkohelnbezirk'), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 167; C.B. Purdom (Finance Director, Welwyn Garden City), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 113; P. Bakker Schut (Director Urban Development and Housing, The Hague), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers,

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Rotterdam 1993, p. 175; C. van Eesteren (Algemeen Uitbreidingsplan Amsterdam (A.U.P.) (literally General extension plan for Amsterdam), 1932), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, pp. 181-182, 196; CIAM, In: L.A. de Klerk, *Op Zoek naar de Ideale Stad*, Van Loghum Slaterus, Deventer 1980 & in: L. van Geuns, *CIAM-Planning. Vier benaderingen van het Charter van Athene*, University of Amsterdam (M.A. thesis), Amsterdam 1974; M.J. Granpré Molière (Dutch Architect, Urban Developer), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 200. However, the survey as a basis for spatial planning was introduced by P. Geddes (In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 125)

<sup>43</sup> G.A. van Poelje (Chief of the Educational Department of The Hague municipality), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 138; T. Adams (Director of the plan of New York and its Environs), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 54; *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part II Resolutions Passed*, p. 56; D. Hudig (Secretary Dutch Institute for Housing and Urban Development), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 152; J.M. de Casseres (Urban Developer, In: plan Eindhoven 1930), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 259

<sup>44</sup> M.J. Granpré Molière (Dutch Architect, Urban Developer), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, pp. 200-202, 238, contrary H.P. Berlage's (Urban developer, Amsterdam) city plans (In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 179)

<sup>45</sup> H.P. Berlage (Urban developer, Amsterdam), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, pp. 200-202

<sup>46</sup> T. Adams (Director of the plan of New York and its Environs), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 173 & in: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 54; C.B. Purdom (Finance Director, Welwyn Garden City), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 120

<sup>47</sup> L. Mumford (Writer, urban planner, architectural critic etc.), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, pp. 173-174; G.A. van Poelje (Chief of the Educational Department of The Hague municipality), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, pp. 132-133; H. Cleyndert Azn. (Society for the Preservation of Nature Monuments), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 270

<sup>48</sup> Means: a striking and defectively prepared Regional survey (P. Abercrombie (Professor of Civic Design, University of Liverpool), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 47)

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<sup>49</sup> D. Hudig (Secretary Dutch Institute for Housing and Urban Development), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, pp. 148, 151; R. Unwin, In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 15; F. Schumacher (Urban planner Hamburg), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 107; C.B. Purdom (Finance Director, Welwyn Garden City), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 113; P. Abercrombie (Professor of Civic Design, University of Liverpool), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 36; T. Adams (Director of the plan of New York and its Environs), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 51; M.J. Granpré Molière (Dutch Architect, Urban Developer), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 201; R. Schmidt (City councillor, planner, 'Director Siedlungsverband Ruhrkohlenbezirk'), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, pp. 179-180; P. Bakker Schut (Director Urban Development and Housing, The Hague), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 212; G.A. van Poelje (Chief of the Educational Department of The Hague municipality), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 128; Geddes, In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 128; H. Cleyndert Azn. (Society for the Preservation of Nature Monuments), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 271; CIAM, In: L.A. de Klerk, *Op Zoek naar de Ideale Stad*, Van Loghum Slaterus, Deventer 1980 & in: L. van Geuns, *CIAM-Planning. Vier benaderingen van het Charter van Athene*, University of Amsterdam (M.A. thesis), Amsterdam 1974; *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part II Resolutions Passed*, p. 56

<sup>50</sup> T. Adams (Director of the plan of New York and its Environs), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, e.g. p. 70; R. Schmidt (City councillor, planner, 'Director Siedlungsverband Ruhrkohlenbezirk'), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 170 & in: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 183; D. Hudig (Secretary Dutch Institute for Housing and Urban Development), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 153

<sup>51</sup> M.J. Granpré Molière (Dutch Architect, Urban Developer), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 199; D. Hudig (Secretary Dutch Institute for Housing and Urban Development), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 153; L. Mumford (Writer, urban planner, architectural critic etc.), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 173; G. Langen (Government architect, Germany), In: *Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part II Report*, p. 25 & in: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 168

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<sup>52</sup> R. Unwin (Chief Housing Architect to the British Ministry of Health, Hampstead, London), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 159

<sup>53</sup> F. Schumacher (Urban planner Hamburg), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 108

<sup>54</sup> M.J. Granpré Molière (Dutch Architect, Urban Developer), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 14 & in: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 201; H. Cleyndert Azn. (Society for the Preservation of Nature Monuments), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 273

<sup>55</sup> C.B. Purdom (Finance Director, Welwyn Garden City), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, pp. 111-119; R. Unwin (Chief Housing Architect to the British Ministry of Health, Hampstead, London), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, pp. 15, 20, 34; W. Godbold (Alderman West Ham, England), In: *Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part II Report*, p. 27; *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part II Resolutions Passed*, p. 55; R. Schmidt (City councillor, planner, 'Director Siedlungsverband Ruhrkohlenbezirk'), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 167

<sup>56</sup> E. Howard (Town planner), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 112; R. Unwin (Chief Housing Architect to the British Ministry of Health, Hampstead, London), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, pp. 15, 20, 34; W. Godbold (Alderman West Ham, England), In: *Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part II Report*, p. 27; K.C. van Nes (Dutch participant (Apeldoorn) in one of the sessions), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part II: Report*, p. 24; R. Schmidt (City councillor, planner, 'Director Siedlungsverband Ruhrkohlenbezirk'), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 167; M.J. Granpré Molière (Dutch Architect, Urban Developer), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 201

<sup>57</sup> T. Adams (Director of the plan of New York and its Environs), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 64; W.G. Witteveen (Construction Engineer), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 210

<sup>58</sup> F. Schumacher (Urban planner Hamburg), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 162 & in: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 108; C. van Eesteren (Algemeen Uitbreidingsplan Amsterdam (A.U.P.) (literally General extension plan for Amsterdam)), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 182; A. Plate (Director of the Navigation Society, Rotterdam), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part II: Report*, p. 23; K.C. van Nes (Dutch participant (Apeldoorn)), *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part II: Report*, p. 24; M.J. Granpré Molière (Dutch

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Architect, Urban Developer) & Verhagen, In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 207; Th. K. van Lohuizen (Engineer of the Rotterdam Housing Department), In *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part II: Report*, p. 26 & in: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 182.

<sup>59</sup> R. Unwin (Chief Housing Architect to the British Ministry of Health, Hampstead, London), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, pp. 18, 20; T. Adams (Director of the plan of New York and its Environs), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 61

<sup>60</sup> C.B. Purdom (Finance Director, Welwyn Garden City), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 116

<sup>61</sup> F. Schumacher (Urban planner Hamburg), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, pp. 161-162; G.A. van Poelje (Chief of the Educational Department of The Hague municipality), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 129

<sup>62</sup> R. Unwin (Chief Housing Architect to the British Ministry of Health, Hampstead, London), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, pp. 15, 20; C.B. Purdom (Finance Director, Welwyn Garden City), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, pp. 111-119; P. Abercrombie (Professor of Civic Design, University of Liverpool), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 161; R. Schmidt (City councillor, planner, 'Director Siedlungsverband Ruhrkohlenbezirk'), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 167; K.C. van Nes (Dutch participant (Apeldoorn)), *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part II: Report*, p. 24

<sup>63</sup> R. Schmidt (City councillor, planner, 'Director Siedlungsverband Ruhrkohlenbezirk'), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 167; P. Bakker Schut (Director Urban Development and Housing, The Hague), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 214 & in: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 175; J.M. de Casseres (Urban Developer), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 259; W.G. Witteveen (Construction Engineer), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 210; CIAM, In: L.A. de Klerk, *Op Zoek naar de Ideale Stad*, Van Loghum Slaterus, Deventer 1980 & in: L. van Geuns, *CIAM-Planning. Vier benaderingen van het Charter van Athene*, University of Amsterdam (M.A. thesis), Amsterdam 1974; P. Bakker Schut (Director Urban Development and Housing, The Hague) acknowledged the disadvantages of mono-functional neighborhoods and said these could be counterbalanced by constructing ponds, greens, flowers, gardens, existing natural monuments, playgrounds, meadows and breeding grounds (P. Bakker Schut (Director Urban Development and Housing, The Hague), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI

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Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 176); T. Adams (Director of the plan of New York and its Environs), In: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers, pp. 52, 54

<sup>64</sup> T. Adams (Director of the plan of New York and its Environs), In: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers, pp. 52, 54. Adams: "The combination of commerce, industry and housing in some areas is not objectionable. Proper architectural control of structural development of business areas may be more important than segregation of these areas from those devoted to housing. To attempt to segregate uses according to any hard and fast rule is a mistake. Therefore zoning is a matter that requires the application of intelligent direction in each area according to local needs and circumstances" (In: International Federation Conference Amsterdam 1924, Part I: Papers, p. 54)

<sup>65</sup> F. Schumacher (Urban planner Hamburg), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 162; C.B. Purdom (Finance Director, Welwyn Garden City), In: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers, p. 121; CIAM, In: L.A. de Klerk, *Op Zoek naar de Ideale Stad*, Van Loghum Slaterus, Deventer 1980 & in: L. van Geuns, *CIAM-Planning. Vier benaderingen van het Charter van Athene*, University of Amsterdam (M.A. thesis), Amsterdam 1974. CIAM forbid the use of copying and eclecticism.

<sup>66</sup> P. Bakker Schut (Director Urban Development and Housing, The Hague), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 176; H.P. Berlage (Urban developer, Amsterdam), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993

<sup>67</sup> C. van Eesteren (Algemeen Uitbreidingsplan Amsterdam (A.U.P.) (literally General extension plan for Amsterdam) (in a reaction on Berlage), In: Bosma 1993, p. 181; T. Adams (Director of the plan of New York and its Environs), In: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers, pp. 54, 69-70

<sup>68</sup> F. Schumacher (Urban planner Hamburg), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 162; M.J. Granpré Molière (Dutch Architect, Urban Developer) & Verhagen (1921, Plan Rotterdam), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 205; W.G. Witteveen (Construction Engineer), *Algemeen Uitbreidingsplan Rotterdam, 1928*, In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 210

<sup>69</sup> T. Adams (Director of the plan of New York and its Environs), In: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers, pp. 68-69

<sup>70</sup> R. Unwin (Chief Housing Architect to the British Ministry of Health, Hampstead, London), In: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers, pp. 25-26; W. Godbold (Alderman West Ham, England), In: Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part II Report, p. 27; R. Schmidt (City councillor, planner, 'Director Siedlungsverband Ruhrkohlenbezirk'), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 167



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<sup>71</sup> CIAM, In: L.A. de Klerk, *Op Zoek naar de Ideale Stad*, Van Loghum Slaterus, Deventer 1980 & in: L. van Geuns, *CIAM-Planning. Vier benaderingen van het Charter van Athene*, University of Amsterdam (M.A. thesis), Amsterdam 1974

<sup>72</sup> F. Schumacher (Urban planner Hamburg), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 364; T. Adams (Director of the plan of New York and its Environs), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, pp. 61-69; L. Mumford (Writer, urban planner, architectural critic etc.), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 172; Shurtleff & Goodwin (Secretary & Consulting Engineer to the Plan of New York and its Environs), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, pp. 152-153

<sup>73</sup> R. Unwin (Chief Housing Architect to the British Ministry of Health, Hampstead, London), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, pp. 25-26

<sup>74</sup> T. Adams (Director of the plan of New York and its Environs), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 53

<sup>75</sup> F. Schumacher (Urban planner Hamburg), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 162; CIAM, In: L.A. de Klerk, *Op Zoek naar de Ideale Stad*, Van Loghum Slaterus, Deventer 1980 & in: L. van Geuns, *CIAM-Planning. Vier benaderingen van het Charter van Athene*, University of Amsterdam (M.A. thesis), Amsterdam 1974

<sup>76</sup> L. Mumford (Writer, urban planner, architectural critic etc.), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 172; M.J. Granpré Molière (Dutch Architect, Urban Developer), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, pp. 196-199, 238; D. Hudig (Secretary Dutch Institute for Housing and Urban Development) in his early works, In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 148

<sup>77</sup> R. Schmidt (City councillor, planner, 'Director Siedlungsverband Ruhrkohlenbezirk'), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 167; CIAM, In: L.A. de Klerk, *Op Zoek naar de Ideale Stad*, Van Loghum Slaterus, Deventer 1980 & in: L. van Geuns, *CIAM-Planning. Vier benaderingen van het Charter van Athene*, University of Amsterdam (M.A. thesis), Amsterdam 1974; W. Godbold (Alderman West Ham, England), In: *Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part II Report*; T. Adams (Director of the plan of New York and its Environs), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*; M.J. Granpré Molière (Dutch Architect, Urban Developer), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 203; H.P. Berlage (Urban developer, Amsterdam), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 181

<sup>78</sup> W.G. Witteveen (Construction Engineer), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 210

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<sup>79</sup> E. Howard (Town planner), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 112; M.J. Granpré Molière (Dutch Architect, Urban Developer), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, pp. 233, 238

<sup>80</sup> R. Unwin (Chief Housing Architect to the British Ministry of Health, Hampstead, London), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, pp. 20-22 & in: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 159; C.B. Purdom (Finance Director, Welwyn Garden City), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 159 & in: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, pp. 110-111; C.A. Perry (sociologist), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 174; P. Bakker Schut (Director Urban Development and Housing, The Hague), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, pp. 176, 214

<sup>81</sup> R. Unwin (Chief Housing Architect to the British Ministry of Health, Hampstead, London), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 22

<sup>82</sup> W.G. Witteveen (Construction Engineer), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 210

<sup>83</sup> L. Mumford (Writer, urban planner, architectural critic etc.), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, pp. 173-174

<sup>84</sup> T. Adams (Director of the plan of New York and its Environs), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 69

<sup>85</sup> R. Unwin (Chief Housing Architect to the British Ministry of Health, Hampstead, London), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 19; M.J. Granpré Molière (Dutch Architect, Urban Developer), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 233

<sup>86</sup> H.P. Berlage (Urban developer, Amsterdam), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 202; P. Bakker Schut (Director Urban Development and Housing, The Hague), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 176

<sup>87</sup> F. Schumacher (Urban planner Hamburg), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 364; D. Hudig (Secretary Dutch Institute for Housing and Urban Development), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 151

<sup>88</sup> H.P. Berlage (Urban developer, Amsterdam), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 179

<sup>89</sup> F. Schumacher (Urban planner Hamburg), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam

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1993, p. 161; T. Adams (Director of the plan of New York and its Environs), In: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers, pp. 56, 61; M.J. Granpré Molière (Dutch Architect, Urban Developer), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 205; W.G. Witteveen (Construction Engineer), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 210; CIAM, In: L.A. de Klerk, *Op Zoek naar de Ideale Stad*, Van Loghum Slaterus, Deventer 1980 & in: L. van Geuns, *CIAM-Planning. Vier benaderingen van het Charter van Athene*, University of Amsterdam (M.A. thesis), Amsterdam 1974

<sup>90</sup> K.C. van Nes (Dutch participant (Apeldoorn)), International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part II: Report, p. 24; C.B. Purdom (Finance Director, Welwyn Garden City), In: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers, p. 116; R. Unwin (Chief Housing Architect to the British Ministry of Health, Hampstead, London), In: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers, p. 23 although he wanted to locate services which could be handled with greater economy and efficiency in a parent city

<sup>91</sup> L. Mumford (Writer, urban planner, architectural critic etc.), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 172; Shurtleff & Goodrich, In: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers, p. 152; R. Schmidt (City councillor, planner, 'Director Siedlungsverband Ruhrkohelnbezirk'), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 167; P. Bakker Schut (Director Urban Development and Housing, The Hague); G.A. van Poelje (Chief of the Educational Department of The Hague municipality); T. Adams (Director of the plan of New York and its Environs), In: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers, p. 59; C.B. Purdom (Finance Director, Welwyn Garden City), In: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers, p. 122; CIAM, In: L.A. de Klerk, *Op Zoek naar de Ideale Stad*, Van Loghum Slaterus, Deventer 1980 & in: L. van Geuns, *CIAM-Planning. Vier benaderingen van het Charter van Athene*, University of Amsterdam (M.A. thesis), Amsterdam 1974

<sup>92</sup> E. Howard (Town planner), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 112; R. Unwin (Chief Housing Architect to the British Ministry of Health, Hampstead, London), In: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers, pp. 15, 20, 34; W. Godbold (Alderman West Ham, England), In: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part II Report, p. 27; K.C. van Nes (Dutch participant (Apeldoorn)), International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part II: Report, p. 24; R. Schmidt (City councillor, planner, 'Director Siedlungsverband Ruhrkohelnbezirk'), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 167; M.J. Granpré Molière (Dutch Architect, Urban Developer), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 201; T. Adams (Director of the plan of New York and its Environs), In: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers, p. 54

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<sup>93</sup> R. Unwin (Chief Housing Architect to the British Ministry of Health, Hampstead, London), In: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers, p. 21; P. Bakker Schut (Director Urban Development and Housing, The Hague), In: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers, p. 214; R. Schmidt (City councillor, planner, 'Director Siedlungsverband Ruhrkohlenbezirk'), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 167; P. Bakker Schut (Director Urban Development and Housing, The Hague), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 175; Henri V. Hubbard (Professor of Landscape Architecture, Harvard University, Cambridge, mass, U.S.A. Member, American City Planning Institute), In: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers, pp. 215-239; Jacques Gréber (Architecte, Professeur à l'École des Hautes Études urbaines de Paris), In: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers, p. 255; H. Cleynert Azn. (Society for the Preservation of Nature Monuments), In: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers, pp. 268-271; CIAM, In: L.A. de Klerk, *Op Zoek naar de Ideale Stad, Van Loghum Slaterus, Deventer 1980* & in: L. van Geuns, *CIAM-Planning. Vier benaderingen van het Charter van Athene*, University of Amsterdam (M.A. thesis), Amsterdam 1974; J.M. de Casseres (Urban Developer), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 259

<sup>94</sup> F. Schumacher (Urban planner Hamburg), In: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers, p. 107 & in: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 162

<sup>95</sup> P. Bakker Schut (Director Urban Development and Housing, The Hague), In: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers, p. 214; K.C. van Nes (Dutch participant (Apeldoorn)), International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part II: Report, p. 25; R. Unwin (Chief Housing Architect to the British Ministry of Health, Hampstead, London), In: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers, p. 22; F. Schumacher (Urban planner Hamburg), In: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers, p. 108; C.B. Purdom (Finance Director, Welwyn Garden City), In: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers, p. 118; Greber, In: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers, p. 255; H. Cleynert Azn. (Society for the Preservation of Nature Monuments), In: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers, pp. 268-271; M.J. Granpré Molière (Dutch Architect, Urban Developer) & Verhagen, In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, pp. 205, 207; Shurtleff & Goodrich, In: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers, p. 153; International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part II Resolutions Passed, p. 56

<sup>96</sup> G. Langen (Government architect, Germany), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, pp. 168-170

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<sup>97</sup> Shurtleff & Goodrich, In: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers, p. 150; T. Adams (Director of the plan of New York and its Environs), In: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers

<sup>98</sup> P. Bakker Schut (Director Urban Development and Housing, The Hague), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 176 & in: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers, p. 214; R. Schmidt (City councillor, planner, 'Director Siedlungsverband Ruhrkohlenbezirk'), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 167; L. Mumford (Writer, urban planner, architectural critic etc.), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 173; F. Schumacher (Urban planner Hamburg), In: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers, p. 107; H. Cleyndert Azn. (Society for the Preservation of Nature Monuments), In: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers, p. 272; D. Hudig (Secretary Dutch Institute for Housing and Urban Development), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 153; J.M. de Casseres (Urban Developer), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, pp. 177, 259

<sup>99</sup> G. Langen (Government architect, Germany), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 168 & in: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part II: Report, p. 25; R. Unwin (Chief Housing Architect to the British Ministry of Health, Hampstead, London), In: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers, p. 22; M.J. Granpré Molière (Dutch Architect, Urban Developer), In: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers, p. 14

<sup>100</sup> T. Adams (Director of the plan of New York and its Environs), In: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers, p. 59

<sup>101</sup> G. Langen (Government architect, Germany), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 168; G. Langen, International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part II: Report, p. 25; R. Unwin (Chief Housing Architect to the British Ministry of Health, Hampstead, London), In: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers, p. 22

<sup>102</sup> T. Adams (Director of the plan of New York and its Environs), In: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers, pp. 51, 52, 59 & in: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 171; CIAM, In: L.A. de Klerk, *Op Zoek naar de Ideale Stad*, Van Loghum Slaterus, Deventer 1980 & in: L. van Geuns, *CIAM-Planning. Vier benaderingen van het Charter van Athene*, University of Amsterdam (M.A. thesis), Amsterdam 1974; K.C. van Nes (Dutch participant (Apeldoorn)), International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part II: Report, p. 25; Shurtleff & Goodwin, In: International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers, p. 153; L. Mumford (Writer, urban planner,

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architectural critic etc.), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 171; C. van Eesteren (Algemeen Uitbreidingsplan Amsterdam (A.U.P.) (literally General extension plan for Amsterdam), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 181; R. Unwin (Chief Housing Architect to the British Ministry of Health, Hampstead, London), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 19

<sup>103</sup> H. Cleyndert Azn. (Society for the Preservation of Nature Monuments), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 281

<sup>104</sup> M.J. Granpré Molière (Dutch Architect, Urban Developer), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 233. A different though similar argument came from Van Poelje, who stated that town planning is not a mere traffic problem, saying that the regional plan, not roads, were most important (*International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 131)

<sup>105</sup> R. Unwin (Chief Housing Architect to the British Ministry of Health, Hampstead, London), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 21; Shurtleff & Goodrich, In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, pp. 151-153. According to R. Unwin (Chief Housing Architect to the British Ministry of Health, Hampstead, London), the wireless telegraph and telephone, soon no doubt to be supplemented by television, tend to bring the world's activities within reach of even scattered homes, and greatly to increase the power of directing distant affairs (R. Unwin (Chief Housing Architect to the British Ministry of Health, Hampstead, London), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 24)

<sup>106</sup> T. Adams (Director of the plan of New York and its Environs), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 63; P. Bakker Schut (Director Urban Development and Housing, The Hague), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, p. 214; CIAM, In: L.A. de Klerk, *Op Zoek naar de Ideale Stad*, Van Loghum Slaterus, Deventer 1980 & in: L. van Geuns, *CIAM-Planning. Vier benaderingen van het Charter van Athene*, University of Amsterdam (M.A. thesis), Amsterdam 1974. The conference did pass a resolution on traffic but went no further than saying that: "The very rapid growth of traffic, especially that of motor cars and motor buses, renders it necessary for very special attention to be devoted in the future to the traffic problem, local as well as that between towns." (*International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part II Resolutions Passed*, p. 56).

<sup>107</sup> T. Adams (Director of the plan of New York and its Environs), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part I: Papers*, pp. 54, 62, 64; CIAM, In: L.A. de Klerk, *Op Zoek naar de Ideale Stad*, Van Loghum Slaterus, Deventer 1980 & in: L. van Geuns, *CIAM-Planning. Vier benaderingen van het Charter van Athene*, University of Amsterdam (M.A. thesis), Amsterdam 1974; F. Schumacher (Urban planner Hamburg), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 162; P. Bakker Schut (Director Urban Development and Housing, The Hague), In: K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 176; C.A. Perry (sociologist), In: K.

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Bosma, Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 174

<sup>108</sup> M.J. Granpré Molière (Dutch Architect, Urban Developer), In: K. Bosma, Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 234

<sup>109</sup> H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, Ruimtelijke ordening. Van grachtengordel tot Vinex-wijk, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 2003; K. Bosma, Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993; A. van der Woud, Het nieuwe bouwen international, Delft University Press, Delft 1983

<sup>110</sup> NRC-Handelsblad 27-12-2002

<sup>111</sup> Source: F. Choay, The modern city: planning in the 19th century, George Braziller, New York 1969

<sup>112</sup> V. Mamadouh, De Stad in Eigen Hand. Provo's, kabouters en krakers als stedelijke sociale beweging, Sua, Amsterdam 1992

<sup>113</sup> F. Choay, The modern city: planning in the 19th century, George Braziller, New York 1969, pp. 107-108

<sup>114</sup> F. Choay, The modern city: planning in the 19th century, George Braziller, New York 1969, pp. 15-24

<sup>115</sup> H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, Ruimtelijke ordening. Van plannen komen plannen, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 1986, p. 326

<sup>116</sup> H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, Ruimtelijke ordening. Van grachtengordel tot Vinex-wijk, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 2003

<sup>117</sup> P. Healey, Sites, Jobs and Portfolios: Economic Development Discourses in the Planning System, Urban Studies, 1999 (Vol. 36), pp. 27-42

<sup>118</sup> V. Mamadouh, De Stad in Eigen Hand. Provo's, kabouters en krakers als stedelijke sociale beweging, Sua, Amsterdam 1992

<sup>119</sup> A. Lees, Cities Perceived. Urban Society in European and American thought, 1820-1940, Manchester University Press, Manchester 1985, p. 311

<sup>120</sup> A. Lees, Cities Perceived. Urban Society in European and American thought, 1820-1940, Manchester University Press, Manchester 1985, pp. 308-310

<sup>121</sup> D. McLellan, Ideology. Concepts in social thought, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis 1986

<sup>122</sup> The 'Van Dale dictionary' is the Dutch equivalent for the 'Oxford Dictionary' or 'Cambridge Dictionary'

<sup>123</sup> A. Lees, Cities Perceived. Urban Society in European and American thought, 1820-1940, Manchester University Press, Manchester 1985, p. 308

<sup>124</sup> e.g. T.A. van Dijk (ed), Discourse and communication. New Approaches to the Analyses of Mass Media Discourse and Communication, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/New York 1985

<sup>125</sup> P. Hall, Cities of Tomorrow, Blackwell, London 1988, p. 4

<sup>126</sup> The story of Rapunzel ('Raponsje', as she is called in the Netherlands) was written by The Brothers Grimm (J. Grimm & W. Grimm, Household Tales (Harvard Classics Vol. 17, Part 2), P.F. Collier & Son, New York [1890] 1909)

<sup>127</sup> As a result, on rare occasions it can occur that in an endnote, the participant who has described the particular element of an urban ideal image or a strategy to which we really wanted to refer to, is not mentioned by name, but instead only the person(s) who described more of their/his/her urban ideal image than this particular

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participant. But although these participants are not mentioned by name in the endnotes, their identity, urban ideal images, and strategies are included in this research. Moreover, on very rare occasions participants quote statements of one of their opponents after which they describe what is wrong about those statements. On those rare occasions, it can happen that in the endnotes, the participant criticizing his opponent is mentioned only, and not the person to whom the quotation belongs to and to which we actually wanted to refer to. Still, this person is included in this research as is every other participant, and in the paragraphs concerning the occupation and ideology of urban intellectuals, he or she will still appear.





## **Part 1 1945-1960/65**

# Introduction

World War II came to an end in August 1945 after the United States had dropped a nuclear bomb on the Japanese city Hiroshima and one on Nagasaki. As a result of political ideological and economic differences, relations between the Americans and the Russians worsened. It led to an arms race, in which nuclear weapons were involved. In 1961, the wall between East and West Berlin was built; a year later, the Cold War came to a head with the Cuba crisis, which almost resulted in a nuclear world war. The nuclear bomb was a new weapon of mass destruction and highly controversial right from the beginning.

*We are living among madmen. Madmen govern our affairs in the name of order and security. The chief madmen claim the titles of General, Admiral, Senator, scientist, administrator, Secretary of State, even President. And the fatal symptom of their madness is this: they have been carrying through a series of acts which will lead eventually to the destruction of mankind, under the solemn conviction that they are normal, responsible people, living sane lives, and working for reasonable ends. Soberly, day after day, the madmen continue to go through the undeviating motions of madness: motions so stereotyped, so commonplace, that they seem the normal motions of normal men, not the mass compulsions of people bent on total death.....Abandon the atomic Bomb! Give it up! Stop it now! That is the only order of the day<sup>1</sup>.*

For the intellectual Lewis Mumford, there was no possibility of ‘managing’ nuclear weapons, but not everyone agreed with him. After an atomic bomb was dropped on Bikini atoll, a Dutch newspaper reported how fascinating the devastating effects on palm trees had been, and how wonderful this test would be for promoting peace<sup>2</sup>.

On 5 May 5 1945, almost 11 months after D-Day, the German forces capitulated. Canadians, Britons, Poles, French, Belgians and Americans liberated the Netherlands, starting with the south in September 1944. The war left deep scars. The Netherlands suffered from flooding, transportation dislocations and the destruction of cities, resulting from bombings, fighting and demolitions. Rotterdam, The Hague, Arnhem, Nijmegen and Groningen were the worst affected of the bigger cities. In Rotterdam, bombings left a 260-hectare tract of devastated area, including its inner city, and its port was sabotaged. Apart from its port, Amsterdam escaped serious physical damage, but suffered from war wounds, too: 80,000 of its Jewish inhabitants (10% of its entire population) had been deported to German concentration camps, and only a few thousand returned after the war<sup>3</sup>.

Right after World War II, life was difficult. In 1946, newspapers reported miner's strikes in Belgium and dockers' strikes in Rotterdam. In Amsterdam, flourmill workers were on strike demanding a 15% wage increase, a forty-five-hour week and two-weeks' paid holiday (up to 50% of normal wages). But the government arbitrator did not comply with these demands. The strikes went on, and the Dutch Association of Housewives pleaded for a quick end to it because the food supply was seriously under threat. In those days, food was still scarce and the population was provided with food coupons. For example, on 4 June 1946, a coupon for one egg was distributed to people born in or before 1925<sup>4</sup>. But fortunately, things were changing for the better.

In the newspapers, every step of recovery, every step of progress, was celebrated. Despite the rationing of newsprint, extensive articles were written on new achievements such as the restoration of the direct phone line between Rotterdam and London and the new, electrified railway between Amsterdam and one of its suburbs, *Gooi*<sup>5</sup>. Many sentences were used to describe the rapid recovery of Dutch production<sup>6</sup> and the associated celebrations, including a fanfare playing Dutch and American national anthems on board the first scheduled flight, the Flying Dutchman DC4 from Rotterdam to New York<sup>7</sup>.

Stimulated by massive Marshall Aid, the Dutch economy recovered and then grew spectacularly. From 1950 on, the Netherlands' GNP increased by 5% per year. Employment was almost full, but the participation of women – particularly married women – was low due to both official and unofficial rules, and especially in comparison to the United States, where women had worked in the war industry and had kept their position in the labour market after the war. Indirectly, Dutch women contributed a lot to the post-war economic recovery, by spending more than 50 hours a week caring for their families and by doing voluntary, unpaid work. In 1948, the average income was as high as it had been in 1930, and in 1960 it had increased by 44%. This new prosperity can be illustrated by certain statistics. For example, the increase in the number of radios per 100 families from 77 in 1951 to 95 in 1957, and the increase in the number of black-and-white televisions, from zero per 100 families in 1951 (the first official Dutch television broadcast was on 2 October 1951) to 8 in 1957 and 25 in 1960. In 1960, 30% of households had a telephone. In 1950, there were 13.8 cars per 1000 inhabitants, while in 1960 the figure had increased to 45.5 per 1000. And while in 1950 holidays were an uncommon phenomenon, in 1960 only 12% of the population had no holiday at all<sup>8</sup>.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a big controversy over subsidized education (*Schoolstrijd*) between the liberal government and the Christian parties – which demanded freedom of education – had led to the emancipation of Protestants, Catholics and workers somewhat later. Dutch society became divided into *zuilen* (sociopolitical groups), based on ideologies. Life was

organized within these groups, and there was hardly any contact with people from other groups. Around 1900, there was a Catholic, a Protestant, a Socialist and a Liberal *zuil* in the Netherlands; the last-mentioned was weakly organized. The groups were quickly restored after WWII and lasted until late into the 1960s<sup>9</sup>. As a result, my parents – like all other Catholics – were educated by nuns at Catholic schools, sang in Catholic choirs, bought coffee from Catholic grocery shops, were warned against having contact with people from other *zuilen*, and went dancing on Catholic dance floors – where they met.

After the 1946 elections, the KVP and the PvdA formed a coalition government. This coalition between the Confessionals and the democratic socialists lasted until 1959, after which a coalition was formed between the KVP, the VVD, the ARP and the CHU<sup>10</sup>. The Netherlands developed from a late capitalist society into a corporate welfare state. To neutralize deficiencies and risks accompanying the open market, powerful deals between government, the business community and trade unions<sup>11</sup> were made<sup>12</sup>. Increasing the standard of living and a better distribution of welfare were the two main goals of national socio-economic planning, to be realized by the industrialization politics. Stimulated by the United Nations under the guidance of the USA and the USSR, the Netherlands decolonized, resulting in Indonesia becoming independent in 1949, followed by Surinam in 1975. Both led to lots of immigration into the Netherlands<sup>13</sup>.

The total number of inhabitants of the Netherlands increased from 8.8 million in 1940 to 12.9 million in 1970, stimulated by a spectacular baby boom right after the war. Although the Netherlands strongly industrialized, urbanized and suburbanized, and its economy was growing, the *zuilen* remained. This maintenance of the old socio-political structures had a significant impact on population growth, especially among the Catholics: the priest would visit almost every Catholic household each year to ask whether a new child was on its way yet (as a result, I have more than 40 aunts and uncles). While in most other western countries, the number of births per 1000 inhabitants dropped below 20 before 1950, this did not happen in the Netherlands until 1965. In 1953, forecasts reckoned that the population of the Netherlands would grow to 13.2-15.3 million in 1981, and by 1965 the projection was 20 million in 2000. Many feared the consequences, and this fear largely determined the national policy on cities<sup>14</sup>.

People living in the country that had industrialized the earliest and the heaviest – England – were the first to describe an alternative to the deserts of stone the 19<sup>th</sup> century had brought: the garden city of Ebenezer Howard (1898), who was also president of the International Federation. Just like the Britons, most of the Dutch wanted to create cities with more green and less brick. However, most were unwilling to implement the concept of garden cities to its full extent because another ideal image prevailed over it. That image concerned the Randstad (ring city) – the functionally related

horseshoe of urban settlements, including Utrecht, Amsterdam, Haarlem, Leiden, The Hague, Delft, Rotterdam and Dordrecht, in the three provinces of North Holland, South Holland and Utrecht. According to the Dutch, the Randstad was and should stay a green inner circle surrounded by the ring of the mentioned cities – something which would be endangered by garden cities<sup>15</sup>.

*The central part is literally the most central fact of the Netherlands. Foreign cities with over a million habitants are growing from one centre, sprawling in all directions into uncontrollable areas. Regarding the size of the population, Randstad Holland is comparable to some of these cities. However, the environmental structure is totally different. The Dutch metropolis consists of a circle of bigger and smaller conurbations, each having its own function and its own centre, that lies around the grassland of Holland-Utrecht<sup>16</sup>.*

Many of the motives given for maintaining this ‘Green Heart’ were related to efficiency: land was needed for farmers, and the Netherlands should be as self-sufficient as possible in case war broke out again. Therefore, the strong growth of cities in the Randstad had to be fought, and in order to preserve their ideal and to prohibit the birth of the first Dutch megalopolis, in 1956 the first National Report was formulated to decentralize economic prosperity and thereby urban growth to backward areas<sup>17</sup>.

The post-war years were the heydays of modernism in the international planning community. In the Netherlands, a clash broke out between modernist urban developers trying to modernize inner cities, and traditionalistic urban repairers who tried to rebuild inner cities according to an improved version of their historic form. Redevelopers in *Middelburg* (Zeeland), which was designed by P. Verhagen (a companion of the culturalist Professor M.J. Granpré Molière) clung to the second, more culturalist movement, while city planners in Rotterdam supported the first, more progressist mainstream. Rotterdam – which had suffered such extensive damage and which, even before the war, had been the Dutch leader in modern architectural matters – seized the opportunity and, as we will see in Chapter 3, built the most modernist city centre in the Netherlands. No other city anywhere in the world was so rapid and thorough in accepting modernist principles in architecture and planning. It became an international example of how to build a modernist city centre, and was highly praised by members of the international planning community, such as Edmund Bacon and Lewis Mumford. But cities that largely survived the war had fewer chances to follow the modernist fashion, like Amsterdam with its huge historic city centre. Amsterdam, capital of the Netherlands, was considered the country’s biggest growth centre, and the need for economic growth

combined with the wish to preserve its historic character was at the very centre of controversial debates, one of which will be described in Chapter 4<sup>18</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> L. Mumford, *Gentlemen, You are Mad!*, Saturday Review of literature 2-3-1946, p. 5, In: T.P. Hughes & A.C. Hughes, *Lewis Mumford. Public Intellectual*, Oxford University Press, New York 1990, p. 343

<sup>2</sup> *De Maasbode* 27-6-1946 & *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 1-7-1946

<sup>3</sup> S.V. Ward, *the twentieth-century city: the advanced capitalist world*, John Wiley & Sons, LTD., Chichester 2002, pp. 195-196; R. Roegholt, *Amsterdam in de 20ste eeuw. Deel 2 (1945-1970)*, Uitgeverij Het Spectrum, Utrecht/Antwerpen 1979

<sup>4</sup> *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* from 1-1-1946 to 4-6-1946

<sup>5</sup> *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* 29-3-1946 & *Het Vrije Volk* 1-6-1946

<sup>6</sup> *Het Vrije Volk* 1-3-1946

<sup>7</sup> *Het Vrije Volk* 22-5-1946

<sup>8</sup> K. Schuyt & E. Taverne, *Welvaart in zwart-wit*. SDU uitgevers, Den Haag 2000, pp. 278-283; H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, *Ruimtelijke ordening. Van grachtengordel tot Vinex-wijk*, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 2003, pp. 168-170

<sup>9</sup> J.E. Ellemers & G.A. Kooy, In: In: G.A. Kooy, J.H. de Ru & H.J. Scheffer (eds), *Nederland na 1945: beschouwingen over ontwikkeling en beleid*, Van Loghum Slaterus, Deventer 1980, p. 14; H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, *Ruimtelijke ordening. Van grachtengordel tot Vinex-wijk*, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 2003, p. 167; A. Lijphart, *Verzuiling, pacificatie en kentering in de Nederlandse politiek*, H.J.W. Becht, Haarlem 1992 [1968]; J.C. Kennedy, *Nieuw Babylon in aanbouw. Nederland in de jaren zestig, Boom*, Amsterdam 1995

<sup>10</sup> K. Schuyt & E. Taverne, *Welvaart in zwart-wit*. SDU uitgevers, Den Haag 2000, pp. 240-241, 251; H. Daudt, *De ontwikkeling van de politieke machtsverhoudingen in Nederland sinds 1945*, In: G.A. Kooy, J.H. de Ru & H.J. Scheffer (eds), *Nederland na 1945: beschouwingen over ontwikkeling en beleid*, Van Loghum Slaterus, Deventer 1980, p. 184

<sup>11</sup> In 1990, this became to be known as the 'Poldermodel' (H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, *Ruimtelijke ordening. Van grachtengordel tot Vinex-wijk*, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 2003, p. 170)

<sup>12</sup> H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, *Ruimtelijke ordening. Van grachtengordel tot Vinex-wijk*, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 2003, pp. 164-168

<sup>13</sup> K. Schuyt & E. Taverne, *Welvaart in zwart-wit*. SDU uitgevers, Den Haag 2000, pp. 244-247

<sup>14</sup> J.E. Ellemers & G.A. Kooy (et al), *Nederland na 1945. Beschouwingen over ontwikkeling en beleid*, Van Loghum Slaterus, Deventer 1980, pp. 14-16, 82; H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, *Ruimtelijke ordening. Van grachtengordel tot Vinex-wijk*, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 2003, p. 172

<sup>15</sup> Th. K. van Lohuizen, *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part II Resolutions Passed*, p. 26; K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-1945*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 182; A. Plate (Director of the Navigation Society, Rotterdam), In: *International Town Planning Conference Amsterdam 1924 Part II Resolutions Passed*, p. 23; K. Bosma, *Ruimte voor een nieuwe tijd: vormgeving van de Nederlandse Regio 1900-*

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1945, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1993, p. 208; A. Faludi & A. van der Valk, *Rule and Order. Dutch Planning Doctrine in the Twentieth Century*, Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht/Boston/London 1994; H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, *Ruimtelijke ordening. Van grachtengordel tot Vinex-wijk*, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 2003; S.V. Ward, *Planning in the 20<sup>th</sup> century: the advanced capitalist world*, John Wiley & Sons, Chichester 2002, pp. 199, 200

<sup>16</sup> Rijksdienst voor het Nationale Plan, Werkcommissie Westen des Lands, *De ontwikkeling van het westen des lands. Toelichting*, Staatsdrukkerij Uitgeverijbedrijf, 's-Gravenhage 1958, p. 61

<sup>17</sup> Rijksdienst voor het Nationale Plan, Centraal Planbureau, *Het Westen en overig Nederland. Ontwikkeling van de gebieden buiten het Westen des Lands*, Staatsdrukkerij- en uitgeverijbedrijf, 's-Gravenhage 1956; Rijksdienst voor het Nationale Plan, Werkcommissie Westen des Lands, *De ontwikkeling van het westen des lands. Toelichting*, Staatsdrukkerij Uitgeverijbedrijf, 's-Gravenhage 1958; Ministerie van Volkshuisvesting en Bouwnijverheid, *Nota inzake de ruimtelijke ordening in Nederland*, Staatsdrukkerij en uitgeverijbedrijf, 's-Gravenhage 1960; K. Schuyt & E. Taverne, *Welvaart in zwart-wit*. SDU uitgevers, Den Haag 2000, p. 139; Ministerie van Volkshuisvesting en Bouwnijverheid, *Nota inzake de ruimtelijke ordening in Nederland*, Staatsdrukkerij en uitgeverijbedrijf, 's-Gravenhage 1960; H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, *Ruimtelijke ordening. Van grachtengordel tot Vinex-wijk*, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 2003, p. 174; S.V. Ward, *Planning in the 20<sup>th</sup> century: the advanced capitalist world*, John Wiley & Sons, Chichester 2002, pp. 199-200

<sup>18</sup> K. Bosma & C. Wagenaar (eds), *Een geruisloze doorbraak*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1995, p. 16; H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, *Ruimtelijke ordening. Van grachtengordel tot Vinex-wijk*, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 2003, pp. 180, 181, 186; S.V. Ward, *Planning in the 20<sup>th</sup> century: the advanced capitalist world*, John Wiley & Sons, Chichester 2002, pp. 131, 196, 200; *De Maasbode* 27-6-1946 & *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 1-7-1946; C. Wagenaar, *Welvaartsstad in wording: De wederopbouw van Rotterdam 1940-1952*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1992, pp. 180, 184, 189; Rijksdienst voor het Nationale Plan, Centraal Planbureau, *Het Westen en overig Nederland. Ontwikkeling van de gebieden buiten het Westen des Lands*, Staatsdrukkerij- en uitgeverijbedrijf, 's-Gravenhage 1956; Rijksdienst voor het Nationale Plan, Werkcommissie Westen des Lands, *De ontwikkeling van het westen des lands. Toelichting*, Staatsdrukkerij Uitgeverijbedrijf, 's-Gravenhage 1958; H. Meyer, *City and Port. Urban Planning as a Cultural Venture in London, Barcelona, New York, and Rotterdam: changing relations between public urban space and large-scale infrastructure*, International Books, Utrecht 1999, pp. 16, 391





## Chapter 3 Rotterdam *Basisplan*

*“It is unimaginable that there could be a city plan that would not be contestable from a certain point of view because it does not fulfil ideals”<sup>1</sup>.*

### **Provocation**

Only a few months after the air raids of May 1940, a division of the Ministry of National Rebuilding (*Adviesbureau Stadsplan Rotterdam*<sup>2</sup>) presented Rotterdam’s rebuilding scheme: the ‘Witteveen scheme’, which was named after its chief architect, *W.G. Witteveen*<sup>3</sup>. In order to execute this plan, a second, deliberate round of demolition took place, during which even cables, wires and foundations were removed; this is quite a common phenomenon in European cities, and is called ‘double destruction’<sup>4</sup>. But during the war, the idea of reconstructing the city centre was replaced by the desire to create an entirely new, highly modernist one, free from the leaden burden of history.

In 1944, *C.H. van der Leeuw*, director and builder of the famous *Van Nelle* factory, replaced Witteveen. He became the driving force behind the new *Basisplan*, which was presented in January 1946, under the direction of *Cornelis van Traa*<sup>5</sup>. The *Basisplan* was a turning point in history, since the aim was to realize a new utopian society on the basis of socioeconomic planning, marking the end of *laissez-fair* and the beginning of the welfare state<sup>6</sup>. The plan had two important characteristics: it reduced urban society into four functions (dwelling, work, leisure, transport), and it was designed as a two-dimensional city plan as a basis for modern architecture, whereby architecture was not the city planners’ job<sup>7</sup>. The desire described in the *Basisplan* to transform the old city centre into a central business district (CBD) was thought to be necessary in order to decrease the sensibility of the urban economy to urban crises, and was an answer to the long-lasting depression of the 1930s<sup>8</sup>.

The five main elements of the *Basisplan*:

- The city centre at the top of the urban hierarchy
- City functions spatially separated
- The city destined to accommodate business services industries
- A simple, city-wide, rectangular main road system
- A flexible scheme: the percentage of the total built-up area was to be reduced from 62% (the level in 1940) to 34%, in order not to preclude new, as yet unforeseen developments<sup>9</sup>

The planning proposal fanned the discussions about the future of the inner city, but the bellows had been the famous publication *De stad der toekomst, de toekomst der stad* ('The city of the future, the future of the city'), by A. Bos (1946)<sup>10</sup>. And although many people in Rotterdam had to struggle hard to take care of the bare essentials of life, and although the public gallery was not packed during council discussions about the Basisplan, and despite newsprint being rationed<sup>11</sup> the debate on the Basisplan was far from quiet.

## ***Urban ideal images in the Basisplan debate***

Despite the differences between culturalists, progressists and city planners regarding the Basisplan debate, they had one important thing in common: they shared the ultimate goal of a flourishing city – a flourishing future Rotterdam. However diverse their proposals to achieve that goal, and no matter how large the controversies, in the end they aimed at that very same thing. A flourishing city was their leitmotiv; level 1 of all urban ideal images in this first city debate (table 2).

### **The urban ideal image of culturalists**

The first category of urban intellectuals consists of culturalists who had three important elements in common. First, culturalists focussed on the past, that is, life before the 18<sup>th</sup> century. They hated the 19<sup>th</sup> century for having created city plans based on technical and economic reasoning and for neglecting social and cultural life. Instead, future Rotterdam should become the largest historic, social centre of the Netherlands – which would not harm the economy as socially and culturally enriched people would enrich society. So, second, according to culturalists, planning should focus on community and history. Third, culturalists described their ideal inner city as a truly historic, cultural centre; a place where people would meet, a place replete with squares and parks<sup>12</sup>. These three elements concerned level 2 of their urban ideal image, and all other elements belonged to level 3 and were requirements for level 2.

According to culturalists, the future city plan should be based on surveys, on statistics showing reality, but desire was their main guide; they wanted to realize a city different from the present one, and more perfect<sup>13</sup>. As predicted needs and desires would change in time, a flexible plan was required, to be realized by both not building high (so that extra storeys could be added whenever necessary) and by prohibiting harmonious architecture (so that individual buildings could be replaced without disturbing the architectural unity)<sup>14</sup>. Therefore, new, contemporary architecture had to be developed; architecture as a 'true Art'<sup>15</sup>. Arbitrary building as a result of profit seeking should be replaced by government planning<sup>16</sup> whereby public

participation should play a role too<sup>17</sup>. And to realize their ideal city, pieces of the countryside had to be acquired for allotments, recreational areas, canals, roads, airports, factory sites, railways, stations and shunting-yards<sup>18</sup>.

The *wijkgedachte* introduced by Bos is the Dutch equivalent of the 'neighbourhood unit' developed by architect William E. Drummond before World War I and also described by the far better known Clarence Perry in 1929<sup>19</sup>. The *wijkgedachte* included well-defined units hierarchically ordered into (1) the neighbourhood ('buurt') should contain 500-1000 houses, 2000-4000 inhabitants; (2) the district (*wijk*) should have an average of 5000 houses, 20,000 inhabitants; and (3) the quarter should have about 100,000 inhabitants<sup>20</sup>.

Culturalists wanted a future city riddled with history. Thereby, some of them focussed on social structures. They pictured a green megalopolis, where the contrast between city and countryside had faded, consisting of autonomous urban neighbourhoods reaching beyond the horizon<sup>21</sup>. This was called *wijkgedachte*, whereby the airy, hygienic, light and ideally located neighbourhoods would be small enough to create a lively community life but big enough for important socio-cultural activities without fragmenting the city into small, isolated provincial towns. They would function autonomously, containing a mix of houses, businesses and industries, and be located near main traffic roads. The blacksmith would be moved back into the neighbourhoods, as liveliness would prevail over hindrance<sup>22</sup>. These neighbourhoods would be '*the living cells of the urban organism*'; the building stones of a renewed Culture<sup>23</sup>, and in order to realize that, the 19<sup>th</sup>-century physical structures could be demolished.

Autonomous urban quarters containing working, living, education and recreation facilities would mean the '*liquidation of the big city*' and therefore are '*absolutely unacceptable*' as businesses will '*disturb*' the peace and quiet of residential areas, will '*harm*' the character of neighbourhoods, '*break*' the unity of the built environment, and lead to '*inefficient*' businesses and to a '*traffic chaos*' as few people live where they work (progressist)<sup>24</sup>

Other culturalists focussed on physical structures, and disagreed with their fellow culturalists on this latter point. They wanted to preserve Rotterdam's physical structure, including the precious church *St Laurenskerk* ('St Laurens church') and the *Schielandshuis*<sup>25</sup>. J. Brautigam, culturalist, former alderman (SDAP) and co-creator of the Witteveen scheme, hated the creators of the Basisplan for simply drawing new roads and new neighbourhoods on the city map, unhampered by the old urban structure. Like some other culturalists, he wanted to preserve some old streets because they would increase the liveliness of future Rotterdam<sup>26</sup>. But he also thought that urban functions should be separated<sup>27</sup>.

Culturalists pictured a cultural future inner city<sup>28</sup> replete with public parks, station squares, market squares, squares for coaches, squares for

monuments and squares for public ceremonies<sup>29</sup>. Car traffic with a destination other than the inner city should be kept out of it, and pedestrian traffic should given right of way over all other traffic<sup>30</sup>. Ideas about the position of the inner city in the urban hierarchy differed: while culturalists who focussed on the social structure – for example, Bos – said that the city centre should be more or less equal to and have the same rights and influences as all other neighbourhoods<sup>31</sup>, those who focussed on the physical structure seemed to have envisaged a slightly more important role – on top. But even Bos acknowledged that the city centre was as a special quarter, different from all others:

*The moving crowds, the lights and shop-windows, the traffic flow, the characteristic public on certain days, locations and times; these elements in the centre are an essential part of everyone's existence*<sup>32</sup>.

The green future megalopolis would have lots of recreational areas, public parks, playgrounds, sport parks and – most important – gardens, or in the absence of gardens roof gardens and houseplants. Of course, they hastened to say, no one should think of planting huge trees on roofs. But small trees, together with bushes, were very suitable for roofs, enabling people to enjoy the blossoming and flourishing of the earth, the fruit-bearing and the dying back, as well as the influence of the seasons on the earth<sup>33</sup>. Greenery was also considered important because residents and visitors should be able to breathe air rather than petrol fumes. Moreover, parks would counterweight the centrifugal influences of people fleeing the city<sup>34</sup>. Thereby, it was very important not to use greenery as buffer zones, as that would spatially separate two related elements of human life<sup>35</sup>. Canals could fulfil an important recreational function, too, and were desirable because they offer the most beautiful balance between culture and nature – but only under the express condition that they could be sailed and would flow into important waters<sup>36</sup>. Therefore, Rotterdam should be reconnected to the *Nieuwe Maas* river<sup>37</sup>.

The City should be of stone: it is not a place for the idyllic flowering daisy (progressist)<sup>38</sup>

If it were up to culturalists, Rotterdam would not be based on a rational, fast road system. Its urban quarters would be well accessible but not too high, as too fast roads were thought to stimulate the depopulation of the city centre<sup>39</sup>. Life would be localized, thereby diminishing the need for transportation. Moreover, traffic types should not be separated, although some pedestrian overpasses at crossings could be useful<sup>40</sup>.

In sum, culturalists desired an improved version of the past city, and as a result of both level 2 and level 3 of their urban ideal image, culturalists were against the implementation of both the Witteveen scheme and the Basisplan<sup>41</sup>.

### *Who were these culturalist urban intellectuals?*

...historians are born with their head facing backwards<sup>42</sup>

Without exception, all culturalists participating in the Basisplan debate were well-educated urban intellectuals. One of them was J. Brautigam who had been alderman for public works during the war and was involved in the establishment of the Witteveen scheme, but now worked as a journalist for the newspaper *Het Vrije Volk*, which meant he could spread his ideas. Unsurprisingly, he was the only culturalist who *did* want the Witteveen scheme to be implemented. A. Bos was director of the Department of Housing, and Dr J. Ph. Backx a prominent harbour baron, director harbour installations and a member of *De Rotterdamsche Gemeenschap* (a community founded in 1944 with the aim of generating commitment from all Rotterdammers to rebuild Rotterdam's centre). Backx was also a member of *Kleine Commissie van De Club Rotterdam*, a society of businessmen under the leadership of K.P. van der Mandele, as was van der Leeuw<sup>43</sup>. L.H.J. Angenot was a university teacher in urban planning. *De Maze* Historical Society comprised many historians.

### **The urban ideal image of progressists**

All participants in this second category had three important things in common. First, they were oriented towards the future. They had a strong belief that the future could bring a better Rotterdam, better than it had ever been in the past. Moreover, their focus was on trade and industry. And third, the future city should have a flourishing central business district (CBD) –or 'City', as they called it – on top of the urban hierarchy, and located at the heart of intersections, though a little to the west of the old inner city. These three elements were part of the second level of the urban ideal image of progressists. All the other elements they mentioned belonged to level 3, and were meant to realize level 2: to realize a flourishing CBD at the heart of a forward city that is strong in trade and industry.

It is a bitter irony that a society in its first phase, that in pursuance of its fundamental principles aiming at conserving historical monuments, a black day came with the destruction of almost all of the old city centre (culturalist)<sup>44</sup>

In the future Rotterdam, large industries would be decentralized to industrial areas,<sup>45</sup> while offices would be located alongside inner courts and waterways, like the luxurious offices in Amsterdam<sup>46</sup>. The town hall was part of their ideal future, but the future looked quite gloomy for all the other historic buildings<sup>47</sup>. The demolition hammer had to be grasped again, and the resulting wiping out of monuments would simply be the by-product of progress<sup>48</sup>. In the CBD, shopping, offices and entertainment would be separated. The shopping district was considered the ‘*building stones*’ of the city centre, generating economic prosperity, and would be designed such that shoppers would be able to zigzag between the shops<sup>49</sup>. The future CBD would contain a small number of houses – for shopkeepers and those who preferred to live in the centre – which would increase the liveliness in the CBD at night<sup>50</sup>. Instead of the huge roundabouts and bare, windy squares described in the Basisplan, the future CBD would contain squares as forums, together with simple traffic junctions<sup>51</sup>. Cars would be able to enter the inner city freely because of wide, efficient roads and ‘*many beautiful car parks*’<sup>52</sup>. In addition, the future city centre would contain inner courts like Fountain's Court in London and the garden of the *Palais Royal* in Paris,<sup>53</sup> but be of stone, with lots of asphalt and artificial light, and ‘*no place for the idyllic flowering daisy*’<sup>54</sup>. And to emphasize its importance on top of the urban hierarchy, the inner city would get a high building density<sup>55</sup>.

In the future, urban functions would be separated<sup>56</sup>, surrounded by green belts<sup>57</sup>, and connected by a fast, efficient transport system<sup>58</sup> where traffic types would be separated, for example by flyover junctions<sup>59</sup>. A sharp border would mark the contrast between future Rotterdam and its countryside<sup>60</sup>. It would be a city of limited size, no larger than about 700,000 inhabitants, and surrounded by satellite cities linked to their donor city by excellent roads<sup>61</sup>. They would be dependent on Rotterdam, not autonomous, and thus diametrically opposed to the garden cities desired by culturalists<sup>62</sup>. Inside the airy and sunny residential areas, high- and low-rise buildings would be combined<sup>63</sup>, creating space for the construction of small parks<sup>64</sup>. Recreational areas would be located outside the city, and connected with the existing landscape<sup>65</sup>. Along the Nieuwe Maas river, luxurious houses for the upper class as well as boulevards would be constructed<sup>66</sup> in order to create a wonderful urban recreational area, closely connected to the city<sup>67</sup>.

The future city would be part of a larger urban area, making it difficult to predict future needs and desires; so the city plan was not designed in detail and should remain flexible<sup>68</sup>.

*It might seem prosaic, but initially, urban development is nothing more than making calculations. One should make calculations about the expected population's growth, and the amount of daily incoming vehicles into the city centre. How many shops will be necessary? How much space should be reserved for industry and warehouses?*

*... Will the inland navigation grow or will the traffic over land win? Should one, as a result, reserve more or less wharf frontage?*<sup>69</sup>

That, together with desires and public participation, should be the basis of a city plan<sup>70</sup>. And to create a harmonious, homogeneous character and style, a new, contemporary architecture had to be developed, so that future Rotterdam would become an exclusive sanctuary for modern architecture<sup>71</sup>.

And thus, as a result of level 2 and level 3 of their urban ideal image, progressists thought that, preferably after some minor adjustments, the Basisplan should be implemented.

### *Who where these progressist urban intellectuals?*

Many of the progressist urban intellectuals participating in the Basisplan debate were architects, writers of articles in architecture journals or members of architectural federations and associations. H.M. Kraaijvanger operated as a urban intellectual in his role as architect and member of the architectural association *De Gewestelijke Kring Rotterdam van den Bond van Nederlandsche Architecten*. Some of them were engineers or economists, writing in journals on the economy, technique, public works or urban design. Moreover, some journalists working for the newspapers *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, *De Maasbode*, *Rotterdamsch Dagblad*, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* and *Het Vrije Volk* fulfilled the role of progressist urban intellectual.

## **The urban ideal image of city planners**

‘We should no longer think about what we had lost and what we wanted to regain from the past, but we should consider the new things and new goals we could gain and achieve’, said city planners. And thus, it was crystal clear: city planners were headed towards the future<sup>72</sup>. Moreover, city planners thought that planning should focus on trade and industry. And third, a CBD – or ‘City’, as they called it – located in the inner city and on top of the urban hierarchy, would play the most important role.

*It has to become the highlight of the city; the natural centre where at all the other city parts direct themselves to, that represents the city as a whole; it is the final piece of the urban development whole; and literally and figuratively the core*<sup>73</sup>.

These three elements concerned level 2 of the urban ideal image of city planners. All the other elements they mentioned belonged to level 3 and were meant to realize those elements of level 2: a forward city, with flourishing trade and industries, and at its heart and on top of the urban hierarchy, a CBD located in the inner city.



While until now the city centre was the absolute sovereign, we will provide life in the urban quarters in exchange. An ideal situation would be achieved if life in the city centre and the urban quarters were balanced (culturalist)<sup>74</sup>

Future Rotterdam was meant for future generations, which *'should not have anything to blame us for'*<sup>75</sup>. The current generation's participation in urban planning was not desired, but they did have to help to build the city planners' ideal future city. And so, city planners said it was important that the Basisplan would be *'understood, accepted and supported by the city-dweller'*<sup>76</sup>. Because Rotterdam was part of a larger, unpredictable whole, and because the scheme was meant to be sufficient for at least two (!) centuries, the scheme had to be flexible and adjustable to changing needs identified by means of surveys, and to changing future desires<sup>77</sup>.

In the future city, businesses and industries currently located in the inner city that did not need a location there would be relocated into new business and industrial areas on the outskirts of the city<sup>78</sup>. The CBD itself had to be located a little more to the west, at the heart of the intersection of urban thoroughways. Inside the CBD, functions had to be separated. There would be few houses – only for those who wanted them, and to increase the area's liveliness<sup>79</sup>. It would be built in high density, though more open than the old, cramped inner city had been<sup>80</sup>. Moreover, the future CBD would be extremely accessible, letting motorists drive freely into the inner city<sup>81</sup>. And although architectural rules were explicitly left out the *Basisplan*, city planners had clear ideas on architecture: it should be contemporary and use modern techniques, while eclecticism and fake architecture were forbidden<sup>82</sup>.

Future Rotterdam would be clearly bordered and contrasted with the countryside<sup>83</sup>. The city would be of limited size and, if necessary, housing would be located in satellite cities<sup>84</sup>. They called this *wijkgedachte*, although they meant something entirely different than the culturalist Bos did. City planners did not want autonomous neighbourhoods, but urban quarters without through traffic<sup>85</sup>. In these quarters, high-rise and low-rise buildings would be mixed<sup>86</sup>. They would contain lots of green elements, but no large recreational areas as those should be located outside the city<sup>87</sup>. And at Nieuwe Maas, it would be possible to walk, work and live<sup>88</sup>.

Rotterdam would be zoned into dwelling areas, recreation areas, and work areas, which would be interconnected by a fast and efficient transport system with separated traffic types<sup>89</sup>. Therefore, the old harbour had to be *'sacrificed'* in order to construct a huge traffic square at *Maasbrug* ('Maas Bridge'), and *Westersingel* ('Western Canal') would probably be filled in order to build a straight, wide road on top of it<sup>90</sup>. To them, it was not a real sacrifice; not a single tear was wept over the 'double destruction'. The only monument mentioned in their descriptions of future Rotterdam was the town hall while they were not sure whether they wanted to preserve *St*

*Laurenskerk* and the façade of the *Schielandshuis*. The rest of the historic legacy, including Dudok’s *Bijenkorf* department store and old residential areas, could be demolished<sup>91</sup>. Things were quite simple: for their future city, the city planners were willing to sacrifice everything from the past.

And thus, as a result of level 2 and 3 of their urban ideal image, city planners designed the Basisplan. Moreover, they articulated an urban ideal image that was quite similar to that of progressists (table 2).

**Table 2: Urban ideal images of culturalists, progressists and city planners, Rotterdam period 1<sup>92</sup>**

		<b>Elements of urban ideal image</b>	<i>Culturalists</i>	<i>Progressists</i>	<i>City planners</i>
<b>Level 1</b>			Flourishing city	Flourishing city	Flourishing city
<b>Level 2</b>		<b>Position of inner city</b>	Cultural historic centre	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy
		<b>Orientation</b>	Towards the past	Towards the future	Towards the future
		<b>Focus of planning</b>	Community & history	Trade & industry	Trade & industry
<b>Level 3</b>	<b>G e n e r a l</b>	<b>Basis of planning</b>	Survey & desires	Survey & desires	Survey & desires
			Flexible city plan, not detailed	Flexible city plan, not detailed	Flexible city plan, not detailed
				City as part of a larger whole: the region	City as part of a larger whole: the region
			Public participation	Public participation	Public support
		<b>Architecture</b>	Contemporary	Contemporary, harmonious & homogeneous	Contemporary
		<b>Main planning actor</b>	Government	Government	Government
		<b>City extension</b>	Garden cities	Satellite cities	Satellite cities
		<b>Border between city and countryside</b>	Faded	Sharp	Sharp

<b>Level 3</b>	<b>G e n e r a l</b>	<b>Accent on city or countryside</b>	City	City	City
		<b>City size</b>	Infinite	Limited	Limited
		<b>Height</b>	Limited		
		<b>City functions</b>	Mixed versus zoned	Zoned	Zoned
		<b>History</b>	Pattern of living riddled with history	Keep the past in mind, but focus on the future	Keep the past in mind, but focus on the future
		<b>Density</b>	Uniform	Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city's edge	Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city's edge
	<b>D w e l l i n g s</b>	<b>Structure</b>	Airy, light, decentralized autonomous urban neighbourhoods; lots of dwellings in the inner city	Airy, light, decentralized housing quarters	Airy, light, decentralized housing quarters
		<b>Housing types</b>		Mix of high- & low- rise	Mix of high- & low-rise
			Identifiable houses	Homogeneous whole	Homogeneous whole
		<b>Stratification</b>		Luxurious housing along the river	
		<b>Renewal of residential quarters</b>	Comprehensive redevelopment versus rehabilitation	Comprehensive redevelopment	Comprehensive redevelopment
	<b>L e i s u r e</b>	<b>Green elements</b>	Parks, gardens/roof gardens	Parks	Parks
		<b>Nature</b>	Bring nature into the city	Nature subordinate to commercial developments & located only outside the city	Nature subordinate to commercial developments & located only outside the city

<b>Level 3</b>	<b>L e i s u r e</b>	<b>Buffers around built-up areas</b>	No buffers but integrated into the city	Green buffers	
		<b>Use of waterfronts</b>	Non-commercial	Commercial	Commercial
		<b>Location of recreational areas</b>	Interwoven with the city	Outside the city	Outside the city
	<b>W o r k</b>	<b>Location</b>	Mixed with other functions	Separated	Separated
		<b>Industries</b>	Inside neighbourhood units	Decentralized into accessible industrial areas at city edge	Decentralized into accessible industrial areas at city edge
	<b>T r a n s p o r t a t i o n</b>	<b>Focus</b>	Accessible urban areas, non-radial	Fast & efficient transport system, radial	Fast & efficient transport system, radial
		<b>Mobility</b>	Limit mobility by localizing life	Meet mobility needs by constructing roads	Meet mobility needs by constructing roads
		<b>Design</b>	Based on old structure	Rational, radial	Rational, radial
		<b>Traffic types</b>	Mixed	Separated	Separated
	<b>I n n e r c i t y</b>	<b>Main function</b>	Cultural	Economic	Economic
		<b>Inner city functions</b>	Mixed	Zoned	Zoned
		<b>Location of offices</b>	Mainly outside inner city, mixed inside neighbourhoods	Inside inner city, along waterfronts	Inside inner city
		<b>Accessibility</b>	Moderate	High	High
		<b>Car traffic</b>	Limited	Unlimited	Unlimited
		<b>Residential function</b>	Large	Limited	Limited
		<b>Traffic priority</b>	Pedestrians	Motorists	Motorists

Level 3	C	Public space		Squares as forums	
	B D	Design	Heterogeneous, anti-homogeneous	Homogeneous, contemporary	Homogeneous, contemporary

## **Strategies in Basisplan debate**

### **The strategies of culturalists**

Culturalists were eager to wipe out all relics from the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the black pages in the city's history. They wrote page after page about how these centuries had destroyed their beloved structures from the 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, the beautiful buildings and the close-knit communities. They wrote about how the carpenter and the blacksmith had been driven from the neighbourhoods, alienating inhabitants, and how many historic canals had been filled in with sand. And this lost preciousness, this unbearable absence from present city, was used as a reason for wanting it back<sup>93</sup>. The time had now come to put aside economic reasoning and to focus on social and cultural life – just a matter of valuation<sup>94</sup>. And in order to help their audience a bit, they limited their choices artificially: “*What do we want to create: robots or personalities? ....What kind of community life do we desire: cold loneliness or harmonious society? ... Do we want children or cars? Do we want schools or traffic squares?*”<sup>95</sup>.

Destroyed community life alienated people, turning them into dry grains of sand, turning them into spineless prey for any ascendant power. Therefore, autonomous neighbourhood units had to be constructed<sup>96</sup>. Moreover, people needed them for their physical and mental health, as neither city life nor people could flourish in deserts of stone<sup>97</sup>. Thereby, a fading border between city and countryside and a city of unlimited size was inevitable and should be accepted as a given fact because there was no real indication that there anything could stop these developments<sup>98</sup>.

The present depopulated inner city, desolate after working hours, was a reason for wanting a different one in the future<sup>99</sup>. It should be filled with squares – like *Rembrandtplein* in Amsterdam, *Martiniplein* in Groningen and the squares in Brussels, Basel and Bruges, and Haarlem<sup>100</sup> – and dotted with pedestrians wandering the streets as they do in Amsterdam's *Nieuwendijk* and *Kalverstraat*<sup>101</sup>. Moreover, some culturalists said that because of its current immense historical importance, because financial support from the state and province would soon be on its way, and because its demolition would be irreversible, the *Schielandshuis* should be preserved as a whole, not only its façade<sup>102</sup>. It was just a matter of balancing the value of a few guilders against the value of Rotterdam's last monumental example

of 17<sup>th</sup>-century architecture<sup>103</sup>. Besides, because city planners had used the wrong, outdated research methods, car traffic would increase much less than was expected, so the *Bijenkorf* department store could be saved from the ‘*Moloch called Traffic*’<sup>104</sup>, because a wider road there was not necessary<sup>105</sup>. And when city planners turned out not to be that sensitive to these arguments, they denigrated them, calling them indifferent vandals<sup>106</sup>.

There is no Schielandshuis anymore, there is only a frontage ... Everything behind the façade is of no architectural value at all (city planner)<sup>107</sup>

Culturalists warned that if the Basisplan or the Witteveen scheme were implemented, Rotterdam would face the gloomiest future, with tasteless bank palaces, windy squares and no lively, safe neighbourhoods; in other words, a dead city<sup>108</sup>. But if we would all just support their ideal, we could change the existing world into their ideal one, namely the biggest historic, social cultural centre of the Netherlands, a truly perfect, powerful city, like Babylon or Rome<sup>109</sup>. And in order to arouse the interest of potential supporters, they published brochures<sup>110</sup>. In addition, they increased their output of words describing their ideals by writing articles for journals and newspapers and by publishing (quite well-read) books. Thereby, of course, they used their own vocabulary, and remarkably (but understandably, considering their urban ideal image), and contrary the progressists and city planners, they never used the word ‘City’ to describe the inner city.

Culturalists denigrated city planners for their Basisplan “*This scheme was made by people with a surplus of nerve, who see absolutely no hindrance in the current city, who vandalize everything what still is beautiful*”<sup>111</sup>, and let their potential enemies know that they had a low opinion of them anyway “*...there will always be indifferent persons, outsiders, adventures and adversaries*”<sup>112</sup>. The Basisplan could not be implemented, they said, because the period between its publication and its final approval was too short. Their scapegoat was Le Corbusier, and their heroes were Lewis Mumford and Ebenezer Howard, while Backx also praised *Georges Eugène Haussmann* for having the courage to realize a highly ambitious vision, one that required cutting straight across existing houses and interests – the kind of means he himself had in mind<sup>113</sup>. Culturalists tried to rouse people, but at the same time Backx warned their opponents that they had lots of support already, emphasizing that many people ‘*waited eagerly*’ for their urban ideal image to be realized<sup>114</sup>. Moreover, they curried favour among city planners by saying that they could imagine very well that it would be difficult for them to realize buildings with a social and cultural function instead of a commercial one, but that they just had to try a little bit harder<sup>115</sup>. And the choice was so simple: “*Do we accept the decline of our civilization as inescapable or do we want to believe in the possibility to renew, to build up a new community?*”<sup>116</sup>

## The strategies of progressists

In the booming 19<sup>th</sup> century, infinite and joyless streets were built at the mercy of speculation of landowners and homeowners, destroying all the historic beauty the city once had. So no, the bombings had not destroyed any valuable physical structures, and no, they were not mourning about their losses<sup>117</sup>. “Rotterdam will always remember how the old city centre had disappeared, but that the city centre disappeared, well, what has been lost by that?”<sup>118</sup> The image of the present city, freed from its unbearable past, was used as the reason to build a brand-new one. We had to abandon nostalgia, as it would be a ‘*denial of reality*’ to go on with life as it had stopped in 1940, to return to the lack of light, air, space, those unbearable housing conditions, the chaotically organized city centre, and the increasing traffic congestion in its small, bendy streets<sup>119</sup>.

Indescribable was the beauty of Aelbrechtskolk ... between the two typical Dutch drawbridges. In the silent water, the façades of the intact 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century premises .... the old Sint-Anthonius Chapel from 1417.... the picturesque Zakkendragershuisje .... an unequalled piece of city beauty, as only small water villages can show us (culturalist)<sup>120</sup>

Although cities like Arras, Reims, Verdun and Ypres revealed the undesirability of rebuilding a city centre based on an old city map, Tokyo – which was rebuilt on the American model after a major earthquake – and the enlargement of the centre of Bucharest were not good examples either<sup>121</sup>. According to most progressists, as the Witteveen scheme was based not on an extensive preliminary investigation but on nostalgia and old-fashioned research methods, its replacement was inevitable<sup>122</sup>.

Progressists said that a city centre dotted with forums, as in Brussels,<sup>123</sup> and containing a limited number of houses, was inevitable to ensure liveliness<sup>124</sup> and because ‘*the general public has a large need for public forums*’ as meeting points<sup>125</sup>. Streets should be designed like those in Amsterdam-South<sup>126</sup>. In addition, *Coolsingel* was regarded as the very centre of the city, and therefore had to be widened,<sup>127</sup> for reasons of efficiency<sup>128</sup>. Demolishing the *Bijenkorf* and the *Schielandshuis*, about the last historic buildings left in the city centre, was inevitable. But city planners hastened to emphasize that they, too, really felt deeply sorry for that: “*It is a sacrifice and many Rotterdammers will feel sorry for the fact that they have to miss this beautiful specimen of old architecture*”<sup>129</sup>. And like in London, Paris, Lisbon, Venice and Marseille, the harbour identity of the city centre should be strengthened by reconnecting it to the Nieuwe Maas<sup>130</sup>.

Their scapegoat was Le Corbusier, and their hero Ebenezer Howard (culturalists)<sup>131</sup>

Urban functions had to be separated for reasons of efficiency, and therefore satellite cities instead of garden cities were proposed<sup>132</sup>. Le Corbusier played the role of hero<sup>133</sup> and Elbenzer Howard was their scapegoat. Howard's garden cities with their fading borders would more or less 'kill the subject' (i.e. the city)<sup>134</sup> and besides, inhabitants did not want them: "*Why should the countryman visit a city that looks like his village although the streets are a little broader and cleaner and the gravel raked?*"<sup>135</sup> If garden cities were constructed, their greatest fear – an awful, big metropolis like Paris or London – would become reality<sup>136</sup>. Instead, with the new, green residential areas city planners had in mind, living in Rotterdam 'cannot be far from ideal'<sup>137</sup>. Besides, people simply needed them for developing their personalities more freely and naturally<sup>138</sup>. These neighbourhoods would be linked by fast roads with lots of parking spaces because (a) it was inevitable, (b) specialists had predicted increasing car ownership, and (c) the United States had shown that this is the way to go<sup>139</sup>. So therefore, journalists at *Het Vrije Volk* used their editorial power, denigrating readers who articulated different ideals in their letters – which had been sent to them in the first place because these journalists had asked their readers for their opinion<sup>140</sup>.

Progressists tried to rouse the population of Rotterdam by crying out "*The world wants to see what kind of people the Dutchmen are!*"<sup>141</sup> But at the same time, they pretended that they had lots of support for their ideals already<sup>142</sup>. Rotterdammers 'had squeezed up together along the drawing table'<sup>143</sup>, it was said, although newspapers reported an uninterested mass, as was shown by almost empty public galleries during Basisplan debates<sup>144</sup>. Their message was clear: their ideals should be implemented, for which only a few adjustments to the Basisplan would be needed. Or, as Van Embden put it, emphasizing the large efforts already made: "*The work may be not totally beautiful; it anyhow should have the chance to be realized*"<sup>145</sup>.

## The strategies of city planners

We should be happy and relieved for all what was lost during the bombings in Rotterdam; with one sweep, the unbearable tension between the inflexible stones and dynamic life was gone, knots radically chopped through, freeing our handcuffs from the past<sup>146</sup>.

*Dost thou realize, Rotterdammer, that many of the most precious memories of what has been lost in the Days of May, were connected to what, looking soberly, were only shortcomings of our old city?*<sup>147</sup>

In order to emphasize this, photographs, taken on dark, rainy days, were reproduced showing horrible quarters, adding captions saying: 'too narrow for traffic', 'bad living quarters', or 'Old, messy Coolsingel'<sup>148</sup>. Because of



this image of the current situation, because it would be ‘*sheer madness*’ to ‘*restore imperfection deliberately*’, and because they had already spent so much time, effort and money on cleaning tons and tons of rubbish and removing poles and infrastructure, the implementation of the Basisplan was inevitable<sup>149</sup>. Besides, they argued, if the Witteveen scheme were executed, the goal of a flourishing CBD could not be realized, leading to the gloomiest future city<sup>150</sup>. Moreover, city planners wrote, addressing themselves to culturalists, it would be simply impossible to rebuild the old city centre<sup>151</sup>.

The future inner city would get lots of car parks, city planners argued, because specialists had proven that traffic would grow tremendously<sup>152</sup>. Moreover, it was inevitable to build a few houses inside the economic heart, as for example shop owners needed to live close to their shops and because houses increased the liveliness<sup>153</sup>. Therefore, it would be most efficient not to widen the Coolsingel because it would cost too much money and would split the urban heart in two, disturbing its economic function<sup>154</sup>.

Because it would be most efficient, Coolsingel had to be widened (progressist)<sup>155</sup>

City planners argued that people needed the Basisplan because it would meet human needs<sup>156</sup>. Moreover, they said that because they had put so much effort into designing the plan, they were allowed to ask and expect the citizens to be interested in the scheme<sup>157</sup>. Participants should be interested but should not participate, as they were simply not able to make judgements about this scheme; only future generations living in 2200 would<sup>158</sup>. By saying that, they of course excluded the present generations from having any say whatsoever about the Basisplan, something which also became clear from the refusal to establish a discussion centre. Some councillors had asked for such a centre because they thought that the public should participate<sup>159</sup>.

But although they may not have wanted their opinion, city planners did need public support to create their ideals; to spread the message, massive quantities of brochures were printed and distributed. In these brochures and in newspapers, the present tense was often used. As Holstein (1998) has shown, using the present tense makes it look like as though the new city already exists, which in general diminishes the urge to discuss the future city – a strategy, according to Holstein, particular employed by city planners<sup>160</sup>. In a way, using the present tense is like showing scale models or drawings of the future city, except that words rather than paper are used.

City planners carried the favour of former alderman Brautigam – one of their opponents in the debate – and of Ringers – the general director of rebuilding in Rotterdam – by praising all the efforts they had made for the Witteveen scheme and for preventing German interference with the rebuilding<sup>161</sup>. Moreover, city planners presumed that they had lots of

support<sup>162</sup>, but at the same time tried to rouse Rotterdammers by telling them that abroad, they wanted to know whether the Dutch were a beaten community, dismayed like a cowed dog. City planners urged stout hearts:

*We have to exploit the disaster that came to us, we have to exploit the misfortune and with supreme effort create happiness for those who will come after us....It is the only way to show dignity to our past, it is the only way to prove stronger than Lot<sup>163</sup>.*

Rotterdam faced the most perfect future, a magnificent example of national importance<sup>164</sup>, if only we would work together<sup>165</sup>. *“We want to build a very good, new Rotterdam, and we, Rotterdammers, have to do that together”<sup>166</sup>. We could change the world, if only everyone would help. “Rotterdam, roll up your sleeves! There is important work to be done!”<sup>167</sup> But we had to hurry, before it was too late: “We are going to create a lively city .... We are going to give the city it’s heart back ... We have to start immediately ....”<sup>168</sup>, and therefore, they said, they had planned a very short period between the publication of the proposed plan and its final approval.*

**Table 3: Strategies of culturalists, progressists and city planners, Rotterdam period 1**

	<i>Culturalists</i>	<i>Progressists</i>	<i>City planners</i>
<b>Motives</b>	Image of the present city	Image of the present city	Image of the present city
	Liveliness	Liveliness	Liveliness
	Efficiency	Efficiency	Efficiency
	Cultural history		
	Valuation		
	Research methods	Research methods	
		Facts	Facts
			Goal will not be reached
			Goal cannot be reached
	Gloomy future	Gloomy future	Gloomy future
	Perfect future	Perfect future	Perfect future
	Inevitability	Inevitability	Inevitability
			Last chance/emergency
	National/international examples	National/international examples	National/international examples
		Spent so much time/effort/money	Spent so much time/effort/money
	Irreversible		
		People want it	People want it

<b>Motives</b>	People need it	People need it	People need it
	Short public enquiry procedure		
<b>Creative expression</b>	Brochures		Brochures
			Photos
			Drawings and sketches
<b>Linguistic expression</b>	Talking and writing	Talking and writing	Talking and writing
			Present tense
	Vocabulary	Vocabulary	Vocabulary
<b>Friends &amp; enemies</b>		Editorial power	Editorial power
	Denigrating	Denigrating	
	Rousing	Rousing	Rousing
	Heroes	Heroes	
	Scapegoats	Scapegoats	
	Lots of us	Lots of us	Lots of us
	Curry favour		Curry favour
			Just like you
	We can change the world!	We can change the world!	
<b>Gaining power</b>	Choice reduction		
			Advisory councils

## ***The influence of urban ideal images in the public debate on the final Basisplan***

So, indeed, many strategies were used to gain support for and to strengthen the chance of realizing urban ideal images. But where did these strategies lead? The strategies used by urban intellectuals certainly made local councillors, mayor and aldermen notice and think about the urban ideal images of urban intellectuals.

In council reports on the Basisplan, a large proportion of the newspaper articles, journals and books mentioned above were discussed. Councillors Dutilh, Plate, Kapinga and Nelemans referred to the BNA Report (*Kring Rotterdam van den Bond van Nederlandsche Architecten*) because it was stated there that *Coolsingel* should not be widened and that *Beursplein* was in need of a far more simple design, as they themselves had figured out<sup>169</sup>. However, councillor Van Tijen said that because of the conflicting arguments he had read in H.M. Kraaijvanger's book, in publications by several Rotterdam architects, in contributions from the *Rotterdamsche Gemeenschap* and in many newspapers articles, he thought that more research was needed on the Coolsingel before a final decision could be made<sup>170</sup>. Alderman E.H.A. Kraaijvanger (KVP) responded that he,

too, had read these publications and that he appreciated the fact that they had made an effort to show their ideas, including the ideas of the culturalist Brautigam in *Het Vrije Volk*. But it was extremely remarkable, he went on, that particularly contributions in which it was stated that *Coolsingel* should be widened (which was contrary his own point of view) were chaotic and inconsistent; and anyway, they seemed to have faded away<sup>171</sup>.

Moreover, councillor Dekhuijzen-Zeehuisen (the most conservative member of the council) pled for the preservation of the only characteristic 17<sup>th</sup>-century building left – the *Schielandshuis* – referring to Verheul's publication<sup>172</sup>. To this, alderman Kraaijvanger responded cynically that he was worried sick that probably a large proportion of Rotterdammers suffered from insomnia, as many of them had bombarded him with letters demanding the preservation of the *Schielandshuis*. He said that he had talked it over with *De Maze* Historical Society, and that everyone should realize that “*There is no Schielandshuis anymore, there is only a frontage ... Everything behind the façade is of no architectural value at all*”<sup>173</sup>. But because of all those presumed sleepless nights, he said, he nevertheless had given the order to investigate whether it would be worth preserving the façade. However, he immediately added, if it turned out that a preserved façade would require adjustments to the Basisplan, the façade would be demolished<sup>174</sup>.

So yes, urban ideal images were mentioned and discussed in local council meetings, but what effects did they have on the final Basisplan? Well, none. The local council made their remarks – which included a statement that the period between the proposal and the final plan was too short for the public to form an opinion<sup>175</sup> – but then approved the plan. No adjustments were made to the elements of the urban ideal image detailed in the proposal. On 29 May 1946, just three months after the proposal had been published, the final plan was approved<sup>176</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> L.H.J. Angenot (Professor of Planning), *Planologische problemen bij de herbouw van het centrum van een grote stad*, Martinus Nijhoff, 's-Gravenhage 1946, p. 25

<sup>2</sup> Adviesbureau Stadsplan Rotterdam (A.S.R.O., literally Advisory Board for the Reconstruction of Rotterdam), *Het nieuwe hart van Rotterdam. Toelichting op het Basisplan voor den herbouw van de binnenstad van Rotterdam*, Nijgh & Van Ditmar, Rotterdam 1946

<sup>3</sup> L. de Klerk, *Particuliere Plannen: Denkbeelden en initiatieven van de stedelijke elite inzake de volkswoningbouw en de stedebouw in Rotterdam*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1998, p. 168; A. Tijhuis & C. Wagenaar 1995, In: K. Bosma & C. Wagenaar (eds), *Een geruisloze doorbraak*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1995, pp. 137-139

<sup>4</sup> C. Wagenaar, *Welvaartsstad in wording. De wederopbouw van Rotterdam 1940-1952*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1992, p. 308; K. Bosma & C. Wagenaar (eds), *Een geruisloze doorbraak*, NAI Uitgevers, Rotterdam 1995, p. 15; K. Schuyt & E. Taverne, *Welvaart in zwart-wit*. SDU uitgevers, Den Haag 2000, p. 180

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<sup>77</sup> Adviesbureau Stadsplan Rotterdam (A.S.R.O., literally Advisory Board for the Reconstruction of Rotterdam), Het nieuwe hart van Rotterdam. Toelichting op het Basisplan voor den herbouw van de binnenstad van Rotterdam, Nijgh & Van Ditmar, Rotterdam 1946, p. 13; E.H.A. Kraaijvanger (Alderman), Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant 29-5-1946; E.H.A. Kraaijvanger (Alderman) & C. Van Traa (Director Public Works and responsible for the Basisplan), Het Vrije Volk 10-4-1946; Adviesbureau Stadsplan Rotterdam (A.S.R.O., literally Advisory Board for the Reconstruction of Rotterdam), Het nieuwe hart van Rotterdam. Toelichting op het Basisplan voor den herbouw van de binnenstad van Rotterdam, Nijgh & Van Ditmar, Rotterdam 1946; P.J. Oud (Mayor), Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant 10-4-1946

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<sup>79</sup> E.H.A. Kraaijvanger (Alderman), Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant 27-3-1946 & in: De Rotterdammer 29-5-1946, De Maasbode 10-5-1946, De Maasbode 29-5-1946 & Het Vrije Volk 15-3-1946; P.J. Oud (Mayor), Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant 10-4-1946; Mayor & Aldermen, Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant 22-5-1946 & in: Rotterdamsch Dagblad 20-5-1946; E.H.A. Kraaijvanger (Alderman) & C. Van Traa (Director Public Works and responsible for the Basisplan), Het Vrije Volk 10-4-1946

<sup>80</sup> Adviesbureau Stadsplan Rotterdam (A.S.R.O., literally Advisory Board for the Reconstruction of Rotterdam), Het nieuwe hart van Rotterdam. Toelichting op het Basisplan voor den herbouw van de binnenstad van Rotterdam, Nijgh & Van Ditmar, Rotterdam 1946, p. 17

<sup>81</sup> Mayor & Aldermen, Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant 21-5-1946

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<sup>82</sup> Adviesbureau Stadsplan Rotterdam (A.S.R.O., literally Advisory Board for the Reconstruction of Rotterdam), *Het nieuwe hart van Rotterdam. Toelichting op het Basisplan voor den herbouw van de binnenstad van Rotterdam*, Nijgh & Van Ditmar, Rotterdam 1946, pp. 2, 64

<sup>83</sup> Adviesbureau Stadsplan Rotterdam (A.S.R.O., literally Advisory Board for the Reconstruction of Rotterdam), *Het nieuwe hart van Rotterdam. Toelichting op het Basisplan voor den herbouw van de binnenstad van Rotterdam*, Nijgh & Van Ditmar, Rotterdam 1946

<sup>84</sup> Local Planning Department, *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* 10-4-1946

<sup>85</sup> Adviesbureau Stadsplan Rotterdam (A.S.R.O., literally Advisory Board for the Reconstruction of Rotterdam), *Het nieuwe hart van Rotterdam. Toelichting op het Basisplan voor den herbouw van de binnenstad van Rotterdam*, Nijgh & Van Ditmar, Rotterdam 1946; Local Planning Department, *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* 10-4-1946; P.J. Oud (Mayor), *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* 10-4-1946

<sup>86</sup> Local Planning Department, *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* 10-4-1946

<sup>87</sup> Adviesbureau Stadsplan Rotterdam (A.S.R.O., literally Advisory Board for the Reconstruction of Rotterdam), *Het nieuwe hart van Rotterdam. Toelichting op het Basisplan voor den herbouw van de binnenstad van Rotterdam*, Nijgh & Van Ditmar, Rotterdam 1946; Local Planning Department, *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* 10-4-1946

<sup>88</sup> Pamphlet (propaganda) distributed by the Local Planning Department distributed free to inhabitants of Rotterdam, 1946.

<sup>89</sup> Adviesbureau Stadsplan Rotterdam (A.S.R.O., literally Advisory Board for the Reconstruction of Rotterdam), *Het nieuwe hart van Rotterdam. Toelichting op het Basisplan voor den herbouw van de binnenstad van Rotterdam*, Nijgh & Van Ditmar, Rotterdam 1946; *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* 10-4-1946; Mayor & Aldermen, *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* 21-5-1946 & in: *Rotterdamsch Dagblad* 20-5-1946; E.H.A. Kraaijvanger (Alderman), *De Rotterdammer* 29-5-1946 & in: *De Maasbode* 10-4-1946

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<sup>91</sup> Local Planning Department, *Rotterdamsch Dagblad* 8-5-1946; E.H.A. Kraaijvanger (Alderman), *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* 28-5-1946 & in: *Het Vrije Volk* 29-5-1946; Mayor & Aldermen, *Rotterdamsch Dagblad* 20-5-1946

<sup>92</sup> empty compartments in this table mean that nothing was said about this particular element

<sup>93</sup> L.J. Rogier (Co-founder of the Historical Society *De Maze*), *Het Vrije Volk* 16-3-1946; W. Valderpoort & J. Verheul (Architect, writer, former councillor, artist among other things), *Historische gebouwen van Rotterdam. Beschrijving van de voornaamste verdwenen en bestaande oude gebouwen van architectonische- of historische waarde*, W. Zwagers, Rotterdam 1946; J.Ph. Backx (Co-founder *De Rotterdamsche Gemeenschap* (a high society club discussing the future of Rotterdam) among other things), *De Opbouw van Rotterdam*, *De Rotterdamsche Gemeenschap*, Rotterdam 1945, p. 8; A. Bos (Director Rotterdam Department of Urban Planning, Building Supervision, and Housing among other things), *De stad*

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<sup>94</sup> J.Ph. Backx (Co-founder De Rotterdamsche Gemeenschap (a high society club discussing the future of Rotterdam) among other things), De Opbouw van Rotterdam, De Rotterdamsche Gemeenschap, Rotterdam 1945, pp. 5-14; A. Bos (Director Rotterdam Department of Urban Planning, Building Supervision, and Housing among other things), De stad der toekomst, de toekomst der stad, A. Voorhoeve, Rotterdam 1946; L.H.J. Angenot (Professor of planning), Planologische problemen bij de herbouw van het centrum van een grote stad, Martinus Nijhoff, 's-Gravenhage 1946, p. 6

<sup>95</sup> J.Ph. Backx (Co-founder De Rotterdamsche Gemeenschap (a high society club discussing the future of Rotterdam) among other things), De Opbouw van Rotterdam, De Rotterdamsche Gemeenschap, Rotterdam 1945, p. 8

<sup>96</sup> J.Ph. Backx (Co-founder De Rotterdamsche Gemeenschap (a high society club discussing the future of Rotterdam) among other things), De Opbouw van Rotterdam, De Rotterdamsche Gemeenschap, Rotterdam 1945; A. Bos (Director Rotterdam Department of Urban Planning, Building Supervision, and Housing among other things), De stad der toekomst, de toekomst der stad, A. Voorhoeve, Rotterdam 1946, pp. 16, 17, 95

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<sup>98</sup> A. Bos (Director Rotterdam Department of Urban Planning, Building Supervision, and Housing among other things), De stad der toekomst, de toekomst der stad, A. Voorhoeve, Rotterdam 1946, p. 31

<sup>99</sup> A. Bos (Director Rotterdam Department of Urban Planning, Building Supervision, and Housing among other things), De stad der toekomst, de toekomst der stad, A. Voorhoeve, Rotterdam 1946, pp. 94-95; L.J. Rogier (co-founder of the Historical Society De Maze), Annual Report De Maze 1945

<sup>100</sup> J. Brautigam (Journalist Het Vrije Volk, former alderman of Public Works and Housing), Het Vrije Volk 15-5-1946

<sup>101</sup> J. Brautigam (Journalist Het Vrije Volk, former alderman of Public Works and Housing), Het Vrije Volk 7-5-1946

<sup>102</sup> J. Brautigam (Journalist Het Vrije Volk, former alderman of Public Works and Housing), Het Vrije Volk 23-5-1946; Historical Society De Maze, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 9-5-1946

<sup>103</sup> J. Brautigam (Journalist Het Vrije Volk, former alderman of Public Works and Housing), Het Vrije Volk 23-5-1946

<sup>104</sup> J. Brautigam (Journalist Het Vrije Volk, former alderman of Public Works and Housing), Het Vrije Volk 15-5-1946 & in: Het Vrije Volk 23-5-1946

<sup>105</sup> J. Brautigam (Journalist Het Vrije Volk, former alderman of Public Works and Housing), Het Vrije Volk 15-5-1946 & in: Het Vrije Volk 8-5-1946

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<sup>106</sup> L.J. Rogier (co-founder of the Historical Society De Maze), Annual Report De Maze 1945

<sup>107</sup> Handelingen van de Gemeenteraad Rotterdam 1945-1946 28-5-1946, p. 171

<sup>108</sup> J.Ph. Backx (Co-founder De Rotterdamsche Gemeenschap (a high society club discussing the future of Rotterdam) among other things), De Opbouw van Rotterdam, De Rotterdamsche Gemeenschap, Rotterdam 1945, pp. 5-14; J. Brautigam (Journalist Het Vrije Volk, former alderman of Public Works and Housing), Het Vrije Volk 15-5-1946 & in: Het Vrije Volk 7-5-1946

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<sup>111</sup> Unknown journalist, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 22-6-1946

<sup>112</sup> A. Bos (Director Rotterdam Department of Urban Planning, Building Supervision, and Housing among other things), De stad der toekomst, de toekomst der stad, A. Voorhoeve, Rotterdam 1946, p. 20

<sup>113</sup> A. Bos (Director Rotterdam Department of Urban Planning, Building Supervision, and Housing among other things), De stad der toekomst, de toekomst der stad, A. Voorhoeve, Rotterdam 1946, pp. 338, 349; J.Ph. Backx (Co-founder De Rotterdamsche Gemeenschap (a high society club discussing the future of Rotterdam) among other things), De Opbouw van Rotterdam, De Rotterdamsche Gemeenschap, Rotterdam 1945, p. 15. Backx translated one of L. Mumfords' books: L. Mumford, De Sociale Grondslagen van het Na-Oorlogse Bouwen. Nummer 3 in de serie van de De Rotterdamsche Gemeenschap Hoe Bouwen wij Rotterdam?, H.P. Leopolds Uitgeversmij. N.V., Den Haag 1946

<sup>114</sup> A. Bos (Director Rotterdam Department of Urban Planning, Building Supervision, and Housing among other things), De stad der toekomst, de toekomst der stad, A. Voorhoeve, Rotterdam 1946, p. 15; L.H.J. Angenot (Professor of planning), Planologische problemen bij de herbouw van het centrum van een grote stad, Martinus Nijhoff, 's-Gravenhage 1946, p. 6; J. Brautigam (Journalist Het Vrije Volk, former alderman of Public Works and Housing), Het Vrije Volk 15-5-1946

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<sup>116</sup> J.Ph. Backx (Co-founder De Rotterdamsche Gemeenschap (a high society club discussing the future of Rotterdam) among other things), De Opbouw van Rotterdam, De Rotterdamsche Gemeenschap, Rotterdam 1945, p. 4

<sup>117</sup> H.M. Kraaijvanger, Hoe zal Rotterdam bouwen?, De Rotterdamsche Gemeenschap, Rotterdam 1946, pp. 10-14

<sup>118</sup> Vereeniging voor Vreemdelingen Verkeer (V.V.V., literally Tourist Information Office), Bezoekt Rotterdam, 1946, p. 5

<sup>119</sup> F.A. Ottenhof (Architect), Wederopbouw, Polycentrisch Tijdschrift, 1946 (Vol. 1), p. 15b; H.M. Kraaijvanger, Hoe zal Rotterdam bouwen?, De Rotterdamsche

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<sup>121</sup> H.M. Kraaijvanger, *Hoe zal Rotterdam bouwen?*, De Rotterdamse Gemeenschap, Rotterdam 1946, p. 22

<sup>122</sup> S.J. van Embden (Architect, urban developer among other things), Wanordelijk artikel bij Rotterdam's stadsplan, *Tijdschrift Forum*, 1946 (Vol. 1), pp. 15b, 34, 35, 42; H.M. Kraaijvanger, *Hoe zal Rotterdam bouwen?*, De Rotterdamse Gemeenschap, Rotterdam 1946, p. 16; F.A. Ottenhof (Architect), *Wederopbouw, Polycentrisch Tijdschrift*, 1946 (Vol. 1), p. 15b

<sup>123</sup> *Kring Rotterdam van de Bond van Nederlandse Architecten* (B.N.A., Royal Institute of Dutch Architects), *Het Vrije Volk* 23-5-1946; S.J. van Embden (Architect, urban developer among other things), Wanordelijk artikel bij Rotterdam's stadsplan, *Tijdschrift Forum*, 1946 (Vol. 1), pp. 33-47; J. Dutilh (Advocate, councillor PvdV, among other things), *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 28-5-1946

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<sup>126</sup> H.M. Kraaijvanger, *Hoe zal Rotterdam bouwen?*, De Rotterdamse Gemeenschap, Rotterdam 1946,

<sup>127</sup> J. Brautigam (Journalist *Het Vrije Volk*, former alderman of Public Works and Housing), *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 8-5-1946

<sup>128</sup> *Kring Rotterdam van de Bond van Nederlandse Architecten* (B.N.A., Royal Institute of Dutch Architects), *Het Vrije Volk* 23-5-1946

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- <sup>136</sup> H.M. Kraaijvanger, *Hoe zal Rotterdam bouwen?*, De Rotterdamsche Gemeenschap, Rotterdam 1946, p. 24
- <sup>137</sup> H.M. Kraaijvanger, *Hoe zal Rotterdam bouwen?*, De Rotterdamsche Gemeenschap, Rotterdam 1946, p. 35
- <sup>138</sup> H.M. Kraaijvanger, *Hoe zal Rotterdam bouwen?*, De Rotterdamsche Gemeenschap, Rotterdam 1946, p. 27
- <sup>139</sup> J.G. Ramaker, *Vervoer en verkeer in de Nederlandsche stad. Een economisch-stedebouwkundige studie*, Uitgeverij Holdert & Co. N.V., Amsterdam 1946, pp. 170-171; S.J. van Embden (Architect, urban developer among other things), *Wanordelijk artikel bij Rotterdam's stadsplan*, *Tijdschrift Forum*, 1946 (Vol. 1), p. 30b; *Letters from readers*, *Het Vrije Volk* 25-2-1946; H.M. Kraaijvanger, *Hoe zal Rotterdam bouwen?*, De Rotterdamsche Gemeenschap, Rotterdam 1946, p. 46
- <sup>140</sup> *Letters from readers*, *Het Vrije Volk* 25-2-1946
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- <sup>144</sup> Unknown journalist, *Rotterdamsch Dagblad* 28-5-1946
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<sup>149</sup> Adviesbureau Stadsplan Rotterdam (A.S.R.O., literally Advisory Board for the Reconstruction of Rotterdam), *Het nieuwe hart van Rotterdam. Toelichting op het Basisplan voor den herbouw van de binnenstad van Rotterdam*, Nijgh & Van Ditmar, Rotterdam 1946, p. 10; Local Planning Department, *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* 10-4-1946 & in: *De Maasbode* 10-4-1946

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<sup>151</sup> Adviesbureau Stadsplan Rotterdam (A.S.R.O., literally Advisory Board for the Reconstruction of Rotterdam), *Het nieuwe hart van Rotterdam. Toelichting op het Basisplan voor den herbouw van de binnenstad van Rotterdam*, Nijgh & Van Ditmar, Rotterdam 1946, p. 13

<sup>152</sup> Adviesbureau Stadsplan Rotterdam (A.S.R.O., literally Advisory Board for the Reconstruction of Rotterdam), *Het nieuwe hart van Rotterdam. Toelichting op het Basisplan voor den herbouw van de binnenstad van Rotterdam*, Nijgh & Van Ditmar, Rotterdam 1946, p. 24

<sup>153</sup> Adviesbureau Stadsplan Rotterdam (A.S.R.O., literally Advisory Board for the Reconstruction of Rotterdam), *Het nieuwe hart van Rotterdam. Toelichting op het Basisplan voor den herbouw van de binnenstad van Rotterdam*, Nijgh & Van Ditmar, Rotterdam 1946, p. 23; E.H.A. Kraaijvanger (Alderman), *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* 27-3-1946

<sup>154</sup> Mayor & Aldermen, *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* 21-5-1946; Local Planning Department, *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* 8-5-1946

<sup>155</sup> Kring Rotterdam van de Bond van Nederlandse Architecten (B.N.A., Royal Institute of Dutch Architects), *Het Vrije Volk* 23-5-1946

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<sup>158</sup> Local Planning Department, *Het Vrije Volk* 28-5-1946 & in: *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 28-5-1946, *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* 28-5-1946 & *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* 22-5-1946; E.H.A. Kraaijvanger (Alderman), *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* 29-5-1946 & in: *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 29-5-1946

<sup>159</sup> Councillors Willemse, Schadee, and Goudkuil, *Handelingen van de Gemeenteraad Rotterdam 1945-1946* 27-5-1946, pp. 130, 144; Unknown journalist, *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* 8-5-1946; Local Planning Department,

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Rotterdamsch Dagblad 8-5-1946 & in: Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 28-5-1946, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 8-5-1946; E.H.A. Kraaijvanger (Alderman), De Maasbode 29-5-1946; Handelingen van de Gemeenteraad Rotterdam 1945-1946 28-5-1946, p. 176

<sup>160</sup> A.G. Holstein, IJburg als Mythe, Kennis en Maatschappij: Tijdschrift voor Empirische Filosofie, 1998 (Vol. 22), pp. 368-393; E.H.A. Kraaijvanger (Alderman), De Maasbode 11-1-1946

<sup>161</sup> E.H.A. Kraaijvanger (Alderman), Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 29-5-1946 & in: Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant 10-4-1946 & Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant 29-5-1946

<sup>162</sup> E.H.A. Kraaijvanger (Alderman), De Maasbode 10-4-1946

<sup>163</sup> Adviesbureau Stadsplan Rotterdam (A.S.R.O., literally Advisory Board for the Reconstruction of Rotterdam), Het nieuwe hart van Rotterdam. Toelichting op het Basisplan voor den herbouw van de binnenstad van Rotterdam, Nijgh & Van Ditmar, Rotterdam 1946, p. 10

<sup>164</sup> E.H.A. Kraaijvanger (Alderman) & C. Van Traa (Director Public Works and responsible for the Basisplan), Het Vrije Volk 10-4-1946

<sup>165</sup> Adviesbureau Stadsplan Rotterdam (A.S.R.O., literally Advisory Board for the Reconstruction of Rotterdam), Het nieuwe hart van Rotterdam. Toelichting op het Basisplan voor den herbouw van de binnenstad van Rotterdam, Nijgh & Van Ditmar, Rotterdam 1946, p. 10.

<sup>166</sup> Adviesbureau Stadsplan Rotterdam (A.S.R.O., literally Advisory Board for the Reconstruction of Rotterdam), Het nieuwe hart van Rotterdam. Toelichting op het Basisplan voor den herbouw van de binnenstad van Rotterdam, Nijgh & Van Ditmar, Rotterdam 1946, p. 7

<sup>167</sup> E.H.A. Kraaijvanger (Alderman), Het Vrije Volk 29-5-1946

<sup>168</sup> E.H.A. Kraaijvanger (Alderman), De Maasbode 10-5-1946; Mayor & Aldermen, Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant 8-5-1946; Local Planning Department, Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant 10-4-1946

<sup>169</sup> Handelingen van de Gemeenteraad Rotterdam 1945-1946 27-5-1946, pp. 134, 148, 158, 162

<sup>170</sup> Handelingen van de Gemeenteraad Rotterdam 1945-1946 27-5-1946, pp. 137-143

<sup>171</sup> Handelingen van de Gemeenteraad Rotterdam 1945-1946 28-5-1946, pp. 171; 173

<sup>172</sup> Handelingen van de Gemeenteraad Rotterdam 1945-1946 27-5-1946, pp. 158-160

<sup>173</sup> Handelingen van de Gemeenteraad Rotterdam 1945-1946 28-5-1946, p. 171

<sup>174</sup> Handelingen van de Gemeenteraad Rotterdam 1945-1946 28-5-1946, pp. 167-170; E.H.A. Kraaijvanger (Alderman), De Rotterdammer 29-5-1946

<sup>175</sup> Local Planning Department, Rotterdamsch Dagblad 8-5-1946 & in: Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant 10-4-1946 & Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant 8-5-1946; E.H.A. Kraaijvanger (Alderman) De Maasbode 10-5-1946; Unknown journalist, Rotterdamsch Dagblad 28-5-1946

<sup>176</sup> Unknown journalist, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 29-5-1946



# Chapter 4 Kaasjager

## ***Provocation***

After Henry Ford I (the manufacturer of the T-Ford) declared during a visit to Amsterdam that he did not understand why the authorities did not fill all its canals and create wide boulevards for the future car traffic, the conflict between preserving history and keeping up with present developments became regularly discussed in Amsterdam<sup>1</sup>. On 21 October 21 1954, a proposal by H.A.J.G. Kaasjager, Chief Commissioner of Police, provoked a highly controversial debate. In order to reduce traffic congestion, Kaasjager proposed replacing the old, inefficient city structure by a highly modern one with wide roads. The ensuing controversial debate even reached international newspapers like the *Dallas Morning News* and the *International Herald Tribune*.

Kaasjager proposed to replace parks by roads (*Wertheimplantsoen* and part of *Westerpark*); to breach urban structures (*Bakkerstraat*, *Singel*, *Spui*, between *Prinsengracht* and *Keizersgracht*, between *Keizersgracht* and *Herengracht*); to broaden roads and squares (*Weesperstraat*, *Waterlooplein*, *Utrechtsestraat*, *Ferdinand Bolstraat*, *Elandsgracht*, *Berenstraat*, *Wolvenstraat*, *Oude-Spiegelstraat*, *Haarlemmerhouttuinen*); and to fill in canals (*Raamgracht*, *Kloveniersburgwal*, part of the *Amstel*, *Passeerdersgracht*, *Egelantiersgracht*), in order to create more room for traffic by implementing a new 'city ring'. In the future, the whole *Singelgracht* had to be filled in order to allow the construction of a broad boulevard, large buildings and bus, helicopter and transfer stations. The *Jordaan*, *Jodenbuurt* and possibly *Weteringbuurt* had to be rehabilitated in order to construct car parks which could also be constructed underneath the filled-in *Havenfront* and *Damrak*. In addition, fast transport services between Central Station square and the suburbs had to be realized<sup>2</sup>.

## ***Urban ideal images in the Kaasjager debate***

All participants in the Kaasjager city debate had one thing in common: they wanted a flourishing Amsterdam – level 1 of their urban ideal image. Their contributions revealed no doubts, not a spark of fear: future Amsterdam would be rose-tinted. For that, different means were proposed – elements regarding level 2 and 3 of the urban ideal images.

### **The urban ideal image of culturalists**

As in Rotterdam, the culturalists in Amsterdam wanted to create a future city that looked like past cities, with planning focussing on community and

history, and with the inner city as a historic, cultural centre – level 2 of their urban ideal image. All the other elements of urban ideal images these culturalists mentioned concerned level 3, and were meant to realize level 2 of their urban ideal image.

Surprisingly at first sight, and just like progressists and city planners, culturalists articulated a future city with a CBD, designed by contemporary architects, and connected by a rational road system with a sufficient number of car parks. In addition, they agreed that large-scale demolition would be required<sup>3</sup>. But contrary to city planners and progressists, culturalists thought that the CBD should not be located in the inner city, but in the *Pijp*<sup>4</sup>, because in their ideal city the inner city was preserved as a historic area. In the inner city (i.e. the area within *Singelgracht*) everything had to be preserved; ‘*not as currents in a bun but as a harmonious unity*’<sup>5</sup>. Therefore, culturalists wanted to discourage motorists from taking their cars into the inner city, or even to forbid them to do so. Therefore, car mobility had to be limited inside the inner city by limiting the number of parking spaces, digging more canals, introducing watertrams and waterbuses so that people could travel by water, and, if possible, by constructing an underground metro system<sup>6</sup>. Moreover, they thought that no effort should be made to reduce traffic congestion: cars were like insects, and their number would decrease as soon as there were too many of them, because people would then opt for public transport<sup>7</sup>. Thus, in order to preserve their precious historic inner city, every physical structure outside the inner city could be sacrificed<sup>8</sup>.

Culturalists made only a few remarks about the rest of the future city. City plans should be based on surveys and desires<sup>9</sup>. Moreover, the future city should be of limited size: “*The one who wants to flee into the desert: go to one or the other world city*”<sup>10</sup>. Parks seemed not that important to them: “*Of course, one should upholster the whole thing a bit with greenery*”<sup>11</sup>. In addition, the 20<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhoods of the urban developer H.P. Berlage were considered quite excellent, and thus should be preserved<sup>12</sup>. Moreover, large industries could be located in industrial areas on the outskirts<sup>13</sup>. And thus, unsurprisingly considering levels 2 and 3 of their urban ideal image, they rejected Kaasjager’s proposal because it tried to ‘*cut out the heart of Amsterdam*’<sup>14</sup>.

### *Who were these culturalist urban intellectuals?*

Artists, painters, poets, writers and historians were the culturalist urban intellectuals. Many of them were associated to the *Bond Heemschut* Historical Society. Geurt Brinkgreve – the driving force behind the Society – noticed the correlation between a historic interest and the aim to preserve the historic inner city<sup>15</sup>. And, as we will see later on, their creative background structured their strategies too.

## The urban ideal image of progressists

Again, just as in Rotterdam, the progressists in Amsterdam articulated three elements that determined all the other elements of their urban ideal image: they looked towards the future, focussed on trade and industry, and wanted a CBD located in the inner city and on top of the urban hierarchy. To realize that, they aimed at realizing the elements on level 3.

Progressists thought that the future city plan should be based on surveys<sup>16</sup>. A future city replete with contemporary, harmonious architecture was mentioned once, and – like progressists in Rotterdam – the design of streets in Amsterdam-South (e.g. *Apollolaan*) was mentioned as a desirable example<sup>17</sup>. According to progressists, the historic structure in the inner city had to be adjusted radically to the needs of a flourishing CBD. A CBD needs offices, and to give these enough space, it was proposed to relocate industries to industrial areas at the city's edges<sup>18</sup>. In addition, their ideal CBD would contain a glorious town hall, squares, and monumental fountains<sup>19</sup>. Most important, it needed high accessibility<sup>20</sup>, although opinions about the best means to realize that differed between progressists.

A first group of progressists thought that parts of IJ river and all canals – except for perhaps *Keizersgracht*, *Prinsengracht* and *Herengracht* – should be filled in to construct new, wide roads. Thereby, the *Dam* and *Rembrandtplein* could be turned into huge parking spaces, which would ‘*make life easier*’<sup>21</sup>. For those progressists, the past was a leaden, annoying burden, a ramshackle legacy that had to be adjusted to contemporary, 20<sup>th</sup>-century needs<sup>22</sup>.

A second group of progressists thought that the inner city's historic character had some economic value in the sense that it attracted both tourists and particular kinds of offices. Therefore, some of it could be preserved, but only as long as it did not hamper the flourishing of the CBD. As this implied a need for more space, they foresaw a CBD spreading its wings into 19<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhoods like the *Jordaan*, *Pijp*, *Oosterpark*, *Dapperbuurt*, *Staatsliedenkwartier*, *Kinkerbuurt* and *Haarlemmerhouttuinen*<sup>23</sup>. In addition, they proposed plans to discourage people from driving their vehicles into the inner city, varying from introducing parking meters to forcing office workers to park their cars outside the inner city and to walk to work, take a bus or tram, or be picked up by company chauffeurs<sup>24</sup>. Moreover, they thought of banning lorries, establishing one-way roads during rush hours, relocating courier services, lowering speed limits, staggering working hours, digging tunnels underneath the canals to construct an underground road system, draining the water from the canals and using the beds for trams, parking cars in canal gardens and building gardens on roofs<sup>25</sup>. In addition, they wanted alternative means of transport, such as trolleybuses and an underground system<sup>26</sup>. Bicycle traffic should be stimulated, partly by constructing streets destined only for bicycles; however, cyclists had to be re-educated as ‘*two*

*messy bicyclists take as much space as a car*<sup>27</sup>. Yet, despite all these alternatives meant to preserve at least some of the historic structure, even these progressists regarded the filling in of canals as something that was simply necessary, as by-products of future success. *Lijnbaansgracht, Rokin, Raamgracht, Kloveniersburgwal* and *Damrak* would be the first victims<sup>28</sup>.

Thus, as a result of level 2 and level 3 of their urban ideal image, progressists either fully subscribed to Kaasjager's proposal or suggested minor adjustments to it. They thought the city needed an operation like surgeon Kaasjager had proposed. To see that carried out, they were more than willing to put up with all the protests, mainly from culturalists<sup>29</sup>.

### *Who were these progressist urban intellectuals?*

The main progressist urban intellectuals were C. Burger (tradesman), F.W. Keppler (director of *Hollandse Beton Mij*), H.A. Douqué (traffic specialist and leader of the KVP), traffic journalist working for the newspapers *De Nieuwe Dag*, *Algemeen Dagblad*, and *Het Parool*, J.J. van der Velde (former alderman for public works), J. Nikerk (director of the Dutch tourist board (*Vereniging voor het Vreemdelingen Verkeer*, V.V.V.)), H. Wijbrand de Jong (vice-chairman of the tourist board and vice-president and director-general of American Express Company); F.S.J. Paulen (architect and assistant sales director of the car manufacturer, Ford), and P. Cornelissen (director of Hotel de l'Europe). In addition, many readers both inside and outside Amsterdam who sent letters to newspapers fulfilled the role of progressist urban intellectual. And, last but not least, Kaasjager himself was a progressist.

## **The urban ideal image of city planners<sup>30</sup>**

City planners in Amsterdam, like those in Rotterdam, particularized three elements that had to be realized at all costs: a progressive, future-looking city, a CBD on top of the urban hierarchy inside the inner city, and a focus on trade and industry. All other elements, which belonged to level 3 of their urban ideal image, were meant to realize the elements on level 2.

City planners wrote that in a city as heavily reliant on international trade as Amsterdam, uncontrolled international factors played an important role<sup>31</sup>. Moreover, they considered it very important that Amsterdam keep its size limited. Thus, the plan for the future city should be based on experts' analyses and desires, and be flexible<sup>32</sup>. In addition, city functions should be separated: industries should be located in industrial areas, and housing in dwelling neighbourhoods. The latter was called, again, *wijkgedachte*<sup>33</sup>.

The PvdA (the ruling party in this period) detailed its ideals about these residential areas. The size of the neighbourhoods should be based on statistical, sociographical and socio-psychological research and, because of

the *zuiden* in Dutch society, be larger than English neighbourhoods. Inside these airy, sunny neighbourhoods, high- and low-rise buildings, including family dwellings, would be mixed. Although expensive dwellings were hardly acceptable in these days of housing shortages, these neighbourhoods would be more socially diverse than the current *Jordaan*, *Staatsliedenbuurt* or *Transvaalbuurt* and provide homes for small, medium- and large-sized families. These future residential neighbourhoods would contain city parks, while recreational areas would be located on the city's outskirts, like the *Amsterdamse Bos* ('Amsterdam Woods'). The new residential neighbourhood of *Buitenveldert* is an example of how they envisaged their ideal residential neighbourhood<sup>34</sup>.

Inside the CBD, the number of houses would be limited and concentrated along just a few canals<sup>35</sup>. The CBD would have some fountains, squares for festivals and regatta's, but its main function would be to accommodate offices<sup>36</sup>. The future inner city would contain mainly offices, and thus had to be extremely accessible<sup>37</sup>.

City planners thought that, if possible, some of the inner city's historic character should be preserved. To do so, they proposed extending the CBD into the '*technically, hygienically, economically and socially outdated*', '*worthless*' and '*ugly*' neighbourhoods (i.e. the *Jordaan*, *Pijp*, *Oosterpark*, *Dapperbuurt*, *Staatsliedenkwartier*, *Kinkerbuurt* and *Haarlemmerhouttuinen*), where comprehensive redevelopment was required anyway<sup>38</sup>. In addition, in order to use the space inside the inner city more efficiently, they thought of forbidding office workers to drive their cars into the inner city, to move out courier businesses, stimulate the use of bicycles, install parking meters, construct an underground metro system, and construct new car parks only outside the inner city<sup>39</sup>. "*Parking is against the rights of the road: the road is to drive on, not to stand still on*"<sup>40</sup>.

The idea of city planners was that historic buildings could be demolished as long as such would not harm the historic character of the inner city as a whole: "*One tries to save the whole, by giving up parts*". Moreover, preserving housing blocks was preferred to preserving individual buildings, and if buildings had to be demolished, the new ones should be designed according to contemporary architecture but should fit in the characteristic townscape of the inner city<sup>41</sup>.

As a result of levels 2 and 3 of their urban ideal image, city planners did not fully agree with Kaasjager's proposal. They gave their answer to this proposal in a scheme for the inner city (*Nota Binnenstad* 1955), which I shall describe later in this chapter.



## ***Strategies in the Kaasjager debate***

### **Strategies of culturalists**

“So Mr Kaasjager is our enemy then”, a culturalist concluded, thus characterizing the mood among culturalists. They put considerable efforts into gaining support<sup>42</sup>. Dozens of pages were written about Amsterdam having the most beautiful inner city of Europe, ‘perhaps even of the world’, especially since World War II, when so many inner cities were destroyed. Its cultural history was that unique, that Napoleon had made it the third city of his empire. It was this image of the present city that was used by culturalists as grounds to preserve the current historic inner city<sup>43</sup>.

The so-called ‘unique beauty’ of Amsterdam is highly exaggerated (progressist)<sup>44</sup>

As we have seen, culturalists proposed to construct a CBD in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhoods, a move they substantiated by painting the most gloomy image of these neighbourhoods: they were slums, the black eye marring Amsterdam’s pretty face, and they used such terms as ‘old-fashioned’, ‘worthless’, ‘hideous’ and ‘disgraceful’. These neighbourhoods were based on functionalism instead of beauty, produced a grimace of misery, constituted a danger to public health, and cast a slur on Amsterdam’s reputation. In fact, they said they hated everything the 19<sup>th</sup> century had produced, they hated its prevalence of technique and progress over culture, community and history, and they hated the demolition in the 19<sup>th</sup> century to *Hendrick de Keyser’s Exchange*, *Jan Roodenpoortstoren*, *Haringpikkerstoren*, *Gasthuiskerk* and all those buildings behind the preserved facades<sup>45</sup>. So yes, the 19<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhoods could be demolished: it would be like another round of bombings, but without the deaths<sup>46</sup>. Besides, a CBD inside the 19<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhoods would be truly efficient because it would lie at the intersection of roads connecting Amsterdam with the rest of the Netherlands<sup>47</sup>. However, what took the edge off these arguments was that it was also said that the whole idea of a CBD was, considering facts, now old fashioned. While from 1850 to 1914, the location of a CBD was closely connected with the telegraph and the railway, in the 1930s, the telephone and the car became increasingly important means of communication and transport, reducing the need for banks and insurance companies to be located near the station and the exchange and increasing the possibilities to relocate or spread out the CBD<sup>48</sup>.

Culturalists said that there was no need to adjust the street pattern inside the inner city because, considering the fact that it was almost similar to the street plan in the Golden Age and that it had been predicted that in 15 years there would be 2.5 times as many privately owned cars, it would never

be possible to create an accessible CBD in the inner city<sup>49</sup>. However, it was also stated that: “*We deny that traffic in Amsterdam is very intense or that it would cause problems during the whole day ... and anyone who has seen just a smart part of the earth ... should know that*”<sup>50</sup>. Besides, they said, Kaasjager’s plan was based on traffic analyses that were at least 20 years old<sup>51</sup>. “*Isn’t it utter nonsense to create opportunities for traffic for the year 1975 based on a traffic analysis carried out in 1935?*”<sup>52</sup>. Therefore, new research should be done, but – here it comes – *to prove* that traffic in the inner city would diminish<sup>53</sup>. And, remarkably, no research or facts were needed to establish, they said, that motorized traffic damages the foundations of historic buildings – ‘*we can conclude that simply by looking at all the subsided facades*’<sup>54</sup>.

To emphasize the importance of the cultural historic inner city, they calculated somewhat creatively, for their audience that: “*This city is worth more than 385,791,099 motorcars*”<sup>55</sup>. It was just a matter of valuation, they said, and transport and technique simply had no right to overrule historic beauty or pedestrian traffic, but had to respect and serve them<sup>56</sup>. “*The basic problem with these plans is*”, said, J.A. Bierens de Haan, chairman of *Bond Heemschut*, “*that they, under the pressure from the dynamics of modern motorized traffic, overestimate the importance of traffic in our society...*”<sup>57</sup>. Moreover, one only had to look at the awful transformation of *Goudsbloemgracht* into *Willemstraat*, or that of *Nieuwezijdsachterburgwal* into *Spuistraat*, to see what a gloomy future we would face should Kaasjager’s proposals be executed<sup>58</sup>. Besides, as one could see from cities like Chicago, bigger roads tend to generate more traffic, so Kaasjager’s plans would not diminish this so-called traffic congestion either<sup>59</sup>. In addition, small, bendy roads were needed they said, because most traffic deaths occurred on newly constructed, wide roads<sup>60</sup>.

The old, historic street pattern causes increasing numbers of traffic deaths each year (progressist)<sup>61</sup>

Culturalists happily used a survey showing that almost 80% of the tourists said that Amsterdam was one of the most beautiful cities in the world because of its canals. And thus, they argued, it would be highly efficient not to execute the Kaasjager plan<sup>62</sup>. Besides, restoring buildings was much less expensive than one would expect!<sup>63</sup> They even found medical reasons to explain why the inner city should be kept as it was: people needed a historic inner city to ‘neutralize’ the disadvantages of city life, to let their troubles and difficulties be swept away by the beauty of the centre. Moreover, keeping the roads congested could reduce the incidence of obesity, as people would be forced to walk<sup>64</sup>.

Tourists like to visit Amsterdam because it is friendly, romantic and cosy, but it is a fact that they never stay longer than just a few days because of the musty feeling that lies over the city. Americans and the English are very touchy and are sensitive to new things, and therefore they pay more attention to the new Amsterdam-West (progressist)<sup>65</sup>

To preserve the inner city, dwelling should become the main function. This view was supported by stating that especially property owners would benefit and face the most beautiful future because careful inhabitants – rather than destructive industries and offices – would occupy their property. Moreover, they had discovered that people hated the dull suburbs and desperately wanted and even needed to live in the old inner city in order to develop their personal taste in these days of equalization and mass production<sup>66</sup>. And in order to transport all these inhabitants, an underground should be constructed. It might not be that profitable, they said, but was still a very good idea because other cities with about a million inhabitants – such as Stockholm, Copenhagen and Lisbon – were doing very same thing<sup>67</sup>.

Lots of physiological metaphors were used in their reasoning<sup>68</sup>. The inner city was the soul of the city, the heart of Amsterdam, and Amsterdam would die without a soul and a heart<sup>69</sup>. So yes, its rescue was simply inevitable, and – oh dear – would our future be gloomy if the inner city were not preserved as a whole. Culturalists tried the best they could to draw a picture of what it would be like to live in such a city, using the present tense to intimate reality. One would live in a city, they said, where:

*... a few saved, aimless, foolish museum pieces are squeezed by modern offices, a district where one cannot walk or drive normally anymore, where one can hardly work because of the smell and the noise, the underground missing, where a flow of traffic, several metres thick, squeezes into the streets<sup>70</sup>.*

And just because death is irreversible, the patient should be treated as quickly as possible, before it was too late, before the city dies of heart failure<sup>71</sup>.

To spread the message, culturalists used their creative background. Many photographs of the historic inner city, taken at opportune moments, were printed: the pictures were taken on sunny days (not an everyday occurrence in the Netherlands), or during nights with lighted streets and bridges, and possibly during bomb alerts considering the absence of pedestrians and cars from these pictures. To make sure their readers would see what they were supposed to see, these pictures were accompanied with captions like: ‘*daydreaming trees*’ and ‘*melancholic bridges*’, while plain fog was described as something that ‘*wraps*’ the city’s ‘*surroundings in mystery*’, like a ‘*thin veil over the city*’<sup>72</sup>. In addition, songs were sung<sup>73</sup>, poems written and cartoons drawn.

To obtain more power, journalists working for, in particular, *De Tijd* and *Het Vrije Volk* made it clear what fools their opponents were. For example, city planners were denigrated for accusing them – culturalists – for wanting a museum in the inner city. “[that is an] *old-fashioned, useless slogan, an empty phrase; and as striking as the slogan we saw on all walls ten years ago: ‘Germany is winning on all front lines’*”<sup>74</sup>. Besides, it was “... *quite improper to speak badly of people who want to create a museum of the inner city in a country that has spend a fortune to restore our old architectural masterpieces*”<sup>75</sup>. They also lashed out at the progressists’ desire to fill in canals: “*Do we really have to answer these people? They give evidence of understanding nothing, completely nothing of the aesthetical side of this case*”<sup>76</sup>. In addition, they made Kaasjager look a fool by exaggerating his proposals, by saying that they might as well demolish the whole city and rebuild it as a tourist attraction in America, where they did appreciate Amsterdam’s historic inner city<sup>77</sup>. “*Hammer the sledgehammer...don’t give up! The old weigh-house also stands in the way, as does the New Church. Fill and crush!*”<sup>78</sup> Kaasjager was their scapegoat. He was a *hooligan, demagogue, philistine, criminal*; he was *raving mad and born in Zaltbommel*; and the split between Kaasjager and his fellow townsmen “...*could not be healed until the offender has changed his uniform for shorts and begged on his bare knees for forgiveness for his improper thoughts*”<sup>79</sup>. Berlage was their hero, for creating such nice neighbourhoods in the 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>80</sup>, and artist Jan Veth a small hero, because he had preached the same thing as they did, but already in 1916<sup>81</sup>: “*Where will it end, when the interests of power, of material profit, of prosperity, of material luck will be the deciding factor...?*”<sup>82</sup>.

Culturalists reduced choices artificially: “*Tell us what you want to do with the city, sacrifice her to parking or maintain her?*”<sup>83</sup>; “*Kill or cure: what do we choose?*”<sup>84</sup>. They hired a couple of tour boats, called them the ‘anti-filling fleet’, and transported those who wanted to along the canals Kaasjager wanted to fill in, to show them the beauty of these canals<sup>85</sup>. Culturalists tried to rouse people by conspiring, establishing a committee called *De Stad Amsterdam*, and producing brochures addressed to their ‘*fellow townsman*’<sup>86</sup> stating that they should stand ‘*shoulder to shoulder and resist stubbornly*’, as though in that way they could change the world<sup>87</sup>. But at the same time, they suggested that they already had a lot of support, by saying that their ideals were ‘*almost literally the same as those of all the Amsterdammers we asked for their opinion*’<sup>88</sup>. In addition, they curried favour with city planners<sup>89</sup>, but also said they made inaccurate plans<sup>90</sup>, thereby emphasizing their own importance<sup>91</sup>. They tried to tell city planners that they wanted exactly the same as they did:

*We do not ask to fight industrialization or to obstruct the construction of a Dutch National Bank, we do not have any*

*objections against modern architecture or against cars! On the contrary, we are only too aware of these times developing its own style, having its own tempo ... and needs .... But we do ask respect and awe for the infinite value of our cultural heritage ... within the Singelgracht*<sup>92</sup>.

Probably, this was why culturalists proposed to construct a CBD in the *Pijp*; that is, not because they wanted a CBD, but because they knew that those in power – the city planners – wanted one. It seems to have been an attempt to meet the needs of the city planners while sustaining their own ideal: a preserved inner city. It did not work, however, because, as we have seen, city planners thought a CBD had to be located inside the inner city.

## Strategies of progressists

Like culturalists, progressists used the image of the present 19<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhoods as a reason to demolish them. But contrary to culturalists, this was not because they wanted to relocate the inner city but because they wanted to use it as a development area for an expanding economic heart. And although, just like culturalists, they thought that the current arteries were too narrow for traffic, contrary to culturalists, progressists used this to justify demolitions, fillings and the breaching of the existing built-up area of the old inner city<sup>93</sup>.

We deny that traffic in Amsterdam is very intense or that it would cause problems during the whole day ... and anyone who has seen just a smart part of the earth ... should know that (culturalist)<sup>94</sup>

A lack of car parks, an abundance of badly educated drivers and a deficient local government resulted every day in a tremendous number of cars blocking the city's blood vessels, leading to total chaos<sup>95</sup>. Amsterdam's old structure was still almost intact, while contemporary and future needs – like the current and predicted future huge increase in car ownership – demanded a modern, efficient structure<sup>96</sup>. In order to let the blood flow freely into the city's heart again and to give cars more space, '*everyone could see that*' roads should be widened inside the inner city, as well as in the rest of the city: it would be utter nonsense to '*enlarge the bath tube without replacing the taps*'<sup>97</sup>.

Wider roads will suck in more traffic, overloading the arteries and ending in megalocardia, a coronary and finally a cardiac arrest (culturalist)<sup>98</sup>

Some progressists stated that as in the end, all beauty would disappear from the earth anyway, the demolition of the historic urban

structure was simply inevitable. In the end, all nature would turn into farmland and culturalist organizations like *Bond Heemschut*, *Monumentenzorg* or *Natuurbescherming* could not stop this, not even with the best will in the world<sup>99</sup>. They thought culturalists highly exaggerated the unique beauty of the city. “*Our city’s beauty largely consists of stinking canals and huge numbers of shanties*”<sup>100</sup>. Exactly because of tourism, the inner city had to be modernized. Because apart from the fact that tourists ‘*would not notice the filling in of canals*’<sup>101</sup>, canals were not desired by them either. Besides, future generations would not miss the canals, as one cannot miss something one has never seen. Many shared their point of view, progressists argued, and besides, there were also hygienic reasons for filling in canals<sup>102</sup>.

In the reasons given by Kaasjager, there was one argument that I will never forget ... that future generations will not feel any regret for the lost beauty because they never have seen it. Anyone who thinks through this argument ends up in ... a cultural and ethical nihilism. With this argument we can do away with Bach’s *Mattheus-Passion*. We can burn the score, and smash the gramophones ... With this argument, one could sell the *Nachtwacht*, yes, even make boxed calves out of humans ... (culturalist)<sup>103</sup>

Progressists said that roads bring prosperity, that we could not live by culture alone, and that in the end, there were only two choices: “*Amsterdam has to choose: a museum with facades and all 17<sup>th</sup>-century canals, or a modern business city where one can park one’s car and where the city finally gets a chance to develop its 20<sup>th</sup>-century city life*”<sup>104</sup>. The museum option would lead to the gloomiest future one could possibly imagine; a ‘*running dry of the heart*’, ‘*self-destruction*’, the ‘*death of the city*’, and the same would happen if the CBD were relocated, as culturalists had been silly enough to propose<sup>105</sup>.

Other progressists, however, wanted to preserve certain parts of the historic inner city<sup>106</sup>, and justified this with the efficiency argument. Considering the increasing number of tourists – who did appreciate the historic character, they thought – demolishing cultural history would ‘*kill the goose that lays the golden egg*’<sup>107</sup>. Besides, according to them, filling in canals would not solve traffic congestion but only reduce it<sup>108</sup>. They said that an underground metro system should be constructed, but that we should *not* look abroad because there, metros in cities of similar size had turned out to be uneconomic. Although it may cost a lot, filling in canals, demolitions and traffic victims were also quite expensive – a masterly example of creative accounting indeed<sup>109</sup>.

However, in the end, for all progressists it was simply a question of valuation, whereby cultural history would taste defeat as Amsterdam had an appalling accident rate, resulting in many road deaths. “*Do you want to pay for beauty with 75 deaths a year? Do you have an alternative?*”<sup>110</sup> “*Please*

*keep in mind that the centre cannot become an archaeological museum at the cost of human lives*<sup>111</sup>. Besides, one had to keep in mind that the city's situation was critical, waiting for emergency help<sup>112</sup>. *“Stop talking and DO something!....Why wait till it is too late to lock the stable door after the horse has bolted?”*<sup>113</sup>

For progressists, the city would be perfect and beautiful if it had wide roads and enough car parks<sup>114</sup>. For example, one progressist said that he loved the city, loved its historic and cultural values, but just as a painter or poet was impressed by the romance of the city, he was impressed by the ‘poetry of her businesses’<sup>115</sup>. To convince others, editorial power (e.g. *De Nieuwe Dag*) was used as well. Moreover, progressists emphasized their own importance and skills, curried favour with city planners when they articulated similar ideals, and denigrated them if they did not<sup>116</sup>. This is why they said they were proud of alderman Van den Bergh (PvdA) after he had written what they wanted him to write: *“We are very pleased to hear from the alderman’s own lips that he advocated solutions the way we have constantly propagated”*<sup>117</sup>. But at the same time, they also hated city planners for being not as decisive as city planners in Rotterdam<sup>118</sup>. In addition, they portrayed culturalists as sentimental wrecks crying crocodile tears: *“One should not weep directly, ‘Our canals, Oh, our canals!’ Modern developments just do not stagnate and in contemporary society they sometimes call for a definite break with the past”*<sup>119</sup>. Love had made them blind: *“If you were to look through your amorous eyes....you would see that the centre suffers from traffic arteriosclerosis and that an operation, like surgeon Kaasjager proposed, would be necessary in order to create new life chances”*<sup>120</sup>. But at the same time, they acted as though they regretted the loss of history too, and to those muttering culturalists they said: *“And I after all would like to declare with great emphasis, that filling in for example the Singel hurts me as much as it hurts all the other Amsterdammers, but we just have to make sacrifices”*<sup>121</sup>. For some, Kaasjager was a hero, because he had had the brains and the guts to propose such a plan<sup>122</sup>. And when a socialistic journalist dared to support hostile ideas, he was called to order, his research methods were questioned, and they asked him, with a scowl: *“Are we socialists or are we not? If so, why are we against progress? Or are we perhaps not socialists?”*<sup>123</sup>

## **Strategies of city planners**

City planners said Amsterdam was an indispensable element of civilization, with its inner city being the ‘heartbeat’ of the economy and a historic place, unique in the world, a memory of the Golden Age in Amsterdam. This image of the present city was used as a reason to keep it that way. Thereby, demolitions were needed because of their image of the present inner city: a precious cultural historic valuable *whole* – whereby individual buildings

were not that important – and because of their image of 19<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhoods as ugly, valueless and ruining community spirit<sup>124</sup>. The ideal of a CBD itself was supported by some facts: during the past century, the number of residents in the inner city had declined from 255,000 at the end of the nineteenth century to 140,000 in 1954<sup>125</sup>. Besides, businesses simply needed a CBD<sup>126</sup>.

While from 1850 to 1914, the location of a CBD was closely connected with the telegraph and the railway, in the 1930s, the telephone and the car became increasingly important means of communication and transport, reducing the need for banks and insurance companies to be located near the station and the exchange and increasing the possibilities to relocate or spread out the CBD (culturalists)<sup>127</sup>

If the inner city became a residential area, like culturalists had proposed, it would be the gloomiest of cities<sup>128</sup>. Besides, people *‘really do not want to live in the alleys of the inner city’*. *“If there were not a housing shortage”*, alderman van den Bergh said, *“the houses would have been used for other functions a long time ago”*<sup>129</sup>.

The quietness and secrecy and the beautiful landscape make the inner city a highly desirable residential area (culturalist)<sup>130</sup>

The filling in of some canals was inevitable because the inner city was congested and needed a free flow of traffic, city planners argued<sup>131</sup>. But the research methods employed by progressists were contested, because progressists had predicted a large increase in car traffic without taking into account the fact that the introduction of the helicopter and very small cars would ease congestion<sup>132</sup>. City planners said that with Kaasjager’s plans, too many important cultural historic buildings and structures would be demolished, and that it was *‘our duty to coming generations’* to preserve at least some of it<sup>133</sup>. Moreover, filling in so many canals would be too expensive<sup>134</sup>, and would not solve traffic congestion<sup>135</sup>. The example of Paris was illustrative, they said, because despite the massive demolitions carried out by Haussmann and its wide avenues, the Parisians too, suffered from congested roads<sup>136</sup>.

Alderman Van den Bergh curried favour with culturalists when he praised historical associations for their efforts to save history, and told them that they, the city planners, also wanted to preserve history<sup>137</sup>. Progressists and culturalists accused city planners of being ambivalent for wanting to both preserve history and to stimulate a flourishing CBD, but city planners justified this by saying that it was simply a compromise – a common phenomenon in the history of Amsterdam, and that of the Netherlands<sup>138</sup>. Once, Mayor d’Ailly even dared to side with Kaasjager, when he said: *“Kaasjager and I are very much of the opinion that one gets used to breaches*



and fillings”<sup>139</sup>. He never did that again, for his fellow city planners immediately called him to order.

*In The Hague, I have said that one will become used to filling in canals, but differentiations are possible and ... one also gets used to beauty ... the city should on the one hand be adjusted to traffic demands, but traffic should on the other hand be adjusted to the city*  
 ...  
 140  
 ...

**Table 4: Strategies of culturalists, progressists and city planners, Amsterdam period 1**

	<b><i>Culturalists</i></b>	<b><i>Progressists</i></b>	<b><i>City planners</i></b>
<b><i>Motives</i></b>	Image of the present city	Image of the present city	Image of the present city
			Liveliness
	Efficiency	Efficiency	Efficiency
	Cultural history		Cultural history
	Valuation	Valuation	
	Research methods	Research methods	Research methods
	Facts	Facts	Facts
	Goal will not be reached	Goal will not be reached	Goal will not be reached
	Goal cannot be reached		
	Gloomy future	Gloomy future	Gloomy future
	Perfect future	Perfect future	
	Inevitability	Inevitability	Inevitability
	Last chance/emergency	Last chance/emergency	
	National/international examples	National/international examples	National/international examples
	Irreversible		
	People want it	People want it	People want it
People need it	People need it	People need it	
<b><i>Creative expression</i></b>	Photos		
	Songs		
	Poems		
	Cartoons		
	Creative counting	Creative counting	
<b><i>Linguistic expression</i></b>	Talking and writing	Talking and writing	Talking and writing
	Present tense		
	Vocabulary	Vocabulary	Vocabulary
<b><i>Friends &amp; enemies</i></b>	Editorial power	Editorial power	Editorial power
	Denigrating	Denigrating	Denigrating
	Arousing		

<b><i>Friends &amp; enemies</i></b>	Heroes	Heroes	
	Scapegoats		
	Lots of us	Lots of us	
	Curry favour		Curry favour
	Just like you	Just like you	Just like you
	We can change the world!		
		Order!	Order!
	Conspiring	Conspiring	
<b><i>Gaining power</i></b>	Choice reduction	Choice reduction	
	Emphasizing own importance	Emphasizing own importance	
			Compromise
<b><i>Physical expression</i></b>	Actions		

## ***The influence of urban ideal images in the public debate on the Nota Binnenstad***

To what extent did the strategies of urban intellectuals influence final city plans? On 1 March 1955, the *Nota Binnenstad* was presented, and regarded a final response to Kaasjager's proposal<sup>141</sup>. As it appears from the *Nota* (table 5), the city debate had not made city planners change their ideals. However, councillors, mayor and aldermen were well informed about the ideals articulated in the public debate.

During the council meeting on the *Nota Binnenstad*, many councillors and aldermen started by saying that they highly appreciated and praised the fact that so many people had participated in the debate – after which they mercilessly attacked their opponents' alternatives<sup>142</sup>. They praised historical associations, like *Amstelodamum* and *Bond Heemschut*, and the energy they had put into the debates, but added that their proposal to preserve the inner city as a monument was utter nonsense, a one-side approach and so radical that it had caused a radicalization of the ideals of others – such as those of Kaasjager, who had proposed to fill in all historic canals<sup>143</sup>. So yes, some thanked Kaasjager for participating too, adding that they thoroughly understood why he had proposed it since he was responsible for traffic in the city, but concluded that, of course, his proposals could not be accepted<sup>144</sup>. In addition, they concluded from newspaper contributions that they were sure that Amsterdammers would not shed a tear over the filling-ins, for example, that of *Lijnbaansgracht*<sup>145</sup>. And last but not least, at the end of this council meeting, alderman Van 't Hull concluded that it had been highly gratifying to read all those contributions in the newspapers, and that in particular *Bond Heemschut* should be praised, but that they, like

Kaasjager, were just too extreme, and that the solution to these controversies lay in the *Nota Binnenstad*<sup>146</sup>.

As was intended, with the approval of the *Nota Binnenstad*, the voices in the debate indeed grew still. There were some final responses, showing that both progressist and culturalist urban intellectuals did not agree with this plan. Culturalists criticized all the proposed demolitions, and Kaasjager said the scheme was equivocal and that he thought that this concept of ‘sit on the fence, run with the hare and hunt with the hounds’ would ‘hopelessly snarl’ the city<sup>147</sup>. However, it seemed to be a compromise, as it appears from the following day’s newspapers that most minds had been put at rest.

During a broadcast, reporter *Herman Felderhof* from NCRV broadcasting asked Chief Commissioner of Police Kaasjager whether he had had a hard time the previous autumn. Kaasjager responded: “*The weeks of loud reactions to my traffic scheme were the best weeks of my life. At least the people woke up a little bit*”<sup>148</sup>. It had hurt him, though, that people had said that he did not love the city. “*I became a chief commissioner in 1946, and from then on, I fully felt myself an Amsterdammer*”<sup>149</sup>. H.A.J.G. Kaasjager died in November 1966<sup>150</sup>.

**Table 5: Urban ideal images of culturalists, progressists and city planners, Amsterdam period I<sup>151</sup>**

		<b>Elements of urban ideal image</b>	<i>Culturalists</i>	<i>Progressists</i>	<i>City planners 1953/4</i>	<i>City planners 1955</i>
<b>Level 1</b>			Flourishing city	Flourishing city	Flourishing city	Flourishing city
<b>Level 2</b>		<b>Position of inner city</b>	Cultural historic centre	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy <sup>152</sup>
		<b>Orienta tion</b>	Towards the past	Towards the future	Towards the future	Towards the future
		<b>Focus of planning</b>	History & community	Trade & Industry	Trade & Industry	Trade & Industry <sup>153</sup>
<b>Level 3</b>	<b>G e n e r a l</b>	<b>Basis of planning</b>	Survey & desires	Survey & desires	Survey & desires	Survey & desires <sup>154</sup>
					Flexible city plan, not into detail	

<b>Level 3</b>	<b>G e n e r a l</b>	<b>Basis of planning</b>			City as part of a larger whole: the region and the world	City as part of a larger whole: the region and the world <sup>155</sup>
		<b>Architecture</b>	Contemporary	Contemporary, harmonious	Contemporary	Contemporary <sup>156</sup>
		<b>Main planning actor</b>	Government	Government	Government	Government <sup>157</sup>
		<b>Accent on city or countryside</b>	City	City	City	City <sup>158</sup>
		<b>City size</b>	Limited		Limited	
		<b>City functions</b>	Zoned		Zoned	Zoned <sup>159</sup>
		<b>History</b>	Pattern of living riddled with history vs. comprehensive redevelopment	Keep the past in mind, but focus on the future	Keep the past in mind, but focus on the future	Keep the past in mind, but focus on the future <sup>160</sup>
	<b>Density</b>	Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the edge				
	<b>D w e l l i n g</b>	<b>Structure</b>	Dwelling inside the inner city		Airy, light, decentralized housing quarters	
		<b>Housing types</b>			Mix high- & low-rise	
<b>Stratification</b>				Socially mixed, no luxurious housing		

<b>Level 3</b>	<b>Dwelling</b>	<b>Renewal residential quarters</b>	Comprehensive redevelopment		Comprehensive redevelopment	Comprehensive redevelopment <sup>161</sup>
	<b>Leisure</b>	<b>Green elements</b>	Parks		Parks	Parks <sup>162</sup>
		<b>Location recreational areas</b>			At the city's edge	
	<b>Work</b>	<b>Location</b>	Separated		Separated	Separated <sup>163</sup>
		<b>Industries</b>	Decentralized to accessible industrial areas at city's edge		Decentralized to accessible industrial areas at city's edge	Decentralized to accessible industrial areas at city's edge <sup>164</sup>
	<b>Transportation</b>	<b>Focus</b>	Accessible urban areas	Fast & efficient transport system	Fast & efficient transport system	Fast & efficient transport system <sup>165</sup>
		<b>Design</b>	Preserved old structure inside city centre. Outside the inner city: rational. Non-radial	Rational, radial	Rational, radial	Rational, radial <sup>166</sup>
		<b>Traffic types</b>		Separated to some extent		
	<b>Industry</b>	<b>Main function</b>	Cultural-historic: dwelling	Economic	Economic	Economic <sup>167</sup>
		<b>Location offices</b>	Outside the inner city	Inside the inner city	Inside the inner city	Inside the inner city <sup>168</sup>
		<b>Accessibility</b>	Low	High	High	High <sup>169</sup>
		<b>Car traffic</b>	Very limited	Unlimited or discouraged	Unlimited but discouraged	Unlimited but discouraged <sup>170</sup>

<b>Level 3</b>	<b>I n n e r c i t y</b>	<b>Residential function</b>	Large	Limited	Limited	Limited <sup>171</sup>
		<b>Traffic priority</b>	Pedestrians	Motorists	Motorists	Motorists <sup>172</sup>
		<b>Public transport</b>	Trams, transport over water	Trams, trolley buses, metro	Trams, metro	Trams, metro <sup>173</sup>
		<b>Public space</b>		Squares, fountains	Squares, fountains, flower decorations festivals	Squares, fountains, flower decorations festivals <sup>174</sup>
		<b>Design</b>	Heterogeneous, preserved	Contemporary	Contemporary, fitting into existing structure	Contemporary fitting into existing structure

<sup>1</sup> Unknown journalist, De Tijd 22-10-1954

<sup>2</sup> Unknown journalist, De Nieuwe Dag 4-11-1954; H.A.J.G. Kaasjager (Chief Commissioner of Police), De Volkskrant 11-1-1955; Unknown journalist, Algemeen Handelsblad 3-11-1954; H.A.J.G. Kaasjager (Chief Commissioner of Police), Het Parool 21-10-1954; H.A.J.G. Kaasjager (Chief Commissioner of Police), Het Parool 22-10-1954

<sup>3</sup> G. Brinkgreve (Artist, former councillor, member of the historical societies Bond Heemschut and Genootschap Amstelodamum among other things), De Nieuwe Dag 30-11-1954 & in: De Volkskrant 1-12-1954; M.G. Emeis (Writer of historical books among other things), Nieuws van de Dag 30-10-1954 & in: De Telegraaf 6-1-1955; T. Koot (Member of the historical societies Bond Heemschut and Genootschap Amstelodamum among other things) Het Parool 4-11-1954 & in: De Telegraaf 21-10-1954, Het Vrije Volk 22-10-1954 & Algemeen Handelsblad 6-11-1954; Traffic journalist, Het Vrije Volk 29-10-1954; F. Thomas (Writer), De Tijd 6-11-1954; Unknown journalist, De Nieuwe Dag 22-10-1954; W.A. Moonen (Reader's letter, Amsterdam), Het Parool Date Unknown; De Stad Amsterdam (Historical association), De Tijd 26-1-1955; Pasquino (Columnist), De Telegraaf 16-11-1954; J. Sluijters (Artist), De Nieuwe Dag 29-10-1954 & in: De Tijd Date Unknown; L. Ross (Reader's Letter) Het Parool Date Unknown

<sup>4</sup> The Pijp is a 19th century neighbourhood, located adjacent to the inner city.

<sup>5</sup> Pasquino (Columnist), De Nieuwe Dag 8-11-1954; Pasquino (Columnist), De Telegraaf Unknown Date; G. Brinkgreve (Artist, former councillor, member of the historical societies Bond Heemschut and Genootschap Amstelodamum among other things), Gevecht om Amsterdam, Genootschap Amstelodamum, Amsterdam 1954, p. 6.

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<sup>6</sup> Unknown journalist, *De Nieuwe Dag* 22-10-1954; T. Koot (Member of the historical societies *Bond Heemschut* and *Genootschap Amstelodamum* among other things), *De Telegraaf* 21-10-1954 & in: *De Telegraaf* Date Unknown, *Het Parool* 4-11-1954; Pasquino (Columnist), *De Nieuwe Dag* 8-11-1954; Reader's letters, *Het Vrije Volk* 22-10-1954; *Bond Heemschut*, *Het Parool* 9-11-1954; Traffic journalist, *Het Vrije Volk* 29-10-1954; F. Thomas (Writer), *De Tijd* 6-11-1954; Dallas Morning News in *New York Herald Tribune*, in: *Algemeen Handelsblad* Date Unknown

<sup>7</sup> F. Thomas (Writer), *De Tijd* 6-11-1954

<sup>8</sup> Unknown journalist, *De Volkskrant* 22-10-1954; Unknown journalist, *De Nieuwe Dag* 22-10-1954; J. Sluijters (Artist), *De Nieuwe Dag* 29-10-1954 & in: *De Tijd* Date Unknown; Pasquino (Columnist), *De Nieuwe Dag* 8-11-1954; G. Brinkgreve (Artist, former councillor, member of the historical societies *Bond Heemschut* and *Genootschap Amstelodamum* among other things), *De Nieuwe Dag* 30-11-1954; T. Koot (Member of the Historical societies *Bond Heemschut* and *Genootschap Amstelodamum* among other things), *De Telegraaf* 21-10-1954 & in: *Het Parool* 4-11-1954, *Algemeen Handelsblad* 6-11-1954 & *Het Vrije Volk* 22-10-1954; M.G. Emeis (Writer of historical books among other things), *De Nieuwe Dag* 30-10-1954 & in: *Telegraaf* 6-1-55; *Bond Heemschut*, *Het Parool* 9-11-1954; Traffic journalist, *Het Vrije Volk* 29-10-1954; F. Thomas (Writer), *De Tijd* 6-11-1954; L. Ross (Reader's letter, Amsterdam), *Het Parool* Date Unknown; G. Brinkgreve, *De Volkskrant* 1-12-1954; *De Stad Amsterdam* (Historical society), *De Tijd* 26-1-1955; C.F. Jansen (Administrator *Bond Heemschut*), *Voor de Redding van de Amsterdamse Stadskern, Bouw*, 1954 (No. 46), pp. 918-922

<sup>9</sup> T. Koot (Member of the Historical societies *Bond Heemschut* and *Genootschap Amstelodamum* among other things), *De Telegraaf* 21-10-1954 & in: *Het Parool* 4-11-1954, *De Telegraaf* Date Unknown & *Het Vrije Volk* 22-10-1954; M.G. Emeis (Writer of historical books among other things), *Nieuws van de Dag* 30-10-1954 & in: *De Telegraaf* 2-11-1954; Medical journalist, *Het Parool* 17-12-1954; L. Peters (Reader's letter, Amsterdam), *Het Parool* Date Unknown; G. Brinkgreve, *De Volkskrant* 1-12-1954; Pasquino (Columnist), *De Telegraaf* 22-10-1954 & in: *De Telegraaf* 16-11-1954 & *De Telegraaf* Date Unknown; Unknown journalist, *Algemeen Handelsblad* Date Unknown; H.P.L. Wieessing (Reader's letter), *Algemeen Handelsblad* Date Unknown; *De Stad Amsterdam* (Historical society), *De Tijd* 18-12-1954 & in: *De Tijd* 26-1-1955; G. Brinkgreve (Artist, former councillor, member of the historical societies *Bond Heemschut* and *Genootschap Amstelodamum* among other things), *Gevecht om Amsterdam, Genootschap Amstelodamum, Amsterdam* 1954; C.F. Jansen (Administrator *Bond Heemschut*), *Voor de Redding van de Amsterdamse Stadskern, Bouw*, 1954 (No. 46), pp. 918-922; Unknown journalist, *Het Parool* 30-10-1954; C. Doorenbos (Poet), *Het Parool* 30-10-1954

<sup>10</sup> M.G. Emeis (Writer of historical books among other things), *De Telegraaf* 2-11-1954

<sup>11</sup> F. Thomas (Writer), *De Tijd* 6-11-1954

<sup>12</sup> M.G. Emeis (Writer of historical books among other things), *Nieuws van de Dag* 30-10-1954; G. Brinkgreve, *De Volkskrant* 1-12-1954

<sup>13</sup> T. Koot, *Het Vrije Volk* 22-10-1954 & in: *Het Parool* 4-11-1954; G. Brinkgreve, *De Volkskrant* 1-12-1954; C.F. Jansen (Administrator *Bond Heemschut*), *Het Parool*

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30-12-1954 & in: Voor de Redding van de Amsterdamse Stadskern, Bouw, 1954 (No. 46), pp. 918-922

<sup>14</sup> Traffic journalist, De Nieuwe Dag 21-10-1954

<sup>15</sup> G. Brinkgreve (Artist, former councillor, member of the historical societies Bond Heemschut and Genootschap Amstelodamum among other things), Gevecht om Amsterdam, Genootschap Amstelodamum, Amsterdam 1954, pp. 17-18

<sup>16</sup> Unknown journalist, De Nieuwe Dag 4-11-1954; Unknown journalist, Algemeen Handelsblad 3-11-1954; C.Th. van Limburg (Reader's letter Amsterdam), Het Vrije Volk 23-10-1954; Unknown journalist, De Volkskrant 21-10-1954; G.C. Bührman (Spokesman of couriers), De Nieuwe Dag 28-10-1954; Unknown journalist, Sursum Corda 11-11-1954; Unknown journalist, Het Parool 21-10-1954; Reader's letters, Het Vrije Volk 22-10-1954; Traffic journalist, Het Parool 22-10-1954; J.J. v.d. Velde (Former alderman of Public Works), Het Vrije Volk 25-10-1954

<sup>17</sup> Anonymous ("J.B.", reader's letter), Het Vrije Volk 23-10-1954

<sup>18</sup> Reader's letters, Het Vrije Volk 22-10-1954; Unknown journalist, Trouw 27-10-1954

<sup>19</sup> Anonymous (V.G., Amsterdam), Het Vrije Volk 23-10-1954; H.W. de Jong (Reader's letter), Algemeen Handelsblad 8-11-1954

<sup>20</sup> Unknown journalist, De Nieuwe Dag 4-11-1954; Anonymous (P.V., Aerdenhout), Het Vrije Volk 23-10-1954; Unknown journalist, Algemeen Handelsblad 3-11-1954; H.A.J.G. Kaasjager (Chief Commissioner of Police), Het Vrije Volk 8-1-1955; Unknown journalist, De Tijd 22-10-1954; W.L. Letzer (Reader's letter, Amsterdam), Het Vrije Volk 23-10-1954; C. Burger (Tradesman & vice-chairman of the local Christian council group), De Volkskrant 6-11-1954 & in: De Nieuwe Dag 6-11-1954; H.W. de Jong (Reader's letter), Algemeen Handelsblad 8-11-1954; F.S.J. Paulen (Architect, assistant-sales director Ford), De Nieuwe Dag 30-10-1954; Unknown journalist, De Nieuwe Dag 28-10-1954; Unknown journalist, De Volkskrant 21-10-1954; J. Nikerk (Director V.V.V. Amsterdam), De Telegraaf 29-10-1954 & in: De Volkskrant 28-10-1954; Traffic journalist, Het Parool 22-10-1954; F.W. Keppler (Director Hollandse Beton Mij, literally Dutch Concrete Company), Trouw Date Unknown; J.J. v.d. Velde (Former alderman of Public Works), Het Vrije Volk 25-10-1954; A.A. van Sandick (Banker, Christian councillor, member of committee for traffic problems among other things), Algemeen Handelsblad 27-10-1954; Letters from various readers, De Nieuwe Dag 4-11-1954; Unknown journalist, Sursum Corda 11-11-1954.

<sup>21</sup> C. Burger (Tradesman), De Volkskrant 6-11-1954

<sup>22</sup> Unknown journalist, De Nieuwe Dag 4-11-1954; H.A.J.G. Kaasjager, De Volkskrant 11-1-1955 & in: De Volkskrant 22-10-1954, De Telegraaf 21-10-1954, Het Parool 8-1-1955 & Het Vrije Volk 8-1-1955; Dagboekancier (Columnist), Het Parool Date Unknown; Reader's letters, Het Vrije Volk 22-10-1954; H. Voorwinde (Reader's letter), Het Vrije Volk 23-10-1954; J. Steketee (Reader's letter, Amsterdam), Het Vrije Volk 23-10-1954; Anonymous ("J.B.", reader's letter), Het Vrije Volk 23-10-1954; C.Th. van Limburg (Reader's letter, Amsterdam), Het Vrije Volk 23-10-1954; J.A. Batenburg Jr. (Reader's letter, Amsterdam), Het Parool Date Unknown; Unknown journalist, Algemeen Handelsblad 3-11-1954 Anonymous (V.G., Amsterdam), Het Vrije Volk 23-10-1954; W.L. Letzer (Reader's letter, Amsterdam), Het Vrije Volk 23-10-1954; H.W. de Jong (Reader's letter), Algemeen Handelsblad 8-11-1954; F.S.J. Paulen (Architect, assistant-sales director Ford), De



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Nieuwe Dag 30-10-1954; C. Burger (Tradesman & vice-chairman of the local Christian council group), De Nieuwe Dag 6-11-1954 & in: De Volkskrant 6-11-1954; Anonymous (P.V., reader's letter, Aerdenhout), Het Vrije Volk 23-10-1954; J.F.W. Korting (Reader's letter, Santpoort), Het Parool Date Unknown; J. Nijkerk (Director V.V.V. Amsterdam), De Telegraaf 29-10-1954 & in: De Volkskrant 28-10-1954 & De Nieuwe Dag 28-10-1954

<sup>23</sup> Unknown journalist, De Volkskrant 21-10-1954; G.C. Bührman (Spokesman of couriers), De Nieuwe Dag 28-10-1954; Unknown journalist, De Nieuwe Dag 28-10-1954; H.A. Douqué (K.V.P. councillor, traffic specialist), De Nieuwe Dag 30-10-1954 & in: De Tijd Date Unknown; Letters from various readers, De Nieuwe Dag 4-11-1954; Anonymous (Reader's letter), De Nieuwe Dag 5-11-1954; Unknown journalist, Sursum Corda 11-11-1954; Parlevink (Columnist), De Nieuwe Dag 13-11-1954; Unknown journalist, De Volkskrant 22-10-1954; Unknown journalist, Trouw 22-10-1954; Unknown journalist, Het Parool 21-10-1954; J. Nijkerk (Director V.V.V. Amsterdam), De Telegraaf 29-10-1954 & in: De Volkskrant 28-10-1954 & De Nieuwe Dag 28-10-1954; Various letters from readers, Het Vrije Volk 22-10-1954; Traffic journalist, Het Parool 22-10-1954; F.W. Keppler (Director Hollandse Beton Mij, literally Dutch Concrete Company), Trouw Date Unknown; J.J. v.d. Velde (Former alderman of Public Works), Het Vrije Volk 25-10-1954; B. van Vlijmen (Reader's letter, Naarden), Het Vrije Volk 23-10-1954; P. Cornelissen (Director Hotel de l'Europe), De Volkskrant 29-10-1954; A.A. van Sandick (Banker, Christian councillor, member of committee for traffic problems among other things), Algemeen Handelsblad 27-10-1954; Unknown journalist, Trouw 27-10-1954; Unknown journalist, Algemeen Handelsblad 2-11-1954; Anonymous (Reader's letter), Het Parool Date Unknown; A. Muns (Reader's letter, Heemstede), Het Parool Date Unknown; Anonymous (Reader's letter), Het Parool Date Unknown; C.L. Boldidt (Reader's letter, 's-Gravenhage), Het Parool Date Unknown; A. Dijkxhoorn (Reader's letter, Delft), Het Parool Date Unknown

<sup>24</sup> Unknown journalist, De Volkskrant 22-10-1954; Unknown journalist, Trouw 22-10-1954; Unknown journalist, Algemeen Handelsblad 2-11-1954; Traffic journalist, Het Parool 22-10-1954; A. Dijkxhoorn (Reader's letter, Delft), Het Parool Date Unknown; A.A. van Sandick (Banker, Christian councillor, member of committee for traffic problems among other things), Algemeen Handelsblad 27-10-1954

<sup>25</sup> G.C. Bührman (Spokesman of couriers), De Nieuwe Dag 28-10-1954; Parlevink (Columnist), De Nieuwe Dag 13-11-1954; H.A. Douqué (K.V.P. councillor, traffic specialist), De Nieuwe Dag 30-10-1954 & in: De Tijd Date Unknown; Letters from various readers, De Nieuwe Dag 4-11-1954; J. Nijkerk (Director V.V.V. Amsterdam), De Volkskrant 28-10-1954 & in: De Nieuwe Dag 28-10-1954; Unknown journalist, Trouw 22-10-1954; A.A. van Sandick (Banker, Christian councillor, member of committee for traffic problems among other things), Algemeen Handelsblad 27-10-1954; Unknown journalist, Trouw 27-10-1954; Anonymous (Reader's letter), Het Parool Date Unknown; B. van Vlijmen (Reader's letter, Naarden), Het Vrije Volk 23-10-1954; C. Burger (Tradesman & vice-chairman of the local Christian council group), De Volkskrant 6-11-1954; Various letters from readers, De Nieuwe Dag 5-11-1954; Unknown journalist, Algemeen Handelsblad 2-11-1954

<sup>26</sup> C. Burger (Tradesman & vice-chairman of the local Christian council group), De Volkskrant 6-11-1954; Unknown journalist, Het Parool 22-10-1954; F.W. Keppler

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(Director Hollandse Beton Mij, literally Dutch Concrete Company), Trouw Date Unknown. Keppler proposed to construct the following two lines: (a) Noord-Zuid line between Central Station and Olympic Stadion, via Singel, Leidsegracht, Nassaukade, Stadhouderskade, Boerenwetering en Noorderamstelkanaal, and (b) Ringbaan from Central Station, Houttuinen of Westerdokstraat, Prinsengracht, Westerstraat, Nassaukade, Stadhouderskade, Amstel, Binnen-Amstel, Kloverniersburgwal, Nieuwmarkt, Geldersekade, and Central Station

<sup>27</sup> H.A. Douqué (K.V.P. councillor, traffic specialist), De Nieuwe Dag 30-10-1954 & in: De Tijd Date Unknown

<sup>28</sup> G.C. Bührman (Spokesman of couriers), De Nieuwe Dag 28-10-1954; J. Nikerk (Director V.V.V. Amsterdam), De Volkskrant 28-10-1954; A. Muns (Reader's letter, Heemstede), Het Parool Date Unknown; C. Burger (Tradesman & vice-chairman of the local Christian council group), De Volkskrant 6-11-1954

<sup>29</sup> C. Burger (Tradesman & vice-chairman of the local Christian council group), De Volkskrant 6-11-1954; Unknown journalist, De Tijd 22-10-1954; Anonymous (Reader's letter, Amsterdam), Het Vrije Volk 23-10-1954; W.L. Letzer (Reader's letter, Amsterdam), Het Vrije Volk 23-10-1954; W. Stam (Reader's letter, Amsterdam), Het Parool Date Unknown; C.Th. van Limburg (Reader's letter Amsterdam), Het Vrije Volk 23-10-1954

<sup>30</sup> Because it had not been a planning proposal from city planners that had provoked the debate, we have used contributions in newspapers and a book written by the ruling party PvdA as sources for the reconstruction of the urban ideal image of city planners

<sup>31</sup> R. van den Bergh (Alderman Public Housing), De Nieuwe Dag 28-10-1954; Partij van de Arbeid (P.v.d.A.) Federatie Amsterdam 1953, Mens en Stad. Amsterdam vandaag en morgen, De Arbeiderspers, Amsterdam 1953, pp. 7-9

<sup>32</sup> J.M. den Uyl (Councilor P.v.d.A.), Het Vrije Volk 23-10-1954; A.J. d'Ailly (Major), De Tijd 12-11-1954; Partij van de Arbeid (P.v.d.A.) Federatie Amsterdam 1953, Mens en Stad. Amsterdam vandaag en morgen, De Arbeiderspers, Amsterdam 1953, pp. 9, 20, 24, 75

<sup>33</sup> Partij van de Arbeid (P.v.d.A.) Federatie Amsterdam 1953, Mens en Stad. Amsterdam vandaag en morgen, De Arbeiderspers, Amsterdam 1953, pp. 64, 90; R. van den Bergh (Alderman Public Housing), De Nieuwe Dag 28-10-1954

<sup>34</sup> Partij van de Arbeid (P.v.d.A.) Federatie Amsterdam 1953, Mens en Stad. Amsterdam vandaag en morgen, De Arbeiderspers, Amsterdam 1953, pp. 9, 17, 19, 77-9, 87, 88, 142

<sup>35</sup> R. van den Bergh (Alderman Public Housing), De Nieuwe Dag 28-10-1954

<sup>36</sup> Partij van de Arbeid (P.v.d.A.) Federatie Amsterdam 1953, Mens en Stad. Amsterdam vandaag en morgen, De Arbeiderspers, Amsterdam 1953, pp. 82, 148; R. van den Bergh (Alderman Public Housing), De Nieuwe Dag 28-10-1954

<sup>37</sup> Partij van de Arbeid (P.v.d.A.) Federatie Amsterdam 1953, Mens en Stad. Amsterdam vandaag en morgen, De Arbeiderspers, Amsterdam 1953, p. 90; R. van den Bergh (Alderman Public Housing), Het Parool 28-10-1954; J.M. den Uyl (Councilor P.v.d.A., director Wiarda Beckman Stichting (Scientific Department of the P.v.d.A.)), Het Vrije Volk 23-10-1954; A.J. d'Ailly (Major), Algemeen Handelsblad 12-11-1954

<sup>38</sup> R. van den Bergh (Alderman Public Housing), De Nieuwe Dag 28-10-1954 & in: Het Parool 28-10-1954 & Algemeen Handelsblad 28-10-1954; J.M. den Uyl

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(Councilor P.v.d.A., director Wiarda Beckman Stichting (Scientific Department of the P.v.d.A.)), *Het Vrije Volk* 23-10-1954; G. van 't Hull (Alderman Public Works), *Algemeen Handelsblad* 5-11-1954; A.J. d'Ailly (Major), *Nieuws van de Dag* 12-11-1954 & in: *Algemeen Handelsblad* 12-11-1954, *De Tijd* 12-11-1954 & *De Volkskrant* 1-12-1954; Partij van de Arbeid (P.v.d.A.) Federatie Amsterdam 1953, *Mens en Stad. Amsterdam vandaag en morgen, De Arbeiderspers, Amsterdam* 1953

<sup>39</sup> Partij van de Arbeid (P.v.d.A.) Federatie Amsterdam 1953, *Mens en Stad. Amsterdam vandaag en morgen, De Arbeiderspers, Amsterdam* 1953 pp. 84, 72; R. van den Bergh (Alderman Public Housing), *Het Parool* 28-10-1954 & in: *De Nieuwe Dag* 28-10-1954; A.J. d'Ailly (Major), *Nieuws van de Dag* 12-11-1954

<sup>40</sup> R. van den Bergh (Alderman Public Housing), *Het Parool* 28-10-1954

<sup>41</sup> Partij van de Arbeid (P.v.d.A.) Federatie Amsterdam 1953, *Mens en Stad. Amsterdam vandaag en morgen, De Arbeiderspers, Amsterdam* 1953 pp. 81, 82-84; R. van den Bergh (Alderman Public Housing), *De Nieuwe Dag* 28-10-1954 & in: *Het Parool* 28-10-1954; A.J. d'Ailly (Major), *Nieuws van de Dag* 12-11-1954

<sup>42</sup> Pasquino (Columnist), *De Telegraaf* 16-11-1954

<sup>43</sup> G. Brinkgreve (Artist, former councillor, member of the historical societies Bond Heemschut and Genootschap Amstelodamum among other things), *Gevecht om Amsterdam, Genootschap Amstelodamum, Amsterdam* 1954, pp. 4, 5, 7-10, 20, 21, 22 & in: *De Volkskrant* 1-12-1954, *De Nieuwe Dag* 30-11-1954 & *De Volkskrant* 1-12-1954; F. Thomas (Writer), *De Tijd* 6-11-1954; J. Sluijters (Artist), *De Nieuwe Dag* 29-10-1954; M.G. Emeis (Writer of historical books among other things), *De Nieuwe Dag* 30-10-1954 & in: *Nieuws van de Dag* 30-10-1954 & *De Telegraaf* 6-1-1955; Genootschap Amstelodamum (Historical society), *De Nieuwe Dag* 5-11-1954; T. Koot (Member of the historical societies Bond Heemschut and Genootschap Amstelodamum among other things), *De Telegraaf* 21-10-1954 & in: *Het Parool* 4-11-1954; Dagboekancier (Columnist), *Het Parool* Date Unknown; Unknown journalist, *De Nieuwe Dag* 22-10-1954; Bond Heemschut, *Het Parool* 9-11-1954; H.P.L. Wiessing, *Algemeen Handelsblad* Date Unknown

<sup>44</sup> J.A. Batenburg (Reader's letter, Amsterdam), *Het Parool* Date Unknown

<sup>45</sup> G. Brinkgreve (Artist, former councillor, member of the historical societies Bond Heemschut and Genootschap Amstelodamum among other things), *Gevecht om Amsterdam, Genootschap Amstelodamum, Amsterdam* 1954, pp. 4, 5, 7-10, 20-22 & in: *De Volkskrant* 1-12-1954 & *De Nieuwe Dag* 30-11-1954; F. Thomas (Writer), *De Tijd* 6-11-1954; J. Sluijters (Artist), *De Nieuwe Dag* 29-10-1954; M.G. Emeis (Writer of historical books among other things), *De Nieuwe Dag* 30-10-1954 & in: *Nieuws van de Dag* 30-10-1954 & *De Telegraaf* 6-1-1955; Genootschap Amstelodamum (Historical society), *De Nieuwe Dag* 5-11-1954; T. Koot (Member of the historical societies Bond Heemschut and Genootschap Amstelodamum among other things), *De Telegraaf* 21-10-1954 & in: *Het Parool* 4-11-1954; Dagboekancier (Columnist), *Het Parool* Date Unknown; Unknown journalist, *De Nieuwe Dag* 22-10-1954; Bond Heemschut, *Het Parool* 9-11-1954; H.P.L. Wiessing, *Algemeen Handelsblad* Date Unknown

<sup>46</sup> G. Brinkgreve (Artist, former councillor, member of the historical societies Bond Heemschut and Genootschap Amstelodamum among other things), *Gevecht om Amsterdam, Genootschap Amstelodamum, Amsterdam* 1954, p. 23

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<sup>47</sup> G. Brinkgreve (Artist, former councillor, member of the historical societies Bond Heemschut and Genootschap Amstelodamum among other things), *Gevecht om Amsterdam*, Genootschap Amstelodamum, Amsterdam 1954, p. 22

<sup>48</sup> G. Brinkgreve (Artist, former councillor, member of the historical societies Bond Heemschut and Genootschap Amstelodamum among other things), *Gevecht om Amsterdam*, Genootschap Amstelodamum, Amsterdam 1954, pp. 2, 13-14

<sup>49</sup> J. Sluijters (Artist), *De Nieuwe Dag* 29-10-1954 & in: *De Tijd* Date Unknown; Reader's letters, *Het Vrije Volk* 22-10-1954; T. Koot (Member of the historical societies Bond Heemschut and Genootschap Amstelodamum among other things) *Het Parool* 4-11-1954 & in: *De Telegraaf* Date Unknown; G. Brinkgreve (Artist, former councillor, member of the historical societies Bond Heemschut and Genootschap Amstelodamum among other things), *Gevecht om Amsterdam*, Genootschap Amstelodamum, Amsterdam 1954, p. 19 & in: *De Nieuwe Dag* 30-11-1954 & *De Volkskrant* 1-12-1954; C.F. Jansen (Administrator Bond Heemschut), *Voor de Redding van de Amsterdamse Stadskern*, Bouw, 1954 (No. 46), pp. 918-922; Bond Heemschut, *Het Parool* 9-11-1954; F. Thomas (Writer), *De Tijd* 6-11-1954; Traffic journalist, *De Nieuwe Dag* 21-10-1954

<sup>50</sup> Traffic journalist, *Het Vrije Volk* 29-10-1954

<sup>51</sup> M.G. Emeis (Writer of historical books among other things), *Nieuws van de Dag* 30-10-1954; T. Koot (Member of the historical societies Bond Heemschut and Genootschap Amstelodamum among other things), *De Telegraaf* 21-10-1954; L. Peters (Reader's letter, Amsterdam), *Het Parool* Date Unknown; F. Thomas (Writer), *De Tijd* 6-11-1954

<sup>52</sup> M.G. Emeis (Writer of historical books among other things), *Nieuws van de Dag* 30-10-1954

<sup>53</sup> Bond Heemschut, *Het Parool* 9-11-1954

<sup>54</sup> F. Thomas (Writer), *De Tijd* 6-11-1954

<sup>55</sup> H.P.L. Wiessing, *Algemeen Handelsblad* Date Unknown

<sup>56</sup> F. Thomas (Writer), *De Tijd* 6-11-1954; Traffic journalist, *Het Vrije Volk* 29-10-1954; Unknown journalist, *De Volkskrant* 22-10-1954; Bond Heemschut, *Het Parool* 9-11-1954

<sup>57</sup> J.A. Bierens de Haan (Scientist, Chairman Bond Heemschut), *Algemeen Handelsblad* 6-11-1954

<sup>58</sup> Traffic journalist, *De Nieuwe Dag* 21-10-1954; T. Koot (Member of the historical societies Bond Heemschut and Genootschap Amstelodamum among other things) *Het Parool* 4-11-1954; G. Brinkgreve (Artist, former councillor, member of the historical societies Bond Heemschut and Genootschap Amstelodamum among other things), *Gevecht om Amsterdam*, Genootschap Amstelodamum, Amsterdam 1954, p. 15 & in: *De Nieuwe Dag* 30-11-1954, *De Volkskrant* 1-12-1954; Bond Heemschut, *Het Parool* 9-11-1954; Traffic journalist, *Het Vrije Volk* 29-10-1954; C.F. Jansen (Administrator Bond Heemschut), *Voor de Redding van de Amsterdamse Stadskern*, Bouw, 1954 (No. 46), pp. 918-922; Genootschap Amstelodamum (Historical society), *De Nieuwe Dag* 5-11-1954

<sup>59</sup> M.G. Emeis (Writer of historical books among other things), *Nieuws van de Dag* 30-10-1954; T. Koot, *Het Parool* 4-11-1954; Bond Heemschut, *Het Parool* 9-11-1954; F. Thomas (Writer), *De Tijd* 6-11-1954; L. Peters (Reader's letter), *Het Parool* Date Unknown; G. Brinkgreve (Artist, former councillor, member of the historical societies Bond Heemschut and Genootschap Amstelodamum among other things),

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Gevecht om Amsterdam, Genootschap Amstelodamum, Amsterdam 1954, p. 14; Pasquino (Columnist), De Nieuwe Dag 8-11-1954

<sup>60</sup> Traffic journalist, Het Vrije Volk 29-10-1954

<sup>61</sup> Anonymous (Reader's letter), Het Parool Date Unknown

<sup>62</sup> Reader's letters, Het Vrije Volk 22-10-1954

<sup>63</sup> G. Brinkgreve, De Volkskrant 1-12-1954

<sup>64</sup> Medical journalist, Het Parool 17-12-1954; L. Ross (Reader's letter), Het Parool Date Unknown

<sup>65</sup> H.W. de Jong (Vice-president of the American Express Company & vice-chairman of the V.V.V. Amsterdam), Algemeen Handelsblad 8-11-1954

<sup>66</sup> G. Brinkgreve (Artist, former councillor, member of the historical societies Bond Heemschut and Genootschap Amstelodamum among other things), Gevecht om Amsterdam, Genootschap Amstelodamum, Amsterdam 1954, p. 19; J. Sluijters (Artist), De Nieuwe Dag 29-10-1954; C.F. Jansen (Administrator Bond Heemschut), Voor de Redding van de Amsterdamse Stadskern, Bouw, 1954 (No. 46), pp. 918-922

<sup>67</sup> Unknown journalist, Het Vrije Volk 29-10-1954

<sup>68</sup> Traffic journalist, De Nieuwe Dag 21-10-1954; Unknown journalist, De Volkskrant 22-10-1954; Pasquino (Columnist), De Nieuwe Dag 8-11-1954 & De Telegraaf 16-11-1954; M.G. Emeis (Writer of historical books among other things), Nieuws van de Dag 30-10-1954; F. Thomas (Writer), De Tijd 6-11-1954; De Stad Amsterdam (Historical society), De Tijd 18-12-1954; G. Brinkgreve (Artist, former councillor, member of the historical societies Bond Heemschut and Genootschap Amstelodamum among other things), Gevecht om Amsterdam, Genootschap Amstelodamum, Amsterdam 1954, p. 6; Unknown journalist, Het Parool 30-10-1954. Medical metaphors became in use around 1840/1860.

<sup>69</sup> Unknown journalist, De Volkskrant 22-10-1954; F. Thomas (Writer), De Tijd 6-11-1954; Unknown journalist, Het Parool 30-12-1954; C.F. Jansen (Administrator Bond Heemschut), Voor de Redding van de Amsterdamse Stadskern, Bouw, 1954 (No. 46), pp. 918-922; Traffic journalist, Het Vrije Volk 29-10-1954; Dagboekjanier (Columnist), Het Parool Date Unknown

<sup>70</sup> G. Brinkgreve (Artist, former councillor, member of the historical societies Bond Heemschut and Genootschap Amstelodamum among other things), Gevecht om Amsterdam, Genootschap Amstelodamum, Amsterdam 1954, p. 16 & in: De Volkskrant 1-12-1954

<sup>71</sup> G. Brinkgreve (Artist, former councillor, member of the historical societies Bond Heemschut and Genootschap Amstelodamum among other things), Gevecht om Amsterdam, Genootschap Amstelodamum, Amsterdam 1954, p. 20

<sup>72</sup> Unknown journalist, Het Parool 17-12-1954; M.G. Emeis (Writer of historical books among other things), De Telegraaf 2-11-1954

<sup>73</sup> One person wrote a little song, based on a stage where actor C. Pilger as Foezel, an agent, swinging his baton sang: "Pats, pats, pats, je hakt er maar op in, zo ranselen wij de burgerij heel opgeruimd van zin!", which he changed into: "Plons, plons, plons, en nog veel meer zand er in, zo dempen wij half Amsterdam, heel opgeruimd van zin!" (F. Thomas (Writer), De Tijd 6-11-1954).

<sup>74</sup> G. Brinkgreve (Artist, former councillor, member of the historical societies Bond Heemschut and Genootschap Amstelodamum among other things), Gevecht om Amsterdam, Genootschap Amstelodamum, Amsterdam 1954, p. 20

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- <sup>75</sup> Pasquino (Columnist), *De Nieuwe Dag* 8-11-1954
- <sup>76</sup> Traffic journalist, *Het Vrije Volk* 29-10-1954
- <sup>77</sup> Traffic journalist, *De Nieuwe Dag* 21-10-1954; J. Sluijters (Artist), *De Tijd* Date Unknown; L. Huf (Reader's letter), *De Volkskrant* 23-11-1954
- <sup>78</sup> Pasquino (Columnist), *De Telegraaf* 22-10-1954
- <sup>79</sup> M.G. Emeis (Writer of historical books among other things), *De Telegraaf* 2-11-1954 & in: *Nieuws van de Dag* 30-10-1954; T. Koot (Member of the historical societies Bond Heemschut and Genootschap Amstelodamum among other things) *Het Parool* 4-11-1954; Traffic journalist, *Het Vrije Volk* 29-10-1954; Traffic journalist, *De Nieuwe Dag* 21-10-1954; Unknown journalist, *Het Parool* 30-10-1954; F. Thomas (Writer), *De Tijd* 6-11-1954; Pasquino (Columnist), *De Telegraaf* 16-11-1954
- <sup>80</sup> M.G. Emeis (Writer of historical books among other things), *Nieuws van de Dag* 30-10-1954
- <sup>81</sup> G. Brinkgreve (Artist, former councillor, member of the historical societies Bond Heemschut and Genootschap Amstelodamum among other things), *Gevecht om Amsterdam, Genootschap Amstelodamum, Amsterdam 1954*, p. 14; M.G. Emeis (Writer of historical books among other things), *Nieuws van de Dag* 30-10-1954
- <sup>82</sup> G. Brinkgreve (Artist, former councillor, member of the historical societies Bond Heemschut and Genootschap Amstelodamum among other things), *Gevecht om Amsterdam, Genootschap Amstelodamum, Amsterdam 1954*, p. 14
- <sup>83</sup> Traffic journalist, *De Nieuwe Dag* 21-10-1954
- <sup>84</sup> M.G. Emeis (Writer of historical books among other things), *Nieuws van de Dag* 30-10-1954. See also: M.G. Emeis, *De Telegraaf* 6-1-1955 & *Nieuws van de Dag* 30-10-1954; Traffic journalist, *De Nieuwe Dag* 21-10-1954; T. Koot, *De Telegraaf* Date Unknown; Unknown journalist, *De Nieuwe Dag* 22-10-1954; G. Brinkgreve (Artist, former councillor, member of the historical societies Bond Heemschut and Genootschap Amstelodamum among other things), *Gevecht om Amsterdam, Genootschap Amstelodamum, Amsterdam 1954*, p. 4
- <sup>85</sup> Unknown journalist, *De Nieuwe Dag* 1-11-1954
- <sup>86</sup> *De Stad Amsterdam* (Historical society), *De Tijd* 18-12-1954
- <sup>87</sup> *De Stad Amsterdam* (Historical society), *De Volkskrant* 22-10-1954
- <sup>88</sup> F. Thomas (Writer), *De Tijd* 6-11-1954; Traffic journalist, *De Nieuwe Dag* 21-10-1954; Unknown journalist, *De Tijd* Date Unknown; G. Brinkgreve (Artist, former councillor, member of the historical societies Bond Heemschut and Genootschap Amstelodamum among other things), *Gevecht om Amsterdam, Genootschap Amstelodamum, Amsterdam 1954*, p. 29; T. Koot (Member of the historical societies Bond Heemschut and Genootschap Amstelodamum among other things) *Het Parool* 4-11-1954
- <sup>89</sup> G. Brinkgreve (Artist, former councillor, member of the historical societies Bond Heemschut and Genootschap Amstelodamum among other things), *Gevecht om Amsterdam, Genootschap Amstelodamum, Amsterdam 1954*, pp. 26, 27
- <sup>90</sup> M.G. Emeis (Writer of historical books among other things), *Nieuws van de Dag* 30-10-1954; Unknown journalist, *Het Parool* 30-10-1954
- <sup>91</sup> G. Brinkgreve (Artist, former councillor, member of the historical societies Bond Heemschut and Genootschap Amstelodamum among other things), *Gevecht om Amsterdam, Genootschap Amstelodamum, Amsterdam 1954*, pp. 5, 25

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<sup>92</sup> M.G. Emeis (Writer of historical books among other things), De Telegraaf 6-1-1955

<sup>93</sup> Unknown journalist, Algemeen Handelsblad 3-11-1954; Anonymous (Reader's letter), Het Parool Date Unknown; Unknown journalist, De Nieuwe Dag 4-11-1954; Unknown journalist, De Nieuwe Dag 28-10-1954; Parlevink (Columnist), De Nieuwe Dag 13-11-1954

<sup>94</sup> Traffic journalist, Het Vrije Volk 29-10-1954

<sup>95</sup> H.A.J.G. Kaasjager, De Volkskrant 22-10-1954; J.A. Batenburg (Reader's letter, Amsterdam), Het Parool Date Unknown; J.J. v.d.Velde (Former alderman Public Works), Het Vrije Volk 25-10-1954; J. Nijkerk (Director V.V.V. Amsterdam), De Volkskrant 28-10-1954 & in: De Telegraaf 29-10-1954; Unknown journalist, De Volkskrant 22-10-1954; Unknown journalist, De Tijd 22-10-1954; Pasquino (Columnist), De Nieuwe Dag 8-11-1954; Parlevink (Columnist), De Nieuwe Dag 13-11-1954; Unknown journalist, Algemeen Handelsblad 3-11-1954; Various letters from readers, De Nieuwe Dag 5-11-1954; Unknown journalist, De Volkskrant 21-10-1954; Unknown journalist, Sursum Corda 11-11-1954; Traffic journalist, Het Parool 22-10-1954; F.W. Keppeler (Director Hollandse Beton Mij, literally Dutch Concrete Company), Trouw Date Unknown; Unknown journalist, Het Parool 21-10-1954; B. van Vlijmen (Reader's letter, Naarden), Het Vrije Volk 23-10-1954; Unknown journalist, Algemeen Handelsblad 2-11-1954; C. Burger (Tradesman & vice-chairman of the local Christian council group), De Volkskrant 6-11-1954; H.W. de Jong (Reader's letter), Algemeen Handelsblad 8-11-1954

<sup>96</sup> J.A. Batenburg (Reader's letter, Amsterdam), Het Parool Date Unknown; C. Burger (Tradesman), De Volkskrant 6-11-1954; Unknown journalist, De Nieuwe Dag 4-11-1954; Unknown journalist, Algemeen Handelsblad 3-11-1954; C.Th. van Limburg (Reader's letter Amsterdam), Het Vrije Volk 23-10-1954; Unknown journalist, De Telegraaf 4-11-1954; Unknown journalist, Het Parool 4-11-54

<sup>97</sup> Unknown journalist, De Volkskrant 21-10-1954, also in: Unknown journalist, Het Parool 21-10-1954; Unknown journalist, Trouw 27-10-1954; Unknown journalist, De Tijd 22-10-1954; H.W. de Jong (Reader's letter), Algemeen Handelsblad 8-11-1954

<sup>98</sup> G. Brinkgreve (Artist, former councillor, member of the historical societies Bond Heemschut and Genootschap Amstelodamum among other things), Gevecht om Amsterdam, Genootschap Amstelodamum, Amsterdam 1954, p. 16

<sup>99</sup> Anonymous (Reader's letter), Het Parool Date Unknown; Unknown journalist, Algemeen Handelsblad 3-11-1954

<sup>100</sup> C.Th. van Limburg (Reader's letter, Amsterdam), Het Vrije Volk 23-10-1954

<sup>101</sup> H.W. de Jong (Vice-president of the American Express Company & vice-chairman of the V.V.V. Amsterdam), Algemeen Handelsblad 8-11-1954

<sup>102</sup> J.A. Batenburg (Reader's letter, Amsterdam), Het Parool Date Unknown

<sup>103</sup> Unknown journalist, Het Parool 30-12-1954

<sup>104</sup> Anonymous (P.V., reader's letter, Aerdenhout), Het Vrije Volk 23-10-1954. The same strategy was used in: H. Voorwinde (Reader's letter), Het Vrije Volk 23-10-1954; J.A. Batenburg (Reader's letter, Amsterdam), Het Parool Date Unknown; F.S.J. Paulen (Architect, assistant-sales director Ford), De Nieuwe Dag 30-10-1954

<sup>105</sup> C. Burger (Tradesman), De Volkskrant 6-11-1954; F.S.J. Paulen (Architect, assistant-sales director Ford), De Nieuwe Dag 30-10-1954; J. Nijkerk (Director

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V.V.V. Amsterdam), *De Volkskrant* 28-10-1954, Amsterdam; H.A.J.G. Kaasjager, *De Volkskrant* 22-10-1954 & in: *De Telegraaf* 21-10-1954

<sup>106</sup> Unknown journalist, *De Volkskrant* 21-10-1954; Unknown journalist, *De Nieuwe Dag* 28-10-1954; H.A. Douqué (K.V.P. councillor, traffic specialist), *De Nieuwe Dag* 30-10-1954; Traffic journalist, *Het Parool* 22-10-1954; F.W. Keppler (Director Hollandse Beton Mij, literally Dutch Concrete Company), *Trouw* Date Unknown; J.J. v.d. Velde (Former alderman of Public Works), *Het Vrije Volk* 25-10-1954; J. Nijkerk (Director V.V.V. Amsterdam), *De Volkskrant* 28-10-1954; A.A. van Sandick (Banker, Christian councillor, member of committee for traffic problems among other things), *Algemeen Handelsblad* 27-10-1954; Unknown journalist, *Algemeen Handelsblad* 2-11-1954; Unknown journalist, *Sursum Corda* 11-11-1954

<sup>107</sup> Unknown journalist, *De Volkskrant* 21-10-1954. See also: Unknown journalist, *Het Parool* 21-10-1954; P. Cornelissen (Director Hotel de l'Europe), *De Volkskrant* 29-10-1954; Unknown journalist, *Trouw* 22-10-1954; A. Dijkxhoorn (Reader's letter, Delft), *Het Parool* Date Unknown

<sup>108</sup> G.C. Bührman (Spokesman of couriers), *De Nieuwe Dag* 28-10-1954; Unknown journalist, *De Nieuwe Dag* 28-10-1954; R. van den Bergh (Alderman Public Housing), *De Nieuwe Dag* 28-10-1954; Unknown journalist, *Sursum Corda* 11-11-1954; Parlevink (Columnist), *De Nieuwe Dag* 13-11-1954; Unknown journalist, *De Volkskrant* 22-10-1954; W. Stam (Reader's letter, Amsterdam), *Het Parool* Date Unknown; Reader's letters, *Het Vrije Volk* 22-10-1954; Traffic journalist, *Het Parool* 22-10-1954; W.L. Letzer (Reader's letter, Amsterdam), *Het Vrije Volk* 23-10-1954; Unknown journalist, *Algemeen Handelsblad* 2-11-1954; J. Nijkerk (Director V.V.V. Amsterdam), *De Nieuwe Dag* 28-10-1954; Parlevink (Columnist), *De Nieuwe Dag* 13-11-1954; Unknown journalist, *De Volkskrant* 21-10-1954, H.A. Douqué (K.V.P. councillor, traffic specialist), *De Tijd* Date Unknown; Unknown journalist, *Sursum Corda* 11-11-1954

<sup>109</sup> Traffic journalist, *Het Parool* 22-10-1954; C. Burger (Tradesman), *De Volkskrant* 6-11-1954

<sup>110</sup> J.A. Batenburg (Reader's letter, Amsterdam), *Het Parool* Date Unknown

<sup>111</sup> Anonymous (Reader's letter), *Het Parool* Date Unknown. See also: J. Steketee (Reader's letter, Amsterdam), *Het Vrije Volk* 23-10-1954, and H.A.J.G. Kaasjager, *De Telegraaf* 21-10-1954; J.A. Batenburg (Reader's letter, Amsterdam), *Het Parool* Date Unknown; C.Th. van Limburg (Reader's letter Amsterdam), *Het Vrije Volk* 23-10-1954.

<sup>112</sup> Unknown journalist, *De Tijd* 22-10-1954; also in: *Trouw* 22-10-1954; Unknown journalist, *De Tijd* 22-10-1954; Unknown journalist, *Algemeen Handelsblad* 20-10-1954

<sup>113</sup> C.Th. van Limburg (Reader's letter Amsterdam), *Het Vrije Volk* 23-10-1954; also: Unknown journalist, *Trouw* 22-10-1954

<sup>114</sup> Reader's letters, *Het Vrije Volk* 22-10-1954; Anonymous ('P.V.', reader's letter, Aerdenhout), *Het Vrije Volk* 23-10-1954; J. Steketee (Reader's letter, Amsterdam), *Het Vrije Volk* 23-10-1954; Anonymous ("J.B.", reader's letter), *Het Vrije Volk* 23-10-1954; *Het Parool* Date unknown

<sup>115</sup> C. Burger (Tradesman), *De Volkskrant* 6-11-1954

<sup>116</sup> Unknown journalist, *De Volkskrant* 21-10-1954; Unknown journalist, *Het Parool* 21-10-1954; Unknown journalist, *Het Vrije Volk* 25-10-1954

<sup>117</sup> Unknown journalist, *De Nieuwe Dag* 28-10-1954



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- <sup>118</sup> C.Th. van Limburg (Reader's letter Amsterdam), *Het Vrije Volk* 23-10-1954; C. Burger (Tradesman), *De Volkskrant* 6-11-1954; H.W. de Jong (Reader's letter), *Algemeen Handelsblad* 8-11-1954; H.A. Douqué (K.V.P. councillor, traffic specialist), *De Nieuwe Dag* 30-10-1954
- <sup>119</sup> Unknown journalist, *De Tijd* 22-10-1954; also in: *Het Vrije Volk* 23-10-1954, reader's letter from P.V, Aerdenhout; B. van Vlijmen (Reader's letter, Naarden), *Het Vrije Volk* 23-10-1954
- <sup>120</sup> W. Stam (Reader's letter, Amsterdam), *Het Parool* Date Unknown
- <sup>121</sup> H.A.J.G. Kaasjager (Chief Commissioner of Police), *De Volkskrant* 11-1-1955; Unknown journalist, *Algemeen Handelsblad* 3-11-1954
- <sup>122</sup> J.A. Batenburg (Reader's letter, Amsterdam), *Het Parool* Date Unknown
- <sup>123</sup> C.Th. van Limburg (Reader's letter, Amsterdam), *Het Vrije Volk* 23-10-1954; also in: H. Voorwinde (Reader's letter), *Het Vrije Volk* 23-10-1954; J.A. Batenburg (Reader's letter, Amsterdam), *Het Parool* Date Unknown
- <sup>124</sup> R. van den Bergh (Alderman Public Housing), *De Nieuwe Dag* 28-10-1954; R. van den Bergh (Alderman Public Housing), *Het Parool* 28-10-1954; A.J. d'Ailly (Major), *Nieuws van de Dag* 12-11-1954 & in: *Algemeen Handelsblad* 12-11-1954 & *De Tijd* 12-11-1954; Unknown journalist, *Het Parool* 22-12-1954; *Partij van de Arbeid* (P.v.d.A.) *Federatie Amsterdam* 1953, *Mens en Stad. Amsterdam vandaag en morgen*, *De Arbeiderspers*, Amsterdam 1953, pp. 9, 13, 15, 16, 79; Unknown journalist, *De Tijd* 23-12-1954; *Local Planning Department Amsterdam*, *Nota Binnenstad* 1955, *Gemeentebblad* 1955, pp. 313-315
- <sup>125</sup> *Local Planning Department Amsterdam*, *Nota Binnenstad* 1955, *Gemeentebblad* 1955, p. 313
- <sup>126</sup> *Local Planning Department Amsterdam*, *Nota Binnenstad* 1955, *Gemeentebblad* 1955, pp. 316-319
- <sup>127</sup> G. Brinkgreve (Artist, former councillor, member of the historical societies *Bond Heemschut* and *Genootschap Amstelodamum* among other things), *Gevecht om Amsterdam*, *Genootschap Amstelodamum*, Amsterdam 1954, pp. 2, 13-14
- <sup>128</sup> J.M. den Uyl (Councillor P.v.d.A.), *Het Vrije Volk* 23-10-1954
- <sup>129</sup> R. van den Bergh (Alderman Public Housing), *Het Parool* 28-10-1954
- <sup>130</sup> C.F. Jansen (Administrator *Bond Heemschut*), *Voor de Redding van de Amsterdamse Stads kern*, *Bouw* 1954 (No. 46), pp. 921-922
- <sup>131</sup> R. van den Bergh (Alderman Public Housing), *De Nieuwe Dag* 28-10-1954 & in: *Het Parool* 28-10-1954; A.J. d'Ailly (Major), *Nieuws van de Dag* 12-11-1954 & in: *Algemeen Handelsblad* 12-11-1954; Unknown journalist, *Het Parool* 22-12-1954; Unknown journalist, *De Tijd* 23-12-1954; *Local Planning Department Amsterdam*, *Nota Binnenstad* 1955, *Gemeentebblad* 1955, pp. 313-331
- <sup>132</sup> A.J. d'Ailly (Major), *De Tijd* 12-11-1954
- <sup>133</sup> *Partij van de Arbeid* (P.v.d.A.) *Federatie Amsterdam* 1953, *Mens en Stad. Amsterdam vandaag en morgen*, *De Arbeiderspers*, Amsterdam 1953, pp. 81, 120; Unknown journalist, *Het Parool* 22-12-1954
- <sup>134</sup> *Local Planning Department Amsterdam*, *Nota Binnenstad* 1955, *Gemeentebblad* 1955, p. 322; *Partij van de Arbeid* (P.v.d.A.) *Federatie Amsterdam* 1953, *Mens en Stad. Amsterdam vandaag en morgen*, *De Arbeiderspers*, Amsterdam 1953, p. 81
- <sup>135</sup> R. van den Bergh (Alderman Public Housing), *De Nieuwe Dag* 28-10-1954 & in: *Het Parool* 28-10-1954; J.M. den Uyl (Councillor P.v.d.A.), *Het Vrije Volk* 23-10-1954; *Local Planning Department Amsterdam*, *Nota Binnenstad* 1955,

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Gemeentebblad 1955, pp. 313-331, p. 318; Unknown journalist, De Tijd 23-12-1954; Unknown journalist, Het Parool 22-12-1954

<sup>136</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Nota Binnenstad 1955, Gemeentebblad 1955, p. 322; R. van den Bergh (Alderman Public Housing), Het Parool 28-10-1954

<sup>137</sup> R. van den Bergh (Alderman Public Housing), Het Parool 28-10-1954

<sup>138</sup> R. van den Bergh (Alderman Public Housing), Het Parool 28-10-1954

<sup>139</sup> A.J. d'Ailly (Major), De Nieuwe Dag 12-11-1954

<sup>140</sup> A.J. d'Ailly (Major), De Nieuwe Dag 13-11-1954 & in: De Volkskrant 1-12-1954

<sup>141</sup> A.J. d'Ailly (Major), Nieuws van de Dag 12-11-1954

<sup>142</sup> De Wilde, Gemeentebblad 1955 (afdeling 2, deel II), 23-11-1955, pp. 1728-1733; Burger (Christian political party), Gemeentebblad 1955 (afdeling 2, deel II), 23-11-1955, pp. 1716-1726; Herfst, Gemeentebblad 1955 (afdeling 2, deel II), 23-11-1955, pp. 1738-1739; Bot, Gemeentebblad 1955 (afdeling 2, deel II), 23-11-1955, pp. 1745-1746; Van Rij, Gemeentebblad 1955 (afdeling 2, deel II), 23-11-1955, p. 1763; Van Sandick Gemeentebblad 1955 (afdeling 2, deel II), 23-11-1955, p. 1759

<sup>143</sup> Herfst, Gemeentebblad 1955 (afdeling 2, deel II), 23-11-1955, p. 1738; Burger (Christian political party), Gemeentebblad 1955 (afdeling 2, deel II), 23-11-1955, pp. 1716-1726; Bot, Gemeentebblad 1955 (afdeling 2, deel II), 23-11-1955, pp. 1745-1747; Van Sandick Gemeentebblad 1955 (afdeling 2, deel II), 23-11-1955, p. 1759; Mozes-Ebbinge Gemeentebblad 1955 (afdeling 2, deel II), 23-11-1955, pp. 1739-42

<sup>144</sup> De Wilde, Gemeentebblad 1955 (afdeling 2, deel II), 23-11-1955, pp. 1728-1731

<sup>145</sup> Herfst, Gemeentebblad 1955 (afdeling 2, deel II), 23-11-1955, pp. 1739-1942

<sup>146</sup> Van 't Hull (Alderman), Gemeentebblad 1955 (afdeling 2, deel II), 23-11-1955, pp. 1766-1781

<sup>147</sup> H.A.J.G. Kaasjager, De Nieuwe Dag 11-11-1955

<sup>148</sup> H.A.J.G. Kaasjager (Chief Commissioner of Police), Het Vrije Volk 8-1-1955

<sup>149</sup> H.A.J.G. Kaasjager, Het Parool 8-1-1955

<sup>150</sup> Unknown journalist, Het Vrije Volk 21-11-1966

<sup>151</sup> Empty compartments in this table means that nothing was said about this particular element.

<sup>152</sup> Unknown journalist, Het Parool 22-12-1954; Unknown journalist, De Tijd 23-12-1954; Unknown journalist, De Volkskrant 24-12-1954; Unknown journalist, De Telegraaf 24-12-1954; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Nota Binnenstad 1955, Gemeentebblad 1955, pp. 315-320

<sup>153</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Nota Binnenstad 1955, Gemeentebblad 1955, pp. 313-331

<sup>154</sup> Unknown journalist, Het Parool 22-12-1954

<sup>155</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Nota Binnenstad 1955, Gemeentebblad 1955, pp. 313-331

<sup>156</sup> Unknown journalist, De Tijd 23-12-1954

<sup>157</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Nota Binnenstad 1955, Gemeentebblad 1955, pp. 313-331

<sup>158</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Nota Binnenstad 1955, Gemeentebblad 1955, pp. 313-331

<sup>159</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Nota Binnenstad 1955, Gemeentebblad 1955, p. 328

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- <sup>160</sup> Unknown journalist, Het Parool 22-12-1954; Unknown journalist, De Tijd 23-12-1954 ; Unknown journalist, De Volkskrant 24-12-1954; Unknown journalist, De Telegraaf 24-12-1954; Unknown journalist, De Volkskrant 23-12-1954; Unknown journalist, Amsterdams Nieuwsblad Date Unknown 1955; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Nota Binnenstad 1955, Gemeentebblad 1955, pp. 313-331
- <sup>161</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Nota Binnenstad 1955, Gemeentebblad 1955, pp. 313-331
- <sup>162</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Nota Binnenstad 1955, Gemeentebblad 1955, p. 328
- <sup>163</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Nota Binnenstad 1955, Gemeentebblad 1955, pp. 313-331
- <sup>164</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Nota Binnenstad 1955, Gemeentebblad 1955, p. 328
- <sup>165</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Nota Binnenstad 1955, Gemeentebblad 1955, pp. 320, 315
- <sup>166</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Nota Binnenstad 1955, Gemeentebblad 1955, pp. 320, 315
- <sup>167</sup> Unknown journalist, Het Parool 22-12-1954; Unknown journalist, De Tijd 23-12-1954; Unknown journalist, De Volkskrant 24-12-1954; Unknown journalist, De Telegraaf 24-12-1954; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Nota Binnenstad 1955, Gemeentebblad 1955, pp. 313-331
- <sup>168</sup> Unknown journalist, Het Parool 22-12-1954; Unknown journalist, De Tijd 23-12-1954; Unknown journalist, De Volkskrant 24-12-1954; Unknown journalist, De Telegraaf 24-12-1954; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Nota Binnenstad 1955, Gemeentebblad 1955, pp. 313-331
- <sup>169</sup> Unknown journalist, Het Parool 22-12-1954; Unknown journalist, De Tijd 23-12-1954; Unknown journalist, De Telegraaf 24-12-1954; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Nota Binnenstad 1955, Gemeentebblad 1955, pp. 317-8, 324, 329
- <sup>170</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Nota Binnenstad 1955, Gemeentebblad 1955, pp. 313-331, p. 328; Unknown journalist, Het Parool 22-12-1954
- <sup>171</sup> Unknown journalist, Het Parool 22-12-1954
- <sup>172</sup> Unknown journalist, Het Parool 22-12-1954; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Nota Binnenstad 1955, Gemeentebblad 1955, p. 322
- <sup>173</sup> Unknown journalist, Het Parool 22-12-1954
- <sup>174</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Nota Binnenstad 1955, Gemeentebblad 1955, pp. 313-331

# Conclusions Part 1

Empirical research into the differences and similarities between urban ideal images enabled me to refine and supplement Choay's dichotomy of progressists and culturalists (Chapter 2). I added an extra category consisting of city planners, and presumed this category would show the most resemblance to progressist urban intellectuals – which it did, although not to the full extent. Thus, I was able to identify different levels in urban ideal images.

In period 1, all contributions showed great trust in the future city. The participants in Amsterdam and Rotterdam talked, discussed and fought in more than 200 contributions about what should be done in order to realize just one thing: a flourishing city – level 1 of the urban ideal images, and the opposite from what has been described for the United States. Despite the wounds of war, and despite the rubble and the difficulties in cities, the participants painted a rose-tinted picture of the future from which declining cities were absent.

Opinions differed about how level 1 of the urban ideal image should be realized. While culturalists idealized the past, thought that city planning should focus on community and history, and wanted a future city with a cultural historic centre inside the inner city, progressists and city planners wanted a future city with a CBD heart located in the inner city and on top of the urban hierarchy. Moreover, progressists and city planners wanted city planning to focus on trade and industry, and idealized the future, letting progress be their guide. These different elements concerned level 2 of the urban ideal images and were meant to realize a similar level 1.

Culturalists in Amsterdam stated that it was strange that those progressive people – namely progressists and city planners – still wanted a CBD, while according to culturalists, that idea was not that forward anymore and its need questionable because of technological progress. Of course, the pot calls the kettle black, and culturalists were just as conservative as their opponents were. It was used as a strategy, a justification, in the hope that it would bring them, culturalists, some more support. But the idea of a CBD in the inner city was not that new (it dates back to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century), and it is interesting to see whether this element of level 2 of the urban ideal image of city planners and progressists changed in period 2 or 3.

In this first period, in particular on this level 2, occupation and ideology seemed to matter. In period 1, historians, conservative city planners including a former alderman, artists, painters, poets, writers, university teachers and some journalists working for the newspapers *De Tijd*, *Het Vrije*

*Volk*, *De Nieuwe Dag*, *De Volkskrant*, and *Algemeen Handelsblad*, tended to express a culturalist ideal urban image. At the same time, architects, engineers, economists, tradesmen, journalists working for the newspapers *De Nieuwe Dag*, *Algemeen Handelsblad*, *De Volkskrant*, *De Tijd*, *Het Parool*, *Sursum Corda*, *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, *De Maasbode*, *Rotterdamsch Dagblad*, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, and *Het Vrije Volk*, and directors, including those of the Dutch tourist board tended to express a progressist ideal urban image.

Levels 3 of the urban ideal images were meant to realize levels 2 of the urban ideal images, and remarkably, some similarities between the three categories occurred on level 3. For example, all participants desired contemporary architecture, and all wanted the government to be the main planning actor. In addition, the dichotomy culturalists/progressists was not fully similar to Choay's model of planning because both are a polar model (Chapter 2). For example, some culturalists also wanted a zoning of functions and cities of infinite size with faded borders, while progressists and city planners wanted cities of limited size with sharp borders. However, in general, the progressist urban intellectuals who participated in the two debates in period 1 had an ideal urban image that looked more like Choay's progressist type, while culturalists had one that looked quite similar to Choay's culturalists. Moreover, almost all elements of the urban ideal images of urban intellectuals and city planners were mentioned already in figure 4 regarding the body of knowledge in 1945 (Chapter 2). There were three exceptions.

First, as briefly mentioned in Chapter 3, the Basisplan has been regarded as a turning point in history because it was intended to realize a new, utopian society based on socioeconomic planning, marking the end of laissez-fair and the beginning of the welfare state. For the first time, a city plan was based not only on surveys but also on desires. As a result, I could add a new element in the tables regarding urban ideal images: the future city should be based on both surveys and desires. But of course, the question is the extent to which this was truly new, in the sense that it was an unknown phenomenon before. One simply has to keep in mind the knowledge that history tends to repeat itself, and of course, the concept of constructing cities based on ideals dates back to the mists of antiquity. Second, as expected, after 1945 ideas about the layout of the inner city were further elaborated because of the desire to guide the CBD process with urban planning (Chapter 2). Third, public participation was mentioned as a desired element of the future city, which was of course something more than just public support – the latter element was mentioned in figure 4 regarding the body of knowledge 1945. Urban ideal images in both Amsterdam and Rotterdam are captured in table 6, in which the differences between the two cities are indicated.

**Table 6 Urban ideal images of culturalists, progressists and city planners, Amsterdam and Rotterdam period 1<sup>1</sup>**

		<b>Elements urban ideal image</b>	<i>Culturalists</i>	<i>Progressists</i>	<i>City planners</i>
<b>Level 1</b>			Flourishing city	Flourishing city	Flourishing city
<b>Level 2</b>		<b>Position of inner city</b>	Cultural historic centre	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy
		<b>Orientation</b>	Towards the past	Towards the future	Towards the future
		<b>Focus of planning</b>	Community & history	Trade & Industry	Trade & Industry
<b>Level 3</b>	<b>G e n e r a l</b>	<b>Basis of planning</b>	Survey & desires	Survey & desires	Survey & desires
			Flexible city plan, not detailed (Rdm)	Flexible city plan, not detailed	Flexible city plan, not detailed
				City as part of a larger whole: the region (Rdm)	City as part of a larger whole: the region
			Public participation	Public participation (Rdm)	Public support (Rdm)
		<b>Architecture</b>	Contemporary	Contemporary harmonious & homogeneous	Contemporary
		<b>Main planning actor</b>	Government	Government	Government
		<b>City extension</b>	Garden cities (Rdm)	Satellite cities (Rdm)	Satellite cities (Rdm)
		<b>Border between city and countryside</b>	Faded (Rdm)	Sharp (Rdm)	Sharp (Rdm)
		<b>Accent on city or countryside</b>	City	City	City
		<b>City size</b>	Infinite (Rdm)	Limited (Rdm)	Limited (Rdm)
		<b>Height</b>	Limited (Rdm)		

<b>Level 3</b>	<b>G e n e r a l</b>	<b>City functions</b>	Mixed (Rdm) versus Zoned (Adm, Rdm)	Zoned (Rdm)	Zoned
		<b>History</b>	Pattern of living riddled with history	Keep the past in mind, but focus on future	Keep the past in mind, but focus on future
		<b>Density</b>	Uniform (Rdm), Increasing towards centre (Adm)	Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city's edge (Rdm)	Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city's edge (Rdm)
	<b>D w e l l i n g</b>	<b>Structure</b>	Airy, light, decentralized, autonomous urban neighbourhoods; lots of dwellings inside the inner city (Rdm)	Airy, light decentralized housing quarters (Rdm)	Airy, light, decentralized housing quarters (Rdm)
		<b>Housing types</b>		Mix of high- & low-rise (Rdm)	Mix of high- & low-rise (Rdm)
			Identifiable houses (Adm)	Homogeneous whole	Homogeneous whole
		<b>Stratification</b>		Luxurious housing along the river (Rdm)	
		<b>Renewal of residential quarters</b>	Comprehensive redevelopment (Adm, Rdm) versus rehabilitation (Rdm)	Comprehensive redevelopment	Comprehensive redevelopment
	<b>L e i s u r e</b>	<b>Green elements</b>	Parks, roof gardens, gardens	Parks (Rdm)	Parks

<b>Level 3</b>	<b>l e i s u r e</b>	<b>Nature</b>	Bringing nature into the city (Rdm)	Nature subordinate to commercial developments & located only outside the city (Rdm)	Nature subordinate to commercial developments & located only outside the city (Rdm)
		<b>Buffers around built-up areas</b>	No buffers but integrated into city (Rdm)	Green Buffers (Rdm)	
		<b>Use of waterfronts</b>	Non-commercial	Commercial (Rdm)	Commercial (Rdm)
		<b>Location of recreational areas</b>	Interwoven with the city (Rdm)	Outside the city (Rdm)	Outside the city
	<b>W o r k</b>	<b>Location</b>	Mixed with other functions (Rdm)/Zoned (Adm)	Zoned	Zoned
		<b>Industries</b>	Within neighbourhood units/Decentralized to industrial areas (Adm)	Decentralized to accessible industrial areas at city's edge (Rdm)	Decentralized to accessible industrial areas at city's edge
	<b>T r a n s p o r t a t i o n</b>	<b>Focus</b>	Accessible urban areas, non-radial	Fast & efficient transport system, radial	Fast & efficient transport system, radial
		<b>Mobility</b>	Limit mobility by localizing life (Rdm)	Meet mobility needs by constructing roads (Rdm)	Meet mobility needs by constructing roads (Rdm)
		<b>Design</b>	Based on old structure	Rational, radial	Rational, radial
		<b>Traffic types</b>	Mixed (Rdm)	Separated	Separated (Rdm)



<b>Level 3</b>	<b>I n n e r c i t y</b>	<b>Main function</b>	Cultural Historic	Economic	Economic
		<b>Inner city functions</b>	Mixed (Rdm)	Zoned	Zoned
		<b>Location of offices</b>	Mainly outside inner city, mixed inside neighbour hoods	Inside inner city, along waterfronts	Inside inner city
		<b>Accessibility</b>	Moderate (Rdm)/ low (Adm)	High	High
		<b>Car traffic</b>	Limited	Unlimited (Adm, Rdm), discouraged (Adm)	Unlimited (Adm, Rdm), discouraged (Adm)
		<b>Residential function</b>	Large	Limited	Limited
		<b>Public transport</b>	Tram, transport by water (Adm)	Tram, trolleybuses, metro (Adm)	Tram, metro (Adm)
		<b>Traffic priority</b>	Pedestrians	Motorists	Motorists
		<b>Public space</b>		Squares as forums	Squares, fountains, flower decorations, festivals (Adm)
		<b>Design</b>	Heteroge neous, anti- homogeneous	Homogeneous contemporary	Fitting into existing structure (Adm), homogeneous, contemporary

By studying working-class intellectuals and local city planners in debates that actually took place, I could supplement the five strategies Zijdeveld (1974) mentioned (Chapter 1) with many more strategies, and compose a much longer and more precise list (table 7). Culturalists made many more creative expressions than progressists or city planners did – not that surprisingly, considering their often more creative occupations. Moreover, culturalists took much more trouble to gain support than others – which is likely to be a result of their urban ideal image being very different from those in power, namely the city planners. On the contrary, progressists,

having an identical level 2 and a quite similar level 3 to those of city planners' urban ideal image, did not overexert themselves to use strategies and gain support. City planners, in their turn, used strategies progressists and culturalists could not use; they kept away advisory committees and, above all, had the ultimate power to decide, that is, in their final city plans *Basisplan* and *Nota Binnenstad*. Still, most strategies were non-original, namely they were used by culturalists, progressists and city planners. As a result, sometimes strategies were incompatible and contradictory. For example, culturalists, progressists and city planners often said they had lots of support but at the same time tried to rouse the inhabitants who had shown hardly any interest in the debate – which of course weakened both strategies. Table 7 includes the strategies of both Amsterdammers and Rotterdammers, and the differences between the two cities are marked.

The influence of public debates on final city plans in period 1 is hard to define. Mayor, aldermen and councillors were certainly very aware of the public debates in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, and they certainly discussed the ideas of both progressists and culturalists in council meetings, and did so thoroughly. But despite this influence – that is, making aldermen, mayor and councillors discuss their ideas – in neither Amsterdam nor Rotterdam did urban intellectuals in city debates manage to alter the ideal urban images of those who wrote and supported the final city plans.

**Table 7 Strategies of culturalists, progressists and city planners, Rotterdam and Amsterdam period 1<sup>2</sup>**

	<i>Culturalists</i>	<i>Progressists</i>	<i>City planners</i>
<i>Motives</i>	Image of the present city	Image of the present city	Image of the present city
	Liveliness	Liveliness (Rdm)	Liveliness
	Efficiency	Efficiency	Efficiency
	Cultural history		Cultural history (Adm)
	Valuation	Valuation (Adm)	Valuation (Adm)
	Research methods	Research methods	Research methods (Adm)
	Facts (Adm)	Facts	Facts
	Goal will not be reached (Adm)	Goal will not be reached (Adm)	Goal will not be reached
	Goal cannot be reached (Adm)		Goal cannot be reached (Rdm)
	Gloomy future	Gloomy future	Gloomy future
	Perfect future	Perfect future	Perfect future
	Inevitably	Inevitably	Inevitably
	Last chance/emergency (Adm)	Last chance/emergency (Adm)	Last chance/emergency (Rdm)

<b>Motives</b>	National/international examples	National/international examples	National/international examples
		Spend so much time/effort/money (Rdm)	Spend so much time/effort/money (Rdm)
	Irreversible		
	People want it (Adm)	People want it	People want it
	People need it	People need it	People need it
	Short public enquiry procedure (Rdm)		
<b>Creative expression</b>	Brochures		Brochures (Rdm)
	Photos (Adm)		Photos (Rdm)
			Drawings and sketches (Rdm)
	Songs (Adm)		
	Poems (Adm)		
	Cartoons (Adm)		
	Creative counting (Adm)	Creative counting (Adm)	
<b>Linguistic expression</b>	Talking and writing	Talking and writing	Talking and writing
	Present tense (Adm)		Present tense (Rdm)
	Vocabulary	Vocabulary	Vocabulary
<b>Friends &amp; enemies</b>	Editorial power (Adm)	Editorial power	Editorial power
	Denigrating	Denigrating	Denigrating (Adm)
	Rousing	Rousing (Rdm)	Rousing (Rdm)
	Heroes	Heroes	
	Scapegoats	Scapegoats (Rdm)	
	Lots of us	Lots of us	Lots of us (Rdm)
	Curry favour		Curry favour
	Just like you (Adm)	Just like you (Adm)	Just like you
	We can change the world!		We can change the world! (Rdm)
		Order! (Adm)	Order! (Adm)
Conspiring (Adm)		Conspiring (Adm)	
<b>Gaining power</b>	Choice reduction	Choice reduction (Adm)	
			Advisory councils (Rdm)
	Emphasizing own importance (Adm)	Emphasizing own importance (Adm)	
			Compromise (Rdm)
<b>Physical expression</b>	Actions (Adm)		

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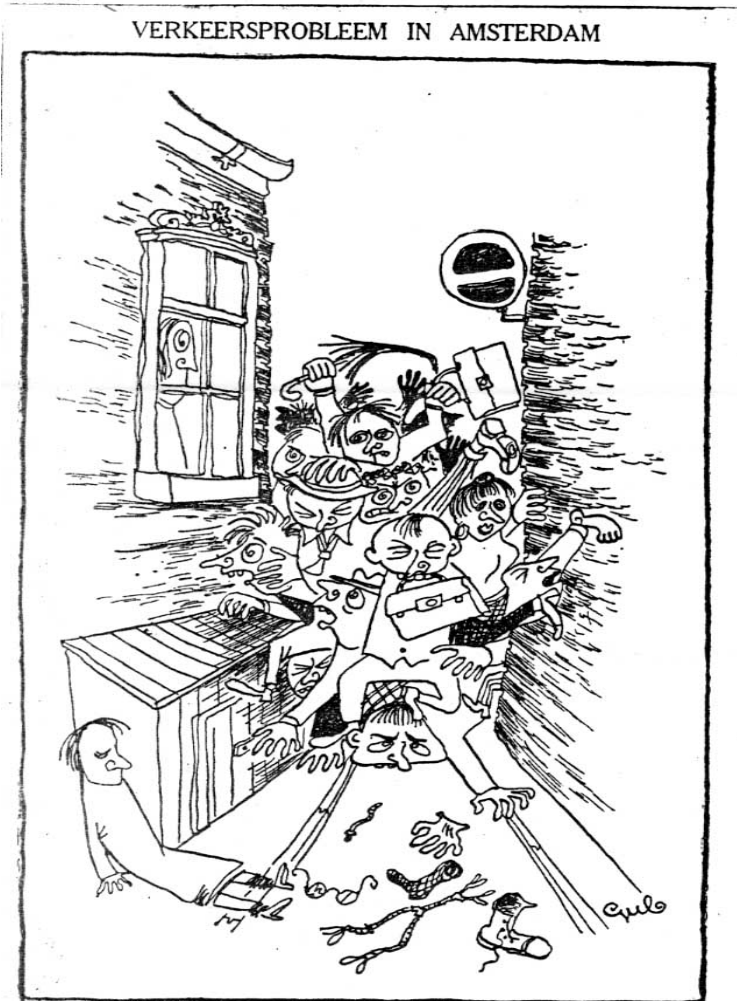
<sup>1</sup> Empty compartments in this table mean that nothing was said about this particular element. ‘Rdm’ refers to Rotterdam, which means that this particular element was described only in Rotterdam. ‘Adm’ refers to Amsterdam.

<sup>2</sup> Empty compartments in this table mean that this particular strategy was not used. ‘Rdm’ refers to Rotterdam, which means that this strategy was used only in Rotterdam. ‘Adm’ refers to Amsterdam.



Figure 6 Cartoon (De Telegraaf 20-11-1954)

*Uit: De Telegraaf 20/11/54*



We gaan allemaal lekker lopen!

Figure 7 Cartoon (Gub, Newspaper and Date Unknown, 1954)



Het tweede deel, „De commissaris vernielt verder“, zal binnenkort aan alle politieposten verkrijgbaar zijn.

**Part 2 1960/65-1975/80**



## Introduction

In 1955, a black woman, Rosa Parks, refused to give up her seat to a white man on a bus in Montgomery, Alabama. It was the immediate cause for the clergyman Martin Luther King to organize a bus boycott in Montgomery and soon after in other big cities in the south of the United States. The aim was to force local authorities to comply with the constitutional right of equality of every citizen, regardless of skin colour, rank or position in society. This boycott and the sit-in phenomenon were new means of action, and had immense effects. It is called the *civil rights movement*, and was accompanied by counter-demonstrations by local politicians or members of the Ku Klux Klan – a secret US organization of white protestant Americans, especially in the south of the country, who oppose people of other races or religions<sup>1</sup>. In 1963, Martin Luther King organized a protest march to Washington, and spoke to his audience the famous words ‘*I have a Dream*’. This resulted in the adoption of important laws modernizing the voting system. From about 1965, actions hardened, resulting in ghetto revolts in Los Angeles and Detroit, the intensification of the protests against the Vietnam War, and the murder of Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King in 1968. All kinds of subsequent protests in Europe had their origins in these events in the United States<sup>2</sup>.

In 1961, the Russian *cosmonaut* Yuri Gagarin became the first man to travel into space, and in 1969 the American *astronaut* Neil Armstrong was the first man to walk on the moon (the use of the two different terms was a result of the Cold War and of each country’s desire to distinguish between their own space heroes, and the representatives of their enemy). At the same time, the first nuclear power station in the Netherlands – Dodewaard – was opened by Queen Juliana of the Netherlands; the event was accompanied by major demonstrations. Economic prosperity marked the Dutch 1960s. From 1965 on, many households had more than one radio – resulting in children taking the spare one into their own room and listening to the very new and influential pop music. In 1970, 82% of households had a black-and-white television set, and 6% had a colour television (the first broadcast in colour in the Netherlands was in 1967). Between 1960 and 1970 car ownership quadrupled to 189.1 cars per 1000 inhabitants, and further increased to 319.1 per 1000 inhabitants in 1980. In 1969, 43% of all households had a telephone; just over 50% had one in 1973, and 95% had one in 1987. Economic growth led to a shortage of labour and therefore foreign workers were attracted. Economic growth seemed infinite, and a new Golden Age for Amsterdam was predicted<sup>3</sup>.

After 20 years of high economic growth, the oil crisis in 1973 was a tremendous shock. Job losses together with the baby-boom generation joining the labour force led to a spectacular rise in unemployment,

particularly in the large cities in the Randstad. Moreover, people increasingly became aware that prosperity had its negative effects on public health and the environment. Discussions arose about the greenhouse effect, acid rain and whether teachers should be forbidden to smoke in front of their classes. All kinds of diseases of civilization appeared which boosted the rise of the macrobiotic kitchen. At birthday parties, we no longer got chocolate cake and pancakes, but home-made wholemeal biscuits and soy chunks (excellent materials for beating the brains out of the other kids). Moreover, increasing attention was paid to the negative aspects of car driving: the stress caused by driving along increasingly congested streets was supposed to lead to heart attacks, and the air pollution caused by vehicles led to all kinds of lung diseases. The oil crises in 1973 and 1979 only intensified these feelings, and revealed the financial limits of the now full-grown welfare state<sup>4</sup>.

After 1966, the PvdA was no longer part of the coalition government; it was replaced by coalitions of religious and liberal political parties (KVP, ARP, CHU, VVD). In 1972, the PvdA returned and formed a coalition with PPR, D66, KVP and ARP. This cabinet was followed in 1977 by a coalition of CDA and VVD. As Lijphart (1992) has described, from 1967 on, the Netherlands changed from a pacification democracy into a cartel democracy. Weakening ideologies and diminishing ideological differences, together with increasing secularism, led to the disintegration of the *zuilen*. At the same time, the political formation of cartels was stimulated because the organization of the welfare state and a planned economy increasingly demanded a process of negotiation, of collective bargaining involving all interested parties (political parties and social-economic interest groups). Although this transition was turbulent, compared to similar developments in the United States, these extensive changes proceeded quite promptly in the Netherlands. In a short amount of time, the Netherlands changed from a traditional and religious country into a very open, liberal one, and without much violence. Kennedy (1995) explains this by the behaviour of the Dutch leaders who, contrary to their American colleagues, did not fiercely resist these new developments but kept pace with them because they thought that the changes could not be stopped<sup>5</sup>.

In the spring of 1965, Robert Jasper Grootveld – who called himself the *Anti-Rook Magiër* ('Anti-smoke Magician') – protested at *het Lievertje* in *Spui*, Amsterdam, against cigarette manufacturers. He was joined by the *Provos*, a group of anarchistic, antimilitaristic youngsters; a party with the same name was established that year. After having distributed a few pamphlets, they published the first issue of the Provo journal, which was promptly confiscated by the police. Demonstrations and happenings followed, supported by an increasing number of people, although they were supported neither by the general public nor by local and national politicians<sup>6</sup>.

It was flower-power time! Whether you were a woman or a man, if you wanted to be a trendy swinger, you had to have long hair, decorated with

daisies, and wave it to the rhythm of the famous Woodstock Festival. The air was full of peace and love, but you had to decide whether you were a fan of the Beatles or of the Rolling Stones, because the two camps could not stand the sight of each other. In 1969, John Lennon and Yoko Ono checked into in the Presidential Suite at the Hilton Hotel in Amsterdam, and staged their week-long ‘bed-in for peace’. There were discussions in the Dutch media about what to do if you found out that your kids were smoking hashish; most people thought that you should just let them get on with it, as hashish is a harmless, non-addictive drug and would not result in criminal or unacceptable sexual behaviour. Besides, Théophile Gautier, a writer, had smoked hashish in *Hotel Pidoman* in Paris back in 1843, whereupon he was able to describe the most beautiful views on reality. Of course, as usual some adults complained that youth would not tolerate authority and behaved improperly<sup>7</sup>.

Helped by the introduction of the contraceptive pill in the 1950s, these were the days of women’s emancipation, of the action group *man vrouw maatschappij*, (MVM; ‘Man-Woman-Society’), and of *Dolle Mina*, the younger and more radical sister of MVM, which fought for abortion to be legalized and for the National Health Service to pay for the Pill, with slogans like *Baas in Eigen Buik* (‘Be the mistress of one’s own belly’). As case in point were the protests in Rotterdam against an organized beauty contest, as that was from the old days, it was argued, when women were still ‘show stuff’. In 1970, Amsterdam appointed the first female bus drivers, and Rotterdam thought of doing the same. Still, compared to other countries, women’s participation in the labour market was at a low level in the Netherlands. These were the days of gay’s emancipation, too, and one particular occurrence during my childhood is illustrative for this. One afternoon, my best friend and I could not have lunch at her house because her father – the famous brain research scientist, Dick Swaab – had discovered that the brains of homosexuals were different from the brains of heterosexuals. But many homosexuals in those days did not want their nature to be a result of biological differences but of their own, deliberate and consciously made *choice*. And as in this period people felt that they had to share their visions with the rest of the world, activists who did not accept these facts found it necessary to blockade my friend’s home and pressed for her father to take back his words, which he, for the sake of science, did not<sup>8</sup>.

Dutch demographic developments turned like leaves on a tree. While in 1950, the Netherlands had the highest birth and fertility rate of all European countries, in 1978 it had one of the lowest, along with Denmark and Sweden. The fall in child-bearing meant that population growth shrank, and while in 1965 it had been forecast that the population of the Netherlands would reach 20 million in 2000, two years later it had decreased to 18 million.

Between 1970 and 1985, the population increased from 13 to 14.5 million. The number of households grew, mainly as a result of the increase in single-person households. Due to secularization and emancipation, divorcing became quite common in the 1970s, particularly in cities. Moreover, due to the immigration of foreign workers and citizens of its former colonies, the Netherlands again became an immigration country<sup>9</sup>.

The desire to preserve the Dutch landscape, with its small, strong cities embedded in a green environment, continued to dominate national planning in this period. Contrary to period 1, instead of motives regarding efficiency, in this period many motives concerning the environment were heard – the Green Heart as a counterweight of environmental pollution. “*Our cities are growing and growing. Their tentacles – as they became monsters, terrifying organisms of stone and concrete – stretch out to each other. With their suckers, they are devouring... fields with farms, grasslands and trees*”<sup>10</sup>. But the desire to live in the countryside was high, and in order to guide that suburbanization process, to preserve the green embeddedness and to stop urbanization spilling over local municipal boundaries, a policy of ‘clustered deconcentration’ (*gebundelde deconcentratie*) was proposed in the Second and Third National Reports on Physical Planning<sup>11</sup>.

Within the international planning community, the heydays of modernism had not yet ended, and as a result, in the 1960s and early 1970s, a wave of high-rise buildings washed over Dutch cities. In the *Bijlmermeer* (which is located South-east Amsterdam), a Le Corbusier-like landscape of vertical garden cities arose. The buildings were nine storeys of dwellings above a two-storey service level, designed as honeycombs and surrounded by large, open green areas. Dwellings were separated from shops and accessible by roads on which traffic was separated (through-traffic on top, local traffic underneath and pedestrians and cyclists at the bottom). It was meant for families living in the cramped old inner-city districts, but was soon occupied by large numbers of immigrants, many of whom came from the former Dutch colony of Surinam<sup>12</sup>. In 1959, CIAM was discontinued and its functionalistic projects were questioned in such internationally renowned publications as *Die Moderne Großstadt* (1961) by Hans-Paul Bahrtdt, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) by Jane Jacobs, *Das Gesellschaftsbild bei Stadtplanern* (1965), by Heide Berndt, and *Die Unwirtlichkeit Unserer Städte* (1965), by Alexander Mitscherlich<sup>13</sup>. And, as statistics showed, in 1963, some 80-90% of the Dutch preferred a single-family dwelling to other types of dwelling – and that figure had hardly changed<sup>14</sup>. As a result, the families for which the Bijlmermeer had been built did not want to live there; instead, they moved to the suburbs, if they could afford it. And again, a case in point is my own course of life, as at seven months old, my pram and I were almost crushed by a refrigerator that had been pushed off one of the balconies on the sixth floor. We soon moved

from the Bijlmermeer to one of Amsterdam's suburbs – Amstelveen – to live in a single-family dwelling.

The cities suffered from the suburbanization of people and businesses. The number of inhabitants of both Amsterdam and Rotterdam decreased, while the city regions of Amsterdam and Rotterdam showed fast population growth<sup>15</sup>. The population of Amsterdam shrank from about 872,500 in 1959 to 718,577 in 1979<sup>16</sup>. In Rotterdam, after its peak in 1965 of 731,000 inhabitants, the population shrank at almost the same speed. Jobs suburbanized, too, increasing the number of vacant office buildings inside cities. In Amsterdam as a whole, the number of jobs decreased from 390.000 in 1966 to 335.000 in 1977, and while in 1966, 50% of the jobs were located inside the inner city, in 1974 only a third were. Offices moved to peripheral urban areas, like the south of Amsterdam, and to suburbs inside the Randstad. Metropolitan districts arose, which increased commuting and traffic congestion<sup>17</sup>. In the urban neighbourhoods, families with small children and moderate-high incomes became a rare species, while the percentage of low-income families, immigrants and students rose<sup>18</sup>. Together with the bad condition of most 19<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhoods, this boosted discussions about the future of these urban quarters, which is the topic of Chapters 5 and 6. And in both debates in both cities, the influence of this turbulent period 2 was noticeable.

*There is a good chance that by hearing the word 'Action' you think of something horrible; of riots, work-shy long-haired persons ... bold minorities who want to force their opinion on the majority, who always think they are right and who prefer to keep things as they used to be in the past. However, it should be conspicuous to you that more and more of the so-called normal people, neatly cut homemakers, go into action for things they think they do not get done by normal ways. This week, we have not gone to turbulent Amsterdam, the difficult city, where many things have been going on in recent days, but to its counterpart, the hard-working Rotterdam. There, too, the 'silent majority' is starting to get a voice<sup>19</sup>.*

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<sup>1</sup> <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/define.asp?key=44208&dict=CALD> (accessed 27-9-2004)

<sup>2</sup> K. Schuyt & E. Taverne, Welvaart in zwart-wit. SDU uitgevers, Den Haag 2000, pp. 389-391

<sup>3</sup> K. Schuyt & E. Taverne, Welvaart in zwart-wit. SDU uitgevers, Den Haag 2000, pp. 278-281; De Telegraaf 27-8-1973; <http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Astronaut> (accessed 27-9-2004); H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, Ruimtelijke ordening. Van plannen komen plannen, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 1996, pp. 133-135; Gemeente

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Amsterdam, Voorontwerp structuurplan Amsterdam deel c: werken in Amsterdam, Amsterdam 1978, p. 9; Haarlems Dagblad 28-11-1963

<sup>4</sup> Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 13-11-1970; De Rotterdammer 25-11-1969; Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 20-6-1970; De Waarheid 16-3-1973; Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant 27-6-1969; H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, Ruimtelijke ordening. Van grachtengordel tot Vinex-wijk, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 2003, pp. 234-235; H. Daudt, De ontwikkeling van de politieke machtsverhoudingen in Nederland sinds 1945, In: G.A. Kooy, J.H. de Ru & H.J. Scheffer (eds), Nederland na 1945: beschouwingen over ontwikkeling en beleid, Van Loghum Slaterus, Deventer 1980, p. 184

<sup>5</sup> A. Lijphart, Verzuiling, pacificatie en kentering in de Nederlandse politiek, H.J.W. Brecht, Haarlem 1992 [1968], pp. 201-216; J.C. Kennedy, Nieuw Babylon in aanbouw. Nederland in de jaren zestig, Boom, Amsterdam 1995

<sup>6</sup> K. Schuyt & E. Taverne, Welvaart in zwart-wit. SDU uitgevers, Den Haag 2000, pp. 391-396

<sup>7</sup> Nieuws van de Dag 12-6-1973; Het Vrije Volk 14-2-1969; De Telegraaf 27-8-1973; Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 13-11-1970

<sup>8</sup> K. Schuyt & E. Taverne, Welvaart in zwart-wit. SDU uitgevers, Den Haag 2000, pp. 398-399; Algemeen Dagblad 14-5-1970; Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 12-11-1970

<sup>9</sup> H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, Ruimtelijke ordening. Van grachtengordel tot Vinex-wijk, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 2003, pp. 212, 238; G.A. Kooy, J.H. de Ru & H.J. Scheffer (eds), Nederland na 1945: beschouwingen over ontwikkeling en beleid, Van Loghum Slaterus, Deventer 1980, pp. 91-92; H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, Ruimtelijke ordening. Van plannen komen plannen, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 1996, p. 169; De Telegraaf 12-10-1963

<sup>10</sup> H. Besselaar, Algemeen Handelsblad 30-1-1960

<sup>11</sup> Ministerie van Volkshuisvesting en Ruimtelijke Ordening, Tweede nota over de ruimtelijke ordening in Nederland, Staatsuitgeverij, 's-Gravenhage 1967, p. 88; W. Steigenga, Report on planning problems in the Netherlands, +/- 1970, p. 14; Ministerie van Volkshuisvesting en Ruimtelijke Ordening, Derde nota over de ruimtelijke ordening, deel 1: Oriënteringsnota. Achtergronden, uitgangspunten en beleidsvoornemens van de regering, Staatsuitgeverij, 's-Gravenhage 1973, p. 54; Algemeen Dagblad 3-8-1971; H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, Ruimtelijke ordening. Van grachtengordel tot Vinex-wijk, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 2003, p. 221

<sup>12</sup> S.V. Ward, Planning in the 20<sup>th</sup> century: the advanced capitalist world, John Wiley & Sons, Chichester 2002, p. 275; H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, Ruimtelijke ordening. Van grachtengordel tot Vinex-wijk, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 2003, pp. 201-203, 258

<sup>13</sup> A. Mitscherlich, De Onherbergzaamheid van onze Steden, Paul Brand, Hilversum 1967 [transl. from: Die Unwirtlichkeit unsere Städte, Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt a. Main 1965]; J. Jacobs, The Death and Life of Great American Cities, Pimlico, London 2000 [1961]; H. Berndt, Das Gesellschaftsbild bei Stadtplanern, Krämer, Stuttgart 1968; H.P. Bahrdt, Die moderne Großstadt: soziologische überlegungen zum städtebau, Rowohlt, Reinbeck bei Hamburg 1961

<sup>14</sup> H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, Ruimtelijke ordening. Van grachtengordel tot Vinex-wijk, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 2003, p. 201; Trouw 27-1-1977; De Tijd 16-2-1970

<sup>15</sup> Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 23-2-1972; Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 21-9-1972

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<sup>16</sup> Gemeente Amsterdam, Voorontwerp structuurplan Amsterdam deel c: werken in Amsterdam, Amsterdam 1978

<sup>17</sup> Gemeente Amsterdam, Voorontwerp structuurplan Amsterdam deel c: werken in Amsterdam, Amsterdam 1978, pp. 22-29; Gemeente Amsterdam, Voorontwerp structuurplan Amsterdam deel b: wonen in de oude wijken van Amsterdam. Amsterdam 1974, p. 8; Het Parool 30-12-1977; Dagblad van Noord Limburg 27-11-1963; De Tijd 26-11-1968; NRC Handelsblad 3-10-1972; Het Parool 27-12-1972

<sup>18</sup> H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, Ruimtelijke ordening. Van grachtengordel tot Vinex-wijk, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 2003, p. 244; Gemeente Amsterdam, Voorontwerp structuurplan Amsterdam deel c: werken in Amsterdam, Amsterdam 1978

<sup>19</sup> VARA, Achter het Nieuws (Newspaper report of television broadcast with Pier Tania) 28-3-1970

# Chapter 5 Rotterdam: Rehabilitation and Redevelopment

## **Provocation**

While Amsterdammers bombarded their opponents with paving stones and paint bombs, in Rotterdam, Professor R. Wentholt wrote a polite book in order to express his dissatisfaction with the current city (1968)<sup>1</sup>. It was about the inner city of Rotterdam and how it could be improved, and it rekindled an impassioned debate about the future of Rotterdam<sup>2</sup>.

Wentholt's ideas soon influenced events, as demonstrated by the *Communicatie '70* (C'70, 'Communication 1970'), which was organized by A.J. Fibbe and subsidized by the local government to the tune of 5 million guilders. It was meant to celebrate 25 years of liberation, and to increase the liveability and appeal of Rotterdam<sup>3</sup>. A chair-lift providing a beautiful view of a gigantic scale model of the harbour was constructed, together with kiosks and cafes, including an English pub, a Tyrolean *biergarten*, a Spanish café and an Old-Dutch café serving pre-World War I drinks<sup>4</sup>. Despite a few protests, it was a great success as even the always hard-working Rotterdammer dared to sit on a terrace, just drinking a beer<sup>5</sup>. More than that, it worked as a catalyst for public participation in general, and as soon as the last beers had been downed, the discussion about the future of Rotterdam, and in particular the 19<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhoods, exploded<sup>6</sup>.

*Incredible but true, Rotterdam is becoming an unruly city .... Admittedly, Rotterdammers protest in another way than Amsterdammers, but they are becoming aware that there is something wrong with their city, that some things should have been done differently, that they miss something and that not all progress is an improvement by any means<sup>7</sup>.*

The leading actors were the 19<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhoods<sup>8</sup>, but other actors got much attention too, especially the inner city.

## **Urban ideal images**

Again, all contributions in this third debate showed great faith in the future city. Despite the differences, they all aimed at a flourishing city: a declining city was simply not considered an option. All the other elements of urban



ideal images mentioned were meant to achieve just that, to reach that level on top. The city must flourish, and opinions differed greatly on how that should be achieved.

## The urban ideal image of culturalists

All culturalists participating in this second debate in Rotterdam particularized three elements that belonged to level 2 of their urban ideal image: the future city should look like an improved version of the city from the past, it should have a historic, cultural heart, and city planning should focus on community and history. And again, all the other elements described belonged to level 3 of their urban ideal image, and were meant to realize this level 2. Thereby, in order to increase the chances of level 2 becoming reality, level 3 elements had undergone some changes since period 1, though very few (table 8).

We insist that we use products of technological progress more than is the case now (progressist)<sup>9</sup>

Rotterdam culturalists had not changed their stance since 1946: they still looked backwards and still had a strong belief in what their predecessors had achieved. Their ideal future city was riddled with history, with preserved 19<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhoods, a preserved Watertoren (water tower), a preserved *Poortgebouw* (port building), a preserved *Witte Huis*, ('White House' – Europe's first 'skyscraper' (11 storeys)) and all other historic survivors<sup>10</sup>. In the old neighbourhoods, the real slums had to be demolished as quickly as possible. They should be replaced by new houses with affordable rents for those who wanted to stay in the neighbourhood, and definitely not by office buildings and parks, as city planners had proposed. Their ideal neighbourhoods would not be designed like those awful, non-urban new neighbourhoods such as Ommoord, but according to the historic physical structure. Moreover, they would not contain any high-rise buildings or luxurious houses. In addition, businesses would have to move back to the neighbourhoods, so that the special, so precious character the neighbourhoods once had would be restored. Moreover, apart from the physical structure, the social structure should be restored. It would become as culturalists presumed it had been before the decay had set in: no students and no foreign guest workers, but a close-knit community in which people would feel truly at home. Their neighbourhoods would be the building stones of a liveable, warm city, a wonderful future. They would become just like they had described them in the first period, although they no longer used the term *wijkgedachte*<sup>11</sup>.

A case in point was a contribution from someone who managed to enjoy the joys of flower-power life while writing. The article starts quite normally, but after a few sentences, the writer starts saying that he wants to build an addiction centre, a hashish centre and an abortion centre in every future neighbourhood. Plumbers, carpenters, wallpaper-hangers, television mechanics, babysitters and social workers would be on stand-by day and night and policemen would be given just one task: to control relationships on the pretext of '*All you need is love*'. While fathers and sons would spend their days in day-care centres, mothers and daughters would earn a living. At a special clinic, people would learn to jump off increasingly higher floors. And providing gas masks and cauliflowers at the same time would enable people to wear gas masks while the the cauliflower was cooked<sup>12</sup>

Culturalists gave community and history priority over economic growth, and the neighbourhoods priority over the city centre<sup>13</sup>. Their ideal future city centre was not like the CBD of New York or London, and should not contain a World Trade Centre, as city planners had proposed. It would just be one out of many equally important urban quarters, with a flourishing family life, many houses and schools, and far fewer offices and roads<sup>14</sup>. So of course, culturalists were against city planner's city plans, like the *Structuurnota 1972* ('Regional Plan 1972')<sup>15</sup>. And of course, they did not agree with the construction of wide access roads to and from the city centre. Why should they, if the city centre was to be just one of many, and if these roads would only ruin their precious 19<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhoods? Besides, they hated cars. "*Cars: not the engine but the brake of society*"<sup>16</sup>. So they rejected the construction of *Willemstunnel* and the *Slakkehuis* and were against filling in the nice river *Rotte* river to make way for a brand-new, six-lane highway<sup>17</sup>. A green open space like the *Rotte* better suited Rotterdam's future than yet more concrete and steel. The *Rotte* waterfront should be preserved as a nice recreational area by planting willows and reeds, and by cleaning it. The inhabitants of the future city should be able to enjoy their spare time on the banks of this historic, valuable river by walking, fishing and playing there<sup>18</sup>. In addition, village greens should replace existing squares and roads<sup>19</sup>. Moreover, car traffic had to adjust its speed to the speed of the pedestrian, while public transport was given full priority. And remarkably, contrary to Amsterdam, except for a few people living right next to a newly planned station, most Rotterdammers desperately wanted an underground metro system in their future city<sup>20</sup>.

Concerning the city in general, culturalists thought that city plans should be flexible and be based on surveys as well as on the desires of the inhabitants, as they were regarded as specialists<sup>21</sup>. The city should be extended by developing decentralized urban cores, and not with radial belts along arterial roads surrounded by nature, as the local authorities had proposed with their *Vingerstad* ('finger city') -concept<sup>22</sup>. Urban functions should be mixed, just like they had been in the old city<sup>23</sup>.

In the Vingerstad concept, the fingers should be 1.6 km wide and 22.5 km long and the space between the fingers should become 'green' so that people could live in both a rural and an urban environment at the same time. It showed great similarities with the elements mentioned by Schumacher, Van Eesteren, Plate, Van Nes, Granpré Molière & Verhagen, and Van Lohuizen (Chapter 2)<sup>24</sup>

**Table 8 Urban ideal images of culturalists, Rotterdam period 1 & period 2**

		<b>Elements of urban ideal image</b>	<i>Period 1</i>	<i>Period 2</i>
<b>Level 1</b>			Flourishing city	Flourishing city
<b>Level 2</b>		<b>Position of inner city</b>	Cultural historic centre	Cultural historic centre
		<b>Orientation</b>	Towards the past	Towards the past
		<b>Focus planning</b>	Community & history	Community & history
<b>Level 3</b>	<b>G e n e r a l</b>	<b>Basis of planning</b>	Survey & desires	Surveys & desires
			Flexible city plan, not detailed	Flexible city plan, not detailed
			Public participation	Public participation
		<b>Architecture</b>	Contemporary	Not contemporary but fit to the existing structure
		<b>Main planning actor</b>	Government	Government
		<b>City extension</b>	Garden cities	Garden cities
		<b>Border between city and countryside</b>	Faded	Faded
		<b>Accent on city or countryside</b>	City	City
		<b>City size</b>	Infinite	Infinite
		<b>Height</b>	Limited	Limited
		<b>City functions</b>	Mixed versus zoned	Mixed
	<b>History</b>	Pattern of living riddled with history	Pattern of living riddled with history	
	<b>Density</b>	Uniform	Uniform	
	<b>D w e l l i n g</b>	<b>Structure</b>	Airy, light, decentralized autonomous urban neighbourhoods; lots of dwellings inside the inner city	Preserved close-knit 19 <sup>th</sup> -century urban neighbourhoods

<b>Level 3</b>	<b>D w e l l  i n g</b>	<b>Housing types</b>		No high-rise buildings
			Identifiable houses	Identifiable houses
		<b>Stratification</b>		Full attention to houses with low rents.
		<b>Renewal residential quarters</b>	Comprehensive redevelopment versus rehabilitation	Rehabilitation
		<b>Green elements</b>	Parks, (roof) gardens	Parks, gardens
		<b>Nature</b>	Bringing nature into the city	Bringing nature into the city
		<b>Buffers around built-up areas</b>	No buffers	No buffers
		<b>Use of waterfronts</b>	Non-commercial	Non-commercial
		<b>Location of recreational areas</b>	Interwoven with the city	Interwoven with the city
	<b>W o r k</b>	<b>Location</b>	Mixed with other functions	Mixed with other functions
		<b>Industries</b>	Inside neighbourhood units	Inside neighbourhoods
	<b>T r a n s p o r t a t i o n</b>	<b>Focus</b>	Accessible urban areas	Accessible urban areas, limit width of roads
		<b>Design</b>	Based on old structure, radial	Based on old structure, radial
		<b>Mobility</b>	Limit mobility by localizing life	Limit mobility
		<b>Traffic types</b>	Mixed	
	<b>I n n e r c i t y</b>	<b>Main function</b>	Cultural	Cultural
		<b>Inner city functions</b>	Mixed	Mixed
		<b>Location of offices</b>	Mainly outside inner city, mixed inside neighbourhoods	Mainly outside inner city, mixed inside neighbourhoods
		<b>Accessibility</b>	Moderate	Moderate
		<b>Car traffic</b>	Limited	Limited

<b>Level 3</b>	<b>I n n e r c i t y</b>	<b>Residential function</b>	Large	Large
		<b>Public transport</b>		Metro
		<b>Traffic priority</b>	Pedestrians	Pedestrians
		<b>Public space</b>		
		<b>Design</b>	Heterogeneous, anti-homogeneous	

### *Who were these culturalist urban intellectuals?*

Many culturalists were members of action groups. The 19<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhoods *Oude Westen*, *Feijenoord*, *Noordereiland*, *Rubroek*, *Oude Noorden* and *Crooswijk* each created their own residents' organization, all in 1970<sup>25</sup>. Other people who tended to articulate a culturalist urban ideal image were historians, members of historical associations, architects, urban developers, artists, sociologists, painters, leftist political parties, and students of architecture, sociology and pedagogy.

### **The urban ideal image of progressists**

Although some people seem to be trying to stop progress, they should think about the fact that it is the fate of humankind to progress, always progress (city planner)<sup>26</sup>

Progressists wanted to realize a forward city, with strong trades and industries, and with a CBD heart located in the inner city and on top of the urban hierarchy – level 2 of their urban ideal image. Progressist urban intellectuals had a strong belief in economic prosperity and growth. The core of their ideal was an economic heart on top of the urban hierarchy, which they now rarely called 'CBD' or 'City' anymore, but just 'inner city'. If this heart flourished, Rotterdam would flourish, as would the Netherlands because Rotterdam was considered an important contributor to the gross national product<sup>27</sup>. The inner city would contain the one and only centre, the climax of the urban experience, and all opportunities were to be seized to prevent the birth of strong sub-centres<sup>28</sup>. So again, all the other elements mentioned belonged to level 3 of their urban ideal image, and were meant to realize level 2. Thereby, level 3 had undergone some changes, which were meant to realize a similar level 1 and 2.

In order to emphasize its central position, the inner city would be the most densely built area of the city by building upwards: high-rise buildings of more than 20 storeys, which by Dutch standards is almost skyscraper size. The inner city would accommodate mostly offices and services, but would also be lively, as that was considered an important characteristic of a true

urban heart. Some mix of urban functions was required; therefore, some more houses would be constructed, for example at *Weena* and *Pompenburg*, which would mostly be high-rise, high-quality and meant for students, childless couples, artists, intellectuals and the elderly. This vertical expansion would lead to the most beautiful skyline<sup>29</sup>.

*De Ruit* – a ring-road shaped like a rhombus – was designed in 1955 on the basis of the newest American insights regarding traffic technology. It was both the responsibility and the showpiece of the National Department of Public Works, as they used the most modern techniques to build it<sup>30</sup>.

A strong, large heart needs lots of blood and wide arteries. Thus, the inner city should be linked to all other urban areas, progressists argued, and be extremely accessible, but preferably not traversable; therefore, the use of the *De Ruit* ring-road had to be encouraged<sup>31</sup>. Opinions differed about whether all historic roads had to be straightened. Some thought that streets like *Nieuwe Binnenweg* and *Eerste Middellandstraat-Westkruiskade* were functional, busy and lively and could stay as they were<sup>32</sup>. But all progressists thought that cars should have free access to the inner city, and to keep the traffic moving, people had to be encouraged to use public transport. Therefore, the future city would have an extensive number of metro lines, easily accessible from car parks located at the outskirts of the inner city<sup>33</sup>. Types of traffic would be separated, whereby more attention could be paid to pedestrian and bicycle traffic<sup>34</sup>.

Cars: not the engine but the brake of society (culturalist)<sup>35</sup>

The future inner city would contain lots of small green elements, like trees, flower tubs and patches of grass, in order to compensate for too much stone and as typical inner-city decorations<sup>36</sup>. Like culturalists, progressists wanted to keep the *Rotte*. Although at the time it was little more than a stinking ditch, it could enrich the future city as a nice urban park flowing through the city<sup>37</sup>. Instead, the *Baljon* plan could be executed<sup>38</sup>. Moreover, the future city would have liveable public spaces, where people could feel true citizens: anonymous but not lonely, feeling part of a larger community, a ‘meaningful totality’, so that criminality and vandalism would decrease<sup>39</sup>. “*These days, we have no need for authoritarian parade avenues or belittling bare plains such as Sint-Pietersplein in Vatican City or Red Square in Moscow*”<sup>40</sup>. In addition, they proposed to lay out a new city park, something like the Amsterdam’s *Vondelpark*. Large parks like *Zuiderpark* should be relocated to outside the city’s borders<sup>41</sup>. And the *Nieuwe Maas* river would be linked to the city again<sup>42</sup>.

Baljon proposed to construct a 'hypodermic needle' – or the abattoir route – a little more to the east (along Boezemstraat and Boezemsingel) right through the abattoir that had to be demolished anyway. This would allow the Rotte to be maintained and give a 'green function', a recreational area<sup>43</sup>

The fact that the 19<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhoods needed to be renovated and the more important fact that progressists needed more space for their precious growing heart, were enough for some of them to propose to redevelop these areas comprehensively and to build new, spacious, airy ones<sup>44</sup>. Other progressists thought that it would be better to rehabilitate them: to repair and improve them to a standard compatible with the modern requirements of health and amenity, whereby only slums would be demolished<sup>45</sup>. They agreed that in the future, these neighbourhoods had to be inhabited by people of different social status, income and culture – a situation different from the current one. Therefore, more expensive houses would be built<sup>46</sup>. In addition, it was thought important to construct authentic urban and thus dense neighbourhoods, not like the awful new neighbourhoods Ommoord, Pendrecht and Zuidwijk<sup>47</sup>. Some progressists wanted to preserve a little more from the past and aimed at preserving the *Witte Huis*, old facades along *Westersingel* and old canals outside the inner city (*Heemraadssingel*, *Noordsingel*, *Crooswijksingel* and *Boezemsingel*)<sup>48</sup>. But in the end, the present and future prevailed over history, and monuments had to be demolished if necessary<sup>49</sup>.

In general, future city plans should be flexible and based on both surveys and desires, whereby inhabitants could get a voice too<sup>50</sup>. The city should expand along concentric rings; like culturalists, the progressists rejected the *Vingerstad* concept<sup>51</sup>. In addition, the future city needed to be designed according to contemporary trends in architecture, using modern techniques. However, the cityscape must not be homogeneous. They hated the present rectangular, monotonous concrete blocks<sup>52</sup>: “No 120-kilometre-per-hour buildings like the ones at present along *Weena*”<sup>53</sup>.

**Table 9 Urban ideal images of progressists, Rotterdam period 1 & period 2**

		<b>Elements urban ideal images</b>	<i>Period 1</i>	<i>Period 2</i>
<b>Level 1</b>			Flourishing city	Flourishing city
<b>Level 2</b>		<b>Position of inner city</b>	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy
		<b>Orientation</b>	Towards the future	Towards the future
		<b>Focus of planning</b>	Trade & Industry	Trade & Industry

<b>Level 3</b>	<b>G e n e r a l</b>	<b>Basis of planning</b>	Survey & desires	Survey & desires
			Flexible city plan, not detailed	Flexible city plan, not detailed
			City as part of a larger whole: the region	
			Public participation	Public participation
		<b>Architecture</b>	Contemporary, harmonious & homogeneous	Contemporary, but neither harmonious nor homogeneous
		<b>Main planning actor</b>	Government	Government
		<b>City extension</b>	Satellite cities	Concentric
		<b>Border between city and countryside</b>	Sharp	
		<b>Accent on city or countryside</b>	City	City
		<b>City size</b>	Limited	
		<b>Height</b>		High, unlimited
		<b>City functions</b>	Zoned	Zoned and a little mix
		<b>History</b>	Keep the past in mind, but focus on the future	Keep the past in mind, but focus on the future / preserved valuable historic urban quarters or buildings
		<b>Density</b>	Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city's edge	Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city's edge
	<b>D w e l l i n g</b>	<b>Structure</b>	Airy, light, decentralized housing quarters	Airy, light, new ones / rehabilitated urban quarters
		<b>Housing types</b>	Mix of high- & low- rise	High-rise / existing height preserved
			Homogeneous whole	Identifiable houses
		<b>Stratification</b>	Luxurious housing along the river	Socially mixed
		<b>Renewal of residential quarters</b>	Comprehensive redevelopment	Comprehensive redevelopment / rehabilitation



<b>Level 3</b>	<b>L e i s u r e</b>	<b>Green elements</b>	Parks	Parks
		<b>Nature</b>	Nature subordinate to commercial development & located only outside the city	Nature subordinate to commercial development & located only outside the city
		<b>Buffers around build-up areas</b>	Green buffers	
		<b>Use of waterfronts</b>	Commercial	Commercial
		<b>Location of recreational areas</b>	Outside the city	Outside the city
	<b>W o r k</b>	<b>Location</b>	Separated	Separated with a little mix
		<b>Industries</b>	Decentralized to accessible industrial areas at city edge	
	<b>T r a n s p o r t a t i o n</b>	<b>Focus</b>	Fast & efficient transport system	Fast & efficient transport system
		<b>Mobility</b>	Meet mobility needs by constructing roads	Meet mobility needs by constructing roads
		<b>Design</b>	Rational, radial	Rational/historic in some places, radial
		<b>Traffic types</b>	Separated	
	<b>I n n e r c i t y</b>	<b>Main function</b>	Economic	Economic
		<b>Inner-city functions</b>	Zoned	Zoned, mixed in some instances
		<b>Location of offices</b>	Inside inner city, along waterfronts	Inside inner city
		<b>Accessibility</b>	High	High
		<b>Car traffic</b>	Unlimited	Unlimited, stimulate use of ring-road
		<b>Residential function</b>	Limited	Limited
		<b>Public transport</b>		Metro
		<b>Traffic priority</b>	Motorists	Motorists
		<b>Public space</b>	Squares as forums	Liveable squares as forums
		<b>Design</b>	Homogeneous, contemporary	Contemporary

### *Who were these progressist urban intellectuals?*

In general the urban intellectuals who tended to articulate a progressist urban ideal image were architects, economists specialized in traffic, professors at economic research schools (NEI and HES), people working for the Chamber of Commerce, those allied to *Kring Rotterdam*, *Bond van Nederlandsche Architecten*, architects, sales representatives, structural engineers and youngsters studying traffic science, architecture or economics. In addition, and more specifically, Wentholt himself and journalist Koos de Gast from *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* held a progressist urban ideal image.

### **The urban ideal image of city planners**

In 1958, at the insistence of Councillor J.G. van der Ploeg (PvdA), the Redevelopment Committee ('Saneringscommissie'), was set up. It was only in 1966 that the committee sent its first report to the mayor and aldermen. This report together with the ones presented in 1967 and 1968 was incorporated integrally in the Redevelopment Scheme presented in January 1969. In 1972, a Master Plan was presented.

Again, city planners had kept looking towards what they thought was the best future: a forward, progressive city with flourishing trade and industry, and with at its centre a flourishing economic heart on top of the urban hierarchy. To realize that level 2 of their urban ideal image, they reformulated level 3 of their urban ideal image a little bit.

Their future CBD would accommodate the highly developed service sector, which would be stimulated by, for example, relocating non-typical inner-city businesses to places near the ends of radial access roads, and relaxing rental restrictions<sup>54</sup>. The future inner city would be much larger and grow along radial lines into the 19<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhoods. It would also be a bit more liveable; a place where people would wander along the streets, with no specific goal in mind. Downtown districts bustling with people in the daytime become eerily deserted at night, and therefore city planners wanted to build some more houses as well as shops, restaurants and cafes on the ground floor of office buildings. The inner city would be a true centre, densely built, landmarked by a high-rise skyline, including a WTC designed like the new Twin Towers in New York<sup>55</sup>. Therefore, war was declared on powerful sub-centres<sup>56</sup>.

In order to become flourishing, the future economic heart would lie at the intersection of radial public and private transport lines<sup>57</sup>. These lines would transport lots of goods and people, and therefore they had planned to breach existing structures and to fill in canals, like the *Rotte*. On top of the *Rotte*, a majestic six lane highway could be constructed, and connected to the *Ruit*. In addition, by localizing urban life (i.e. keeping the distance between houses, schools, shops and offices under 22.5 km), congestion

would further diminish. Moreover, it was hoped that a future rapid transport system together with a limited number of new parking spaces would encourage car owners to use public transport, bikes, mopeds, scooters, motorcycles or their legs instead of their cars to get into the inner city<sup>58</sup>. However, “*It would be an illusion to think that the competition of public transport could be increased that much, that all car owners would leave their cars at home*”<sup>59</sup>.

For the growing inner city and a rational road system, comprehensive redevelopment of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhoods was thought necessary<sup>60</sup>. In addition, if it was up to city planners, not only houses but the entire street pattern would be replaced by modern, 20<sup>th</sup>-century architecture<sup>61</sup>. They would be redeveloped by the block, as it was thought not worthwhile saving well-preserved individual buildings – a major difference of opinion with culturalists<sup>62</sup>. The redevelopments would lead to higher rents, so many inhabitants currently living in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhoods would have to move out<sup>63</sup>. These new neighbourhoods would get an urban character (so no single-family dwellings) and contain just a few green elements – perhaps a bit of ivy and some flower-tubs<sup>64</sup>. But as the green areas between the urban fingers would be connected to the Green Heart, most inhabitants would manage to visit recreational facilities very easily<sup>65</sup>.

So yes, city planners would be highly dissatisfied if the future city still had its historic structures. The discussion about the *Witte Huis* is illustrative. The local planning authorities aimed to preserve the Witte Huis, but refused to put it on the list of monuments because they did not want to be responsible should it become damaged during the construction of the *Willemstunnel*. Economy prevailed, but they did care about the Witte Huis, and eventually, it was indeed preserved together with some adjacent buildings – but as sole survivors<sup>66</sup>.

More in general, city planners thought that Rotterdam should keep its limited size, be compact and extend itself by radial belts along arterial roads surrounded by nature. The border between city and countryside should be kept sharp, and they rejected the creation of suburbs or satellite towns<sup>67</sup>. In addition they pleaded for functional zoning: dwelling, work, recreation and traffic should be more or less separated in urban space<sup>68</sup>. In addition, future city plans should be based on expert’s analyses and adjustable to unforeseen, new insights and desires<sup>69</sup>. Thereby, it would be nice if these plans were supported by the public, but public participation was overstepping the mark: inhabitants ‘*should not want to step into the expert’s shoes*’<sup>70</sup>.

**Table 10 Urban ideal images of culturalists, progressists and city planners, Rotterdam period 2<sup>71</sup>**

		<b>Elements of urban ideal image</b>	<i>Culturalists</i>	<i>Progressists</i>	<i>City planners</i>
<b>Level 1</b>			Flourishing city	Flourishing city	Flourishing city
<b>Level 2</b>		<b>Position of inner city</b>	Cultural historic centre	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy
		<b>Orientation</b>	Towards the past	Towards the future	Towards the future
		<b>Focus planning</b>	Community & history	Trade & industry	Trade & industry
<b>Level 3</b>	<b>G e n e r a l</b>	<b>Basis of planning</b>	Surveys & desires	Survey & desires	Survey & desires
			Flexible plan, not detailed	Flexible plan, not detailed	Flexible plan, not detailed
			Public participation	Public participation	Public support
		<b>Architecture</b>	Not contemporary but fitted in with the existing structure	Contemporary, but neither harmonious nor homogeneous	
		<b>Main planning actor</b>	Government	Government	Government
		<b>City extension</b>	Garden cities	Concentric	Radial belts along arterial roads surrounded by nature
		<b>Border between city and countryside</b>	Faded		Sharp
		<b>Accent on city or countryside</b>	City	City	City
		<b>City size</b>	Infinite		Limited
		<b>Height</b>	Limited	High, unlimited	
<b>City functions</b>	Mixed	Zoned, with a little mix	Zoned, with a little mix		

<b>Level 3</b>	<b>G e n e r a l</b>	<b>History</b>	Pattern of living riddled with history	Keep the past in mind, but focus on the future / preserved valuable historic urban quarters or buildings	Keep the past in mind, but focus on the future
		<b>Density</b>	Uniform	Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city's edge	Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city's edge
	<b>D w e l l i n g</b>	<b>Structure</b>	Preserved closely-knit 19 <sup>th</sup> - century urban neighbourhoods	Airy, light, new ones / rehabilitated urban quarters	Airy, light, urban housing quarters
		<b>Housing types</b>	No high-rise buildings	High-rise / existing height preserved	High- / medium-rise
			Identifiable houses	Identifiable houses	
		<b>Stratification</b>	Full attention to houses with low rents	Socially mixed	Focus: up-market
		<b>Renewal of residential quarters</b>	Rehabilitation	Comprehensive redevelopment / rehabilitation	Comprehensive redevelopment
	<b>L e i s u r e</b>	<b>Green elements</b>	Parks, gardens	Parks	City parks
		<b>Nature</b>	Bringing nature into the city	Nature subordinate to commercial development & located only outside the city	Nature subordinate to commercial development & located only outside the city
		<b>Buffers around built-up areas</b>	No buffers		Buffers around built-up areas

<b>Level 3</b>	<b>L e i s u r e</b>	<b>Use of waterfronts</b>	Non-commercial	Commercial	Commercial
		<b>Location of recreational areas</b>	Interwoven with the city	Outside the city	Outside the city
	<b>W o r k</b>	<b>Location</b>	Mixed with other functions	Separated with a little mix	Separated with a little mix
		<b>Industries</b>	Inside neighbourhoods		Decentralized to accessible industrial areas at city's edge
	<b>T r a n s p o r t a t i o n</b>	<b>Focus</b>	Accessible urban areas, limit width of roads	Fast & efficient transport system	Fast & efficient transport system
		<b>Mobility</b>	Limit mobility	Meet mobility needs by constructing roads	Meet mobility needs by constructing roads & limit mobility by localizing life
		<b>Design</b>	Based on old structure, radial	Rational/historic in some places, radial	Rational, radial
	<b>I n n e r c i t y</b>	<b>Main function</b>	Cultural	Economic	Economic
		<b>Inner city functions</b>	Mixed	Zoned, mixed in some instances	Mainly zoned
		<b>Location of offices</b>	Mainly outside inner city, mixed inside neighbourhoods	Inside inner city	Inside inner city
		<b>Accessibility</b>	Moderate	High	High
		<b>Car traffic</b>	Limited	Unlimited, stimulate use ring road	Limited
		<b>Residential function</b>	Large	Limited	Limited
		<b>Public transport</b>	Metro	Metro	Metro

Level 3	I n n e r c i t y	Traffic priority	Pedestrians	Motorists	Motorists
		Public space		Liveable squares as forums	Liveable, lively (shops, kiosks, terraces, cafes)
		Design		Contemporary	Contemporary

## Strategies

### The strategies of culturalists

Culturalists desperately tried to preserve the civic space they loved and lived in. And because this was not what the city planners had in mind, they became increasingly frustrated and angry at the local planning authorities, because ‘they’ had an eye only for the economy, for progress, for a CBD<sup>72</sup>.

Culturalists mourned over the existence of the dark neighbourhoods<sup>73</sup>. What exactly had ‘progress’ and economic ‘prosperity’ brought us? Pollution, wrecks and stinking ditches overwhelmed the quarters – though the rats were pleased as Punch. Homes lacked such amenities as showers and warm water, and cars occupied the few scarce parks and public spaces. They cried over the loss of the once so closely-knit communities, about the student and migrant intruders<sup>74</sup>. However, there were definitely no slums at all and therefore the 19<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhoods should be rehabilitated – not redeveloped comprehensively<sup>75</sup>.

With some creative accounting, it turned out that rehabilitation would cost less than comprehensive redevelopment<sup>76</sup>. Besides, preserving the neighbourhoods was necessary because of their cultural historic value<sup>77</sup> and demolishing them would not solve the current problems<sup>78</sup>. In addition, these neighbourhoods would never become as nice as the city planners’ scale models assumed<sup>79</sup>. Moreover, people simply needed preserved physical and social structures, and besides, coincidentally, preserved neighbourhoods were just what people wanted. Culturalists really, really wanted people to want preserved neighbourhoods, and illustrative of this was their statement that two meetings had ‘*proven patently obvious*’ that ‘*the population*’ did not want to move<sup>80</sup>. If the 19<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhoods are demolished, we will face the gloomiest future: stench, air pollution, noise, danger, the ‘*deportation*’ of more than families and businesses to suburbs and new towns, and a shredded social climate – something uncomfortably similar to the deserts of stone in American cities<sup>81</sup>.

Kralingen is in itself not that important. The question is: how large will the inner city be? The question of Kralingen is a derived question (city planner)<sup>82</sup>

In fact, it all was simply a matter of valuation, and now the time had come to give priority to welfare instead of economic progress, to historic quarters instead of efficient ones, to affordable homes instead of offices, and to the neighbourhoods instead of the inner city<sup>83</sup>. Progress should not longer alter a centuries-old way of life, and besides, the idea of an inner city was in fact based on old-fashioned assumptions and facts: “*Where on earth did they get the idea of a strong centre with numerous services from?*”<sup>84</sup>. Moreover, because traffic is insatiable, they argued, the more room we make for private cars, the more private cars will squeeze themselves through the inner city roads: congestion was simply not solvable by constructing roads<sup>85</sup>. Therefore, it was no use to fill in the *Rotte*, and besides, the Schieland Polder Board (a mighty Dutch public authority on water management) had pointed out that filling in part of the *Rotte* would decrease the polder drainage of *Schieland*, which was unacceptable<sup>86</sup>. Moreover, the inhabitants needed the *Rotte*: “*The human, without nature in his direct environment, gets dehumanized*”<sup>87</sup>, and worse, its filling would be irreversible<sup>88</sup>. There were simply just two choices: a six-lane highway for the few, or a green *Rotte* that all of us could enjoy<sup>89</sup>.

We do not want to put on the shoes of the council and to present our plans ready-made, so that you can only say yes or no. We would like you to decide YOURSELF about what can be done to the *Rotte* .... But we do give you an INDICATION (culturalist)<sup>90</sup>

Culturalists said that almost all Rotterdammers were on their side, but at the same time they tried to arouse the inhabitants and to alert them to their apathy, to enlist them for the fight against the enemy<sup>91</sup>. They wrote letters ‘*To the Inhabitants of this Neighbourhood*’ in French, German, English, Portuguese, Spanish, Arabic, Turkish, etc<sup>92</sup>. They distributed posters ‘*Rotte route: No!*’, and asked people to put them behind their windows<sup>93</sup>. The loveliest drawings were made of the future *Rotte*, alive with frogs and water lilies<sup>94</sup>. And as could be heard during a television programme broadcast by VARA (a socialist broadcasting system), culturalists wrote at least one song (the ‘Demolition song’), which was shouted not particularly in tune through microphones on top of a sound-truck: “*If the whole street wants it, the most tremendous bulldozer will stand still!*”<sup>95</sup> <sup>96</sup>. Moreover, culturalists produced hundreds of metres of protest papers and brochures, illustrated with many cartoons<sup>97</sup>.

Culturalists used the most beautiful words to describe the city that once was<sup>98</sup>, and the most ugly ones to describe a CBD, that ‘*gathering abscess*’<sup>99</sup>. Remarkably, ‘liveability’ was not part of the vocabulary of culturalists, but was used only by progressists and city planners. In these



contributions, city planners and progressists were denigrated for keeping the public enquiry procedure short, even while culturalists had asked for some extra time, and for wanting to destroy their communities, ‘as if the bombardments of 1940 weren’t enough’<sup>100</sup>. City planners lacked efficiency, honesty and decisiveness, had a short-term vision, were immoral and made culturalists suffer humiliation because they kept them dangling, by giving them a say in totally unimportant things like flower-tubs, or in things that had already been decided upon on the sly<sup>101</sup>. They used the metaphor of a locomotive to describe city planners: unable to deviate from their course, and hardly stoppable<sup>102</sup>. However, they also carried favour with city planners, for example by saying that they understood perfectly well what a harsh undertaking it would be should they decide not to fill in the *Rotte* – but ever so brave!<sup>103</sup> Jettinghoff was their scapegoat, and surprisingly, they admired Wentholt, although he held a quite progressist urban ideal image<sup>104</sup>. Moreover, they called a fellow culturalist (Baljon) to order when he dared to articulate things that should not be part of their urban ideal image<sup>105</sup>.

Culturalists tried to influence the planning process by bombarding mayor, aldermen and councillors with letters and petitions<sup>106</sup>. They ‘translated’ city plans by rewriting them, replete with their own remarks, critiques and opinions<sup>107</sup> or said that plans were inaccurate because Master Plans were missing or because city planners had not told them that they had published proposals in the gazette<sup>108</sup>. They tried to emphasize their own importance by saying that their plans were not a private hobby but had been written by specialists<sup>109</sup>. They even managed to fish secret plans out of Jettinghoff, and to present them to the outer world (after which Jettinghoff said he would never ever give secret information to action groups again)<sup>110</sup>. Culturalists conspired, too, with strategies varying from establishing consultative bodies, through declaring solidarity with action groups in Amsterdam, to marching together to the town hall<sup>111</sup>. They even managed to persuade a police officer to state that he was firmly convinced that the continued existence of the old neighbourhoods served a useful purpose for Rotterdam<sup>112</sup>. But attempts to conspire were not always successful. After *Het Oude Westen* tried to teach Crooswijk how to organize a good demonstration, Crooswijk snarled: “*Just hold your own demonstration. The situation in Crooswijk is entirely different*”<sup>113</sup>. They also refused to talk to Jettinghoff, which – to the joy of culturalists – brought him into discredit with his own party members<sup>114</sup>. Unfortunately, action groups damaged their unity when action group *Het Oude Westen* forgot to inform its other allies that it had decided to talk to Jettinghoff again<sup>115</sup>. In addition, culturalists refused to vote in March 1970<sup>116</sup>, and they refused to pay their rent until city planners decided to fulfil their demands<sup>117</sup>.

Because culturalists thought they could not influence city planners with ‘normal procedures’, it was thought necessary to take physical action as well. Therefore, they held demonstrations and a few actions, like driving an

extremely old Volkswagen – symbolizing the old neighbourhoods – which towed a trailer with a bathtub filled with water from the Rotte<sup>118</sup>. They knew noisy actions had more effect than quiet ones, as Crooswijk sighed over Oude Westen, but seldom made attempts to undertake them<sup>119</sup>. Once, they walked into Mayor Thomassen’s official residence and took a bath – which did not seem to bother Thomassen very much. But most actions, particularly the more violent ones, never got beyond the planning stage. And thus, although culturalists said they had planned to give tourists glasses of chlorine, to call Berlin and ask them to bomb Rotterdam again, and to put the chair lift into reverse, they never realized these plans<sup>120</sup>. They did demolish some things – but only uninhabited slums – and they carried banners into the council chamber, but took them outside again when the city planners told them to do so<sup>121</sup>. As I shall show in Chapter 6, compared to the riots and battles in Amsterdam during these years, these physical expressions were no more than childish pranks.

Thursday around six o’clock, after the clearings of occupied buildings, while Mayor Samkalden was explaining that performing like a judge could not be tolerated, three evicted families and five unmarried women banged on the council’s door, which was closed in haste (Amsterdam)<sup>122</sup>

Culturalists in Rotterdam used words to make people believe that they had to join them now, before it was too late: it was H-hour!<sup>123</sup> The emergency situation in the neighbourhoods had to be solved, and they could be solved if only we would work together<sup>124</sup>. “*Whether plans will be accepted depends largely on YOUR OPINION and YOUR BEHAVIOUR*”<sup>125</sup>. So yes, there were only two choices: impressive plans or flourishing neighbourhoods – and, of course, only the latter were desirable<sup>126</sup>.

## The strategies of progressists

Where on earth did they get the idea of a strong centre with numerous services from? (culturalist)<sup>127</sup>

According to progressists, the focus on economy and trade was both inevitable and highly needed<sup>128</sup>: “*Business in Rotterdam is the engine of a wide spread system. If this engine misfires, the whole system will no longer function*”<sup>129</sup>. If their ideal city was not realized, we would face the gloomiest possible future<sup>130</sup>, and therefore the people had to be aroused. A wonderful future could be ours, as there is no community that can work together that well as us Rotterdammers<sup>131</sup>, which was backed by the slogan: “*That city is mine, I am from the city*”<sup>132</sup>.

The present inner city was too desolate after working hours, which was uncomfortably similar to the CBD in Los Angeles, and therefore, because of liveability and because inhabitants of Rotterdam wanted to, it had to contain a few more homes in the future<sup>133</sup>. Besides, Americans had warned them:

*Poor, foolish Europe. It can see its future in Los Angeles, Chicago and New York. But it is blind....They had ample time to study the mess the Americans have made. But a visit to Europe results in the depressing conclusion that they not only imitate what America has done wrong years ago, but also prepare to imitate everything we are doing wrong at present*<sup>134</sup>.

Our choice was limited: “Do we want to become an American city or do we want to stay European (i.e. habitable)?”<sup>135</sup>

Remarkably, but not surprisingly, progressists who thought that 19<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhoods had to be comprehensively redeveloped described them as dilapidated wrecks, while those who wanted them to be rehabilitated had a much brighter view of these neighbourhoods. And unsurprisingly, just like culturalists, the latter progressists had figured out that rehabilitation would be cheaper than comprehensive redevelopment<sup>136</sup>, that there was ‘... more interest for the old than it looks like’<sup>137</sup>, and that people needed preserved neighbourhoods because only there could they feel at home, feeling safe and feel secure<sup>138</sup>.

The *Rotte* should be preserved, which was ‘no sentimental drivel about a stinky ditch, but a rock-hard, economic sensitivity’ because it would make neighbourhoods more attractive to people and businesses<sup>139</sup>. Moreover, the plan for filling in the *Rotte* was based on old-fashioned assumptions dating back to 1950<sup>140</sup>. For the *Willemstunnel*, too, city planners had failed to include recent facts and figures, ‘or at least: the wrong conclusion has been drawn’<sup>141</sup>. Besides, the *Rotte* route together with the *Slakkehuis* and *Willemstunnel* would cost about 220 million guilders (100 million euros), pumping 90,000 cars daily into the inner city, and thus only increasing traffic congestion instead of decreasing it<sup>142</sup>. The most extensive calculations were made to prove that the result would be a ‘traffic bomb’<sup>143</sup>. Moreover, it was said that it would lead to the gloomiest future, would be a ‘fatal stab in the heart’, a ‘deadly injection’, forcing inhabitants and businesses to leave the city, finally resulting in an empty city<sup>144</sup>. Only the Chamber of Commerce disagreed: from a unfinished survey they were able to conclude that too narrow streets in the city centre would lead to the death of many shops and banks<sup>145</sup>.

Progressist urban intellectuals were not that creative, but a few were creative in using the creative expressions of others. They reprinted drawings and a cartoon made by Americans “This cartoon, illustrating the reality in

*San Francisco should not become Rotterdam's reality*”, they added<sup>146</sup>. They also managed to dig up some highly unflattering rainy-day photos of ugly American cities and European cities based on American models. In case the viewer did not notice (and this one did not): according to one caption we were viewing *‘fierce, katabatic winds’*<sup>147</sup>. Moreover, in their numerous contributions, progressists sometimes used the present tense as though their ideal future city was already here and needed no further discussion<sup>148</sup>. In addition, remarkably, the words ‘City’ and ‘CBD’ were hardly used in this period. They were replaced by the words *centrum* (*centre*) or *binnenstad* (*inner city*), but kept the same meaning: a central business district. Considering the negative associations, people increasingly had with the word ‘City’, this seemed quite wise.

Some additional strategies were developed to create enemies or make friends. Some journalists fulfilled the role of progressist urban intellectual and used their power when they asked for letters – and denigrated their writers if they articulated threatening urban ideal images. In addition, they sometimes made friends with other journalists, working for example for *The Economist*, a journal based on a more liberal ideology<sup>149</sup>. For the same reason, student opponents speaking at hearings were denigrated, and had their noses rubbed into the fact that they were not qualified enough yet<sup>150</sup>. For some progressists, Alexander Mitcherlich, Jane Jacobs, Victor Gruen and Wentholt were heroes. Lewis Mumford was a scapegoat, for being too negative about cities, and Le Corbusier for providing the basis for the horrible newly built neighbourhoods like *Ommoord*<sup>151</sup>. Moreover, they curried favour with city planners by telling them that they did not blame them for anything: they could not have known that the inner city would become that unlivable, or that car traffic would increase that much. But, oh dear, would they be brave if they *did* decide not to fill in the *Rotte!*<sup>152</sup> In addition, progressists praised city planners for bringing together so much factual knowledge in the *Saneringsnota* (urban redevelopment plan)<sup>153</sup>, and for the quality of the master plan *Structuurnota*<sup>154</sup>. However: “*Had the Structuurnota 1972 been a PhD thesis, I would have given it an A. It is an extremely good plan, but I do not agree with it*”<sup>155</sup>. Besides, they said, counteracting their charm offensive a bit, this plan still had its inaccuracies because people had not had the time to participate – which was clearly a strategy and not a real objection, since the *Structuurnota* was so theoretical that even specialists found it hard to understand<sup>156</sup>.

## The strategies of city planners

It goes very well with Rotterdam,  
But nobody asks  
How the Rotterdammers are doing (culturalist)<sup>157</sup>

It was simply inevitable, city planners said, to give priority to the economy over everything else, and to idealize the future. “... *it is the fate of humankind to progress, always progress*”<sup>158</sup>. Besides, stimulating the economy would also stimulate technological research and thereby the development of environment-friendly technologies, creating a more liveable future city<sup>159</sup>. It was just a matter of mentality, and if the whole community of Rotterdam would just work together, would just join forces, Rotterdam could become that better place<sup>160</sup>.

City planners had a very clear picture of the 19th-century neighbourhoods: facts had proven that they were ramshackle areas, and therefore comprehensive redevelopment was inevitable – especially because it was absolutely impossible to preserve 10 or 20 houses if the rest of a block was worn-out<sup>161</sup>. Moreover, these neighbourhoods should be demolished for reasons of liveability, something which inhabitants of Rotterdam needed<sup>162</sup>. In fact, to city planners, the needs of the inner city determined the future of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhoods. “*Kralingen is in itself not that important. The question is how large will the inner city be? The question of Kralingen is a derived question*”<sup>163</sup>. In addition, city planners said that they had come to the conclusion that culturalists’ statements to the effect that there were no slums in their neighbourhoods were ‘false’, and ‘not convincing’ because their criteria were not objective enough<sup>164</sup>. Besides, comprehensive redevelopment was cheaper than rehabilitation – rather than other way round, as culturalists and progressists had stated<sup>165</sup>.

Rehabilitation is cheaper than comprehensive redevelopment (culturalists & progressists) <sup>166</sup>
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The valuation of urban functions was clear: “*For the centre, houses are nothing more than the ‘finishing touch’*”<sup>167</sup>. Besides, contrary to what some culturalists and progressists thought, people living in the inner city could be as home-loving as those living outside the city, thereby not making the centre any livelier at all<sup>168</sup>. Moreover, because of the present traffic congestion, it was necessary to construct wider arteries leading to the heart, like on top of the *Rotte*<sup>169</sup>. The *Rotte* was just a stinking ditch, and everything there that was not garages or ugly, hastily erected buildings was often just a stretch of muddy grass with graffiti-covered litter bins. Moreover, it had been proven that the Willemstunnel was necessary, too, although city planners were not willing to make public the results of a traffic analysis related to the Willemstunnel because people ‘*could draw the wrong conclusions*’<sup>170</sup>. Still, city planners agreed with progressists that the city centre should indeed not become like the Los Angeles CBD<sup>171</sup>. Thereby, they even dared to refer to Wentholt, who had stated the same thing,

although they hastened to say that it of course did not imply that they agreed with all of Wentholt's ideas<sup>172</sup>.

Their precious *Vingerstad* concept was necessary, they argued, because people needed the opportunity to live in a rural and an urban at the same time. Satellite towns would never be able to fulfil these needs, and besides, no one would opt for a gloomy future where insatiable metropolises would consume the lovely Green Heart, right?<sup>173</sup>

Sketches, visionary drawings, maps and scale models were used by city planners to show how beautiful the future city would be if their ideal were realized<sup>174</sup>. But their focus was more on words, and remarkably, just like progressists, city planners too had changed the word 'City' into 'inner city' or 'centre' - without changing their meaning. And with their words, city planners made both friends and enemies.

Culturalists had to suffer most. City planners said it was "... a scandal that the action committee had shown that they were informed about one of the point of departures of the still secret master plan of mayor and alderman"<sup>175</sup>. For the record, it had been Jettinghoff himself who had provided this information. Moreover, some of the culturalists were denigrated by city planners, for example by saying that action groups consisted of two kinds of people: one group aiming to improve the living conditions, and one group agitating, fighting against the council, without consulting any of the inhabitants while pretending they represented them<sup>176</sup>. The NAPB (building contractors) even became some sort of a scapegoat after they had openly supported the ideas of the *Crooswijk* action committee: "*It is levity for an organization that wants to get respect from the government. The NAPB should not start then with this kind of nonsense. It is an awful kind of information*"<sup>177</sup>.

But city planners carried favour with culturalists, too. Their 'sympathies' were with the representatives of the old neighbourhoods, they said, adding that they '*could imagine very well*' the complaints and grief over the harsh interventions in the neighbourhoods<sup>178</sup>. Besides, they took their hobbyhorses very serious: "*I deny that Urban Development trivializes matters*"<sup>179</sup>. Moreover, particularly in *Nota Jettinghoff* (1973) they seemed to be whispering "*We are just like you*"<sup>180</sup>, adding that their desires were not that different from those who were rebelling against them, that it just concerned '*misunderstandings*'. In fact, for a while, that strategy seemed to work<sup>181</sup> "*Action committee Het Oude Westen has telegraphically congratulated alderman Jettinghoff on his wise new policy...*"<sup>182</sup>. But apparently, the document was a wolf in sheep's clothing, as evinced by Jettinghoff's response to a councillor's remark that the policy document was dangerous because it suggested frozen borders around the city centre. Jettinghoff responded: "*We should not cover the city centre with holiness. The currently chosen borders are flexible. In the future, some extra urban quarters can be included in the city centre*"<sup>183</sup>. In fact, the trend of buttering

up culturalists was countered by such statements as: “*It’s such a pity that not more redevelopment areas have disappeared in 1940*”<sup>184</sup>.

City planners used their power. In city plans, they had of course their own editorial power. Moreover, they rejected proposals to establish study groups or advisory councils for urban redevelopment and refused to subsidize a study group that had caused ‘*fermented unnecessary trouble in the old neighbourhoods*’<sup>185</sup>. In addition, city planners tried to avoid dealing with differences, and to focus on very superficial elements: on flower-tubs instead of houses. “*Let’s not talk about the background now, but let us try to carry out things we can agree on right now*”<sup>186</sup> Moreover, they refused to talk about the extent of demolitions, and said they only wanted to discuss rebuilding plans. They also asked people to participate in discussions about already quite final city plans, and discouraged discussions by drawing up plans that were so theoretical, that even academics had a hard time understanding them (Structuurplan 1972)<sup>187</sup>.

As time passed, within the PvdA, a chasm opened up between the ideas of Mayor Thomassen and alderman Jettinghoff, and those of the rest of the party<sup>188</sup>. A couple of times, Jettinghoff was called to order by his own party, which openly questioned his position because he had not managed to explain his good intentions to the inhabitants of the 19th-century neighbourhoods<sup>189</sup>. But as time went by, the chasm closed again and – as we shall see in the following section – this brought about a true planning turn.

**Table 11: Strategies of culturalists, progressists and city planners, Rotterdam period 2**

	<i>Culturalists</i>	<i>Progressists</i>	<i>City planners</i>
<b>Motives</b>	Image of the present city	Image of the present city	Image of the present city
	Liveliness / environment	Liveliness / liveability / environment	Liveliness / liveability / environment
	Efficiency	Efficiency	Efficiency
	Cultural history		
	Valuation		Valuation
	Research methods	Research methods	Research methods
	Facts	Facts	Facts
	Goal will not be reached	Goal will not be reached	Goal will not be reached
	Goal cannot be reached		
	Gloomy future	Gloomy future	Gloomy future
		Inevitability	Inevitability
	Last chance/emergency		

<b>Motives</b>	International / national examples	International / national examples	International / national examples
	Irreversible		
	People want it	People want it	
	People need it	People need it	People need it
	Short public enquiry procedure		
<b>Creative expression</b>	Brochures		
	Photos	Photos	
	Songs		
	Poems		
	Cartoons	Cartoons	
	Creative accounting	Creative accounting	
	Posters		
	Drawings & sketches	Drawings & sketches	Drawings & sketches
		Scale models	
<b>Linguistic expression</b>	Talking& writing	Talking& writing	Talking& writing
		Present tense	
	Vocabulary	Vocabulary	Vocabulary
		Slogan	
<b>Friends &amp; enemies</b>	Editorial power	Editorial power	Editorial power
	Denigrating	Denigrating	Denigrating
	Rousing	Rousing	
	Heroes	Heroes	Heroes
	Scapegoat	Scapegoats	Scapegoats
	Lots of us		
	Curry favour	Curry favour	Curry favour
			Just like you
		We can change the world!	We can change the world!
	Order!		Order!
Conspiring			
<b>Gaining power</b>	Choice reduction	Choice reduction	
			Advisory councils
	Emphasizing own importance		
			Compromise
	Writing letters/petitions		
	'Translating' city plans		
	Inaccuracies	Inaccuracies	
	Revealing secrets		
Refusing to talk		Refusing to talk	



<b><i>Gaining power</i></b>	Refusing to vote		
	Refusing to pay rent		
			Superficial discussion
			Writing theoretical plans
			Participation in virtually final plans
<b><i>Physical expression</i></b>	Actions		
	Demonstrations		
	Demolitions		
	Banners		

## ***The influence of urban ideal images in the public debate on final city plans***

From reports of local planning council meetings, it turns out that councillors, aldermen and mayor were again well informed about the ideas of urban intellectuals about the future city. Many times, they referred to lots of the newspapers and journals I included in my research, and Wentholt was frequently cited. Again, just like in period 1, they praised all the participants for their efforts, and said that they had sympathy for their viewpoints. However, the urban intellectuals were sometimes just so very wrong<sup>190</sup>. “*One can argue about the architectural value of the Koninginnekerk for ages. I do respect the opinion of those who think that this church is of high architectural value, although experts cast doubts on this value clearly*”<sup>191</sup>. Thus, in 1972, the only *Jugendstil* church in the Netherlands was torn down.

However, things changed in 1974: at the local elections, the PvdA obtained a majority of seats. Alderman Jettinghoff and Mayor Thomassen quit the scene. Van der Ploeg (PvdA) became aldermen of Urban Renewal and Housing, and Van der Louw (PvdA) the new mayor<sup>192</sup>. Van der Ploeg granted all the requests of residents’ committees and action groups including the request to exclude homeowners from the project groups – which was an important point of controversy<sup>193</sup>. Most important was the decision to rehabilitate 19<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhoods and to mix urban functions, which as we have seen fitted level 3 of the urban ideal image of culturalists and some progressists. Moreover, the *Rotte* would be preserved and instead of the Willemstunnel, a Willems bridge would be built<sup>194</sup>. And despite the fact that there were no agreements about elements of level 2 of the urban ideal images, the similarities on level 3 were enough to stop the debate. The promise to give slum inhabitants new homes in their own neighbourhood or

in adjacent ones, the promise that they would not be relocated to other slums, the promise to spread foreign workers over the city, and the promise to pay much attention to dwellings in general; despite the fact that all this was meant to serve a different level 2, took the last bits of steam out of the debate<sup>195</sup>.

Thus, the well-known planning turn was indeed a turn: a turn of elements on level 3 of the urban ideal image of city planners. The massing of voices protesting against comprehensive redevelopment had alerted city planners in Rotterdam to the need to change their policy. For a while, the public debate had brought the level 3 dream to an end. But note the vocabulary: *for a while* – as the dream had not yet left the city planners’ heads.

**Table 12 Urban ideal image city of city planners, Rotterdam period 1 & period 2**

		<b>Elements of urban ideal images</b>	<i>Period 1</i>	<i>1965-1973</i>	<i>1974</i>
<b>Level 1</b>			Flourishing city	Flourishing city	Flourishing city
<b>Level 2</b>		<b>Position of inner city</b>	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy <sup>196</sup>
		<b>Orientation</b>	Towards the future	Towards the future	Towards the future <sup>197</sup>
		<b>Focus of planning</b>	Trade & industry	Trade & industry	Trade & industry <sup>198</sup>
<b>Level 3</b>	<b>G e n e r a l</b>	<b>Basis of planning</b>	Survey & desires	Survey & desires	Survey & desires <sup>199</sup>
			Flexible city plan, not detailed	Flexible city plan, not detailed	Flexible city plan, not detailed <sup>200</sup>
			City as part of a larger whole: the region		
			Public support	Public support	Public participation <sup>201</sup>
		<b>Architecture</b>	Contemporary		
		<b>Main planning actor</b>	Government	Government	Government <sup>202</sup>

<b>Level 3</b>	<b>G e n e r a l</b>	<b>City extension</b>	Satellite cities	Radial belts along arterial roads surrounded by nature	Compact city <sup>203</sup>
		<b>Border between city and countryside</b>	Sharp	Sharp	Sharp
		<b>Accent on city or countryside</b>	City	City	City
		<b>City size</b>	Limited	Limited	Limited <sup>204</sup>
		<b>City functions</b>	Zoned	Zoned, with a little mix	Mix if possible (no nuisance) <sup>205</sup>
		<b>History</b>	Keep in mind past, focus on future	Keep in mind past, focus on future	If possible, preserved urban quarters and monuments by alternative plans <sup>206</sup>
		<b>Density</b>	Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city's edge	Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city's edge	Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city's edge <sup>207</sup>
	<b>D w e l l  i n g</b>	<b>Structure</b>	Airy, light, decentralized housing quarters	Airy, light, urban housing quarters	Liveable urban quarters with a high building density <sup>208</sup>
		<b>Housing types</b>	Mix of high- & low-rise	High- / medium- rise	Identifiable houses
		<b>Stratification</b>		Focus: up-market	Mixed social strata inside neighbourhoods <sup>209</sup>
		<b>Renewal of residential quarters</b>	Comprehensive redevelopment	Comprehensive redevelopment	Rehabilitation <sup>210</sup>

<b>Level 3</b>	<b>L e i s u r e</b>	<b>Green elements</b>	Parks	City parks	City parks, flower-tubs, shrubs <sup>211</sup>
		<b>Nature</b>	Nature subordinate to commercial development & located only outside the city	Nature subordinate to commercial development & located only outside the city	Nature subordinate to commercial development & located only outside the city <sup>212</sup>
		<b>Buffers around built-up areas</b>		Buffers	
		<b>Use of waterfronts</b>	Commercial	Commercial	
		<b>Location of recreational areas</b>	Outside the city	Outside the city	Outside the city <sup>213</sup>
	<b>W o r k</b>	<b>Location</b>	Separated	Separated, with a little mix	Mixed if possible (no nuisance) <sup>214</sup>
		<b>Industries</b>	Decentralized to accessible industrial areas at the city's edge	Decentralized to accessible industrial areas at the city's edge	
	<b>T r a n s p o r t a t i o n</b>	<b>Focus</b>	Fast & efficient transport system	Fast & efficient transport system	Fast transport system <sup>215</sup>
		<b>Mobility</b>	Meet mobility needs	Meet mobility needs by constructing roads & limit mobility by localizing life	Limit mobility by localizing life <sup>216</sup>
		<b>Design</b>	Rational, radial	Rational, radial	Rational, radial, no roads that stimulate suburbanization <sup>217</sup>
		<b>Traffic types</b>	Separated		Separated <sup>218</sup>

<b>Level 3</b>	<b>I n n e r c i t y</b>	<b>Main function</b>	Economic	Economic	Economic <sup>219</sup>
		<b>Inner city functions</b>	Zoned	Mainly zoned	Mixed <sup>220</sup>
		<b>Location of offices</b>	Inside inner city	Inside inner city	Inside inner city, partly decentralized to many small sub-centres <sup>221</sup>
		<b>Accessibility</b>	High	High	High <sup>222</sup>
		<b>Car traffic</b>	Unlimited	Limited	Limited <sup>223</sup>
		<b>Public transport</b>		Metro	Metro, busses, trams <sup>224</sup>
		<b>Residential function</b>	Limited	Limited	Moderate <sup>225</sup>
		<b>Traffic priority</b>	Motorists	Motorists	Motorists, but attention needed for pedestrians & cyclists <sup>226</sup>
		<b>Public space</b>		Liveable, lively (shops, kiosks, terraces, cafes)	Liveable (kiosks, benches) <sup>227</sup>
		<b>Design</b>	Homogeneous, contemporary	Contemporary	

<sup>1</sup> R. Wentholt (Social psychologist), *De Binnenstadsbeleving en Rotterdam*, Ad. Donker, Amsterdam 1968 (Written by order of D.C.P. v.d. Pavoordt, director of the warehouse Vroom & Dreesmann)

<sup>2</sup> R. Wentholt (Social psychologist), *De Rotterdammer* 6-6-1970 & in: *Het Vrije Volk* 9-10-1970; P. van de Laar, *Stad van Formaat*, Waanders Uitgevers, Zwolle 2000, p. 542; *Handelingen van de Gemeenteraad Rotterdam* 1970, 19-8-1970

<sup>3</sup> Unknown journalist, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 31-12-1969; Local planning council, *De Rotterdammer* 1-5-1970

<sup>4</sup> Unknown journalist, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 30-5-1970; Unknown journalist, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 1-8-1970; Unknown journalist, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 20-3-1969; A.J. Fibbe (Organizer C'70), *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 20-8-1969; Unknown journalist, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 31-12-1969

<sup>5</sup> Unknown journalist, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 30-5-1970; Unknown journalist, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 21-8-1969; Abelman & Van Schöll (Artists), *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 20-1-1970; J.G. van der Ploeg (Councillor P.v.d.A.), *De Tijd/Maasbode* 27-1-1970 & in: *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 2-10-1970; Unknown journalist, *De Tijd/Maasbode* 1-5-1970; K. Wiekart (Reader's letter), *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 9-5-1970; A.J. Fibbe (Organizer C'70), *Algemeen Dagblad* 5-

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6-1970 & in: Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 7-7-1970; Unknown journalist, De Tijd/Maasbode 30-5-1970; Various tradesmen and inhabitants, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 16-7-1970; A.J. Fibbe (Organizer C'70) & Mayor and Aldermen, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 2-10-1970; Sabotaasjecentrum (Action group), Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 2-10-1970; J.G. van der Ploeg (Councillor P.v.d.A.), De Tijd/Maasbode 3-10-1970; Unknown journalist, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 6-10-1970; Unknown journalist, Het Vrije Volk 6-10-1970; Unknown journalist, Het Parool 18-7-1970; Unknown journalist, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 14-5-1970

<sup>6</sup> A.J. Fibbe (Organizer C'70), De Tijd/Maasbode 7-4-1971 & in: De Rotterdammer 19-9-1970; K. de Gast (Journalist Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad), Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 28-4-1970; K. Wiekart (Reader's letter), Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 9-5-1970; R. Wentholt (Social psychologist), De Rotterdammer 6-6-1970 & in: Het Vrije Volk 9-10-1970; A.J. Fibbe (Organizer C'70) & Mayor and Aldermen, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 2-10-1970; Unknown journalist, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 24-2-1970; P. van de Laar, Stad van Formaat, Waanders Uitgevers, Zwolle 2000, pp. 542-543; H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, Ruimtelijke ordening. Van plannen komen plannen, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 1996, p. 180

<sup>7</sup> G. Werkman (General journalist), Spiegel van de Week, Bouw, 1971 (Vol. 26, No. 20), p. 769

<sup>8</sup> i.e. Oude Westen, Oude Noorden, Crooswijk, Croos, Rubroek, Kralingen, Feijenoord

<sup>9</sup> B. Fokkinga (Director Urban Development) & K. de Gast (Journalist), Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 29-5-1970

<sup>10</sup> Historical society Rotterdam, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 26-4-1972; A.J. ter Braak & W. Eijkelenboom (Architects), Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 18-6-1971; Inhabitants during a public hearing, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 19-4-1969; Mayor and Aldermen & Committee Public Works, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 6-8-1969; Het Oude Westen (Neighborhood action group), Rekonstructieplan Oude Westen, 1970

<sup>11</sup> Leefbaar Rotterdam (Action group), Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 18-12-1974 & in: Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 9-3-1974; Klunder, Koetsier & Ficherou (Architects), Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 12-11-1970; G. Blankvoort (Architect), Het Vrije Volk 15-6-1972; Mw. Barendrecht (Legal advisor Het Oude Westen), Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 23-9-1971; Samenwerking Sanering (Study group Redevelopment), Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 30-6-1970; Unknown journalist, Het Vrije Volk 15-6-1972; R. Hammel, De Tijd/Maasbode 30-9-1971; Het Oude Westen (Neighborhood action group) & Local government, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 30-9-1971; Various participants, De Rotterdammer 6-10-1971; Mayor and aldermen, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 4-2-1972; P. Hammel (Architect), Het Oude Westen & Mayor and aldermen, De Rotterdammer 24-6-1972 & in: Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 28-6-72 & Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 28-3-1970; Het Oude Westen, Sociale Nota Oude Westen, 1971 & in: Het Oude Westen, Rekonstructieplan Oude Westen, 1970, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 28-3-1973, Het Vrije Volk 21-1-1972 & Het Vrije Volk 29-6-1972; Lenboom, Middelhoek & Quist (Architects), De Rotterdammer 26-5-1970; Erasmuskwartier (Action group), De Tijd/Maasbode 17-12-1971; Braak, Eijkelenboom, Hammel, Middelhoek, Wistok & Quist (Architects), Het Vrije Volk 6-3-1970; Samenwerking Sanering (Study group Redevelopment), Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 30-6-1970; Historical society

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Rotterdamum, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 26-4-1972; A.J. ter Braak & W. Eijkelenboom (Architects), Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 18-6-1971; Het Oude Noorden (Neighborhood action group), Sanering opbouw en ontwikkeling, 1971; Van Hattem (Neighborhood group Voorlopig Wijkorgaan Crooswijk), Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 9-4-1970; Inhabitants 19th-century neighborhoods, Het Vrije Volk 21-1-1972; C.J. Baljon (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), Bezwaren tegen het Rotte- en Zwaanshalstrace, 1970; Inhabitants neighborhood Crooswijk & H.W. Jettinghoff (Alderman Urban development, P.v.d.A.), Het Vrije Volk 9-4-1971 & in: Het Vrije Volk 3-12-1971; Local government & Neighborhood study group Feijenoord/Noordereiland, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 3-6-1970; Study group Crooswijk & Oude Noorden (Studying the Rotte), Aan de oevers van de Rotte, 1971 pp. 12,17; Neighborhood council, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 1-2-1972; Versluys (Artist), De Tijd/Maasbode 6-2-1971; Quist (Architect), Het Vrije Volk 12-10-1972; Rolard, Het Vrije Volk 30-3-1971; Inhabitants during a public hearing, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 19-4-1969; Inhabitants, De Rotterdammer 18-6-1974; Neighborhood group Voorlopig Wijkorgaan Crooswijk, Het Vrije Volk 30-11-1971 & in: Het Vrije Volk 16-3-1972 & Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 18-11-1974; Inhabitants Crooswijk, local authorities & Neighborhood committee Oude Noorden, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 3-4-1970; Neighborhood committee Crooswijk & Neighborhood group Voorlopig Wijkorgaan Crooswijk, De Rotterdammer 17-3-1971; Hoppener (Secretary neighborhood group Voorlopig Wijkorgaan Crooswijk) & Mayor and aldermen, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 20-1-1972; Stolk (Chairman housing committee), De Rotterdammer 8-6-1970; Inhabitants Crooswijk & J.G. van der Ploeg (Councillor P.v.d.A.), Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 5-2-1974; Neighborhood committee Crooswijk, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 10-6-1970; B. de Looper (Project supervisor Rotterdam Dry dock Company), De Rotterdammer 3-8-1973; J.G. van der Ploeg (Councillor P.v.d.A.), De Tijd/Maasbode 27-1-1970; Sabotaasjecentrum (Action group), Het Vrije Volk 3-2-1970; Unknown journalist, Het Vrije Volk 20-8-1970

<sup>12</sup> Union of neighborhood groups Wijkorganen, De Rotterdammer 31-12-1969

<sup>13</sup> P. Hammel (Architect, advisor Het Oude Westen) & Local planning department, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 28-6-1972; J. de Korte (Artist representative), Pressienota 1969; Unknown journalist, Het Parool 15-5-1970; E. Starink (Spokesman Oude Westen and representative other action groups), Het Vrije Volk 13-5-1972; Study group Crooswijk & Oude Noorden (Studying the Rotte), Aan de oevers van de Rotte, 1971; Het Oude Noorden (Neighborhood action group), Sanering opbouw en ontwikkeling, 1971; Inhabitants Het Oude Westen & Traffic department, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 2-10-1970; Inhabitants 19th-century neighborhoods, Het Vrije Volk 21-1-1972; Het Oude Westen (Neighborhood action group), Het Vrije Volk 21-1-1972; Neighborhood group Voorlopig Wijkorgaan Crooswijk, Het Vrije Volk 16-3-1972

<sup>14</sup> P. Hammel (Architect, advisor Het Oude Westen) & Local planning department, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 28-6-1972 & in: Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 28-3-1970; Leefbaar Rotterdam (Action group), Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 18-12-1974; Inhabitants Crooswijk, local authorities & Neighborhood committee Oude Noorden, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 3-4-1970; Union of neighborhood groups Wijkorganen, De Rotterdammer 31-12-1969; Action committee Rijnmond & Proletarisch Links (Communists), De Tijd/Maasbode 19-4-1972; B. de Looper

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(Project supervisor Rotterdam Dry dock Company), *De Rotterdammer* 3-8-1973; Het Oude Westen (Neighborhood action group), *Rekonstructieplan Oude Westen*, 1970; P. Hammel (Architect), *Stad aan de Maas. Een ideeenschets*, Rotterdam 1974; C.J. Baljon (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), *Bezwaren tegen het Rotte- en Zwaanshalstrace*, 1970; F. Kirchhoff (Reader's letter, Rotterdam), *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 13-11-1970

<sup>15</sup> Leefbaar Rotterdam (Action group), *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 18-12-1974; E. Starink (Spokesman Oude Westen and representative other action groups), *Het Vrije Volk* 13-5-1972; P. Kroon (Member of the Board of the National organization for sales representatives, representative for the landscape in South-Holland, *Het Vrije Volk* 14-4-1972

<sup>16</sup> H.J. Bakker (Member action group De Lastige Amsterdammer), *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 30-12-1970

<sup>17</sup> Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 11-6-1971; Neighborhood group Voorlopig Wijkorgaan Crooswijk, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 9-6-1971; Neighborhood groups Voorlopig Wijkorgaan Crooswijk & Feijenoord/Noordereiland, *Het Vrije Volk* 8-6-1971; Inhabitants Het Oude Westen & Traffic department, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 2-10-1970; Inhabitants Oude Noorden, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 2-10-1970; Neighborhood committee Oude Noorden & Unknown journalist, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 8-10-1970; Department of Urban Planning, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 29-5-1970; Study group Crooswijk & Oude Noorden (Studying the Rotte), *Aan de oevers van de Rotte*, 1971, p. 18; Leefbaar Rotterdam (Action group), *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 18-12-1974; Study group Crooswijk & Oude Noorden (Studying the Rotte), *De Rotterdammer* 10-11-1970; Versluys (Artist), *De Tijd/Maasbode* 6-2-1971; B. de Looper (Project supervisor Rotterdam Dry dock Company), *De Rotterdammer* 3-8-1973

<sup>18</sup> Study group Crooswijk & Oude Noorden (Studying the Rotte), *Aan de oevers van de Rotte*, 1971; Neighborhood committee Crooswijk, *De Rotterdammer* 17-3-1971; Quist (Architect), *Het Vrije Volk* 12-10-1972; Inhabitants Het Oude Westen & Traffic department, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 2-10-1970; Inhabitants Oude Noorden, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 2-10-1970; Neighborhood committee Oude Noorden & Unknown journalist, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 8-10-1970; Study group Crooswijk & Oude Noorden (Studying the Rotte), *De Rotterdammer* 10-11-1970; B. de Looper, *Plan voor de Rotte in de stad*, Rotterdam 1972; Study group Oude Noorden (including students sociology, pedagogics, and students from the college of Technology Delft) & Local planning department, *Het Vrije Volk* 23-5-1970; Study group Oude Noorden (including students sociology, pedagogics, and students from the college of Technology Delft), *De Rotterdammer* 23-5-1970; Versluys (Artist), *De Tijd/Maasbode* 6-2-1971; Inhabitants Crooswijk, Rubroek & Oude Noorden, *Rotte trace nee*, 197?

<sup>19</sup> B. de Looper (Project supervisor Rotterdam Dry dock Company), *De Rotterdammer* 3-8-1973 & in: B. de Looper, *Plan voor de Rotte in de stad*, Rotterdam 1972; Braak, Eijkelenboom, Hammel, Middelhoek, Witstok & Quist (Architects), *Het Vrije Volk* 6-3-1970; Inhabitants Crooswijk, local authorities & Neighborhood committee Oude Noorden, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 3-4-1970; Neighborhood committee Oude Noorden & Local planning department, *De Tijd/Maasbode* 2-4-1970; Klunder, Koetsier & Fischerou (Architects), *De Tijd/Maasbode* 12-11-1970; C.J. Baljon (Study group neighborhood Oude



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Noorden), Bezwaren tegen het Rotte- en Zwaanshalstrace, 1970; Versluys (Artist), De Tijd/Maasbode 6-2-1971

<sup>20</sup> Quist (Architect), Het Vrije Volk 12-10-1972, G. Blankvoort (Architect), Het Vrije Volk 15-6-1972; B. de Looper (Project supervisor Rotterdam Dry dock Company), De Rotterdammer 3-8-1973; P. Hammel (Architect), Stad aan de Maas. Een ideeenschets, Rotterdam 1974; Unknown journalist, Het Vrije Volk 20-8-1970; Inhabitants Kralingen, De Tijd/Maasbode 26-8-1970 & in: De Tijd/Maasbode 20-8-1970 & Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 8-10-1970; Neighborhood council, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 1-2-1972; Leefbaar Kralingen (Foundation for a liveable Kralingen), Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 16-2-1972; T. Huijser (Reader's letter), Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 20-4-1972; Study group Crooswijk & Oude Noorden (Studying the Rotte), Aan de oevers van de Rotte, 1971 & in: De Rotterdammer 10-11-1970; Leefbaar Rotterdam (Action group), Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 18-12-1974 & in: Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 9-3-1974; Inhabitants 19th-century neighborhoods, Het Vrije Volk 21-1-1972; Union of neighborhood groups Wijkorganen, De Rotterdammer 31-12-1969

<sup>21</sup> Study group Crooswijk & Oude Noorden (Studying the Rotte), Aan de oevers van de Rotte, 1971; Leefbaar Rotterdam (Action group), Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 18-12-1974 & in: Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 2-1-1974; C.J. Baljon (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), Bezwaren tegen het Rotte- en Zwaanshalstrace, 1970; Neighborhood council, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 1-2-1972; Neighborhood groups Voorlopig Wijkorgaan Crooswijk & Feijenoord/Noordereiland, Het Vrije Volk 8-6-1971; Braak, Eijkelenboom, Hammel, Middelhoek, Witstok & Quist (Architects), Het Vrije Volk 6-3-1970; Het Oude Westen (Neighborhood action group), Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 6-10-1970; Inhabitants Crooswijk, local authorities & Neighborhood committee Oude Noorden, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 3-4-1970; Inhabitants 19th-century neighborhoods, Het Vrije Volk 21-1-1972; Neighborhood committee Oude Noorden, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 28-2-1970; Neighborhood committee Oude Noorden & Local planning department, De Tijd/Maasbode 2-4-1970; Lenboom, Middelhoek & Quist (Architects) & Het Oude Westen, De Rotterdammer 26-5-1970; Samenwerking Sanering (Study group Redevelopment), Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 30-6-1970; J. de Korte (Artist representative), Pressienota 1969; Neighborhood group Voorlopig Wijkorgaan Crooswijk, Het Vrije Volk 22-12-1971

<sup>22</sup> Leefbaar Rotterdam (Action group), Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 18-12-1974; Union of 9 neighborhood groups Wijkorganen, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 9-5-1972; P. Hammel (Architect), Stad aan de Maas. Een ideeenschets, Rotterdam 1974

<sup>23</sup> Study group Crooswijk & Oude Noorden (Studying the Rotte), Aan de oevers van de Rotte, 1971; Het Oude Westen (Neighborhood action group), Reconstructieplan Oude Westen, 1970 & in: Het Vrije Volk 21-1-1972; P. Hammel (Architect, advisor Het Oude Westen) & Local planning department, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 28-6-1972 & in: Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 28-3-1970; B. de Looper (Project supervisor Rotterdam Dry dock Company), De Rotterdammer 3-8-1973; Het Oude Noorden (Neighborhood action group), Sanering opbouw en ontwikkeling, 1971; P. Hammel (Architect), Stad aan de Maas. Een ideeenschets, Rotterdam 1974

<sup>24</sup> B. Fokkinga (Director Urban Development), Rotterdamse Courant 20-1-1972; Local planning department, Structuurnota 1972, Rotterdam 1972

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<sup>25</sup> P. van de Laar, *Stad van Formaat*, Waanders Uitgevers, Zwolle 2000, e.g. p. 544; H. de Haan & I. Haagsma, *Stadsbeeld Rotterdam 1965-1982*, Oosthoek's Uitgeversmaatschappij, Utrecht 1982, p. 124; L.A. de Klerk, *Mooi werk! Geschiedenis van de Maatschappij voor Volkswoningen*, Rotterdam 1909-1999, Uitgeverij 010, Rotterdam 1999, p. 89

<sup>26</sup> H.C.G.L. Polak (Alderman Urban Development, V.V.D.), *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 26-3-1969

<sup>27</sup> R. Wentholt (Social psychologist), *De Binnenstadsbeleving en Rotterdam*, Ad. Donker, Amsterdam 1968, pp. 60, 94, 106, 148-149 & in: *Het Vrije Volk* 9-10-1970; Students Den Dulk, Van Tilburg, Van de Ven & Department of Urban Development, *Het Vrije Volk* 1-7-1974 & in: *De Tijd/Maasbode* 5-7-1971; W. Kooyman, J.H. van den Broek & students Architecture, *De Tijd/Maasbode* 21-5-1971; P. Kroon, C. Jonger, J.H. van den Broek, students Architecture & local planning department, *Het Vrije Volk* 23-6-1971; Unknown journalist, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 21-8-1969; M. Hofhuis, C. Uth, A. Maat, P. Spruit, L.J.M. Tummers, *De omgeving van Blaak, Oude Haven en Haringvliet*, *Bouw* 1971 (Vol. 26, No. 20), pp. 776-789; G. Werkman, *Spiegel van de week*, *Bouw* 1974 (Vol. 29, No. 14), p. I; C.J. Baljon (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), *Een alternatief voor het Rotte trace*, 1970

<sup>28</sup> R. Wentholt (Social psychologist), *De Binnenstadsbeleving en Rotterdam*, Ad. Donker, Amsterdam 1968, pp. 85, 86, 106, 107, 124; K. Baljon, H. Kolf, P. Künzli & N. de Vreeze (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), *Wegzijnsnota*, 1970/1?; R. Wentholt (Social psychologist), *De Rotterdammer* 6-6-1970; R. Wentholt (Social psychologist), *Het Vrije Volk* 9-10-1970; M. Hofhuis, C. Uth, A. Maat, P. Spruit, L.J.M. Tummers, *De omgeving van Blaak, Oude Haven en Haringvliet*, *Bouw* 1971 (Vol. 26, No. 20), pp. 776-789; Van Deudekom & Van Es (Architects), *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 26-9-1972; Chamber of Commerce, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 2-7-1975; K. de Gast (Journalist), *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 13-3-1974 & in: *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 26-3-1974; Various architects, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 20-3-1969; A. Blussé van Oud-Alblas (Advocate), *Als ik denk aan Rotterdam*, *Bouw* 1974 (Vol. 29, No. 14), p. 338

<sup>29</sup> R. Wentholt (Social psychologist), *De Binnenstadsbeleving en Rotterdam*, Ad. Donker, Amsterdam 1968, pp. 75, 81-87, 95-7, 109, 135, 142-9 & in: *Een plan dat getuigt van visie en realiteitszin*, *Bouw* 1971 (Vol. 26, No. 20), p. 775; Hermans (Reader's letter), *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 12-11-1971 & in: *De Rotterdammer* 13-12-1969; K. Baljon, H. Kolf, P. Künzli & N. de Vreeze (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), *Wegzijnsnota*, 1970/1?; M. Hofhuis, C. Uth, A. Maat, P. Spruit, L.J.M. Tummers, *De omgeving van Blaak, Oude Haven en Haringvliet*, *Bouw* 1971 (Vol. 26, No. 20), pp. 776-789; Students Den Dulk, Van Tilburg, Van de Ven & Department of Urban Development, *Het Vrije Volk* 1-7-1974; Students Den Dulk, Van Tilburg, Van de Ven, *De Tijd/Maasbode* 5-7-1971 & in: *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 1-7-1971; Drs. Heijke (Traffic economist), *De Tijd/Maasbode* 23-11-1971; Various architects, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 20-3-1969; R. Schieven (Member Rijnmondraad), *Andere wegen voor de binnenstad*, *Bouw* 1974 (Vol. 29, No. 14), pp. 327-331; M. Hofhuis, K. Lith, A. Maat & L.J.M. Tummers (Project group Blaak/Oude Haven), *Rotterdam nog steeds voor de keus*, *Bouw* 1974 (Vol. 29, No. 14), pp. 332-337; *Kring Rotterdam van Nederlandse Architecten* (literally Rotterdam Society of Dutch Architects), *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 26-6-1969;

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<sup>30</sup> P. van de Laar, *Stad van Formaat*, Waanders Uitgevers, Zwolle 2000, pp. 533-544

<sup>31</sup> R. Wentholt (Social psychologist), *De Binnenstadsbeleving en Rotterdam*, Ad. Donker, Amsterdam 1968, pp. 46, 90 & in: *De Rotterdammer* 6-6-1970; K. Baljon, H. Kolf, P. Künzli & N. de Vreeze (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), *Wegzijnsnota*, 1970/1?; Students Den Dulk, Van Tilburg, Van de Ven & Department of Urban Development, *Het Vrije Volk* 1-7-1974; Hermans (Reader's letter), *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 12-11-1971; W. Kooyman, J.H. van den Broek & students Architecture, *De Tijd/Maasbode* 21-5-1971; P. Kroon, C. Jonger, J.H. van den Broek, students Architecture & local planning department, *Het Vrije Volk* 23-6-1971; Students architecture, *De Rotterdammer* 19-6-1970; M. Hofhuis, C. Uth, A. Maat, P. Spruit, L.J.M. Tummers, *De omgeving van Blaak, Oude Haven en Haringvliet*, *Bouw* 1971 (Vol. 26, No. 20), pp. 776-789; C. Hoogeveen, C.F.A. Knol, J.P.I. Maas & J.G. Nuijten, *Bouw* 1971 (Vol. 26, No. 24), pp. 936-948; K. de Gast (Journalist), *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 13-3-1974 & in: *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 26-3-1974; C.J. Baljon (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), *Een alternatief voor het Rotte trace*, 1970

<sup>32</sup> R. Wentholt (Social psychologist), *De Binnenstadsbeleving en Rotterdam*, Ad. Donker, Amsterdam 1968, pp. 86-89, 149; T. Lutz (Actor), *Het Vrije Volk* 6-11-1968; G. Werkman, *Spiegel van de week*, *Bouw* 1974 (Vol. 29, No. 14), p. I; K. Baljon, H. Kolf, P. Künzli & N. de Vreeze (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), *Wegzijnsnota*, 1970/1?; Study group Rot-Weg (Students) & Local planning department, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 24-6-1970; M. Hofhuis, C. Uth, A. Maat, P. Spruit, L.J.M. Tummers, *De omgeving van Blaak, Oude Haven en Haringvliet*, *Bouw* 1971 (Vol. 26, No. 20), pp. 776-789

<sup>33</sup> R. Wentholt (Social psychologist), *De Binnenstadsbeleving en Rotterdam*, Ad. Donker, Amsterdam 1968, pp. 85-88, 108; C. Hoogeveen, C.F.A. Knol, J.P.I. Maas & J.G. Nuijten, *Bouw* 1971 (Vol. 26, No. 24), pp. 936-948; Chamber of Commerce, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 2-7-1975; P. Kroon (Member of the Board of the National organization for sales representatives, representative for the landscape in South-Holland), *Het Vrije Volk* 14-4-1972; Students Den Dulk, Van Tilburg, Van de Ven & Department of Urban Development, *Het Vrije Volk* 1-7-1974; K. de Gast (Journalist), *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 13-3-1974; K. de Gast (Journalist) & Leefbaar Rotterdam (Action group), *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 26-3-1974; M. Hofhuis, C. Uth, A. Maat, P. Spruit, L.J.M. Tummers, *De omgeving van Blaak, Oude Haven en Haringvliet*, *Bouw* 1971 (Vol. 26, No. 20), pp. 776-789; C.J. Baljon (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), *Een alternatief voor het Rotte trace*, 1970; K. Baljon, H. Kolf, P. Künzli & N. de Vreeze (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), *Wegzijnsnota*, 1970/1?; Hermans (Reader's letter), *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 12-11-1971; W. Kooyman, J.H. van den Broek & students Architecture, *De Tijd/Maasbode* 21-5-1971; P. Kroon, C. Jonger, J.H. van den Broek, students Architecture & local planning department, *Het Vrije Volk* 23-6-1971

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<sup>34</sup> Students Den Dulk, Van Tilburg, Van de Ven & Department of Urban Development, *Het Vrije Volk* 1-7-1974 & in: *De Tijd/Maasbode* 5-7-1971 & *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 1-7-1971; M. Hofhuis, C. Uth, A. Maat, P. Spruit, L.J.M. Tummers, *De omgeving van Blaak, Oude Haven en Haringvliet*, Bouw 1971 (Vol. 26, No. 20), pp. 776-789; Hermans (Reader's letter), *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 12-11-1971; C. Hoogeveen, C.F.A. Knol, J.P.I. Maas & J.G. Nuijten, *Bouw* 1971 (Vol. 26, No. 24), pp. 936-948

<sup>35</sup> H.J. Bakker (Member action group *De Lastige Amsterdammer*), *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 30-12-1970

<sup>36</sup> R. Wentholt (Social psychologist), *De Binnenstadsbeleving en Rotterdam*, Ad. Donker, Amsterdam 1968, pp. 89, 168-9 & in: *Het Vrije Volk* 8-10-1970

<sup>37</sup> K. Baljon, H. Kolf, P. Künzli & N. de Vreeze (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), *Wegzijnsnota*, 1970/1?; Students from Delft, R. Wentholt & Local planning department, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 6-7-1970; Hermans (Reader's letter), *De Rotterdammer* 13-12-1969; Students Den Dulk, Van Tilburg, Van de Ven, *De Tijd/Maasbode* 5-7-1971 & in: *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 1-7-1971; Students architecture, *De Rotterdammer* 19-6-1970; R. Wentholt (Social psychologist), *De Rotterdammer* 6-6-1970 & in: *Het Vrije Volk* 8-10-1970; C.J. Baljon (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), *Een alternatief voor het Rotte trace*, 1970; Study group *Rot-Weg* (Students) & Local planning department, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 24-6-1970; Students Den Dulk, Van Tilburg, Van de Ven & Department of Urban Development, *Het Vrije Volk* 1-7-1974; A. Blussé van Oud-Alblas (Advocate), *Als ik denk aan Rotterdam*, *Bouw* 1974 (Vol. 29, No. 14), p. 338

<sup>38</sup> K. Baljon, H. Kolf, P. Künzli & N. de Vreeze (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), *Wegzijnsnota*, 1970/1?; Study group *Rot-Weg* (Students) & Local planning department, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 24-6-1970

<sup>39</sup> Students Den Dulk, Van Tilburg, Van de Ven, *De Tijd/Maasbode* 5-7-1971; R. Wentholt (Social psychologist), *De Binnenstadsbeleving en Rotterdam*, Ad. Donker, Amsterdam 1968, pp. 47, 76 & in: *Het Vrije Volk* 8-10-1970; *Society Monsieur Jacques* & R. Wentholt, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 30-1-1969; K. Baljon, H. Kolf, P. Künzli & N. de Vreeze (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), *Wegzijnsnota*, 1970/1?; Architects, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 10-7-1971; Students architecture, *De Rotterdammer* 19-6-1970; Professors (Mainly from the Dutch Economic School) during a public hearing, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 13-5-1969; G. Werkman, *Spiegel van de week*, *Bouw* 1974 (Vol. 29, No. 14), p. I; T. Lutz (Actor), *Het Vrije Volk* 6-11-1968

<sup>40</sup> C. Hoogeveen, C.F.A. Knol, J.P.I. Maas & J.G. Nuijten, *Bouw* 1971 (Vol. 26, No. 24), pp. 936-948

<sup>41</sup> R. Wentholt (Social psychologist), *De Binnenstadsbeleving en Rotterdam*, Ad. Donker, Amsterdam 1968, p. 107; Hermans (Reader's letter), *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 12-11-1971

<sup>42</sup> R. Wentholt (Social psychologist), *De Binnenstadsbeleving en Rotterdam*, Ad. Donker, Amsterdam 1968 (Written by order of D.C.P. v.d. Pavoordt, director of the warehouse Vroom & Dreesmann), pp. 54, 123; Hermans (Reader's letter), *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 12-11-1971

<sup>43</sup> Study group *Het Oude Noorden & Crooswijk*, *De Rotterdammer* 6-11-1970

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<sup>44</sup> C. Hoogeveen, C.F.A. Knol, J.P.I. Maas & J.G. Nuijten, *Bouw* 1971 (Vol. 26, No. 24), pp. 936-948; Kring Rotterdam van Nederlandse Architecten (literally Society Rotterdam of Dutch Architects), *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 26-6-1969

<sup>45</sup> Professors (Mainly from the Dutch Economic School) during a public hearing, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 13-5-1969; R. Wentholt (Social psychologist), *De Binnenstadsbeleving en Rotterdam*, Ad. Donker, Amsterdam 1968, pp. 148-149; K. Baljon, H. Kolf, P. Künzli & N. de Vreeze (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), *Wegzijnsnota*, 1970/1?; Students from Delft, R. Wentholt & Local planning department, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 6-7-1970; R. Wentholt (Social psychologist), *De Rotterdammer* 6-6-1970; C.J. Baljon (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), *Een alternatief voor het Rotte trace*, 1970; Study group Rot-Weg (Students) & Local planning department, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 24-6-1970

<sup>46</sup> Home-owners during a public hearing, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 26-3-1969; Students Den Dulk, Van Tilburg, Van de Ven, *De Tijd/Maasbode* 5-7-1971; Various architects, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 20-3-1969; L.H. Klaassen (Director Dutch Economic Institute), *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 21-9-1972

<sup>47</sup> H.W. Jettinghoff (Alderman Urban development, P.v.d.A.) & other members of the P.v.d.A., *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 19-12-1972; L.H. Klaassen (Director Dutch Economic Institute), *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 21-9-1972; Hermans (Reader's letter), *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 12-11-1971; R. Wentholt (Social psychologist), *De Rotterdammer* 6-6-1970; C. Hoogeveen, C.F.A. Knol, J.P.I. Maas & J.G. Nuijten, *Bouw* 1971 (Vol. 26, No. 24), pp. 936-948; H.W. Jettinghoff (Alderman Urban development, P.v.d.A.) & Press during a public hearing, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 16-5-1969; Social workers during a public hearing, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 22-3-1969; Reporters during a public hearing, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant*, 13-6-1969

<sup>48</sup> R. Wentholt (Social psychologist), *De Binnenstadsbeleving en Rotterdam*, Ad. Donker, Amsterdam 1968, pp. 92, 140, 143, 148, 150; K. Baljon, H. Kolf, P. Künzli & N. de Vreeze (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), *Wegzijnsnota*, 1970/1?; M. Hofhuis, C. Uth, A. Maat, P. Spruit, L.J.M. Tummers, *De omgeving van Blaak, Oude Haven en Haringvliet*, *Bouw* 1971 (Vol. 26, No. 20), pp. 776-789

<sup>49</sup> R. Wentholt (Social psychologist), *De Binnenstadsbeleving en Rotterdam*, Ad. Donker, Amsterdam 1968, p. 146

<sup>50</sup> R. Wentholt (Social psychologist), *De Binnenstadsbeleving en Rotterdam*, Ad. Donker, Amsterdam 1968 (Written by order of D.C.P. v.d. Pavoordt, director of the warehouse Vroom & Dreesmann), pp. 106-107; H.W. Jettinghoff (Alderman Urban development, P.v.d.A.) & Press during a public hearing, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 16-5-1969; Reporters during a public hearing, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant*, 13-6-1969, Hermans (Reader's letter), *De Rotterdammer* 13-12-1969 & in: *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 12-11-1971; Students Den Dulk, Van Tilburg, Van de Ven & Department of Urban Development, *Het Vrije Volk* 1-7-1974 & in: *De Tijd/Maasbode* 5-7-1971; P. Kroon, C. Jonger, J.H. van den Broek, students Architecture & local planning department, *Het Vrije Volk* 23-6-1971; Various architects, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 20-3-1969; R. Schieven (Member Rijnmondraad), *Andere wegen voor de binnenstad*, *Bouw* 1974 (Vol. 29, No. 14), pp. 327-331; M. Hofhuis, K. Lith, A. Maat & L.J.M. Tummers (Project group Blaak/Oude Haven), *Rotterdam nog steeds voor de keus*, *Bouw* 1974 (Vol. 29, No. 14), pp. 332-337 & in: M. Hofhuis, C. Uth, A. Maat, P. Spruit, L.J.M. Tummers, *De*

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omgeving van Blaak, Oude Haven en Haringvliet, Bouw 1971 (Vol. 26, No. 20), pp. 776-789; Kring Rotterdam van Nederlandse Architecten (literally Society Rotterdam of Dutch Architects), Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 26-6-1969; K. Baljon, H. Kolf, P. Künzli & N. de Vreeze (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), Wegzijnsnota, 1970/1?; Study group Rot-Weg (Students) & Local planning department, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 24-6-1970; Professors (Mainly from the Dutch Economic School) during a public hearing, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 13-5-1969; C.J. Baljon (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), Een alternatief voor het Rotte trace, 1970; Study group Rot-Weg (Students) & Local planning department, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 24-6-1970

<sup>51</sup> Local planning department (About Structuurnota 1972), Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 17-2-1972; L.H. Klaassen (Director Dutch Economic Institute), Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 21-9-1972; Van Deudekom & Van Es (Architects), Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 26-9-1972

<sup>52</sup> R. Wentholt (Social psychologist), De Binnenstadsbeleving en Rotterdam, Ad. Donker, Amsterdam 1968, pp. 63, 143, 149; Unknown journalist (Discussing a television debate about smoking Hash), Het Vrije Volk 14-2-1969; Students Den Dulk, Van Tilburg, Van de Ven, De Tijd/Maasbode 5-7-1971

<sup>53</sup> Students Den Dulk, Van Tilburg, Van de Ven, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 1-7-1971

<sup>54</sup> i.e. allowing people to grant their land in the inner city even if they were not using the office space themselves (Department of Urban Planning, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 29-5-1970)

<sup>55</sup> Local planning department, Structuurnota 1972, Rotterdam 1972 & in: Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 13-9-1974, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 31-5-1969 & Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 11-6-1970; Department of Urban Planning, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 29-5-1970; Mayor and aldermen, Het Vrije Volk 18-11-1971 & in: Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 27-3-1970 & Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 18-9-1971; Local planning department, Saneringsnota 1969, Verzameling 1969, Volgnummer 24, pp. 123-176; H.W. Jettinghoff (Alderman Urban development, P.v.d.A.), B. Fokkinga (Director Urban Development) & Mayor and aldermen, Het Vrije Volk 16-11-1971; J.G. van der Ploeg (Councillor P.v.d.A.), Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 2-10-1970 & in: Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 30-9-1971; B. Fokkinga (Director Urban Development), Het Vrije Volk 31-7-1970; Local council, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 1-10-1970

<sup>56</sup> Local planning department, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 17-2-1972 & in: Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 17-2-1972 & Local planning department, Structuurnota 1972, Rotterdam 1972

<sup>57</sup> Local planning department, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 17-2-1972 & in: Local planning department, Structuurnota 1972, Rotterdam 1972 & Het Vrije Volk 21-1-1972; H.C.G.L. Polak (Alderman Urban Development, V.V.D.), Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 7-10-1970; Inhabitants Het Oude Westen & Traffic department, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 2-10-1970

<sup>58</sup> Local planning department, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 19-9-1974 & in: Local planning department, Saneringsnota 1969, Verzameling 1969, Volgnummer 24, pp. 123-176, Local planning department, Structuurnota 1972, Rotterdam 1972, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 17-2-1972 & Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 5-11-1970;

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Mayor and aldermen, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 27-3-1970; Inhabitants *Het Oude Westen & Traffic department*, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 2-10-1970

<sup>59</sup> Local planning department, *Structuurnota* 1972, Rotterdam 1972

<sup>60</sup> Local planning department, *Saneringsnota* 1969, *Verzameling* 1969, *Volgnummer* 24, p. 125; H.W. Jettinghoff (Alderman Urban development, P.v.d.A.), *De Tijd/Maasbode* 26-1-1971; Local planning department, *Structuurnota* 1972, Rotterdam 1972; H.C.G.L. Polak (Alderman Urban Development, V.V.D.), *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 7-10-1970

<sup>61</sup> Local planning department, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 1-2-1969 & in: Local planning department, *Saneringsnota* 1969, *Verzameling* 1969, *Volgnummer* 24, p. 126 & *De Tijd/Maasbode* 20-8-1970; Mayor and aldermen, *Het Vrije Volk* 21-5-1970 & in: *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 4-2-1972; Inhabitants, J.G. van der Ploeg (Councillor P.v.d.A.) & H.C.G.L. Polak (Alderman Urban Development, V.V.D.), *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 28-11-1969

<sup>62</sup> Inhabitants neighborhood Crooswijk & H.W. Jettinghoff (Alderman Urban development, P.v.d.A.), *Het Vrije Volk* 3-12-1971

<sup>63</sup> H.W. Jettinghoff (Alderman Urban development, P.v.d.A.) & Press during a public hearing, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 16-5-1969; Local planning department, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 13-9-1974

<sup>64</sup> Inhabitants, J.G. van der Ploeg (Councillor P.v.d.A.) & H.C.G.L. Polak (Alderman Urban Development, V.V.D.), *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 28-11-1969; H.W. Jettinghoff (Alderman Urban development, P.v.d.A.), B. Fokkinga (Director Urban Development) & Mayor and aldermen, *Het Vrije Volk* 16-11-1971; Hoppener (Secretary neighborhood group Voorlopig Wijkorgaan Crooswijk) & Mayor and aldermen, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 20-1-1972

<sup>65</sup> Local planning department, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 17-2-1972 & in: *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 13-9-1974; Local planning department, *Structuurnota* 1972, Rotterdam 1972

<sup>66</sup> Inhabitants, J.G. van der Ploeg (Councillor P.v.d.A.) & H.C.G.L. Polak (Alderman Urban Development, V.V.D.), *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 28-11-1969; Local planning department, *De Tijd/Maasbode* 20-8-1970 & in: *De Rotterdammer* 13-8-1969; Mayor and Aldermen & Committee Public Works, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 6-8-1969

<sup>67</sup> Local planning department, *Structuurnota* 1972, Rotterdam 1972 & in: *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 17-2-1972

<sup>68</sup> Local planning department, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 13-9-1974 & in: *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 17-2-1972

<sup>69</sup> Local planning department, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 13-9-1974 & in: Local planning department, *Structuurnota* 1972, Rotterdam 1972; Mayor and aldermen, *Het Vrije Volk* 21-5-1970

<sup>70</sup> B. Fokkinga (Director Urban Development), *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 13-3-1970. Similar statements were found in: Local planning department, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 18-3-1969 & in: Local planning department, *Saneringsnota* 1969, *Verzameling* 1969, *Volgnummer* 24, pp. 123-176; Inhabitants, J.G. van der Ploeg (Councillor P.v.d.A.) & H.C.G.L. Polak (Alderman Urban Development, V.V.D.), *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 28-11-1969; H.W. Jettinghoff (Alderman Urban development, P.v.d.A.) & Mayor and aldermen, *De Rotterdammer* 5-1-1973

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<sup>71</sup> empty compartments in this table mean that nothing was said about this particular element

<sup>72</sup> Het Oude Westen (Neighborhood action group), *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 6-10-1970 & in: *Het Oude Westen*, Rekonstructieplan Oude Westen, 1970; Neighborhood committee Crooswijk & Local planning department, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 25-8-1970; Interim neighborhood committee Feijenoord, *De Rotterdammer* 22-1-1970; Neighborhood committee Crooswijk, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 10-6-1970 & in: *Het Vrije Volk* 10-6-1970; Dutch Reformed Juvenil Board, *De Rotterdammer* 7-2-1970; Neighborhood committee Oude Noorden, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 28-2-1970; Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 11-6-1971 & in: *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 27-10-1971; P. Hammel (Architect, advisor Het Oude Westen) & Local planning department, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 28-3-1970; Hoppener (Secretary neighborhood group Voorlopig Wijkorgaan Crooswijk) & Mayor and aldermen, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 20-1-1972; Inhabitants 19th-century neighborhoods, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 14-10-1975; Inhabitants Feijenoord/Noordereiland, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 24-11-1970; Unknown journalist, *De Rotterdammer* 26-1-1971; Inhabitants neighborhood Crooswijk & H.W. Jettinghoff (Alderman Urban development, P.v.d.A.), *Het Vrije Volk* 9-4-1971; Sabotaasjecentrum (Action group), *Het Vrije Volk* 3-2-1970

<sup>73</sup> Interim neighborhood committee Feijenoord, *De Rotterdammer* 22-1-1970; Neighborhood committee Crooswijk, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 10-6-1970; Study group Oude Noorden (including students sociology, pedagogics, and students from the college of Technology Delft) & Local planning department, *Het Vrije Volk* 23-5-1970; C.J. Baljon (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), *Bezwaren tegen het Rotte- en Zwaanshalstrace*, 1970; Neighborhood group Voorlopig Wijkorgaan Crooswijk, *Het Vrije Volk* 16-3-1972 & in: *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 10-6-1970, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 18-11-1974 & *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 20-4-1972; Inhabitants Crooswijk & J.G. van der Ploeg (Councillor P.v.d.A.), *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 5-2-1974; Dutch Reformed Juvenil Board, *De Rotterdammer* 7-2-1970; Inhabitants Kralingen & H.C.G.L. Polak (Alderman Urban Development, V.V.D.), *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 8-10-1970; Het Oude Westen (Neighborhood action group), *Rekonstructieplan Oude Westen*, 1970; P. Hammel (Architect), *Het Oude Westen* & Mayor and aldermen, *De Rotterdammer* 24-6-1972; P. Hammel (Architect, advisor Het Oude Westen) & Local planning department, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 28-6-1972; Inhabitants Feijenoord/Noordereiland, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 24-11-1970; Unknown journalist, *De Rotterdammer* 26-1-1971

<sup>74</sup> Van Hattem (Neighborhood group Voorlopig Wijkorgaan Crooswijk), *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 9-4-1970; Inhabitants Crooswijk, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 8-2-1969; Neighborhood group Voorlopig Wijkorgaan Crooswijk, *Het Vrije Volk* 16-3-1972; Het Oude Westen (Neighborhood action group), *Het Vrije Volk* 29-6-1972, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 18-9-1970 & in: *Het Oude Westen*, *Sociale Nota Oude Westen*, 1971, p. 4; Neighborhood committee Oude Noorden & Unknown journalist, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 8-10-1970; Unknown journalist, *Het Vrije Volk* 30-12-1971; Unknown journalist, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 29-10-71; P. Hammel (Architect), *Het Oude Westen* & Mayor and aldermen, *De Rotterdammer* 24-6-1972; B. de Looper (Project supervisor Rotterdam Dry dock Company), *Plan voor de Rotte in de stad*, Rotterdam 1972 & in: *De Rotterdammer*



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3-8-1973; Study group Crooswijk & Oude Noorden (Studying the Rotte), Aan de oevers van de Rotte, 1971; Interim neighborhood committee Feijenoord, De Rotterdammer 14-11-1970; Stolk (Chairman housing committee), De Rotterdammer 8-6-1970; Neighborhood committee Crooswijk & Local planning department, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 25-8-1970; Inhabitants neighborhood Crooswijk & H.W. Jettinghoff (Alderman Urban development, P.v.d.A.), Het Vrije Volk 9-4-1971

<sup>75</sup> Inhabitants, J.G. van der Ploeg (Councillor P.v.d.A.) & H.C.G.L. Polak (Alderman Urban Development, V.V.D.), Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 28-11-1969; Het Oude Westen, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 10-6-1971; P. Hammel (Architect, advisor Het Oude Westen) & Local planning department, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 28-6-1972; Kring Rotterdam van Nederlandse Architecten (literally Society Rotterdam of Dutch Architects), Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 26-6-1969; Erasmuskwartier (Action group), De Tijd/Maasbode 17-12-1971; Inhabitants neighborhood Crooswijk & H.W. Jettinghoff (Alderman Urban development, P.v.d.A.), Het Vrije Volk 9-4-1971 & in: Het Vrije Volk 3-12-1971; Het Oude Noorden (Neighborhood action group), Sanering opbouw en ontwikkeling, 1971, p. 9

<sup>76</sup> A.J. ter Braak & W. Eijkelenboom (Architects), Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 18-6-1971; Het Oude Westen (Neighborhood action group), Rekonstructieplan Oude Westen, 1970; Het Oude Westen (Neighborhood action group) & Local government, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 30-9-1971; Het Oude Noorden (Neighborhood action group), Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 27-10-1971

<sup>77</sup> Historical society Rotterdam, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 26-4-1972; A.J. ter Braak & W. Eijkelenboom (Architects), Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 18-6-1971; Inhabitants during a public hearing, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 19-4-1969; Het Oude Westen (Neighborhood action group), Rekonstructieplan Oude Westen, 1970

<sup>78</sup> Braak, Eijkelenboom, Hammel, Middelhoek, Witstok & Quist (Architects), Het Vrije Volk 6-3-1970; Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 11-6-1971

<sup>79</sup> Unknown journalist, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 1-4-1970

<sup>80</sup> G. Blankvoort (Architect), Het Vrije Volk 15-6-1972; P. Hammel (Architect, advisor Het Oude Westen) & Local planning department, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 28-3-1970; Inhabitants, Het Vrije Volk 23-6-1971; Neighborhood group Voorlopig Wijkorgaan Crooswijk, Het Vrije Volk 16-3-1972; Dutch Reformed Juvenil Board, De Rotterdammer 7-2-1970; Quist (Architect), Het Vrije Volk 12-10-1972; Het Oude Westen (Neighborhood action group), Rekonstructieplan Oude Westen, 1970; Het Oude Noorden (Neighborhood action group), Sanering opbouw en ontwikkeling, 1971

<sup>81</sup> Study group Crooswijk & Oude Noorden (Studying the Rotte), Aan de oevers van de Rotte, 1971; Leefbaar Rotterdam (Action group), Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 9-3-1974; C.J. Baljon (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), Bezwaren tegen het Rotte- en Zwaanshalstrace, 1970; Students from Delft, R. Wentholt & Local planning department, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 13-7-1970; Study group Oude Noorden (including students sociology, pedagogics, and students from the college of Technology Delft), De Rotterdammer 23-5-1970; Inhabitants Het Oude Westen & Traffic department, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 2-10-1970; Neighborhood group Voorlopig Wijkorgaan Crooswijk, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 9-6-1971; Neighborhood groups Voorlopig Wijkorgaan Crooswijk & Feijenoord/Noordereiland, Het Vrije Volk 8-6-1971; Inhabitants Crooswijk,

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Rubroek & Oude Noorden, Rotte trace nee, 1977; Het Oude Noorden (Neighborhood action group), Sanering opbouw en ontwikkeling, 1971; B. de Looper (Project supervisor Rotterdam Dry dock Company), De Rotterdammer 3-8-1973; G. Blankvoort (Architect), Het Vrije Volk 15-6-1972; Lenboom, Middelhoek & Quist (Architects) & Het Oude Westen, De Rotterdammer 26-5-1970; Samenwerking Sanering (Study group Redevelopment), Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 30-6-1970; Het Oude Westen (Neighborhood action group), Rekonstructieplan Oude Westen, 1970; Kring Rotterdam van Nederlandse Architecten (literally Society Rotterdam of Dutch Architects), Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 26-6-1969; Historical society Rotterdam, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 26-4-1972; Het Oude Noorden (Neighborhood action group), Sanering opbouw en ontwikkeling, 1971. In addition, culturalists used racial riots in America as a motive to spread out immigrants of the city, to diminish the current accumulation of immigrants in 19th-century neighbourhoods (Sources: Het Oude Westen, Sociale Nota Oude Westen, 1971, p. 4; Unknown journalist, Het Vrije Volk 30-12-1971; P. Hammel (Architect), Het Oude Westen & Mayor and aldermen, De Rotterdammer 24-6-1972)

<sup>82</sup> H.C.G.L. Polak (Alderman Urban Development, V.V.D.), Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 7-10-1970

<sup>83</sup> Study group Crooswijk & Oude Noorden (Studying the Rotte), Aan de oevers van de Rotte, 1971 p. 5; J. de Korte (Artist representative), Pressienota 1969; C.J. Baljon (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), Bezwaren tegen het Rotte- en Zwaanshalstrace, 1970; Union of 9 neighborhood groups Wijkorganen, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 9-5-1972; Inhabitants Crooswijk, Rubroek & Oude Noorden, Rotte trace nee, 1977; E. Starink (Spokesman Oude Westen and representative other action groups), Het Vrije Volk 13-5-1972; Inhabitants and artists, De Tijd/Maasbode 20-1-1971; Inhabitants neighborhood Crooswijk & H.W. Jettinghoff (Alderman Urban development, P.v.d.A.), Het Vrije Volk 9-4-1971 & in: Het Vrije Volk 3-12-1971; Neighborhood group Voorlopig Wijkorgaan Crooswijk, Het Vrije Volk 27-4-1970 & in: Het Vrije Volk 16-3-1972; Sabotaasjencentrum (Action group), Het Vrije Volk 3-2-1970; Unknown journalist, Het Parool 15-5-1970; J.G. van der Ploeg (Councillor P.v.d.A.), De Tijd/Maasbode 27-1-1970; Inhabitants neighborhood Crooswijk & H.W. Jettinghoff (Alderman Urban development, P.v.d.A.), Het Vrije Volk 3-12-1971; Quist (Architect), Het Vrije Volk 12-10-1972; Inhabitants Het Oude Westen & Traffic department, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 2-10-1970; Neighborhood group Voorlopig Wijkorgaan Crooswijk, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 9-6-1971 & in: Het Vrije Volk 16-3-1972; Neighborhood groups Voorlopig Wijkorgaan Crooswijk & Feijenoord/Noordereiland, Het Vrije Volk 8-6-1971; Study group Oude Noorden (including students sociology, pedagogics, and students from the college of Technology Delft), De Rotterdammer 23-5-1970 & in: Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 11-6-1971 & Het Oude Noorden, Sanering opbouw en ontwikkeling, 1971, p. 7; Local planning department, Het Oude Westen & inhabitants Het Oude Westen, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 15-12-1971; Het Oude Westen (Neighborhood action group), Het Vrije Volk 21-1-1972 & in: Het Oude Westen (Neighborhood action group), Rekonstructieplan Oude Westen, 1970 & Het Vrije Volk 1-5-1971; Leefbaar Rotterdam (Action group), Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 18-12-1974 & in: Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 9-3-1974; P. Hammel (Architect), Stad aan de Maas. Een ideenschets, Rotterdam 1974; G. Blankvoort (Architect), Het Vrije Volk 15-6-

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1972; Historical society Rotterdamum, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 26-4-1972; A.J. ter Braak & W. Eijkelenboom (Architects), *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 18-6-1971; P. Hammel (Architect, advisor *Het Oude Westen*) & Local planning department, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 28-6-1972 & in: *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 28-3-1970

<sup>84</sup> C.J. Baljon (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), *Bezwaren tegen het Rotte- en Zwaanshalstrace*, 1970; *Inhabitants Het Oude Westen* & Traffic department, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 2-10-1970; Students Den Dulk, Van Tilburg, Van de Ven & Department of Urban Development, *Het Vrije Volk* 1-7-1974; Study group Oude Noorden (including students sociology, pedagogics, and students from the college of Technology Delft), *De Rotterdammer* 23-5-1970; *Inhabitants Crooswijk, Rubroek & Oude Noorden, Rotte trace nee*, 197?; *Het Oude Noorden* (Neighborhood action group), *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 27-10-1971 & in: *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 26-10-1973; *Kring Rotterdam van Nederlandse Architecten* (literally Society Rotterdam of Dutch Architects), *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 26-6-1969; Action committee Rijnmond & Proletarisch Links (Communists), *De Tijd/Maasbode* 19-4-1972; P. Hammel (Architect, advisor *Het Oude Westen*) & *Het Oude Westen*, *De Rotterdammer* 24-6-1972

<sup>85</sup> R. Wentholt (Social psychologist), *De Binnenstadsbeleving en Rotterdam*, Ad. Donker, Amsterdam 1968, p. 45; K. Baljon, H. Kolf, P. Künzli & N. de Vreeze (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), *Wegzijnsnota*, 1970/1?; Students from Delft, R. Wentholt & Local planning department, *Het Vrije Volk* 8-7-1970; W. Kooyman, J.H. van den Broek & students Architecture, *De Tijd/Maasbode* 21-5-1971; Study group Rot-Weg (Students) & Local planning department, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 24-6-1970; Study group Crooswijk & Oude Noorden (Studying the Rotte), *Aan de oevers van de Rotte*, 1971; C.J. Baljon (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), *Bezwaren tegen het Rotte- en Zwaanshalstrace*, 1970

<sup>86</sup> Study group Crooswijk & Oude Noorden (Studying the Rotte), *Aan de oevers van de Rotte*, 1971 pp. 12-13

<sup>87</sup> B. de Looper, *Plan voor de Rotte in de stad*, Rotterdam 1972. A similar statement was found with: Study group Crooswijk & Oude Noorden (Studying the Rotte), *Aan de oevers van de Rotte*, 1971 pp. 5-6

<sup>88</sup> C.J. Baljon (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), *Bezwaren tegen het Rotte- en Zwaanshalstrace*, 1970; Students from Delft, R. Wentholt & Local planning department, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 13-7-1970; Study group Oude Noorden (including students sociology, pedagogics, and students from the college of Technology Delft), *De Rotterdammer* 23-5-1970

<sup>89</sup> *Inhabitants Crooswijk, Rubroek & Oude Noorden, Rotte trace nee*, 197?

<sup>90</sup> *Inhabitants Crooswijk, Rubroek & Oude Noorden, Rotte trace nee*, 197?

<sup>91</sup> *Leefbaar Rotterdam* (Action group), *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 18-12-1974 & in: *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 2-1-1974; C.J. Baljon (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), *Bezwaren tegen het Rotte- en Zwaanshalstrace*, 1970; Local planning department, *Het Oude Westen* & *Inhabitants Het Oude Westen*, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 15-12-1971; Neighborhood group *Wijkorgaan Oude Noorden*, *De Rotterdammer* 13-10-1970; *Inhabitants and artists*, *De Tijd/Maasbode* 20-1-1971; *Het Oude Westen*, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 18-9-1970 & in: *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 6-10-1970; *Inhabitants*, J.G. van der Ploeg (Councillor P.v.d.A.) & H.C.G.L. Polak (Alderman Urban Development, V.V.D.), *Rotterdamsch*

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Nieuwsblad 28-11-1969; Neighborhood group Voorlopig Wijkorgaan Crooswijk, Het Vrije Volk 16-3-1972; Inhabitants Crooswijk, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 8-2-1969

<sup>92</sup> Neighborhood group Voorlopig Wijkorgaan Crooswijk, Het Vrije Volk 16-3-1972; Sabotaasjacentrum (Action group), Het Vrije Volk 3-2-1970; Study group Oude Noorden (including students sociology, pedagogics, and students from the college of Technology Delft), De Rotterdammer 23-5-1970

<sup>93</sup> Inhabitants Crooswijk, Rubroek & Oude Noorden, Rotte trace nee, 197?; Study group Oude Noorden (including students sociology, pedagogics, and students from the college of Technology Delft), De Rotterdammer 23-5-1970

<sup>94</sup> Inhabitants Crooswijk, Rubroek & Oude Noorden, Rotte trace nee, 197?; Study group Crooswijk & Oude Noorden (Studying the Rotte), Aan de oevers van de Rotte, 1971; B. de Looper, Plan voor de Rotte in de stad, Rotterdam 1972. More drawings in: Het Oude Westen (Neighborhood action group) & Local government, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 30-9-1971; Various participants, De Rotterdammer 6-10-1971

<sup>95</sup> Het Oude Westen, Het Vrije Volk 30-11-1971

<sup>96</sup> Het Oude Westen, De Rotterdammer 24-6-1972

<sup>97</sup> Mayor and aldermen, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 4-2-1972; Study group Oude Noorden (including students sociology, pedagogics, and students from the college of Technology Delft), De Rotterdammer 23-5-1970; Het Oude Westen, Straatbulletin, 14-3-1973; Local planning department, Het Oude Westen & inhabitants Het Oude Westen, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 15-12-1971; Het Oude Westen, Sociale Nota Oude Westen, 1971

<sup>98</sup> Unknown journalist, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 14-10-1971; Unknown journalist, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 12-11-1971

<sup>99</sup> Het Oude Westen, Straatbulletin, 14-3-1973

<sup>100</sup> Het Oude Westen (Neighborhood action group), Rekonstructieplan Oude Westen, 1970

<sup>101</sup> Neighborhood group Voorlopig Wijkorgaan Crooswijk, Het Vrije Volk 30-11-1971 & in: Het Vrije Volk 16-3-1972 & Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 20-4-1972; Inhabitants neighborhood Crooswijk & H.W. Jettinghoff (Alderman Urban development, P.v.d.A.), Het Vrije Volk 3-12-1971; Hoppener (Secretary neighborhood group Voorlopig Wijkorgaan Crooswijk) & Mayor and aldermen, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 20-1-1972; Lenboom, Middelhoek & Quist (Architects) & Het Oude Westen, De Rotterdammer 26-5-1970; Het Oude Westen (Neighborhood action group), Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 6-10-1970 & in: Het Vrije Volk 21-1-1972; Neighborhood committee Crooswijk, Het Vrije Volk 10-6-1970; Neighborhood groups Voorlopig Wijkorgaan Crooswijk & Feijenoord/Noordereiland, Het Vrije Volk 8-6-1971

<sup>102</sup> P. Hammel (Architect, advisor Het Oude Westen) & Local planning department, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 28-3-1970

<sup>103</sup> Study group Crooswijk & Oude Noorden (Studying the Rotte), Aan de oevers van de Rotte, 1971 p. 10

<sup>104</sup> Study group Crooswijk & Oude Noorden (Studying the Rotte), Aan de oevers van de Rotte, 1971; C.J. Baljon (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), Bezwaren tegen het Rotte- en Zwaanshalstrace, 1970; Het Oude Westen, Het Vrije Volk 21-1-1972; Inhabitants neighborhood Crooswijk & H.W. Jettinghoff

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(Alderman Urban development, P.v.d.A.), *Het Vrije Volk* 9-4-1971; Erasmuskwartier (Action group), *De Tijd/Maasbode* 17-12-1971

<sup>105</sup> Study group Crooswijk & Oude Noorden (Studying the Rotte), *De Rotterdammer* 10-11-1970

<sup>106</sup> Neighborhood group Voorlopig Wijkorgaan Crooswijk, *Het Vrije Volk* 30-11-1971; *Het Oude Westen*, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 18-9-1970; C.J. Baljon (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), *Bezwaren tegen het Rotte- en Zwaanshalstrace*, 1970; Interim neighborhood committee Feijenoord, *De Rotterdammer* 22-1-1970; Quist (Architect), *Het Vrije Volk* 12-10-1972; Neighborhood committee Crooswijk, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 10-6-1970; *Leefbaar Kralingen* (Foundation for a liveable Kralingen), *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 16-2-1972; C.J. Baljon (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), Study group *Het Oude Noorden & Crooswijk*, *De Rotterdammer* 6-11-1970; *Het Oude Noorden* (Neighborhood action group), *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 27-10-1971

<sup>107</sup> Study group studying Structuurnota 1972, *Consequenties structuurnota 1972*, *Rotterdam* 9-12-1971 & in: *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, 19-2-1972

<sup>108</sup> Neighborhood council *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 1-2-1972; Study group Crooswijk & Oude Noorden (Studying the Rotte), *Aan de oevers van de Rotte*, 1971; *Leefbaar Rotterdam* (Action group), *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 18-12-1974; C.J. Baljon (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), *Bezwaren tegen het Rotte- en Zwaanshalstrace*, 1970; *Het Oude Noorden* (Neighborhood action group), *Sanering opbouw en ontwikkeling*, 1971; *Inhabitants Het Oude Westen & Traffic department*, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 2-10-1970; Neighborhood groups Voorlopig Wijkorgaan Crooswijk & Feijenoord/Noordereiland, *Het Vrije Volk* 8-6-1971; Neighborhood committee Oude Noorden & Local planning department, *De Tijd/Maasbode* 2-4-1970; Union of 9 neighborhood groups *Wijkorganen*, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 9-5-1972

<sup>109</sup> Study group Crooswijk & Oude Noorden (Studying the Rotte), *Aan de oevers van de Rotte*, 1971

<sup>110</sup> Local planning department, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, 1-2-1969; Study group studying *Structuurnota 1972*, *Consequenties structuurnota 1972*, *Rotterdam* 9-12-1971 & in: *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, 19-2-1972; Local planning department, *Het Oude Westen & inhabitants Het Oude Westen*, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 15-12-1971; *Students Den Dulk*, *Van Tilburg*, *Van de Ven*, *De Tijd/Maasbode* 5-7-1971; C.J. Baljon (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), *Bezwaren tegen het Rotte- en Zwaanshalstrace*, 1970; *Inhabitants Crooswijk*, *Rubroek & Oude Noorden*, *Rotte trace nee*, 197?; *Het Oude Noorden* (Neighborhood action group), *Sanering opbouw en ontwikkeling*, 1971

<sup>111</sup> Erasmuskwartier (Action group) & H.W. Jettinghoff (Alderman Urban development, P.v.d.A.), *De Tijd/Maasbode* 17-12-1971; *Leefbaar Rotterdam* (Action group), *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 2-1-1974 & in: *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 9-3-1974; *Inhabitants 19th-century neighborhoods*, *Het Vrije Volk* 21-1-1972; Study group Oude Noorden (including students sociology, pedagogics, and students from the college of Technology Delft) & Local planning department, *Het Vrije Volk* 23-5-1970; Erasmuskwartier (Action group) & H.W. Jettinghoff (Alderman Urban development, P.v.d.A.), *De Tijd/Maasbode* 17-12-1971; *Overleg Stadsvernieuwing Oude Wijken Rotterdam* (Literally Consultations between the old neighborhoods in Rotterdam about redevelopment), *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 26-3-

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1975; Inhabitants neighborhood Crooswijk & H.W. Jettinghoff (Alderman Urban development, P.v.d.A.), *Het Vrije Volk* 3-12-1971

<sup>112</sup> Nuninga (Police officer), *Het Vrije Volk* 23-12-1971

<sup>113</sup> Neighborhood group Voorlopig Wijkorgaan Crooswijk & Het Oude Westen, *Het Vrije Volk* 30-4-1970; Neighborhood committee Crooswijk & Neighborhood group Voorlopig Wijkorgaan Crooswijk, *Het Vrije Volk* 6-4-1971. Other examples: (1) frictions between Voorlopig Wijkorgaan Crooswijk and inhabitants of Crooswijk, whereby the former was accused by the latter of being a continuation of the local planning council. The Voorlopig Wijkorgaan Crooswijk responded that participating in a governing body was the only democratic way to influence city plans (Sources: Neighborhood committee Crooswijk & Neighborhood group Voorlopig Wijkorgaan Crooswijk, *De Rotterdammer* 17-3-1971); (2) frictions between the Wijkraad Kralingen and Action committee Kralingen (Sources: *De Tijd/Maasbode* 26-8-1970; *De Tijd/Maasbode* 20-8-1970; *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 7-10-1970; *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 20-4-1972)

<sup>114</sup> Neighborhood group Voorlopig Wijkorgaan Crooswijk, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 20-4-1972; *Het Oude Westen*, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 3-1-1973

<sup>115</sup> *Het Oude Westen*, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 3-1-1973; *Overleg Stadsvernieuwing Oude Wijken Rotterdam* (Literally Consultations between the old neighborhoods in Rotterdam about redevelopment), *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 26-3-1975; Various action groups 19th-century neighborhoods, *De Rotterdammer* 5-1-1973

<sup>116</sup> *Het Oude Westen*, *Het Vrije Volk* 16-3-1972

<sup>117</sup> *Het Oude Westen*, *Het Vrije Volk* 29-6-1972

<sup>118</sup> Study group Crooswijk & Oude Noorden (Studying the Rotte), *De Rotterdammer* 10-11-1970

<sup>119</sup> Stolk (Chairman housing committee), *De Rotterdammer* 8-6-1970; Neighborhood committee Crooswijk, *Het Vrije Volk* 21-5-1970 & in: *Het Vrije Volk* 27-4-1970; Historical society Rotterdam, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 26-4-1972; *Het Oude Westen*, *Straatbulletin*, 14-3-1973

<sup>120</sup> Inhabitants Crooswijk, *Het Vrije Volk* 6-3-1971; Inhabitants 19th-century neighborhoods, *Het Vrije Volk* 21-1-1972; *Het Oude Westen*, *Het Vrije Volk* 21-1-1972; Interim neighborhood committee Feijenoord, *De Rotterdammer* 22-1-1970; Inhabitants 19th-century neighborhoods, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 4-2-1972; Neighborhood group Voorlopig Wijkorgaan Crooswijk, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 25-4-1974; *Het Oude Noorden* (Neighborhood action group), *Het Vrije Volk* 14-12-1971; Local planning department, *Het Oude Westen* & inhabitants *Het Oude Westen*, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 15-12-1971; Erasmuskwartier (Action group) & H.W. Jettinghoff (Alderman Urban development, P.v.d.A.), *De Tijd/Maasbode* 17-12-1971; Kring Rotterdam van Nederlandse Architecten (literally Society Rotterdam of Dutch Architects), *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 26-6-1969; Sabotaasjecentrum (Action group), *Het Vrije Volk* 3-2-1970

<sup>121</sup> Dutch Reformed Juvenil Board, *De Rotterdammer* 7-2-1970; *Het Oude Westen* (Neighborhood action group), *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 28-3-1973 & in: *Het Oude Westen*, *Straatbulletin*, 14-3-1973 & *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 3-4-1970; Inhabitants 19th-century neighborhoods, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 4-2-1972

<sup>122</sup> *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 28-3-1970

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<sup>123</sup> Study group Oude Noorden (including students sociology, pedagogics, and students from the college of Technology Delft), *De Rotterdammer* 23-5-1970; Inhabitants Crooswijk, Rubroek & Oude Noorden, *Rotte trace nee*, 197?; *Het Oude Westen* (Neighborhood action group), *Rekonstructieplan Oude Westen*, 1970 & in: *Het Oude Westen*, *Sociale Nota Oude Westen*, 1971; Local planning department, *Het Oude Westen* & inhabitants *Het Oude Westen*, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 15-12-1971

<sup>124</sup> Inhabitants neighborhood Crooswijk & H.W. Jettinghoff (Alderman Urban development, P.v.d.A.), *Het Vrije Volk* 9-4-1971; *Het Oude Westen* (Neighborhood action group) & Local government, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 30-9-1971; Stolk (Chairman housing committee), *De Rotterdammer* 8-6-1970; Inhabitants Crooswijk & J.G. van der Ploeg (Councillor P.v.d.A.), *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 5-2-1974; P. Hammel (Architect, advisor *Het Oude Westen*) & Local planning department, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 28-6-1972; P. Hammel (Architect), *Het Oude Westen* & Mayor and aldermen, *De Rotterdammer* 24-6-1972; *Het Oude Westen*, *Sociale Nota Oude Westen*, 1971 & in: *Het Oude Westen*, *Rekonstructieplan Oude Westen*, 1970; Inhabitants Crooswijk, Rubroek & Oude Noorden, *Rotte trace nee*, 197?

<sup>125</sup> Inhabitants Crooswijk, Rubroek & Oude Noorden, *Rotte trace nee*, 197?

<sup>126</sup> Braak, Eijkelenboom, Hammel, Middelhoek, Wistok & Quist (Architects), *Het Vrije Volk* 6-3-1970; *Het Oude Westen* (Neighborhood action group), *Rekonstructieplan Oude Westen*, 1970

<sup>127</sup> C.J. Baljon (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), *Bezwaren tegen het Rotte- en Zwaanshalstrace*, 1970; Inhabitants *Het Oude Westen* & Traffic department, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 2-10-1970; Students Den Dulk, Van Tilburg, Van de Ven & Department of Urban Development, *Het Vrije Volk* 1-7-1974; Study group Oude Noorden (including students sociology, pedagogics, and students from the college of Technology Delft), *De Rotterdammer* 23-5-1970; Inhabitants Crooswijk, Rubroek & Oude Noorden, *Rotte trace nee*, 197?; *Het Oude Noorden* (Neighborhood action group), *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 27-10-1971; *Kring Rotterdam van Nederlandse Architecten* (literally Society Rotterdam of Dutch Architects), *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 26-6-1969; Action committee Rijnmond & Proletarisch Links (Communists), *De Tijd/Maasbode* 19-4-1972; P. Hammel (Architect, advisor *Het Oude Westen*) & *Het Oude Westen*, *De Rotterdammer* 24-6-1972

<sup>128</sup> R. Wentholt (Social psychologist), *De Binnenstadsbeleving en Rotterdam*, Ad. Donker, Amsterdam 1968, pp. 74, 86, 143-144; K. Baljon, H. Kolf, P. Künzli & N. de Vreeze (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), *Wegzijnsnota*, 1970/1?

<sup>129</sup> F. Andreae (Chairman Chamber of Commerce), *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 3-9-1969

<sup>130</sup> Van Deudekom & Van Es (Architects), *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 26-9-1972; R. Wentholt (Social psychologist), *De Binnenstadsbeleving en Rotterdam*, Ad. Donker, Amsterdam 1968, pp. 60, 81, 94, 109 & in: *De Rotterdammer* 6-6-1970 & *Het Vrije Volk* 8-10-1970

<sup>131</sup> R. Wentholt (Social psychologist), *De Binnenstadsbeleving en Rotterdam*, Ad. Donker, Amsterdam 1968, pp. 174-176 & in: *De Rotterdammer* 6-6-1970

<sup>132</sup> R. Wentholt (Social psychologist), *De Binnenstadsbeleving en Rotterdam*, Ad. Donker, Amsterdam 1968, p. 77

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- <sup>133</sup> R. Wentholt (Social psychologist), *De Binnenstadsbeleving en Rotterdam*, Ad. Donker, Amsterdam 1968, pp. 39, 57-60, 83, 95-97, 99, 105, 116; *Students Den Dulk, Van Tilburg, Van de Ven, De Tijd/Maasbode* 5-7-1971 & in: *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 1-7-1971; *Students Den Dulk, Van Tilburg, Van de Ven & Department of Urban Development, Het Vrije Volk* 1-7-1974; K. Baljon, H. Kolf, P. Künzli & N. de Vreeze (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), *Wegzijnsnota*, 1970/1?; *Architects, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 10-7-1971; G. Werkman, *Spiegel van de week, Bouw* 1974 (Vol. 29, No. 14), p. I; T. Lutz (Actor), *Het Vrije Volk* 6-11-1968
- <sup>134</sup> R. Wentholt (Social psychologist), *De Binnenstadsbeleving en Rotterdam*, Ad. Donker, Amsterdam 1968, pp. 173-174, referring to Russell Baker in *The New York Times International*
- <sup>135</sup> M. Hofhuis, K. Lith, A. Maat & L.J.M. Tummers (Project group Blaak/Oude Haven), *Rotterdam nog steeds voor de keus, Bouw* 1974 (Vol. 29, No. 14), pp. 332-337. A similar statement was found in: R. Wentholt, *De Rotterdammer* 6-6-1970
- <sup>136</sup> K. Baljon, H. Kolf, P. Künzli & N. de Vreeze (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), *Wegzijnsnota*, 1970/1?; *Students from Delft, R. Wentholt & Local planning department, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 6-7-1970; Unknown journalist, *De Havenloods* 26-21070
- <sup>137</sup> H.W. Jettinghoff (Alderman Urban development, P.v.d.A.) & Press during a public hearing, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 16-5-1969
- <sup>138</sup> R. Wentholt (Social psychologist), *De Binnenstadsbeleving en Rotterdam*, Ad. Donker, Amsterdam 1968, pp. 46-52, 80, 146-147; K. Baljon, H. Kolf, P. Künzli & N. de Vreeze (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), *Wegzijnsnota*, 1970/1?; Professors (Mainly from the Dutch Economic School) during a public hearing, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 13-5-1969; *Students architecture, De Rotterdammer* 19-6-1970; *Students architecture, De Rotterdammer* 19-6-1970; C.J. Baljon (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), *Een alternatief voor het Rotte trace*, 1970; T. Lutz (Actor), *Het Vrije Volk* 6-11-1968; *Students Den Dulk, Van Tilburg, Van de Ven, De Tijd/Maasbode* 5-7-1971
- <sup>139</sup> K. Baljon, H. Kolf, P. Künzli & N. de Vreeze (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), *Wegzijnsnota*, 1970/1?
- <sup>140</sup> *Students from Delft, R. Wentholt & Local planning department, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 6-7-1970; P. Kroon, C. Jonger, J.H. van den Broek, *students Architecture & local planning department, Het Vrije Volk* 23-6-1971; J.H. van den Broek (Prof., B Sc) & W. Kooyman, *Bouw* 1974 (Vol. 29, No. 14), p. 350; *Study group Rot-Weg (Students) & Local planning department, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 24-6-1970; G. Werkman, *Spiegel van de Week, Bouw* 1971 (Vol. 26, No. 20), p. 769; *Students architecture, De Rotterdammer* 19-6-1970
- <sup>141</sup> P. Kroon, C. Jonger, J.H. van den Broek, *students Architecture & local planning department, Het Vrije Volk* 23-6-1971
- <sup>142</sup> G. Werkman, *Spiegel van de Week, Bouw* 1971 (Vol. 26, No. 20), p. 769
- <sup>143</sup> K. Baljon, H. Kolf, P. Künzli & N. de Vreeze (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), *Wegzijnsnota*, 1970/1?; *Students from Delft, R. Wentholt & Local planning department, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 6-7-1970; W. Kooyman, J.H. van den Broek & *students Architecture, De Tijd/Maasbode* 21-5-1971; R. Wentholt (Social psychologist), *De Rotterdammer* 6-6-1970; G. Werkman, *Spiegel van de Week, Bouw* 1971 (Vol. 26, No. 20), p. 769; C.J. Baljon (Study group neighborhood



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Oude Noorden), Een alternatief voor het Rotte trace, 1970; Study group Rot-Weg (Students) & Local planning department, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 24-6-1970

<sup>144</sup> K. Baljon, H. Kolf, P. Künzli & N. de Vreeze (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), Wegzijnsnota, 1970/1?; R. Wentholt (Social psychologist), De Binnenstadsbeleving en Rotterdam, Ad. Donker, Amsterdam 1968, pp. 46, 91, 150; Students from Delft, R. Wentholt & Local planning department, Het Vrije Volk 8-7-1970; Students Den Dulk, Van Tilburg, Van de Ven & Department of Urban Development, Het Vrije Volk 1-7-1974; Students Den Dulk, Van Tilburg, Van de Ven, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 1-7-1971; Architects, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 10-7-1971; K. de Gast (Journalist), Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 13-3-1974; M. Hofhuis, C. Uth, A. Maat, P. Spruit, L.J.M. Tummers, De omgeving van Blaak, Oude Haven en Haringvliet, Bouw 1971 (Vol. 26, No. 20), pp. 776-789; Students architecture, De Rotterdammer 19-6-1970; G. Werkman, Spiegel van de Week, Bouw 1971 (Vol. 26, No. 20), p. 769

<sup>145</sup> Chamber of Commerce, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 2-7-1975; F. Andreae (Chairman Chamber of Commerce), Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 3-9-1969

<sup>146</sup> M. Hofhuis, C. Uth, A. Maat, P. Spruit, L.J.M. Tummers, De omgeving van Blaak, Oude Haven en Haringvliet, Bouw 1971 (Vol. 26, No. 20), pp. 776-789

<sup>147</sup> M. Hofhuis, C. Uth, A. Maat, P. Spruit, L.J.M. Tummers, De omgeving van Blaak, Oude Haven en Haringvliet, Bouw 1971 (Vol. 26, No. 20), pp. 776-789; J.H. van den Broek (Prof., B Sc) & W. Kooyman, Bouw 1974 (Vol. 29, No. 14), p. 350; W. Kooyman, J.H. van den Broek & students Architecture, De Tijd/Maasbode 21-5-1971

<sup>148</sup> M. Hofhuis, C. Uth, A. Maat, P. Spruit, L.J.M. Tummers, De omgeving van Blaak, Oude Haven en Haringvliet, Bouw 1971 (Vol. 26, No. 20), pp. 776-789

<sup>149</sup> N.H.J. de Bruijn (Journalist), Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 24-4-1972; K. de Gast (Journalist), Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 13-3-1974; K. de Gast (Journalist) & Leefbaar Rotterdam (Action group), Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 26-3-1974; R. Wentholt (Social psychologist), De Binnenstadsbeleving en Rotterdam, Ad. Donker, Amsterdam 1968, pp. 13-15

<sup>150</sup> Students School for Journalism Utrecht & Unknown journalist, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 27-6-1969; N.H.J. de Bruijn (Journalist), Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 24-4-1972; K. de Gast (Journalist), Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 13-3-1974; K. de Gast (Journalist) & Leefbaar Rotterdam (Action group), Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 26-3-1974; Unknown journalist, Het Vrije Volk 20-8-1970

<sup>151</sup> K. Baljon, H. Kolf, P. Künzli & N. de Vreeze (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), Wegzijnsnota, 1970/1?; C.J. Baljon (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), Een alternatief voor het Rotte trace, 1970; V. Gruen, The heart of our cities; the urban crisis: diagnosis and cure, Simon and Schuster, New York 1965, p. 98 and further; R. Wentholt (Social psychologist), De Binnenstadsbeleving en Rotterdam, Ad. Donker, Amsterdam 1968, pp. 75-77, 84

<sup>152</sup> Students from Delft, R. Wentholt & Local planning department, Het Vrije Volk 8-7-1970; W. Kooyman, J.H. van den Broek & students Architecture, De Tijd/Maasbode 21-5-1971; G. Werkman, Spiegel van de Week, Bouw 1971 (Vol. 26, No. 20), p. 769

<sup>153</sup> Various architects, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 20-3-1969; Kring Rotterdam van Nederlandse Architecten (literally Society Rotterdam of Dutch Architects), Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 26-6-1969

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- <sup>154</sup> R. Wentholt (Social psychologist), *De Binnenstadsbeleving en Rotterdam*, Ad. Donker, Amsterdam 1968, pp. 45-52; R. Schieven (Member Rijnmondraad), *Andere wegen voor de binnenstad*, Bouw 1974 (Vol. 29, No. 14), pp. 327-331
- <sup>155</sup> L.H. Klaassen (Director Dutch Economic Institute), *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 21-9-1972
- <sup>156</sup> Kring Rotterdam van Nederlandse Architecten (literally Society Rotterdam of Dutch Architects), supported by Action committee Rijnmond, *De Tijd/Maasbode* 19-4-1972; Kring Rotterdam van Nederlandse Architecten (literally Society Rotterdam of Dutch Architects), *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 26-6-1969
- <sup>157</sup> J. de Korte (Artist representative), *Pressienota* 1969
- <sup>158</sup> Local planning department, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 13-9-1974
- <sup>159</sup> H.C.G.L. Polak (Alderman Urban Development, V.V.D.), *Het Vrije Volk* 20-8-1970 & in: *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 10-3-1970; *Inhabitants*, J.G. van der Ploeg (Councillor P.v.d.A.) & H.C.G.L. Polak (Alderman Urban Development, V.V.D.), *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 28-11-1969; *Inhabitants Het Oude Westen & Traffic department*, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 2-10-1970; Local planning department, *Structuurnota* 1972, Rotterdam 1972
- <sup>160</sup> Local planning department, *Saneringsnota* 1969, *Verzameling* 1969, *Volgnummer* 24, p. 130 & in: *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 13-9-1974 & *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 13-3-1969; H.C.G.L. Polak (Alderman Urban Development, V.V.D.), *Het Vrije Volk* 20-8-1970
- <sup>161</sup> J.G. van der Ploeg (Councillor P.v.d.A.) & H.C.G.L. Polak (Alderman Urban Development, V.V.D.), *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 28-11-1969; Local Planning Department, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 28-6-1972 & in: *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, 1-2-1969; H.W. Jettinghoff (Alderman Urban development, P.v.d.A.), *Het Vrije Volk* 9-4-1971 & in: *Het Vrije Volk* 3-12-1971; H.W. Jettinghoff (Alderman Urban development, P.v.d.A.) & Press during a public hearing, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 16-5-1969
- <sup>162</sup> Local planning department, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 13-9-1974 & in: Local planning department, *Saneringsnota* 1969, *Verzameling* 1969, *Volgnummer* 24, pp. 123-176; J.G. van der Ploeg (Councillor P.v.d.A.), *Het Parool*, 24-2-1970; Mayor and aldermen, *Het Vrije Volk* 18-11-1971
- <sup>163</sup> H.C.G.L. Polak (Alderman Urban Development, V.V.D.), *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 7-10-1970
- <sup>164</sup> Hoppener (Secretary neighborhood group Voorlopig Wijkorgaan Crooswijk) & Mayor and aldermen, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 20-1-1972; Mayor and aldermen, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 31-12-1970
- <sup>165</sup> Local planning department, *Saneringsnota* 1969, *Verzameling* 1969, *Volgnummer* 24, p. 125; Mayor and aldermen, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 4-2-1972
- <sup>166</sup> A.J. ter Braak & W. Eijkelenboom (Architects), *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 18-6-1971; *Het Oude Westen* (Neighborhood action group), *Rekonstructieplan Oude Westen*, 1970 & in: *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 27-10-1971; *Het Oude Westen* (Neighborhood action group) & Local government, *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 30-9-1971; K. Baljon, H. Kolf, P. Künzli & N. de Vreeze (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), *Wegzijnsnota*, 1970/1?; Students from Delft, R. Wentholt & Local planning department, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 6-7-1970; Unknown journalist, *De Havenloods* 26-2-1970

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<sup>167</sup> Local planning department, Structuurnota 1972, Rotterdam 1972. A similar statement was found in: Local planning department, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 31-5-1969; H.C.G.L. Polak (Alderman Urban Development, V.V.D.), Het Vrije Volk 6-6-1972; Mayor and aldermen, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 17-5-1972

<sup>168</sup> Local planning department, Structuurnota 1972, Rotterdam 1972

<sup>169</sup> Mayor and aldermen, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 31-12-1970; H.C.G.L. Polak (Alderman Urban Development, V.V.D.), Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 10-3-1970

<sup>170</sup> K. Baljon, H. Kolf, P. Künzli & N. de Vreeze (Study group neighborhood Oude Noorden), Wegzijnsnota, 1970/1?; Study group Rot-Weg (Students) & Local planning department, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 24-6-1970

<sup>171</sup> Local planning department, Structuurnota 1972, Rotterdam 1972

<sup>172</sup> Inhabitants, J.G. van der Ploeg (Councillor P.v.d.A.) & H.C.G.L. Polak (Alderman Urban Development, V.V.D.), Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 28-11-1969; H.W. Jettinghoff (Alderman Urban Development and Housing, P.v.d.A.), Beleidsnota 1973 betreffende Structuurnota 1973, Verzameling 1973, Volnummer 34, 16-2-1973 & in: De Rotterdammer 10-2-1973. The Beleidsnota 1973 was an individual action, written in the first person, and mayor and aldermen responded they would 'take note' of the document but withhold an opinion 'until further notice'.

<sup>173</sup> Local planning department, Structuurnota 1972, Rotterdam 1972; H.W. Jettinghoff (Alderman Urban Development and Housing, P.v.d.A.) & all other members of the P.v.d.A., Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 19-12-1972; J.G. van der Ploeg (Councillor P.v.d.A.) & Mayor and aldermen, Het Vrije Volk 29-7-1970; Local council, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 6-7-1970

<sup>174</sup> Department of Urban Planning, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 29-5-1970; Inhabitants Crooswijk, local authorities & Neighborhood committee Oude Noorden, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 3-4-1970; H.C.G.L. Polak (Alderman Urban Development, V.V.D.), Het Vrije Volk 6-6-1972

<sup>175</sup> H.W. Jettinghoff (Alderman Urban Development, P.v.d.A.), Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 17-11-1971

<sup>176</sup> Mayor and aldermen, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 31-12-1970; Mayor and aldermen & Het Oude Westen, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 8-1-1970; Jettinghoff, De Rotterdammer 14-9-1973

<sup>177</sup> Inhabitants neighborhood Crooswijk & H.W. Jettinghoff (Alderman Urban development, P.v.d.A.), Het Vrije Volk 3-12-1971

<sup>178</sup> Inhabitants, J.G. van der Ploeg (Councillor P.v.d.A.) & H.C.G.L. Polak (Alderman Urban Development, V.V.D.), Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 28-11-1969; H.C.G.L. Polak (Alderman Urban Development, V.V.D.), Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 10-3-1970

<sup>179</sup> H.C.G.L. Polak (Alderman Urban Development, V.V.D.), Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 10-3-1970

<sup>180</sup> H.W. Jettinghoff (Alderman Urban Development and Housing, P.v.d.A.), Beleidsnota 1973 betreffende Structuurnota 1973, Verzameling 1973, Volnummer 34, 16-2-1973 & in: De Rotterdammer 10-2-1973

<sup>181</sup> H.W. Jettinghoff (Alderman Urban Development and Housing, P.v.d.A.), Beleidsnota 1973 betreffende Structuurnota 1973, Verzameling 1973, Volnummer 34, 16-2-1973 & in: Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 13-12-1973

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<sup>182</sup> H.W. Jettinghoff (Alderman Urban Development and Housing), Beleidsnota 1973 betreffende Structuurnota 1973, Verzameling 1973, Volgnummer 34, 16-2-1973 & in: Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 13-12-1973

<sup>183</sup> H.W. Jettinghoff (Alderman Urban Development and Housing), Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 23-2-1973

<sup>184</sup> P. Hammel (Architect), Het Oude Westen & Mayor and aldermen, De Rotterdammer 24-6-1972

<sup>185</sup> Hoppener (Secretary neighborhood group Voorlopig Wijkorgaan Crooswijk) & Mayor and aldermen, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 20-1-1972; Local Planning department, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 21-9-1972

<sup>186</sup> H.W. Jettinghoff (Alderman Urban development, P.v.d.A.), B. Fokkinga (Director Urban Development) & Mayor and aldermen, Het Vrije Volk 16-11-1971

<sup>187</sup> Local planning department, Saneringsnota 1969, Verzameling 1969, Volgnummer 24, p. 130 & in: Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 17-2-1972; Mayor and aldermen, Het Vrije Volk 21-5-1970; Mayor and aldermen & Stichting Leefbaar Kralingen (Foundation for a liveable Kralingen), De Rotterdammer 16-2-1971; Het Oude Noorden, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 23-2-1972; Van Leeuwen (Councilor Rotterdam), Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 30-5-1970; H.C.G.L. Polak (Alderman Urban Development, V.V.D.), Het Vrije Volk 20-8-1970; Inhabitants Crooswijk, local authorities & neighborhood committee Oude Noorden, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 3-4-1970; Local council, De Rotterdammer 26-11-1971; Unknown journalist, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 24-6-1972

<sup>188</sup> G. Kleijn, De Staat van de Stadsvernieuwing, Vakgroep Stadsstudies R.U.U., Amsterdam 1985, p. 142

<sup>189</sup> H.W. Jettinghoff (Alderman Urban Development and Housing, P.v.d.A.) & all other members of the P.v.d.A., Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 26-4-1972

<sup>190</sup> Mrs. Vos-Krul (Councillor C.P.N.), Handelingen van de Gemeenteraad Rotterdam 1969 22-5-1969, p. 285; Mrs. Vos-Krul (Councillor C.P.N.), Handelingen van de Gemeenteraad Rotterdam 1969 25-9-1969, p. 487; Van der Ploeg (Councillor P.v.d.A.), Handelingen van de Gemeenteraad Rotterdam 1969 27-3-1969, p. 192; Van der Ploeg (Councillor P.v.d.A.), Handelingen van de Gemeenteraad Rotterdam 1969 14-8-1969, p. 415; Dijksman (Councillor P.v.d.A.), Handelingen van de Gemeenteraad Rotterdam 1969 25-9-1969, pp. 474-475; Polak (Alderman V.V.D.), Handelingen van de Gemeenteraad Rotterdam 1969 25-9-1969, p. 476; Mrs. Blom-Mourits (P.v.d.A.), Handelingen van de Gemeenteraad Rotterdam 1969 14-8-1969, p. 426; Couwenberg (Councillor K.V.P.), Handelingen van de Gemeenteraad Rotterdam 1969 14-8-1969, p. 426; De Vos (Alderman, K.V.P.), Handelingen van de Gemeenteraad Rotterdam 1969 14-8-1969, pp. 426-427; Van Leeuwen (Councillor V.V.D.), Handelingen van de Gemeenteraad Rotterdam 1970 8-1-1970, p. 41; Lagrand (Councillor P.S.P.), Handelingen van de Gemeenteraad Rotterdam 1970 19-3-1970, p. 135; Groenendijk (Councillor C.P.N.), Handelingen van de Gemeenteraad Rotterdam 1970 19-3-1970, p. 136; Groenendijk (Councillor C.P.N.), Handelingen van de Gemeenteraad Rotterdam 1970 19-8-1970, pp. 467-468; Van Leeuwen (Councillor V.V.D.), Handelingen van de Gemeenteraad Rotterdam 1970 19-8-1970, p. 469; Van der Vlerk (Councillor P.v.d.A.) Handelingen van de Gemeenteraad Rotterdam 1970 19-8-1970, pp. 470-471; Mrs. Diemer-Lindeboom (Councillor A.R.P.), Handelingen van de Gemeenteraad Rotterdam 1970 19-8-1970, p. 473; Burger (Councillor C.H.U.), Handelingen van

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<sup>191</sup> Jettinghoff (Alderman P.v.d.A.), Handelingen van de Gemeenteraad Rotterdam 1971 30-9-1971, p. 544

<sup>192</sup> G. Kleijn, *De Staat van de Stadsvernieuwing*, Vakgroep Stadsstudies R.U.U., Amsterdam 1985, p. 142

<sup>193</sup> W. Kooyman, J.H. van den Broek & students Architecture, *De Tijd/Maasbode* 21-5-1971; Local planning department, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 20-6-1974; J.G. van der Ploeg (Alderman Urban Renewal, P.v.d.A.), *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 24-12-1974; G. Kleijn, *De Staat van de Stadsvernieuwing*, Vakgroep Stadsstudies R.U.U., Amsterdam 1985, p. 142

<sup>194</sup> P. van de Laar, *Stad van Formaat*, Waanders Uitgevers, Zwolle 2000, e.g. p. 544

<sup>195</sup> City council Rotterdam, *Beleidsnota 1975*, Volgnummer 373, 1974, p. 6

<sup>196</sup> City council Rotterdam, *Structuurplan Rotterdam binnen de Ruit 1978*, pp. 19, 20, 83, 112

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- <sup>197</sup> City council Rotterdam, Beleidsnota 1975, Volgnummer 373, 1974, pp. 2-3; City council Rotterdam, Structuurplan Rotterdam binnen de Ruit 1978
- <sup>198</sup> City council Rotterdam, Structuurplan Rotterdam binnen de Ruit 1978, p. 18
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- <sup>200</sup> City council Rotterdam, Structuurplan Rotterdam binnen de Ruit 1978, pp. 3, 6, 8
- <sup>201</sup> City council Rotterdam, Structuurplan Rotterdam binnen de Ruit 1978, pp. 6, 8
- <sup>202</sup> City council Rotterdam, Structuurplan Rotterdam binnen de Ruit 1978
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- <sup>206</sup> City council Rotterdam, Beleidsnota 1975, Volgnummer 373, 1974, p. 5 & in: City council Rotterdam, Structuurplan Rotterdam binnen de Ruit 1978, p. 60
- <sup>207</sup> City council Rotterdam, Structuurplan Rotterdam binnen de Ruit 1978, pp. 19, 97
- <sup>208</sup> City council Rotterdam, Beleidsnota 1975, Volgnummer 373, 1974, pp. 5-8 & in: City council Rotterdam, Structuurplan Rotterdam binnen de Ruit 1978, pp. 19, 60
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- <sup>214</sup> City council Rotterdam, Structuurplan Rotterdam binnen de Ruit 1978, p. 83
- <sup>215</sup> City council Rotterdam, Structuurplan Rotterdam binnen de Ruit 1978, p. 20
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- <sup>217</sup> City council Rotterdam, Structuurplan Rotterdam binnen de Ruit 1978, p. 20
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- <sup>222</sup> City council Rotterdam, Structuurplan Rotterdam binnen de Ruit 1978, pp. 19, 97
- <sup>223</sup> City council Rotterdam, Structuurplan Rotterdam binnen de Ruit 1978, pp. 20, 112
- <sup>224</sup> City council Rotterdam, Structuurplan Rotterdam binnen de Ruit 1978, p. 20
- <sup>225</sup> City council Rotterdam, Structuurplan Rotterdam binnen de Ruit 1978, p. 19
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# Chapter 6 Amsterdam: the Metro

## Provocation

*Amsterdam started its history seven centuries ago by filling in and building a barrage in the Amstel. Since then, they can not stop doing it .... We have managed to defend ourselves against an attack from the direction of the police, ruled by Kaasjager, implying the filling in of almost every canal in the old city. Kaasjager became a term of abuse. But now, again, things are brewing in Amsterdam...they want to fill in more ... because they want to construct a junction of metro lines just in front of Centraal Station<sup>1</sup>.*

Amsterdammers have a memory like an elephant: they do not forget anything, especially not bad things. And they are not that quiet either. ‘*The Amsterdammer is difficult*’, former Mayor Van Hall told Prince Claus of the Netherlands<sup>2</sup>, and indeed, Amsterdammers criticized, groused, discussed, quarrelled, took each other by the throat and bashed each other’s brains in over even the smallest details, as long as the issue concerned Amsterdam, NATO, Castro or Vietnam<sup>3</sup>. So following the Amsterdam tradition, when city planners proposed to construct a metro, many Amsterdammers almost exploded, rekindling the impassioned debate about the future of Amsterdam.

In 1966 *Bureau Stadsspoorweg* ,( Urban Railway Department) presented its plan for an underground metro network<sup>4</sup>. One of the main goals was to feed workers from all residential areas to the CBD, and for that, four lines were proposed: one from north to south, one from east to the south-east (*Bijlmermeer*), one from east to west, and a ring-line<sup>5</sup>. They would start with the east line, right through a 19<sup>th</sup> century neighbourhood - *Nieuwmarkbuurt*, which was already on the list to be demolished for a wide traffic road and the expanding CBD, as part of the *Rebuilding Schemes*<sup>6</sup>.

In 1952, at the town hall and Southern Church, Professor C. van Eesteren, chief of the Public Works department in Amsterdam, presented seven out of eight rebuilding schemes that were considered necessary for reconstructing the inner city: the former Jewish neighbourhood, *Bickerseiland*, Eastern Isles (*Kattenburg*, *Wittenburg* and *Oostenburg*), *Weesperstraat* and *Nieuwmarkt*. After comprehensive redevelopment residences, businesses and industries would be zoned. The eighth scheme was for the *Jordaan*, but was not yet finished. Immediately, a few historical associations (*Amstelodamum*, *Bond Heemschut*, *Vereniging Hencrick de Keyzer* and *Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap*) wrote a letter to mayor and aldermen, asking them to be careful with breaches and to preserve rather than fill in the beautiful canals, *Snoekjesgracht* and *Krom Boomsloot*<sup>7</sup>



In 1967, two incompatible alternatives were presented. David A. Jokinen, an American traffic specialist, proposed an alternative in a publication called *Geef de Stad een Kans* ('Give the city a chance'), written to celebrate the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of *Leonard Lang's Automobielbedrijven N.V.* (a car dealership). Jokinen wanted to ease the traffic congestion that suffocated the CBD by constructing major highways into this CBD, and the AMTRO system, an alternative to the metro. Figuratively speaking, this almost killed some of the famous Dutchmen united in the organization *Amsterdaad '75*<sup>8</sup>. It is highly remarkable that former Mayor d'Ailly had managed to shake off the yoke of once having been a progressist city planner conspiring with Kaasjager (Chapter 4), as he was now an active member of *Amsterdaad*. *Amsterdaad* wanted to preserve the city and save it from an underground railway system – or any other large-scale public transport system. As many as 110,430 people signed *Amsterdaad's* petition, which may partly have been the result of many activists being still out and about because of a discussion ('*Ban de Bank*') a year earlier about a colossal bank that was to be built in the *Vijzelstraat*<sup>9</sup>. But even if one takes into account those who sent dozens of copies of their own signature, it was clear that many people supported the ideas of *Amsterdaad*<sup>10</sup>. And although the metro scheme was approved in 1968<sup>11</sup>, *Amsterdammers* being *Amsterdammers*, this did not shut them up. The summer was going to be rough.

One dry hammer-stroke of Mayor d'Ailly, and the council had poisoned the city with a factory quarter between the Waag [weigh-house, C.R.] and Town hall ..... a shameful act (culturalist, 1954).<sup>12</sup>

Wie heeft het lef om te zeggen: 'Laat Amsterdam maar barsten!?'  
 Maar even zo goed schieten de barsten door het centrum van Amsterdam. Kille nieuwbouw-kantoren wringen zich tussen oude geveltjes. Als oude invaliden staan historische huizen in de krukken van stutbalken. Log verkeer ploegt zich door straten die dat geweld nauwelijks kunnen verdragen. Achter bonte affiche-schuttingen liggen ruines opgebaard. Wie zich iets aan Amsterdam gelegen laat liggen, zet z'n handtekening onder het programma van *Amsterdaad '75*. (...)  
 Dôen, *Amsterdammers!*<sup>13</sup>

## ***Urban ideal images***

For the fourth time, the undertone of all contributions was very optimistic. All urban intellectuals and all city planners wanted to realize a flourishing city, and no-one seemed to question that rose-tinted picture. Of course, there were many controversial differences of opinion about how that should be realized, but all ideas were intended to achieve that same level 1 of their urban ideal image: a flourishing future Amsterdam.

## The urban ideal image of culturalists

Who wants to stay at the standard of the Middle Ages? (progressist)<sup>14</sup>

With all their heart, culturalists wanted to create a future city that looked like the Amsterdam of the past – that is, like the Amsterdam of the past they hoped it had been. They idealized a future city with a historic, cultural heart, a city that would be suffused with a spirit of history and community. In order to achieve that goal, they formulated numerous other elements, which all belonged to level 3 of their urban ideal image. Compared to period 1, these elements on level 3 had changed, but only a little, and only because they presumed that these elements would increase their chances of realizing levels 2 and 1 of their urban ideal image. *“We should make the inner city like she used to be in the past: a lively and at the same time quiet piece of urban space, a splendid collection of gems”*<sup>15</sup>.

The Amsterdam metro will be technically ultra-modern (city planners)<sup>16</sup>

The future inner city should be historic, with people living peacefully, with children playing on the streets, and true urban public spaces, for example at Dam square<sup>17</sup>. Culturalists still hated the idea of a CBD inside the inner city. *“Before you know it, a Manhattan will have arisen along the IJ”*<sup>18</sup>. Instead, CBD functions should be decentralized or simply dispersed so that the inner city would become a quarter with similar importance as other quarters.

An efficient transport system was not needed, and culturalists were very much against the metro, which had to be eradicated root and branch<sup>19</sup>. The construction of new roads – particularly the radial ones – should be stopped and the existing road pattern preserved or redesigned so that children could play, and adults could dance to beat music on the streets<sup>20</sup>. Some proposed to introduce cars fuelled by washing powder so that instead of exhaust fumes, beautifully coloured soap bubbles would float above the city<sup>21</sup>. Others said that car drivers had to be re-educated and take road safety courses<sup>22</sup>: *“Cars can only come in if they know how to behave themselves”*<sup>23</sup>. Others thought of more drastic measurements:<sup>24</sup> *“Closing the inner city to cars is unfeasible? Why?”*<sup>25</sup> In addition, a city-wide conveyor belt (speed: 15 km p/h) could be constructed on top of existing roads, enabling people to step on and off everywhere and to transport goods<sup>26</sup>. And all agreed that the city should be *given back* to bicycles, pedestrians and small-scaled public transport, including a water tram (*trabostsel*)<sup>27</sup>, which should be separated from motorized traffic to increase safety<sup>28</sup>. As one way to increase safety,

some culturalists (PROVO) advised city planners to buy a large quantity of white bikes, which could be used free of charge; this was known as the *Witte Fietsenplan*.

The function of a road is to transport the user of the road to his destination as quickly as possible (Jokinen, progressist)<sup>29</sup>

Culturalists wanted to create a city as Amsterdam once was, including its former stratification. In their ideal future city, the canal belt would be inhabited by the wealthiest citizens, while workers – or their current equivalents – would occupy the old workers' neighbourhoods – just like in the 17<sup>th</sup>-century.

*For centuries, Amsterdam had a mixed population. Along the canals lived the fortunate. But they disappeared between 1900 and 1940. They sold their canal houses and moved to houses in the suburbs - Het Gooi and Het Sticht. Now, part of the upper class is coming back. Therefore, you should be very happy that [British, C.R.] commercial developers are investing in canal houses. That will lead to the restoration of at least some of the city it once was<sup>30</sup>.*

Moreover, and contrary to 1954, the 19<sup>th</sup>-century physical and social structure should be preserved, too. In these close-knit communities, life would be localized, which would reduce the need for mobility<sup>31</sup>. There, one could bake one's own bread, breed a sheep, live, work, sleep, recreate and read Spinoza and Freud<sup>32</sup>. They would have true identities, and be like a living room:

*Phone booths will be constructed. While phoning, you'll be able to walk through the streets, because the telephone wires will be 300-400 metres long. When you have finished speaking, you'll just drop the receiver and the horn will automatically be shot back to the telephone apparatus<sup>33</sup>.*

Because the rents would be kept low, the current inhabitants could stay in their neighbourhoods, and would not have to move to the dull satellite cities city planners envisaged. Instead, culturalists aimed for what they called a true city: compact, condensed and of limited size<sup>34</sup>.

In general, culturalists wanted the future city to be neither high-rise nor filled with contemporary architecture<sup>35</sup>. Future city plans should be based on both desires and surveys, whereby the latter should be carried out by sociologists, biologists, architectural experts and historians – instead of the technical traffic experts now so frequently involved in planning<sup>36</sup>. For the sake of democracy, it would be best if the inhabitants were to design

future city plans rather than merely participate in the planning process<sup>37</sup>. “*You do want to listen to the real basis, the people, don’t you?!?*”<sup>38</sup>, thereby expecting that these people would support *their* ideals – and not the urban ideal images of city planners or progressists.

**Table 12 Urban ideal images of culturalists Amsterdam period 1 & period 2**

		<b>Elements of urban ideal image</b>	<i>Period 1</i>	<i>Period 2</i>
<b>Level 1</b>			Flourishing city	Flourishing city
<b>Level 2</b>		<b>Position of inner city</b>	Cultural historic centre	Cultural historic centre
		<b>Orientation</b>	Towards the past	Towards the past
		<b>Focus of planning</b>	History & community	History & community
<b>Level 3</b>	<b>G e n e r a l</b>	<b>Basis of planning</b>	Survey & desires	Survey & desires
				Public participation / the public draws up city plans
				City as part of a larger whole: the region
		<b>Architecture</b>	Contemporary	Anti-contemporary
		<b>Main planning actor</b>	Government	Government
		<b>City extension</b>		Compact city
		<b>Border between city and countryside</b>		Sharp
		<b>Accent on city or countryside</b>	City	City
		<b>City size</b>	Limited	Limited
		<b>Height</b>		Limited
		<b>City functions</b>	Zoned	Mixed
		<b>History</b>	Pattern of living riddled with history versus comprehensive redevelopment	Pattern of living riddled with history
		<b>Density</b>	Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city’s edge	Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city’s edge

<b>Level 3</b>	<b>D w e l l i n g</b>	<b>Structure</b>	Dwelling inside the inner city	Decentralized autonomous urban neighbourhoods (garden cities inside the city)
		<b>Housing types</b>		Identifiable houses
				Full attention to public / social housing
		<b>Stratification</b>		Houses for the wealthy on nice locations (canals). Socially mixed population on an urban scale
				Full attention to public/social housing
		<b>Renewal of residential quarters</b>	Comprehensive redevelopment of 19 <sup>th</sup> -century neighbourhoods	Rehabilitation
	<b>L e i s u r e</b>	<b>Green elements</b>	Parks	Parks
		<b>Nature</b>		Inside city
		<b>Use of waterfronts</b>		Commercial: luxurious houses along canals
		<b>Location of recreational areas</b>		
	<b>W o r k</b>	<b>Location</b>	Separated	Mixed
		<b>Industries</b>	Decentralized to accessible industrial areas at city edge	Inside neighbourhoods, not decentralized to industrial areas
	<b>T r a n s p o r t a t i o n</b>	<b>Focus</b>	Accessible urban areas	Anti-rational, fast road system, limit width of roads, transform roads into playgrounds
		<b>Mobility</b>		Limit mobility by localizing life
		<b>Design</b>	Preserved old structure inside city centre. Outside the inner city: rational, non-radial	Preserved structure, non-radial, ring road
		<b>Traffic types</b>		Separated

<b>Level 3</b>	<b>I n n e r c i t y</b>	<b>Main function</b>	Cultural historic: dwelling	Cultural historic: dwelling
		<b>Inner city functions</b>		Mixed
		<b>Location of offices</b>	Outside the inner city	Equally distributed over the whole city
		<b>Accessibility</b>	Low	Low / car-less inner city
		<b>Car traffic</b>	Very limited	Very limited
		<b>Residential function</b>	Large	Large
		<b>Traffic priority</b>	Pedestrians	Pedestrians, bicycles
		<b>Public transport</b>	Trams, transport by water	Small scaled: Trams, transport by water, bus
		<b>Public space</b>		Squares
		<b>Design</b>	Heterogeneous, preserved	Heterogeneous, preserved

*Who were these culturalist intellectuals?*

Culturalists stated that city plans should be drawn up by sociologists, biologists, architectural experts and historians – occupations which frequently reflected their own. Other people who tended to articulate a culturalist urban ideal image were members of action groups and social movements; councillors from the (often new; see Chapter 2) political parties D66, PSP, PPR, KVP<sup>39</sup> and PROVO; people working for institutions related to monuments; human geographers; architects; squatters; artists; inhabitants of the old neighbourhoods; and some journalists working for the newspapers *De Groene Amsterdammer*, *Het Parool*, *Vrij Nederland* and *Nieuws van de Dag*. Moreover, those associated with *Amsterdaad* –superchargers of the debate – were culturalists, too.

PROVO (1965-1967), local Amsterdam political party, anarchistic, antimilitarist.

Kaboutertpartij (1970) ('Pixie party'), arose from PROVO. Local Amsterdam political party, anti-authoritarian, environmentalist.

## The urban ideal image of progressists

The 'Lastige Amsterdammer'<sup>40</sup> is in fact an extraordinarily conservative movement ... After all, we fight for the conservation of something (culturalist)<sup>41</sup>

Progressist urban intellectuals still thought that planning should focus on trade and industry, and they still said they wanted a forward-looking city. "*Who wants to stay at the standard of the Middle Ages?*"<sup>42</sup> To them, looking forward implied a flourishing economic heart, on top of the urban hierarchy and located inside the old inner city<sup>43</sup>.

*In every phase of its development, Amsterdam showed courage and vision to LOOK AHEAD and that is exactly what made development possible. During the ages of sailing ships, it required courage and vision to construct the now world famous canal belt....As road traffic is now blossoming, Amsterdam has to show the courage of the old canal builders to take a next step into the future<sup>44</sup>.*

Indeed, again, all the other elements mentioned were meant to realize these three points, and thus belonged to level 3 of their urban ideal image. Compared to the first debate in Amsterdam, some elements of level 3 had changed, but only a little (table 14).

Thus, progressists still thought that the historic structure had to be demolished<sup>45</sup> "*I still stand behind Kaasjager: fill in 9/10<sup>th</sup> of the canals as soon as possible. Construct wide ring-boulevards. Our children and grandchildren will not care about those canals. And you can always leave a few*"<sup>46</sup>. Offices needed to be located in the inner city, and as decentralizing industries to industrial areas would not yield enough space for the growing heart, the horrible 19<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhoods had to be redeveloped comprehensively<sup>47</sup>.

A heart needs blood, and therefore a fast arterial, and radial, network should be constructed<sup>48</sup>. "*A good traffic circulation for all kinds of traffic is vital for the operation of the city centre*"<sup>49</sup>. In their ideal future city, the growing needs of traffic would be met by constructing more roads<sup>50</sup>. "*The solution lies in a system of roads, which does not pussyfoot around but gives a royal entrance to the CBD*"<sup>51</sup>. Traffic would be zoned<sup>52</sup>, and to keep it moving, a ring-road would be constructed<sup>53</sup>. Entrance to the CBD would be unlimited, but people would be discouraged from taking their cars into the inner city. For that, long-term parking would be prohibited and a metro constructed, although some progressists gave priority to the construction of more roads rather than of a metro<sup>54</sup>. In addition, others thought it was better to construct the AMTRO, which, although it was a little more finely woven, was also a large-scale means of transport<sup>55</sup>.

Apparently, progressists did not care that much about the shape of the city. Some wanted satellite cities<sup>56</sup>, others a city of limited size<sup>57</sup>: “*Amsterdam must never become like London!*”<sup>58</sup> Just a few progressists pleaded for a future city designed by contemporary architects<sup>59</sup>. And the shape of the new neighbourhoods was not described even once.

Progressists said that the future city plans should be based on desires and on surveys carried out specialists, whereby both public and private participators should be involved<sup>60</sup>. Public participation was considered desirable<sup>61</sup>, but as one progressist wrote, somewhat cynically: “*Of course, it is pretty nice to have a chat about all kinds of things, to hold demonstrations and to speak in public, but it is also important that, now and then, something is done in this city*”<sup>62</sup>. Their future city would be part of the region, and part of the rest of the world. And just like as the Rotterdam progressists argued about their city, if Amsterdam flourishes, the whole of the Netherlands will flourish<sup>63</sup>.

**Table 14 Urban ideal images of progressists, Amsterdam period 1 & period 2**

		Elements urban ideal image	<i>Period 1</i>	<i>Period 2</i>
<b>Level 1</b>			Flourishing city	Flourishing city
<b>Level 2</b>		<b>Position of inner city</b>	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy
		<b>Orientation</b>	Towards the future	Towards the future
		<b>Focus of planning</b>	Trade & Industry	Trade & Industry
<b>Level 3</b>	<b>G e n e r a l</b>	<b>Basis of planning</b>	Survey & desires	Surveys & desires
				Public participation
				City as part of a larger whole: the region and the rest of the world
		<b>Architecture</b>	Contemporary, harmonious	Contemporary
		<b>Main planning actor</b>	Government	Government & private parties
		<b>City extension</b>		Satellite city / compact city
		<b>Accent on city or countryside</b>	City	City
		<b>City size</b>		Limited



<b>Level 3</b>	<b>G e n e r a l</b>	<b>History</b>	Keep the past in mind, but focus on the future	Keep the past in mind, but focus on the future
		<b>Density</b>		Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city's edge
	<b>D w e l l i n g</b>	<b>Renewal of residential quarters</b>		Comprehensive redevelopment
		<b>Industries</b>		Decentralized to accessible industrial areas at skirts
	<b>T r a n s p o r t a t i o n</b>	<b>Focus</b>	Fast & efficient transport system	Fast & efficient transport system
		<b>Mobility</b>		Meet mobility needs by constructing new roads
		<b>Design</b>	Rational, radial	Rational, radial, ring-road
		<b>Traffic types</b>	Separated to some extent	Separated
	<b>I n n e r c i t y</b>	<b>Main function</b>	Economic	Economic
		<b>Location of offices</b>	Inside inner city	Inside inner city
		<b>Accessibility</b>	High	High
		<b>Car traffic</b>	Unlimited or discouraged	Unlimited, but discouraged
		<b>Residential function</b>	Limited	Limited
		<b>Traffic priority</b>	Motorists	Motorists
		<b>Public transport</b>	Trams, trolleybuses, metro	Large scaled: metro or AMTRO
		<b>Public space</b>	Squares, fountains	
	<b>Design</b>	Contemporary		

### *Who were these progressist urban intellectuals?*

Economists, real estate developers, investors, shopkeepers' associations located in the inner city, Chamber of Commerce, VVD councillors and members, industrial insurance boards, former aldermen for Businesses, director of Schiphol Airport, director the RAI conference centre, chief commissioner of police, shop-owners, associations for businesses and industry, inhabitants of the 17<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhood Jordaan, the passenger transport companies GBV and NS, former alderman Polak (Finances, Taxes and Artistic Matters), and sometimes journalists (particularly the communist newspaper *De Waarheid* tended to join them in their fight for the construction of a metro). Moreover, Jokinen, one of the initiators of the debate, also held the progressist urban ideal image.

### **The urban ideal image of city planners**

City planners had not changed their focus: they still focussed on trade and industry, and said that they wanted to realize a forward-looking city, with a CBD located in the inner city and on top of the urban hierarchy. Again, city planners aimed at realizing level 2 of their urban ideal image by realizing elements on level 3, which had, compared to period 1, changed a little.

In the ideal future city of city planners, the city's density would increase towards the very centre. It would be the most densely built area, but it should never, ever become like the City in London<sup>64</sup>. Therefore, city planners did not want to build high, and some more dwellings were desired, which implied they needed more space<sup>65</sup>. Therefore, industries had to be relocated to industrial areas on the city's outskirts, and some offices to sub-centres, which would by any means be subordinate in rank<sup>66</sup>. Moreover, as that would not generate enough space, the inner city would be expanded into the 19<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhoods. In some instances, rehabilitation of these neighbourhoods was an option, but comprehensive redevelopment had absolute sway, especially in the *Nieuwmarktbuurt*. There, after the construction of the metro, a brand-new neighbourhood would arise<sup>67</sup>.

A strongly beating economic heart was the core of their ideal, and got priority over everything else. Monuments could be preserved – not in the least because tourism fills the treasury – but only if they would not hamper the inner city's developments. So if something precious were to be discovered while building the metro: bad luck. *"We do not have even a second to linger over historical discoveries. Even if were to find the remains of Gijbrecht van Aemstel, we would continue!"*<sup>68</sup> Officially, city planners aimed at both preservation and progress: *"Mayor Samkalden pointed out that it is not only about saying goodbye or preserving the past, but also about the integration of the past and the future"*<sup>69</sup>, but in fact historic buildings not

listed as a monument, and monuments outside the inner city, simply had a very rough deal<sup>70</sup>.

A fast, efficient, radial transport system would provide the future economic heart with the needed blood cells<sup>71</sup>. The needs would be met by constructing roads, on which traffic would be zoned including a ring-road for motorized traffic and a small ring-road around the inner city for trams<sup>72</sup>. Moreover, to keep the traffic moving, a city-wide metro network would be constructed, which should tempt motorists to leave their cars at home<sup>73</sup>.

Urban neighbourhoods should be airy, light and contain lots of green, as was beautifully illustrated by plans for the construction of the *Bijlmermeer*. In addition, gardens within closed building blocks should be well maintained and some slums in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhoods could be replaced by parks and playgrounds<sup>74</sup>. Houses for the wealthy at nice, first-class locations were desired, but the emphasis was on public housing<sup>75</sup>. In general, urban functions should be separated for reasons of efficiency. Then, inhabitants would not be bothered by noise from businesses, and businesses could expand without being bothered by inhabitants<sup>76</sup>.

In general, as the future Amsterdam would be part of the region and the rest of the world, city planners thought that city plans should be kept flexible and thus adjustable to new, unpredictable developments, insights and techniques, but based on both surveys and desires<sup>77</sup>. A plan was made to establish a large public body – *Groot Amsterdam* ('Greater Amsterdam') – incorporating surrounding municipalities. It would be nice if the public supported their plans, city planners wrote<sup>78</sup>, but public discussions were regarded a burden too<sup>79</sup>: "*We cannot present a single plan without the call for alternatives. But most of the times, the plan is already an alternative, namely an alternative of other alternatives. Thereby, while doing research over and over again, a lot of time is lost*"<sup>80</sup>. Thereby, both private and public partners should be involved with city planning<sup>81</sup>.

It was tried to establish a public body for *Groot-Amsterdam* ('Greater Amsterdam'), including the municipalities of Aalsmeer, Amstelveen, Amsterdam, Diemen, Haarlemmerliede & Spaarnwoude, Haarlemmermeer, Landsmeer, Oostzaan, Ouderamstel & Uithoorn. From the beginning, except for Amsterdam, these municipalities were not that enthusiastic, in particular not the wealthy ones. In May 1995, a referendum was held on which Amsterdammers showed massive resistance. This put the aim to create a conurbation administration in the fridge<sup>82</sup>.

City planners, in line with national planners, thought that in the future, Amsterdam should be clearly bordered from its green countryside, and thereby the Green Heart<sup>83</sup>. The city would be able to grow by *groeikernen* (a Dutch version of satellite cities), which would stay dependent on their donor city, Amsterdam<sup>84</sup>. The phantoms of large megalopolises were Paris and London, and Amsterdam should be an internationally important capital – not a borderless urban conurbation field<sup>85</sup>.

**Table 15 Urban ideal images of culturalists, progressists and city planners, Amsterdam period 2**

		<b>Elements of urban ideal image</b>	<i>Culturalists</i>	<i>Progressists</i>	<i>City planners (1968-1974)</i>
<b>Level 1</b>			Flourishing city	Flourishing city	Flourishing city
<b>Level 2</b>		<b>Position of inner city</b>	Cultural historic centre	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy
		<b>Orientation</b>	Towards the past	Towards the future	Towards the future
		<b>Focus of planning</b>	History & community	Trade & industry	Trade & industry
<b>Level 3</b>	<b>G e n e r a l</b>	<b>Basis of planning</b>	Survey & desires	Surveys & desires	Surveys & desires
					Flexible city plan, not detailed
			Public participation / the public draws up city plans	Public participation	Public support
			City as part of a larger whole: the region	City as part of a larger whole: the region and the rest of the world	City as part of a larger whole: the region & the rest of the world
		<b>Architecture</b>	Anti-contemporary	Contemporary	
		<b>Main planning actor</b>	Government	Government & private parties	Government
		<b>City extension</b>	Compact city	Satellite city/Compact city	Radial belts along arterial roads surrounded by green belts & satellite cities
		<b>Border between city and countryside</b>	Sharp		Sharp

<b>Level 3</b>	<b>G e n e r a l</b>	<b>Accent on city or countryside</b>	City	City	City
		<b>City size</b>	Limited	Limited	Limited
		<b>Height</b>	Limited		Limited
		<b>City functions</b>	Mixed		Zoned, and a little mix
		<b>History</b>	Pattern of living riddled with history	Keep in mind past but focus on the future	Keep in mind past but focus on the future
	<b>Density</b>	Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city's edge	Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city's edge	Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city's edge	
	<b>D w e l l i n g</b>	<b>Structure</b>	Decentralized autonomous urban neighbourhoods (garden cities inside city)		Green, airy, residential urban quarters
		<b>Housing types</b>	Identifiable houses		
			Full attention to public/social housing		Attention to both upscale and public housing
		<b>Stratification</b>	Houses for the wealthy on nice locations (canals). Socially mixed population on an urban scale.		Socially mixed. Houses for the wealthy on nice locations (canal belt)
<b>Renewal of residential quarters</b>		Rehabilitation	Comprehensive redevelopment	Comprehensive redevelopment	

<b>Level 3</b>	<b>L e i s u r e</b>	<b>Green elements</b>	Parks		City parks
		<b>Nature</b>	Inside city		Outside city
		<b>Use of waterfronts</b>	Commercial: luxurious houses along canals		
	<b>W o r k</b>	<b>Location</b>	Mixed		Zoned (little mix)
		<b>Industries</b>	Inside neighbourhoods, not decentralized to industrial areas	Decentralized to accessible industrial areas at skirts	Decentralized to accessible industrial areas
	<b>T r a n s p o r t  a t i o n</b>	<b>Focus</b>	Anti-rational, fast road system, limit width of roads, transform roads into playgrounds	Fast & efficient transport system	Fast & efficient transport system
		<b>Mobility</b>	Limit mobility by localizing life	Meet mobility needs by constructing new roads	Meet mobility needs by constructing new roads
		<b>Design</b>	Preserved structure, radial / non-radial, ring-road	Rational, radial, ring-road	Rational, efficient, radial, ring-road
		<b>Traffic types</b>	Separated	Separated	Separated
	<b>I n n e r c i t y</b>	<b>Main function</b>	Cultural historic: dwelling	Economic	Economic
		<b>Inner city functions</b>	Mixed		Zoned, and a little mix
		<b>Location of offices</b>	Equally distributed over the whole city	Inside inner city	Inside inner city
		<b>Accessibility</b>	Low / car-less inner city	High	High

<b>Level 3</b>	<b>I n n e r c i t y</b>	<b>Car traffic</b>	Very limited	Unlimited, but discouraged	Unlimited, but discouraged
		<b>Residential function</b>	Large	Limited	Limited
		<b>Public transport</b>	Small scaled: trams, transport by water, bus	Large scaled: metro or AMTRO	Large scaled: metro
		<b>Traffic priority</b>	Pedestrians, trams, transport by water	Motorists	Motorists
		<b>Public space</b>	Squares		
		<b>Design</b>	Heterogeneous, preserved		

## **Strategies**

Again, lots of strategies were used to strengthen urban ideal images and to increase the chances of realization. Thereby Rotterdammers and Amsterdammers showed different characters. To put it simply: if one thinks of a class full of children, Rotterdammers behaved as good as gold, while Amsterdammers (and particularly the culturalist schoolkids) were a bloody nuisance.

### **The strategies of culturalists**

According to culturalists, the present historic city centre was the most beautiful in the world, but its existence was threatened to death by modern times and its toys: private cars. These gasoline-burning vehicles not only degraded the air quality and posed physical dangers, but they also caused traffic deaths and bad weather; it was man versus machine on Amsterdam's streets. So-called progress had brought nothing but filled-in canals and destroyed community life<sup>86</sup>. But the current Nieuwmarktbuurt was pretty perfect, despite what city planners and progressists tried to make us believe<sup>87</sup>. *"They can say that it is a rotten neighbourhood. But that is not true. Not at all. It is a typical bit of Amsterdam. Actually, it is the most beautiful bit of Amsterdam"*<sup>88</sup>. So when the Minister of State dared to state that this quarter was dilapidated, they cried in pain over their touched raw nerve: *"It is a disgrace! We live in beautiful houses! Chairman, may this man lie just like that?"*<sup>89</sup>

In spite of all romance, I have to say that it is a dilapidated, old neighbourhood. I warn you against false romance about a neighbourhood that is in any case a dilapidated neighbourhood (alderman Lammers)<sup>90</sup>

Again, the image of the present city was used as a motive for preserving the 19<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhoods. Moreover, they had to be preserved because (a) of liveability and a better environment<sup>91</sup>; (b) people needed these quarters<sup>92</sup>; (c) of the irreversibility of demolished buildings<sup>93</sup> (“*You can rebuild a Bijlmer; you can not rebuild a Nieuwmarktbuurt*”<sup>94</sup>); (d) plans were based on fully outdated facts; and (e) city plans were based on wrong research methods done by the wrong people (technicians, traffic specialists, the local government, economists – in other words not by culturalists), or were based on too little research<sup>95</sup>.

Culturalists said that the inner city had to be preserved because of its cultural historic value<sup>96</sup>, and because people wanted it to be preserved – witness the fact that there was a renewed interest from people to live in and from British real estate developers to invest in the canal belt<sup>97</sup>. The facts were on the side of the culturalists:

*To regard the city centre as a location where social, cultural and economic activities are concentrated, handled and distributed is an outmoded, 19th-century thought. Because of current communication technologies, this is fully unnecessary, while the increasing scale of businesses has closed the door on this concentration of activities*<sup>98</sup>.

So, alas, that’s the way it is, and due to the birth of strong sub-centres, the plan for a flourishing economic heart was simply no longer feasible<sup>99</sup>. In fact, culturalists stated, we should be happy about that, as we would face the gloomiest of futures were we to get a CBD like that in Paris or Los Angeles. Then, poor people and the local milkman would be driven away, making people suffering from nerves. Then, we would have to move to those dull, sleeping suburbs, leaving the city lifeless<sup>100</sup>. So the solution was simple: realize the ideal of the culturalists: “*Today is our last chance to preserve the city! It’s five to twelve!*”<sup>101</sup>

Constructing more roads would attract more traffic; it would not solve the traffic congestion but kill the city, like a *pistol pointed at the heart*<sup>102</sup>. Besides, it was all a matter of valuation: pedestrians and the social and physical historic structures were more valuable than cars, roads, the metro, the economy or technological progress<sup>103</sup>. However, culturalists knew they were not perfect themselves either: after launching into a highly passionate tirade against cars, Maarten Bierman, an activist, ended by saying: “*I can be passionate but I am not a brat*”, whereupon the journalist who had interviewed him remarked: “*Indeed, Maarten is not a brat, in fact*



he is pretty friendly. And he can put things into perspective very well. For example, he owns a car himself<sup>104</sup>.

The Amsterdam metro will be technically ultra-modern (city planners)<sup>105</sup>

It would be most efficient to improve the existing tram and bus network<sup>106</sup> instead of constructing the *metro-mole*<sup>107</sup>. People needed buses and trams<sup>108</sup> and besides, traffic congestion could not be solved by the metro<sup>109</sup>. In addition, at the most hyperbolic edge of the debate, culturalists claimed that, as cities like Stockholm and Rotterdam had shown, a metro would bring us the most horrifying future: molehills and excavations littering the *fragile city* would make the monumental *veterans*<sup>110</sup> collapse like a house of cards, comparable with the storm in February 1953 in Zeeland<sup>111</sup>. “*Wibautstraat, Weesperstraat, Amsteloever and Julianaplein make the metropolitan townsman think they live in Rotterdam. German tourists are surprised at the apparent marks of WWII in Amsterdam. Wrong! Different wars are sweeping through Amsterdam!*”<sup>112</sup> That horrible *tapeworm*<sup>113</sup> would become a financial tragedy, *a bottomless pit*<sup>114</sup>, and guess who was going to pay? The Amsterdammer!<sup>115</sup> They calculated creatively that<sup>116</sup>:

*The metro will cost 2,5 billion guilders. With that, we can buy 10 million French racing bikes with 10 gears, or 10 billiard ice-creams of a quarter, or 250 million bottles of jenever, or 500 star fighters, or give all households in Amsterdam 10,000 guilders. Or we could built 42,000 houses for that*<sup>117</sup>

However, some knew they were exaggerating things, but: “*You cannot visualize the situation gloomy enough. Then, looking back, it won’t be so bad*”<sup>118</sup>.

Culturalists used many creative expressions to spread their message. Unsurprisingly, it was raining when they made that picture to show how awful a CBD would be and, of course, they did not include any cars in their paintings of picturesque canals<sup>119</sup>. On pictures, they wrote texts as though their scapegoats Mayor Samkalden and alderman Lammers said nasty things<sup>120</sup>. They made slogans, posters, placed ads, and wrote songs and poems<sup>121</sup>, the latter frequently written on blank walls in the *Nieuwmarktbuurt*<sup>122</sup>. In response to the *Metro* newspaper distributed by the local authorities, culturalists wrote *The Real Metro Newspaper* with a similar layout but a very different content<sup>123</sup>. They wrote many more<sup>124</sup>, for example *The Hole of Amsterdam, a Brochure full with Metro Misery*<sup>125</sup> and *Metro Mania*<sup>126</sup>, mostly printed on recycled paper. In these brochures and in their own newsletters, many cartoons were drawn<sup>127</sup>. Moreover, culturalists even sold scale models of the metro in kit form, for two guilders, and soon after

city planners had opened the *Metro Exhibition*, culturalists came up with *The Real Metro Exhibition*<sup>128</sup>.

Once, culturalists touched a raw nerve. A couple of construction workers entered two bookstores where an offending poster was for sale. On the poster, a rat was walking with crutches and one wooden leg with the letters CPN on it<sup>129</sup>. It said that rats were ‘*animals that root about in the earth but are not arousing any sympathy by doing so*’. The construction workers demanded that the posters be taken off the walls immediately. “*We earn our money doing an honest job that is in the interest of the whole population of Amsterdam. We will not let people, who apparently think that unemployment is not high enough, take the bread out of our mouth*”<sup>130</sup>. Stimulated by the stature of these construction workers, the posters were hastily ripped off the walls<sup>131</sup>.

Culturalists pretended they had lots of support, and said that spoke for all inhabitants<sup>132</sup> – but were they? “*Well that’s a fine way of carrying on!*” an inhabitant of the Nieuwmarktbuurt shouted during a hearing:

*Demolitions have been stopped because Heemschut and Diogenes stand up for monumental murder of the neighbourhood. But none of these gentlemen is living here. They do not understand how we have to live here. Let them continue demolitions, you cannot let these people live in these slums till 1970!*<sup>133</sup>

Moreover, considering the amount of support they said they had, it was strange that they tried to rouse scientists who did not *have the guts* to join their fight<sup>134</sup>, and to rouse other people by organizing conferences, hearings and teach-ins<sup>135</sup>.

In 't bestuur van Amsterdam  
Zitten kolonialen  
Ze zijn niet links, ook niet rechts  
Ze verraden ons vele malen  
Met hun pet in de hand  
Staan ze stom te buigen  
En verkopen Amsterdam  
Aan die ons uitzuigen  
Net als toen gaat het niet door  
We zullen ons verzetten  
Want wij geven Amsterdam  
Niet aan dollarsletten  
Slopers gaan het water in  
Laat ze dat bedenken  
T gaat er in de toekomst om klare wijn te schenken  
Kom gerust wij staan klaar  
Achter vuilnisbakken

Bruggen gaan weer omhoog  
 Niemand kan ons pakken  
 Net als toen: donder op  
 Sterf maar aan je stenten  
 T hart van Mokum blijf er af  
 Vergis je niet ER KOMT HEIBEL!<sup>136</sup>

Culturalists tried to make friends, but instead made many more enemies, it seems. In general, they denigrated city planners and progressists, and in particular ‘*those mad communist in the CPN*’ for standing up for 450 metro workers – half of them being high officials, *and* those madmen living in the suburbs shouting that they want the metro but not having even the slightest legitimate reason to intervene in the discussion<sup>137</sup>. Their scapegoat was Han Lammers<sup>138</sup>, as though it were him alone who wanted to construct the metro. They spoke of ‘*the caves of Han*’, and made posters like: “*Wanted: Han Lammers .... for deportation of communities and clearing whole wards, false information, and etcetera*”<sup>139</sup>. Moreover, motorists had to suffer: “*It is a matter of driving them to distraction, small harassments, a remark like ‘Did you enjoy waiting for the traffic lights this morning?’*”<sup>140</sup> Off and on, alderman De Wit, Mayor Samkalden and the Public Works Department had the honour of performing the same scapegoat role, calling them *S.S.*<sup>141</sup>, the *Battle of the Bulge of demolishers*<sup>142</sup>, *rude, mad, criminal, cowardly, intimidating, blackmailing, manipulating, or demagogues*<sup>143144</sup>. So it was not that impressive when they curried favour with city planners, saying that they knew they would be brave enough to stop constructing the metro<sup>145</sup>. But in general, culturalists conspired with whomever they could<sup>146</sup>, writing petitions and reports together<sup>147</sup>. Amsterdam *Kabouters* even dared to conspire with fellow culturalists in Rotterdam<sup>148</sup>. So it was not too smart to, once in a while, denigrate Rotterdammers too: “*Beetles, moles, worms and Rotterdammers can be put under, but Amsterdammers can’t!*”<sup>149</sup> And their heroes were Victor Gruen, Roel van Duijn (the main *Kabouter* ideologist), Jane Jacobs, David Gurin and, still – as in 1954 – Jan Veth<sup>150</sup>.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the rivalry between Amsterdam and Rotterdam was hardly distinguishable from opposition .... The rivalry between Feijenoord and Ajax led to true excesses .... Exchanging sour, bitter, snide remarks between the two cities became part of our national folklore (Roegholt, Amsterdammer)<sup>151</sup>

ij, ij amsterdam  
 amstel in, amstel uit,  
 een dam,  
 een volk nam  
 samkalden kwam  
 dag Amsterdam!<sup>152</sup>

Culturalists wrote many letters to mayor, aldermen and councillors asking them to stop constructing the metro, to study alternative plans first, or to study them again<sup>153</sup>. They said plans contained inaccuracies and could therefore not be executed<sup>154</sup>. They hunted for secrets and made them public whenever possible, emphasizing that city planners should not keep things secret from them, the people<sup>155</sup>. Culturalists refused to obey and refused to talk to Samkalden or Lammers, and when the culturalist architects Van Eyck and Bosch were commissioned by city planners to design a plan for a comprehensively redeveloped Nieuwmarktbuurt, they instead draw one for a preserved neighbourhood – and without a metro<sup>156</sup>. They emphasized their own importance<sup>157</sup>: “*We are not an action group just like that. The core of the Lastige Amsterdammer consists of scientists, economists, biologists, sociologists and city planners and urban developers. Our basis is the newest scientific literature and insights*”<sup>158</sup>. They even looked to the national government for help, asking it to investigate Mayor Samkalden’s performance regarding the metro – because he had shown himself not objective enough to veto the metro – and to visit their neighbourhood so that the minister could find out that it was not that bad as city planners said it was<sup>159</sup>. And when it seemed impossible to stop the construction work, some dare-devils even tried to reach a compromise by proposing alternative routes<sup>160</sup>.

**Nieuwmarktbuurt:  
de allerslechtsten  
zijn de linksvermomde rechtsen  
die met valse tong  
en eindeloos zwammen  
nog steeds de strijd  
voor recht, vrede en vrijheid  
weten in te dammen  
voorwaar, zij zijn erger dan de rest  
mijdt ze daarom als de pest<sup>161</sup>**

Culturalists were the champions of words, as a journalist correctly remarked<sup>162</sup>, but when words did not have the effect they had had in mind, they undertook more harsh strategies. With their own radio transmitter<sup>163</sup>, they urged their fellow fighters to join the countless demonstrations and actions including serious riots against the construction of the metro and the demolitions it implied<sup>164</sup>. But the pot was calling the kettle black: culturalists demolished things, too<sup>165</sup>. They boarded up the front door of Han Lammers’ home<sup>166</sup>, physically attacked opponents, destroyed cars, demolition machines and pile drivers, and filled in holes that had been dug for metro caissons<sup>167</sup>. They erected makeshift roadblocks of sticks, stones, bricks, branches and car

wrecks on major arteries leading into the city during rush hour; they flew a small plane above the inner city towing a banner that said “*Metro is Murder – Save the City*”<sup>168</sup>; they put a blindfold over the eyes of the statue of the influential former alderman Florentinus Marinus Wibaut (SDAP), because they thought he would have been extremely embarrassed by the current city plans; and they advised cyclists to carry plastic bombs with them so that if they got hit by a vehicle, the motorist would not survive the accident either<sup>169</sup><sup>170</sup>. Moreover, culturalists carried banners into council meetings and, unlike the Rotterdammers, disturbed them too, or hung banners between houses<sup>171</sup> and they squatted houses<sup>172</sup>. However, some culturalists, being unfavourably disposed towards these harsh strategies, thought the fight for support should be done by words only<sup>173</sup>.

According to culturalists, the world could be changed into a perfect one, if only everyone would support their views and ideals<sup>174</sup>. Thus, people had to realize that there were only two choices: a humane city or a city where humans were mere numbers<sup>175</sup>; a flourishing historic inner city or an economic, declining, dying one<sup>176</sup>. Death, as always, would be irreversible, so we had to join forces<sup>177</sup>.

*De metro molt Mokum,  
Amsterdam is een metro-poel,  
metro betekent: uw geld naar de groten,  
uw stad naar de kloten*<sup>178</sup>

## The strategies of progressists

Progressists used lots of sombre colours when painting the present city; it was all trouble and affliction. The enormous bulk of historic buildings in the inner city sapped the city’s energy. They might have functioned well in the Golden Age, but now these structures made the city stagnate, run down and crumble away, forcing businesses, tourists and inhabitants to flee the city. Even worse, gigantic traffic chaos swept the city, resulting in snail-paced rush-hours on the area’s motorways<sup>179</sup>. Progressists plundered the medical dictionary once more, and said that the situation of the patient was critical: “*It is five to twelve!*”<sup>180</sup>, but rescueable if it were be innovated, now!<sup>181</sup> “*The heart of Amsterdam is still beating but it gets weaker and weaker*”<sup>182</sup>. And the motive that economy should given priority *because of* cultural history was obviously addressed to culturalists: “*Only an inner city where money is made can maintain its beauty*”<sup>183</sup>.

To regard the city centre as a location where social, cultural and economic activities are concentrated, handled and distributed is an outmoded, 19th-century thought. Because of current communication technologies, this is fully unnecessary, while the increasing scale of businesses has closed the door on this concentration of activities (culturalist)<sup>184</sup>

Progressists argued that the metro had to be constructed because it was the most efficient means of transport<sup>185</sup>. Besides, too much money and efforts had already been invested, so it was too late to stop the construction<sup>186</sup>. Moreover, people needed the metro<sup>187</sup>, and it was needed because of the environment, to reduce exhaust fumes<sup>188</sup>. The metro was inevitable<sup>189</sup>: *“It needs no discussion that the capital needs a metro. If only because of the city-of-the-future: the Bijlmermeer”*<sup>190</sup> and, if one calculated a little creatively, its capacity was comparable to a 12-lane motorway or a 25 km traffic jam<sup>191</sup>. Besides, the metro may seem expensive, but was still cheaper than traffic congestions: if one only counted the hours spent in a traffic jam, the costs would be covered<sup>192</sup>. And what a gloomy future the city would have if it lacked a metro: *“If the near future will not bring a reliable and fast public transport system, Amsterdam will irrevocable sink back to second and maybe even third rank of European cities, become the ‘Enkhuizen of Europe’”*<sup>193</sup>. Their attempt to get the metro constructed received support from journalists working for the communist newspaper *De Waarheid*, which they happily accepted<sup>194</sup>. Just a few progressists disagreed, saying that the metro in Rotterdam, with its decreasing passenger numbers, proved that Dutch cities were too small for a metro; that they had found inaccuracies in the metro plans; and that their own research had proven that the AMTRO system was much cheaper than the metro<sup>195</sup>. But they were outnumbered: *“We can envy Rotterdam for its metro”*<sup>196</sup>.

Progressists managed to think of reasons that should appeal to culturalists. So they said that more roads should be constructed for environmental reasons, as new techniques meant that cars of the future will not cause any pollution<sup>197</sup>. Moreover, new roads were necessary because of cultural history. *“Motorways can save the monuments of the inner city”*<sup>198</sup>. Besides (now concentrating on city planners), roads were simply inevitable<sup>199</sup>: *‘cars feed the heart as a bloodstream that has to reach all cells’*<sup>200</sup>. Moreover, people simply needed their cars<sup>201</sup> and they could not think of anyone who would be against lots of cars parked along canals in the future: *“An eyesore? Now honestly, our children and grandchildren will not mind that. They are raised now and raised in a car. They think that is normal”*<sup>202</sup>. If we do not construct more roads, a dead monument with canals will arise, and the inhabitants will have to walk on wooden shoes in order to offer a tourist attraction to the Japanese<sup>203</sup>. Indeed, their vision was the city centre as a picturesque neighbourhood<sup>204</sup> - the ideal of culturalists.

Although progressists were not as creative as culturalists, they nevertheless managed to take pictures of desolate shopping streets (at six o'clock on a Sunday morning?), a close-up of a boarded window, and a highly congested street in Amsterdam (after a car accident?), adding that this would be our future if we did not support their ideas<sup>205</sup>. In addition, they wrote slogans like "*Amsterdam, think about your heart!*"<sup>206</sup> and used the present tense to convince their opponents: "*Imagine driving from The Hague to Amsterdam, past sparkling Schiphol in the evening, then driving past the inner-city buildings with their gorgeous illuminated advertisements*"<sup>207</sup>. Furthermore, they organized a few conferences<sup>208</sup>.

Progressists made culturalists their enemies by denigrating them for being soreheads, for holding lengthy debates without any experts, for being anti-socialistic and anti-communistic, and for destroying the city with their restoration mania<sup>209</sup>. "*They look back on slavery with disgust, but the property erected by slave traders with the profits they earned from slave trading are cherished as monuments*"<sup>210</sup>. Therefore, on those rare occasions when trying to curry favour with culturalists, saying that they fully understood their concerns about the historic inner city, they looked a bit odd<sup>211</sup>. Remarkably, like culturalists, a few progressists gave Victor Gruen a warm welcome<sup>212</sup> and mused on the days of alderman Den Uyl in the early 1960s: "*Den Uyl at least pulled businesses to the city*"<sup>213</sup>. Current city planners were denigrated for being too slow, for not carrying us a step further, and for listening too much to the culturalist soreheads<sup>214</sup>. To express their opinion, they sent letters and petitions to the local planning council<sup>215</sup>, emphasizing their own importance and expertise<sup>216</sup>. They threatened to conspire with all specialists and people involved, but apparently never did so<sup>217</sup>. Moreover, they assumed they had lots of support<sup>218</sup>, but sometimes included not too convincing statements from specialists:

*Amsterdammers will be extremely proud of the metro ... Everywhere in the world, people turn out to be proud of their metro after it is finished ... You will see that Amsterdammers will proudly invite their friends from Rotterdam ... Honestly, they will be proud of the metro!*<sup>219</sup>

According to progressists, things were so simple: it was a choice between circulation and stagnation<sup>220</sup>, between a modern flourishing economic heart and a preserved, declining, dying centre<sup>221</sup>. "*Where there's a will, there's a way*"<sup>222</sup>. And thus they said to the whole city, using the metaphor of the human body again: *Amsterdam, think about your heart!*<sup>223</sup>

## The strategies of city planners

Do we really still need to prove that the idea behind the metro – namely many offices in the city centre – is completely outdated? (culturalist)<sup>224</sup>

City planners faced considerable perils and pressures, and their strategy was to fight back, to convince their opponents of the rightness of their urban ideal image. Thereby, the image of the present city was often used as a motive. City planners described the current Amsterdam as ‘the centre of the country’. True, they were the first to admit that Amsterdam had some problems. Its economic importance had declined, wealthy citizens had suburbanized and its ramshackle 19<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhoods were a real shame, particularly the *Nieuwmarktbuurt*. “*In spite of all romance, I have to say that it is a dilapidated, old neighbourhood. I warn you against false romance about a neighbourhood that is in any case a dilapidated neighbourhood*”<sup>225</sup>. What truly bothered city planners was the growth of influential sub-centres – especially the one in the south of Amsterdam – which were threatening the city center’s position on top of the urban hierarchy<sup>226</sup>. However, that world could be changed, and if we all work together<sup>227</sup>, we can make the urban body healthy again<sup>228</sup>. But time was pressing<sup>229</sup>.

Cars should get some more space, or else the city would become most gloomy: a deadly open-air museum<sup>230</sup>. Besides, cars were inevitable for a healthy economic heart<sup>231</sup>. However, it was unnecessary to construct countless new roads because there was no traffic chaos, as progressists stated, but just traffic congestion on some roads.

The metro had to be constructed because too much money and effort had already been spent<sup>232</sup> partly because city planners had started constructing the metro before the local council had discussed it, which was justified by saying: “*It would have shown little foresight if we would not have done that*”<sup>233</sup>. City planners were obviously addressing culturalists when they stated that the metro should be built because then they would have to construct fewer roads and therefore could demolish fewer historic buildings and structures<sup>234</sup>. But culturalists were truly wrong, city planners said, to compare the metro with a mole: the metro was a caterpillar, not leaving any molehills behind<sup>235</sup>. Moreover, city planners questioned research not supporting their plans. “*Although the cost-benefit analysis is not finished yet, the mayor and aldermen have already raised objections against this analysis*”<sup>236</sup>. Quite shockingly, they openly questioned the use of the scientific research done by order of the national government into the pros and cons of constructing the east line, as they themselves had decided long ago to complete it<sup>237</sup>. They wanted the National Economic Institute (NEI) to execute research that would support their plan, and snarled: “*The NEI has*



*not finished its homework yet*"<sup>238</sup>. Besides, it was clear that people simply needed a metro<sup>239</sup>. Moreover, remarkably, while culturalists used the situation in Stockholm as a reason for not wanting to construct a metro, city planners concluded from a trip to that city that it was an *excellent* system, *extremely popular*, and the very best reason why Amsterdam should construct a metro too<sup>240</sup>. Polak, alderman for finances, checked the sums again:

*What is the alternative if we say that the metro is too expensive? Is the alternative a cheaper means of transport? But cheaper often means worse. Of course, we can say: this metro is too expensive so we will not do anything. But then a financial lack results in powerlessness*<sup>241</sup>.

Sometimes, city planners' strategies became all too transparent. Until 1975, city planners said that for reasons of efficiency, a city-wide metro network had to be constructed. But then in 1975, they said that for reasons of efficiency, instead of a metro network, just the east line and an improved bus and tram network should be realized<sup>242</sup>. Moreover, city planners stated that the current route was inevitable because alternative routes were not possible. But a few times they had to recant this statement and admit that they had been wrong<sup>243</sup>. They then tried to ease the pain by saying that there may be alternatives, but that they were very, very, very undesirable<sup>244</sup>.

"*This is our last chance and an emergency!*", city planners shouted desperately<sup>245</sup>. They distributed the *Metrokrant* ('Metro newspaper') in which they propagated the metro. They riddled it with fancy pictures of the future city – and a horrible one of what the AMTRO would look like – and wrote in the present tense as though it was all realized already and did not need any further discussion<sup>246</sup>. At exhibitions they showed scale models of the new *Nieuwmarktbuurt*. From this scale model, it was very hard to find out how many houses would be demolished, as culturalists complained quite rightly<sup>247</sup>. City planners organized hearings and teach-ins<sup>248</sup>, and made their own, modest physical expressions: they opened the metro tunnels for a few days so that the public could walk through them, organized exhibitions inside the tunnels and gave free rides. And when these rides turned out to be very popular, city planners concluded that there was lots of support for the metro<sup>249</sup>.

City planners made enemies when they denigrated progressists for overdoing things, for not being able to present facts, and for nagging<sup>250</sup>. But culturalists were overdoing things even more, city planners said, by pretending as though beautiful elements, which in fact were heaps of rubble, would be destroyed. They got hot under the collar over a few so-called monuments, and they denigrated them for their slanderous talk, for talking nonsense and for being ill-informed<sup>251</sup>. Besides, some of the culturalists'

arguments were utter nonsense: they said they were against the metro because it would enlarge the CBD, but the fact was that the CBD had already spread its wings into the 19<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhoods<sup>252</sup>. So, unsurprisingly, the city planners' attempts to curry favour with culturalists for their involvement and useful discussions, by telling them that they shared the same goals, appeared not to have too much effect<sup>253</sup>.

Sometimes, city planners kept the enquiry procedure short (i.e. 2 weeks or 6 weeks), which was not against the law, despite requests from culturalists to make it longer. Other times, they planned the enquiry procedure for holiday periods as though they wanted to limit the number of reactions to their plans, for which culturalists condemned them<sup>254</sup>. Of course, they used their own editorial power in city plans and brochures. Moreover, they invited only a limited number of certain specialists to non-public discussions about city plans or refused advice from advisory councils, like the *Raad van Stedebouw* (Board for Urban Development)<sup>255</sup>. And just like culturalists, city planners, too, sometimes refused to talk<sup>256</sup>, such when Samkalden said that he would not discuss anything anymore with action groups 'as long as they did not keep to the rules of a democratic society'<sup>257</sup>. In addition, after the national government forced them to change their plans radically, city planners were keen to pretend that it did not matter. And nothing was the matter either when, after a couple of months, the estimated costs for the metro quadrupled, and alderman Lammers said indifferently he 'was not impressed' and 'certainly not overly concerned'<sup>258</sup>. But when they could not carry on, they pulled another rabbit out of the hat: they admitted their mistakes and said they were filled with remorse<sup>259</sup>.

Finally, the strategy 'Order!' was used. A conflict arose between the old guard and the new members of the PvdA, on both the local and the national level. And just as in Rotterdam, the new city planners were the first to adopt new elements on level 3 of the urban ideal image; in the case of Amsterdam, against a full metro network<sup>260</sup>. At first, they were called to order for this but, as we shall see, this heralded a true planning turn.

**Table 16 Strategies of culturalists, progressists and city planners, Amsterdam period 2**

	<i>Culturalists</i>	<i>Progressists</i>	<i>City planners</i>
<i>Motives</i>	Image of the present city	Image of the present city	Image of the present city
	Liveability/environment	Liveability/environment	Liveability/environment
	Efficiency	Efficiency	Efficiency
	Cultural history	Cultural history	Cultural history
	Valuation		
	Research methods		Research methods
	Facts	Facts	Facts

<b>Motives</b>	Goal will not be reached	Goal will not be reached	
	Goal cannot be reached		
	Gloomy future	Gloomy future	Gloomy future
		Inevitability	Inevitability
	Last chance/emergency	Last chance/emergency	Last chance/emergency
	International/national examples	International/national examples	International/national examples
		Spent so much time/effort/money	Spent so much time/effort/money
	Irreversible	Irreversible	
	People want it	People want it	People want it
	People need it	People need it	People need it
Short public enquiry procedure			
<b>Creative expression</b>	Brochures		Brochures
	Photos	Photos	Photos
	Songs		
	Poems		
	Cartoons		
	Creative accounting	Creative accounting	Creative accounting
	Posters		
	Drawings & sketches	Drawings & sketches	Drawings & sketches
	Scale models		Scale models
	Lay out reports		Lay out reports
Exhibitions		Exhibitions	
<b>Linguistic expression</b>	Talking & writing	Talking & writing	Talking & writing
		Present tense	Present tense
	Vocabulary	Vocabulary	Vocabulary
	Slogans	Slogans	
	Ads		
<b>Friends &amp; enemies</b>	Editorial power	Editorial power	Editorial power
	Denigrating	Denigrating	Denigrating
	Rousing		
	Heroes	Heroes	
	Scapegoats		
	Lots of us	Lots of us	
	Curry favour	Curry favour	Curry favour
			Just like you
	We can change the world!	We can change the world!	We can change the world!
			Order!

<b><i>Friends &amp; enemies</i></b>	Conspiring	Threaten to conspire	
			Nothing the matter
			Admit failure
<b><i>Gaining power</i></b>	Choice reduction	Choice reduction	
			Advisory councils
	Emphasizing own importance	Emphasizing own importance	
	Compromise		
	Writing letters/signing petitions	Writing letters/signing petitions	
	Inaccuracies	Inaccuracies	Inaccuracies
	Revealing secrets		
	Refuse to talk		Refuse to talk
			Public enquiry procedures during holidays
Approach national government			
<b><i>Physical expression</i></b>	Actions		Actions
	Demonstrations		
	Demolitions		
	Banners		
	Physical attacks		
	Disturbing council meetings		
	Squatting		
	Congress	Congress	Congress

## ***The influence of urban ideal images in the public debate on final city plans***

Reports of local council meeting reveal that councillors, aldermen and mayor were very well informed about the urban ideal images that were articulated in the city debate. They referred to many newspaper articles, journals and books that were part of the debate, and sometimes even on the very day an article was published<sup>261</sup>. Thereby, their references confirmed the identities of urban intellectuals: while councillors of KVP and PSP mentioned the value of articles published in newspapers like the leftist *Vrij Nederland* and actions by *Amsterdaad*, VVD councillors referred to articles written by the economist Delfgaauw, Jokinen's publication, and to articles written by traffic specialists<sup>262</sup>.

Again, mayor and aldermen said they had listened attentively to the interesting considerations, and that they were very happy about all those citizens concerned with the city. “*Mayor Samkalden assured the action group that the five boxes with signatures would be stored carefully. He finds it pleasant that from the action it appears that many people, inside and outside the city, care about Amsterdam*”<sup>263</sup>. But some statements were just so very inaccurate<sup>264</sup>.

*Mister de Cloe (PvdA alderman) says that if Het Parool of yesterday afternoon is to be believed, we start with Act One of a series of gloomy scenes called ‘The Tragedy: City Regeneration’. According to Het Parool, comprehensive redevelopment is a tragedy for the inhabitants of the neighbourhoods concerned. Against this, speaker should state that for him, this is no tragedy at all. Demolishing slums is a good cause ... Dark stories of doom at the very beginning of city regeneration are not appropriate, and equal to burying someone who is not dead yet* <sup>265</sup>.

Alderman De Wit emphasized the short-sightedness of culturalists:

*Speaker wants to add the personal sigh that it is a pity, that in particular Bond Heemschut, who has repeatedly pled for the monuments with so much enthusiasm and love, has overlooked that other aspect, namely, that the inner city does not stay alive if it is not accessible for traffic*<sup>266</sup>.

Until about 1974, urban intellectuals had not that much influence on final city plans – or not at all. But as in Rotterdam, that changed in the years to come.

From about 1973 on, things were brewing inside the ruling party PvdA. A conflict arose over whether a full metro network should be constructed. Councillors Treumann (PvdA), Polak (PvdA) and Riethof (PSP) proposed revoking the decision to construct a metro network and to stop constructing the east line<sup>267</sup>. The old guard was against it, but the CPN was the most furious of all, and both proposals were rejected. But things kept on simmering<sup>268</sup>.

Slowly, things started to change. In 1974 a preliminary sketch of a master plan was presented, in which it was stated that in principle, urban functions should be mixed<sup>269</sup>. It was an important change, and similar to what happened in Rotterdam. But unlike in Rotterdam, nothing else was changed, so while Rotterdam had adopted rehabilitation, the Amsterdam city planners still wanted to drive their demolition vehicles<sup>270</sup>. In 1975, partly as a result of the horrible financial situation of the city and the refusal of the national government to raise financial support<sup>271</sup>, the council decided to

forget about the metro network and to finish only the east line. In addition, the existing bus and tram network had to be improved<sup>272</sup>. But as that would not save the *Nieuwmarktbuurt*, the debate went on. As late as 1975, alderman Lammers sighed that the public managed to produce just as many alternative plans as rabbits produced offspring<sup>273</sup>.

But in 1976, in a traffic scheme, a lexicon was included for the interested laypersons so that they could stick their noses into all kinds of city plans too<sup>274</sup>. Moreover, all kinds of measurements were proposed to slow down or to reduce car traffic. For example, the *woonerf* ('home zone'; the term 'woonerf' was coined in the Dutch town of Emmen around 1963) was introduced, which would make car drivers feel that they were entering someone's home and drive accordingly. And finally, in the 1978 and 1981 master plans, the last couple of changes were presented. Old neighbourhoods would be rehabilitated instead of redeveloped comprehensively, and the condition of these neighbourhoods given was descriptive: suddenly, they were far less ramshackle than they had been in 1968. In 1978, the alderman for Public Works Lammers, the alderman for public housing and social affairs Kuijpers, and Mayor Samkalden made room for Mayor Polak (PvdA), alderman Van der Vlis (PvdA) for urban planning, and alderman Schaefer (PvdA) for urban rehabilitation. The planning turn was sealed with a changing of the guard.

The massing of voices protesting the metro had alerted city planners to the need to change level 3 of their urban ideal image. With that, the well-known planning turn was indeed a turn, and concerned elements of level 3 of the urban ideal image – just as in Rotterdam. Mixed urban functions, preserved historic quarters and a small-scale public transport network: they were all meant to realize elements on level 2 and 1 of their urban ideal image. However, as we shall see in the following chapters, just as in Rotterdam, this planning turn did not have eternal life.

Despite the serious protests, which at the best only slowed down construction work, in 1977 the first metro rode over the east line<sup>275</sup>. This fact, together with the statement that houses instead of a road would be constructed on top of the metro line<sup>276</sup>, finally took the steam out of the debate<sup>277</sup>. Of course, Amsterdammers being Amsterdammers, they complained about the metro. Some stops were too windy, and there was some vandalism inside the metro. But in general, people using the metro were quite satisfied: the metro was fast and its schedule reliable<sup>278</sup>. As if to reward the public, the government paid an artist to incorporate the people's protests against the metro in brickwork at Nieuwmarktbuurt station. With its unveiling in 1979, the debate had truly ended<sup>279</sup>. The protests had influenced the personal lives of those involved with the metro too:

*It looks like you're a criminal if you work for the metro. Even among friends, you do not dare to mention the word metro. I just do not talk*

*about my work anymore. And who will guarantee that there is not a bomb underneath my car? This is a rotten time!*<sup>280</sup>

But for alderman Lammers, things were crystal clear. He said he doubted whether the protests against the metro had been a public protest:

*I had no doubt that the Amsterdam people wanted that we kept on constructing the metro. But we did take the protests seriously (....) For me, the anti-parliamentary attitude, manifesting itself in action groups, has determined the stubbornness with which I thought council decisions had to be executed. (....) We have not failed*<sup>281</sup>.

And until his death in 2000, he kept on repeating that very same statement<sup>282</sup>.

**Table 17 Urban ideal images of city planners, Amsterdam period 1 & period 2**

		<b>Elements of urban ideal image</b>	<i>Period 1</i>	<i>1965-1974</i>	<i>1978</i>
<b>Level 1</b>			Flourishing city	Flourishing city	Flourishing city
<b>Level 2</b>		<b>Position of inner city</b>	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy <sup>283</sup>
		<b>Orientalion</b>	Towards the future	Towards the future	Towards the future
		<b>Focus of planning</b>	Trade & Industry	Trade & Industry	Trade & Industry
<b>Level 3</b>	<b>G e n e r a l</b>	<b>Basis of planning</b>	Survey & desires	Surveys & desires	Surveys & desires <sup>284</sup>
				Flexible city plan, not detailed	Flexible city plan, not detailed <sup>285</sup>
			City as part of a larger whole: the region and the world	City as part of a larger whole: the region & the rest of the world	City as part of a larger whole: the region and the rest of the world <sup>286</sup>
				Public support	Public participation <sup>287</sup>
		<b>Architecture</b>	Contemporary		

<b>Level 3</b>	<b>G e n e r a l</b>	<b>Main planning actor</b>	Government	Government	Government <sup>288</sup>
		<b>City extension</b>		Radial belts along arterial roads surrounded by green belts & satellite cities	Radial belts along arterial roads surrounded by green belts & satellite cities <sup>289</sup>
		<b>Border between city and countryside</b>		Sharp	Sharp <sup>290</sup>
		<b>Accent on city or countryside</b>	City	City	City
		<b>City size</b>		Limited	Limited <sup>291</sup>
		<b>Height</b>		Limited	
		<b>City functions</b>	Zoned	Zoned, and a little mix	Mixed <sup>292</sup>
		<b>History</b>	Keep the past in mind, but focus on the future	Keep the past in mind, but focus on the future	If not hampering the economy and good alternatives available: preserved urban quarters and monuments <sup>293</sup>
	<b>Density</b>		Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city's edge		
	<b>D w e l l i n g</b>	<b>Structure</b>		Green, airy, residential urban quarters	
<b>Housing types</b>			Attention to both upscale and public housing	Attention to both upscale and public housing <sup>294</sup>	



<b>Level 3</b>	<b>D e w e l l i n g</b>	<b>Stratification</b>		Socially mixed. Houses for the wealthy on nice locations (canal belt)	Socially mixed, with large and small families. Houses for the wealthy on nice locations (canal belt) <sup>295</sup>
		<b>Renewal of residential quarters</b>	Comprehensive redevelopment	Comprehensive redevelopment	Rehabilitation <sup>296</sup>
	<b>L e e i s u r e</b>	<b>Green elements</b>	Parks	City parks	City parks <sup>297</sup>
		<b>Nature</b>		Outside city	Outside city <sup>298</sup>
	<b>W o r k</b>	<b>Location</b>	Zoned	Zoned	Mixed <sup>299</sup>
		<b>Industries</b>	Decentralized to accessible industrial areas at city's edge	Decentralized to accessible industrial areas at city's edge	Decentralized to accessible industrial areas at city's edge <sup>300</sup>
	<b>T r a n s p o r t</b>	<b>Focus</b>	Fast & efficient transport system	Fast & efficient transport system	Fast & efficient transport system <sup>301</sup>
		<b>Mobility</b>		Meet mobility needs by constructing roads	Limit mobility by localizing life <sup>302</sup>
		<b>Design</b>	Rational, radial	Rational, radial, ring-road	Rational, radial, ring-road <sup>303</sup>
		<b>Traffic types</b>		Separated	Separated <sup>304</sup>
	<b>I n n e r c i t y</b>	<b>Main function</b>	Economic	Economic	Economic <sup>305</sup>
		<b>Inner city functions</b>		Zoned, and a little mix	Mixed <sup>306</sup>
		<b>Location of offices</b>	Inside inner city	Inside inner city	Inside inner city <sup>307</sup>
		<b>Accessibility</b>	High	High	high <sup>308</sup>
		<b>Car traffic</b>	Unlimited, but discouraged	Unlimited, but discouraged	Discouraged <sup>309</sup>

<b>Level 3</b>	<b>I n n e r c i t y</b>	<b>Residential function</b>	Limited	Limited	Moderate <sup>310</sup>
		<b>Traffic priority</b>	Motorists	Motorists	Motorists & public transport <sup>311</sup>
		<b>Public transport</b>	Trams, metro	Large scaled: Metro	Small scaled: trams, busses <sup>312</sup>
		<b>Public space</b>	Squares, fountains, flower decorations, festivals		
		<b>Design</b>	Contemporary, fitting into existing structure		

<sup>1</sup> B. Kroon (co-initiator Amsterdaad), De Tijd/Maasbode 17-12-1971

<sup>2</sup> M. Bierman (Member Action group De Lastige Amsterdammer, which literally means 'The demanding Amsterdammer'), Unknown newspaper 10-4-1970; H. Bakker (Member Action group De Lastige Amsterdammer), Trouw 12-6-1970

<sup>3</sup> V. Lebesque, De Volkskrant 25-2-1974; Flex (Columnist), Trouw 11-5-1968; Unknown journalist & members political party P.S.P., De Tijd 26-4-1968; Unknown journalist, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 31-12-1971; Unknown journalist, Elseviers Weekblad 5-2-1972

<sup>4</sup> Urban Railway Department, Nieuws van de Dag 4-2-1966

<sup>5</sup> Unknown journalist, Nieuw Utrechts Dagblad 17-5-1968

<sup>6</sup> Unknown journalist, De Volkskrant 18-3-1958; Unknown journalist, De Nieuwe Dag 18-3-1958; Unknown journalist, De Volkskrant 19-2-1959; Unknown journalist, Het Vrije Volk 29-1-1965

<sup>7</sup> De Nieuwe Dag 3-2-1953; De Nieuwe Dag 18-9-1952; De Nieuwe Dag 19-9-1952; De Nieuwe Dag 3-2-1953; De Nieuwe Dag 18-9-1952; Het Parool 18-9-1952

<sup>8</sup> Amsterdaad was erected by: mr. A.J. d'Ailly, Onno Broers, drs. W. F. Heinemeyer, H.E. Janssen, H.A.A.R. Knap, Ton Koot, Ben Kroon, Gustav Leonhardt, F.C. Mijnsen, Nico Polak, mr. J. Oranje, Wiek Reuling, Luud Schimmelpennink, J.J. Vriend. Amsterdam was supported by Dutch celebrities: Bernard Haitink, Annie M.G. Smidt, Prof. Dr. Max Euwe, Prof. Ir. J.H. van den Broek, Simon Carmiggelt, Fannie Blankers-Koen, Mies Bouwman, mr. P.J. Mijksenaar, F. de Boer & Bert Haanstra (Sources: Het Parool 6-10-1967; Het Parool 6-10-1967)

<sup>9</sup> A.J. d'Ailly, G. Brinkgreve, B. Kroon, W. Röling, L.C. Schade van Westrum, Amsterdam door de Bank genomen, Uitegeverij de Arbeiderspers, Amsterdam 1967; R. Ploeger, Regulating Urban office provision, Ralph Ploeger, Amsterdam 2004, p. 79; Gemeentebld 1966 (afdeling 2, deel II), 14-12-1966, pp. 1742-1833

<sup>10</sup> Amsterdaad, De Tijd 10-10-1967 & in: Het Vrije Volk 16-10-1967 & Algemeen Handelsblad 31-10-1967; G. Brinkgreve & Amsterdaad, De Tijd 25-11-1967; F.C. Mijnsen, Amsterdaad & I. Samkalden (Mayor), De Tijd 13-12-1967

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<sup>11</sup> Algemeen Handelsblad 27-3-1968; Gemeentebld 1968 (afdeling 2, deel I), p. 814; De Volkskrant 16-5-1968. It was approved with 38 against 3 votes

<sup>12</sup> M.G. Emeis Jr., Nieuws van de Dag 30-10-1954

<sup>13</sup> An appeal to the people to support Amsterdaad, In: Amsterdaad, Unknown newspaper 9-10-1967

<sup>14</sup> Hofstede (Reader's letter), Nieuws van de Dag 19-1-1973

<sup>15</sup> Wessels (Councillor D'66), Nieuws van de Dag 30-9-1970

<sup>16</sup> City planners, Trouw 22-10-1971

<sup>17</sup> Unknown journalist, De Groene Amsterdammer 7-2-1970; T. Koot (Heemschut), Nieuws van de Dag 16-1-1974 & in: De Waarheid 12-4-1967, Nieuws van de Dag 30-4-1974, Het Vrije Volk 2-12-1966, Nieuws van de Dag 26-3-1976, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 13-12-1971, Nieuws van de Dag 24-11-1971, De Telegraaf 7-9-1973, De Volkskrant 24-4-1967 & Trouw 12-4-1967; Inhabitants of Amsterdam, De Telegraaf 30-3-1974 & in: De Tijd 16-2-1970; Besselaar, Algemeen Handelsblad 30-1-1960; Amsterdam Autovrij (Action group, literally: Amsterdam car-less), Reeks No. 4 & in: No. 1, 3rd revised edition, No. X, No. 6 & No. 3; De Lastige Amsterdammer (Action group), Binnering en Burokratie, 16-4-1975 & in: De Volkskrant 16-1-1970, De Tijd 26-1-1973, De Volkskrant 13-6-1973, Trouw 13-6-1973, De Tijd 13-6-1973, Algemeen Handelsblad 1-10-1971, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 1-10-1971, De Tijd 1-10-1971, Nieuws van de Dag 12-6-1973, De Volkskrant 2-10-1971, Nieuws van de Dag 11-9-1973, De Telegraaf 11-9-1973, Het Parool 31-1-1973, De Tijd 27-11-1973, Het Vrije Volk 24-9-1971, Het Parool 2-10-1971, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 29-5-1974, Trouw 12-1-1972, De Tijd 23-9-1971, De Tijd 24-9-1974, De Tijd 12-1-1972, De Telegraaf 15-9-1971, Trouw 24-4-1975, Het Vrije Volk 24-9-1971, Het Parool 28-7-1970 & De Volkskrant 26-1-1973; Het Parool 17-5-1971; R. Dufour (De Lastige Amsterdammer), De Tijd 16-9-1971; De Lastige Amsterdammer, E.G. Stijkel (Chamber of Commerce) & H. Lammers (Alderman Public Works, Urban Development, Harbour & Art), Het Parool 27-12-1972; G. Brinkgreve, Elsevier 10-3-1973; Wessels (Councillor D'66), Nieuws van de Dag 30-9-1970; Unknown journalist, Het Parool 17-8-1972; E. Spier (Architect), Netherlands Department for Conservation (Monumentenzorg) & G. Brinkgreve, De Tijd 2-6-1973; d'Oude Stadt (Community Centre), De Telegraaf 24-9-1974 & in: Het Parool 26-3-1973, Nieuws van de Dag 2-3-1971, Algemeen Handelsblad 2-12-1971 & Het Parool 3-12-1971; Provo (Local anarchist protest movement), De Tijd 7-4-1967; L. Schimmelpennink (Provo) & Mayor and aldermen, Algemeen Handelsblad 13-4-1967; Unknown journalist, De Groene Amsterdammer 2-3-1968; J.J. Vriend (Amsterdaad) & G. Brinkgreve, De Groene Amsterdammer 9-3-1968; W.F. Heinemeijer (Amsterdaad, human geographer), De Volkskrant 11-3-1968; Heemschut (Historical society), De Volkskrant 30-3-1968 & in: Unknown newspaper 14-11-1974, Het Parool 26-8-1971, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 14-11-1974 & Het Parool 2-5-1968; Local planning department & various other participants, De Volkskrant 18-4-1968; Bond van Nederlandse Architecten (B.N.A., Royal Institute of Dutch Architects), d'Oude Stadt (Community centre), Amstelodamum (Historical society) & Ons Amsterdam (Historical society), Het Parool 20-4-1968, Algemeen Handelsblad 22-4-1968 & in: De Volkskrant 22-4-1968; Boerlage, Nipperus & Roling (Councillors P.S.P.), Algemeen Handelsblad 24-6-1968; T. Koot, Rehbock (Chamber of Commerce), De Wit (Alderman Public Works), Het Parool 30-4-1968; Report public teach-inn, Het Vrije Volk 8-5-1968;

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M. van Hulten (Human geographer), Trouw 8-5-1968; G. Brinkgreve (Amsterdaad) & L. Schimmelpennink (Provo), Algemeen Handelsblad 8-5-1968; K. Borkent (Action committee Bureau Bezorgde Burgers), De Tijd 10-5-1968 & in: De Volkskrant 10-5-1968; Unknown journalist, Algemeen Handelsblad 11-5-1968; Rossen (KVP Leader), De Volkskrant 9-3-1967 & in: Elsevier 25-3-1967; B. Kroon (Amsterdaad), De Tijd/Maasbode 10-2-1968 & in: De Tijd/Maasbode 1-9-1970; M. Bierman (De Lastige Amsterdammer) & W.F. Heinemeijer (Amsterdaad), De Volkskrant 2-3-1968; Booltink (Heemschut), Nieuws van de Dag 22-1-1973; Van de Rhee (Reader's letter), Nieuws van de Dag 22-1-1973; Unknown journalist, De Tijd 24-1-1973; G.H. Meijer (Director Public Works), De Tijd 25-1-1973; d'Oude Stadt (Community centre) & G.H. Meijer (Director Public Works), Het Parool 25-1-1973; H. Bakker (Member Action group De Lastige Amsterdammer), Trouw 12-6-1970 & in: Trouw 26-1-1973, Noordhollands Dagblad 21-4-1971, De Volkskrant 20-12-1971 & De Tijd 22-12-1971; H. Hertzberger, A. van Eyck & M. Bierman (Architects) & Local planning department, Haagse Post 27-1-1973; Unknown journalist, De Groene Amsterdammer 28-2-1973; Kouwenberg & Herlitz (Swedish action group Alternatieve Stad), De Volkskrant 12-3-1973; C.P.N. & anti-communists, Unknown newspaper 9-5-1973; De Groep Zonder Naam (Action group), Het Parool 17-5-1973; K.V.P., De Volkskrant 23-5-1973 & in: Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 23-5-1973, Trouw 24-5-1973, Nieuws van de Dag 3-5-1972, Het Parool 4-5-1972 & Het Parool 23-5-1973; H. de Mari (Journalist), De Telegraaf 26-5-1973; De Hen (Journalist), Vrij Nederland 26-5-1973; Unknown journalist, Vrij Nederland 10-12-1966; H. Bakker (De Lastige Amsterdammer) & H. Hofland (Writer, intellectual, journalist), De Tijd 28-5-1973; Unknown cartoonist, De Tijd 28-5-1973; E. Heerma (Councillor A.R.) & G. Brinkgreve, Trouw 29-5-1973; Unknown journalist, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 30-5-1973; d'Oude Stadt & Local council, De Telegraaf 27-8-1973; Construction workers, De Waarheid 18-8-1973 & in: Het Parool 18-8-1973; Inhabitants Nieuwmarktbuurt, Trouw 12-9-1973 & in: De Volkskrant 13-2-1974, Unknown newspaper 27-6-1974 & Het Parool 30-7-1974; Unknown journalist, Het Parool 8-11-1973; H. Riethof (Councillor P.S.P.), De Telegraaf 12-2-1974 & in: Het Parool 12-2-1974 & De Tijd 12-2-1974; P.S.P., P.P.R., De Lastige Amsterdammer, d'Oude Stadt & Action group Nieuwmarkt, Trouw 12-2-1974 & in: Het Parool 5-1-1972; V. Lebesque, De Volkskrant 25-2-1974 & in: De Volkskrant 20-1-1973; Various anonymous participants, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 4-6-1974; d'Oude Stadt (Community centre), Action group Nieuwmarktbuurt, Boomsplijker (Action group), De Lastige Amsterdammer (Action group), De Telegraaf 15-6-1974 & in: Amsterdams Stadsblad 13-12-1972; Action group Nieuwmarktbuurt, Het Parool 25-6-1974 & in: De Tijd 11-1-1973; A. van Eyck & T. Bosch (Architects), Trouw 11-7-1974 & in: Het Parool 10-7-1974 & Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 15-7-1974; AAP (United action groups), Het Parool 3-9-1974 & in: Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 7-9-1974 & De Volkskrant 7-9-1974; T. Hofman & H. Hofman (Activists), Trouw 17-9-1974; B. Smit (Artist), Het Parool 10-10-1974; A. Bijlsma (Anti-metro activist), Het Parool 15-10-1974; Unknown journalist, Nieuws van de Dag 5-11-1974; Beerling (Artist, Cartoonist), Vrij Nederland 23-11-1974; Action group Nieuwmarkt & Inhabitants committee Lastageweg, De Volkskrant 4-12-1974; Several squatters, NRC Handelsblad 19-10-1972; Unknown journalist, Trouw 13-1-1973; Leeuwes-Bothof (Reader's letter), Nieuws van de Dag 19-1-1973; d'Oude Stadt (Community centre), Redevelopment committee & Inhabitants Nieuwmarkt, De Volkskrant 20-1-

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1973; P. Kouwenberg (Reader's letter) *De Volkskrant* 20-1-1973; R. Smit (Journalist), *Groene Amsterdammer* 30-5-1972; R. van Duijn (Councillor Provo) & H. Bakker (*De Lastige Amsterdammer*), *Het Parool* 16-1-1970; Zeegers (Reader's letter), *De Volkskrant* 24-3-1970 & in: *Algemeen Handelsblad* 5-3-1970; D'66, *De Tijd* 28-4-1970; M.J. Keijzer (State Secretary of Transport and Communications) & Action group Nieuwmarktbuurt, *De Volkskrant* 28-8-1970 & in: *De Tijd* 27-8-1970; H. Lammers (Alderman Public Works, Urban Development, Harbour & Art), Treumann (Councillor P.v.d.A.), Bos (Kabouter), Wessels (Councillor D'66), *De Tijd* 26-11-1970; Inhabitants Nieuwmarktbuurt & H. Lammers (Alderman Public Works, Urban Development, Harbour & Art), *Algemeen Handelsblad* 26-1-1970; M. Bierman (*De Lastige Amsterdammer*), *De Groene Amsterdammer* 28-11-1970 & in: *De Groene Amsterdammer* 12-2-1972; H. Hertzberger (Architect), *Algemeen Handelsblad* 25-2-1971; A. van Eyck (Architect) & Inhabitants Nieuwmarktbuurt, *Trouw* 24-2-1971; Treumann (Councillor P.v.d.A.) & A. van Eyck (Architect), *De Tijd* 23-2-1971; K.W. (Journalist), *Vrij Nederland* 13-3-1971; L. Schimmelpennink (Provo), *Trouw* 2-3-1971; Urban Railway Department, *Algemeen Handelsblad* 11-8-1971; Anti-metro committee, *De Volkskrant* 24-9-1971; H. Hagens (Journalist), *Vrij Nederland* 2-10-1971; Kabouters (Urban social movement), *De Tijd* 29-10-1971; P. Snoeren (Artist), Unknown newspaper 20-11-1971; W. Drees Jr. (Minister of Transport and Communications), H. Lammers (Alderman Public Works, Urban Development, Harbour & Art) & H. Riethof (Councillor P.S.P), *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 23-12-1974; Unknown journalist, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 31-12-1971; Mosterd (Councillor Bejaardenpartij), *Nieuws van de Dag* 13-1-1973; H. Bakker (*De Lastige Amsterdammer*), R. Dufour (*De Lastige Amsterdammer*) & G.H. Meijer (Director Public Works), *De Tijd* 4-2-1972 & in: *Het Parool* 4-2-1972; Genootschap Amstelodamum (Historical society), *Trouw* 10-2-1972; Unknown journalist, *Het Parool* 4-3-1972; Various inhabitants, *Nieuws van de Dag* 8-1-1975; H. Lammers & Van Tijen (activist), *NRC Handelsblad* 23-8-1975; Unknown journalist, *Nieuws van de Dag* 26-3-1977; Various unknown inhabitants, *Het Parool* 13-10-1977; Local council & A. Bijlsma (Anti-metro activist), *Trouw* 13-10-1977; Opponents metro, *Het Parool* 14-10-1977; R. van Duijn & H. Lammers, *De Volkskrant* 15-10-1977; Opland (Cartoonist), *De Tijd* 11-5-1968; Flex (Columnist), *Trouw* 11-5-1968; Anonymous, *Het Parool* 14-5-1968; Society Architectura et Amicitia, *Het Parool* 15-5-1968; Hartsuyker (Foundation league Nieuwe Beelden), *De Volkskrant* 15-5-1968; Local council, PSP, L. Schimmelpennink (Provo), *De Volkskrant* 16-5-1968; Bezorgde Burgers (Action group Worried Inhabitants), *De Tijd* 17-5-1968; P. van Ingen (Television presenter), *Het Vrije Volk* 17-5-1968; Study group Traffic Weesperzijdestrook, *NRC Handelsblad* 24-1-1975; M. Kloos (Architect), *NRC Handelsblad* 10-3-1975; PPR, Unknown newspaper 6-5-1975; Unknown journalist, *Het Parool* 29-10-1975; E. Paul (Action group Amsterdam Autovrij), *Nieuws van de Dag* 10-11-1975; Shopkeepers, d'Oude Stadt (Community Centre) & Treumann (Councillor PvdA), *Nieuws van de Dag* 16-4-1976; M. Bierman (Member Action group De Lastige Amsterdammer), Unknown newspaper 10-4-1970; Various action groups, *De Volkskrant* 23-11-1974; Various protesters, *NRC Handelsblad* 29-9-1972; Inhabitants committee Wibaut, *De Tijd* 28-9-1972; Various unknown inhabitants, *Trouw* 29-9-1972; H. Lammers & Various inhabitants, *Trouw* 30-9-1972; Unknown journalist, *Nieuws van de Dag* 16-1-1973; Mayor and aldermen, *De Volkskrant* 5-6-

1973; Heinemans (Member Raad voor de Stedebouw (Board for urban development), Elsevier 6-11-1976; Various inhabitants, De Volkskrant 25-4-1977; Hottentot, Typhoon 17-2-1978; Prof. W.F. Heinemeijer & Prof. G.J. van den Berg, De toekomst van de Amsterdamse Binnenstad, KNAG, Amsterdam 1968; Amsterdam Autovrij (Action group), Pamphlet De Wibautstory 7-10-1976; Amstelodamum, Het Parool 8-2-1967; Amstelodamum, De Volkskrant 13-2-1967; W.F. Heinemeijer & G. Brinkgreve, De Tijd 17-8-1967; A. van Eyck, Het Parool 9-10-1967; Unknown journalist & members political party P.S.P., De Tijd 26-4-1968; Amsterdaad, Het Parool 6-10-1967; Amsterdaad, De Tijd 6-10-1967; Amsterdaad, Unknown newspaper 9-10-1967; Amsterdaad, Het Parool 10-10-1967; Amsterdaad, De Tijd 10-10-1967; Amsterdaad, Nieuws van de Dag 11-10-1967; Amsterdaad, Het Vrije Volk 16-10-1967; Amsterdaad, Algemeen Handelsblad 31-10-1967; G. Brinkgreve & Amsterdaad, De Tijd 25-11-1967; F.C. Mijnsen, Amsterdaad & I. Samkalden (Mayor), De Tijd 13-12-1967; Various inhabitants & PROVO, De Volkskrant 17-4-1967; A. van Eyck (Architect), L. Schimmelpennink (PROVO) & T. Kley (Painter), De Tijd 16-12-1967; A. van Eyck (Architect), De Tijd 25-3-1970; A. van Eyck (Architect), H. Hertzberger & D. Apon, De Tijd 6-10-1970; A. van Eyck (Architect), De Tijd 9-10-1970; Action committee Nieuwmarkt, De Volkskrant 26-11-1970; Woudsma, Het Parool 30-3-1971; Action committee Nieuwmarkt, De Volkskrant 26-11-1970; Action committee Nieuwmarkt, Lastige Amsterdammer, d'Oude Stadt & Boomsplijker, Het Parool 26-6-1974; Unknown journalist, Het Parool 13-12-1974; Action committee Nieuwmarkt, Het Parool 11-3-1975; KVP, CPN, PROVO, Gemeenteblad 1969 (afdeling 2, deel II), 16-12-1969; Action group Nieuwmarkt, Het metrorapport van de Nieuwmarktbuurt, 1970; Action group Nieuwmarkt, Het metrorapport van de Nieuwmarktbuurt, 1970; H. Hertzberger & B. Delmee (Architects), Nieuwmarkt 1970; Architectura et Amicitia (Architectural society), Toestand na sloping voor metro (Vol. 23, 4-11-1970)

<sup>18</sup> B. Kroon (Amsterdaad), De Tijd/Maasbode 10-2-1968; also H. Bakker (De Lastige Amsterdammer), Noordhollands Dagblad 21-4-1971

<sup>19</sup> J.J. Vriend (Amsterdaad) & G. Brinkgreve, De Groene Amsterdammer 9-3-1968; T. Koot, Trouw 12-4-1967; T. Koot, De Volkskrant 24-4-1967; Booltink (Heemschut), Nieuws van de Dag 22-1-1973; H. Bakker (De Lastige Amsterdammer), Trouw 26-1-1973; Various anonymous participants, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 4-6-1974; De Lastige Amsterdammer, Trouw 24-4-1975; De Lastige Amsterdammer (Action group), Binnenring en Burokratie, 16-4-1975; Amsterdam Autovrij (Action group, literally: Amsterdam car-less), Reeks No. 4

<sup>20</sup> Study group Traffic Weesperzijdestrook, NRC Handelsblad 24-1-1975; T. Koot (Heemschut), Nieuws van de Dag 26-3-1976; A. van Eyck (Architect), H. Hertzberger & D. Apon, De Tijd 6-10-1970; A. van Eyck (Architect), De Tijd 9-10-1970; Amsterdam Autovrij (Action group, literally: Amsterdam car-less), Reeks No. 1, 3rd revised edition, p. 3; W.F. Heinemeijer (Amsterdaad, human geographer), De Volkskrant 11-3-1968; Heemschut (Historical society), Het Parool 2-5-1968; Rossen (KVP Leader), Elsevier 25-3-1967; Zeegers (Reader's letter), Algemeen Handelsblad 5-3-1970; d'Oude Stadt (Community centre), Nieuws van de Dag 2-3-1971; L. Schimmelpennink (Provo), Trouw 2-3-1971; M. Kloos (Architect), NRC Handelsblad 10-3-1975; H. Hertzberger & B. Delmee (Architects), Nieuwmarkt 1970; Action group Nieuwmarkt, Het metrorapport van de Nieuwmarktbuurt, 1970 p. 21; Rossen (KVP Leader), De Volkskrant 9-3-1967; T. Koot, Trouw 12-4-1967;

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Booltink (Heemschut), Nieuws van de Dag 22-1-1973; H. Bakker (De Lastige Amsterdammer), Trouw 26-1-1973; Kouwenberg & Herlitz (Swedish action group Alterntive Stad), De Volkskrant 12-3-1973; De Hen (Journalist), Vrij Nederland 26-5-1973; De Lastige Amsterdammer (Action group), Binnenring en Burokratie, 16-4-1975 p. v; d'Oude Stadt (Community centre), Action group Nieuwmarktbuurt, Boomsplijker (Action group), De Lastige Amsterdammer (Action group), Amsterdams Stadsblad 13-12-1972; Anti-metro committee, De Volkskrant 24-9-1971; d'Oude Stadt (Community centre) & Action group Nieuwmarkt, Het Parool 5-1-1972; PPR, Unknown newspaper 6-5-1975; E. Paul (Action group Amsterdam Autovrij), Nieuws van de Dag 10-11-1975; De Lastige Amsterdammer, Het Vrije Volk 24-9-1971; Mayor and aldermen, De Volkskrant 5-6-1973; A. van Eyck, Het Parool 9-10-1967; Amsterdaad, Het Parool 10-10-1967; A. van Eyck (Architect), L. Schimmelpennink (PROVO) & T. Kley (Painter), De Tijd 16-12-1967; Architectura et Amicitia (Architectural society), Toestand na sloping voor metro (Vol. 23, 4-11-1970); H. Hertzberger, A. van Eyck & M. Bierman (Architects) & Local planning department, Haagse Post 27-1-1973; K.V.P., De Volkskrant 23-5-1973; Unknown journalist, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 30-5-1973; A. Bijlsma (Anti-metro activist), Het Parool 15-10-1974; P. Kouwenberg (Reader's letter) De Volkskrant 20-1-1973; R. van Duijn (Councillor Provo) & H. Bakker (De Lastige Amsterdammer), Het Parool 16-1-1970; H. Bakker (Member Action group De Lastige Amsterdammer), Trouw 12-6-1970; H. Bakker (De Lastige Amsterdammer), Noordhollands Dagblad 21-4-1971; Various protesters, NRC Handelsblad 29-9-1972; Amsterdam Autovrij (Action group), Pamphlet De Wibautstory 7-10-1976; Unknown journalist, De Groene Amsterdammer 7-2-1970; H. Bakker (De Lastige Amsterdammer) & H. Hofland (Writer, intellectual, journalist), De Tijd 28-5-1973; A. van Eyck (Architect) & Inhabitants Nieuwmarktbuurt, Trouw 24-2-1971; Amsterdam Autovrij (Action group), Pamphlet De Wibautstory 7-10-1976, pp. 3, 4, 6

<sup>21</sup> A. van Eyck (Architect), L. Schimmelpennink (PROVO) & T. Kley (Painter), De Tijd 16-12-1967

<sup>22</sup> Wessels (Councillor D'66), Nieuws van de Dag 30-9-1970; T. Koot, De Volkskrant 24-4-1967; K.V.P., De Volkskrant 23-5-1973; H. Bakker (De Lastige Amsterdammer) & H. Hofland (Writer, intellectual, journalist), De Tijd 28-5-1973; V. Lebesque, De Volkskrant 20-1-1973; Zeegers (Reader's letter), Algemeen Handelsblad 5-3-1970; H. Hertzberger & B. Delmee (Architects), Nieuwmarkt 1970; De Lastige Amsterdammer (Action group), Binnenring en Burokratie, 16-4-1975

<sup>23</sup> H. Hertzberger & B. Delmee (Architects), Nieuwmarkt 1970

<sup>24</sup> De Lastige Amsterdammer (Action group), De Volkskrant 16-1-1970; B. Kroon (Amsterdaad), De Tijd/Maasbode 10-2-1968; R. van Duijn (Councillor Provo) & H. Bakker (De Lastige Amsterdammer), Het Parool 16-1-1970; Anti-metro committee, De Volkskrant 24-9-1971; H. Hagens (Journalist), Vrij Nederland 2-10-1971; M. Kloos (Architect), NRC Handelsblad 10-3-1975; De Lastige Amsterdammer, Trouw 24-4-1975; PPR, Unknown newspaper 6-5-1975; E. Paul (Action group Amsterdam Autovrij), Nieuws van de Dag 10-11-1975; M. Bierman (Member Action group De Lastige Amsterdammer), Unknown newspaper 10-4-1970; H. Bakker (Member Action group De Lastige Amsterdammer), Trouw 12-6-1970; H. Bakker (De Lastige Amsterdammer), Noordhollands Dagblad 21-4-1971; R. Dufour (De Lastige

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Amsterdammer), De Tijd 16-9-1971; De Lastige Amsterdammer, Het Vrije Volk 24-9-1971; d'Oude Stadt (Community centre), Algemeen Handelsblad 2-12-1971; Amsterdam Autovrij (Action group, literally: Amsterdam car-less), Pamphlet De Wibautstory 7-10-1976, pp. 2-3; D'66, De Tijd 12-7-1969; Amsterdam Autovrij, Reeks No. 1, 3rd revised edition; Amsterdam Autovrij, Reeks No. 4; Amsterdam Autovrij, No. X; Amsterdam Autovrij, No. 6; Amsterdam Autovrij, No. 3

<sup>25</sup> H. Bakker (De Lastige Amsterdammer), Noordhollands Dagblad 21-4-1971

<sup>26</sup> R. Dufour (De Lastige Amsterdammer), De Tijd 16-9-1971

<sup>27</sup> Inhabitants Nieuwmarktbuurt, Trouw 12-9-1973

<sup>28</sup> K. Borkent (Action committee Bureau Bezorgde Burgers), De Volkskrant 10-5-1968; Unknown journalist, Algemeen Handelsblad 11-5-1968; Zeegers (Reader's letter), De Volkskrant 24-3-1970; Zeegers (Reader's letter), Algemeen Handelsblad 5-3-1970; Anti-metro committee, De Volkskrant 24-9-1971; M. Kloos (Architect), NRC Handelsblad 10-3-1975; De Lastige Amsterdammer, Trouw 24-4-1975; H. Bakker (Member Action group De Lastige Amsterdammer), Trouw 12-6-1970; H. Hertzberger & B. Delmee (Architects), Nieuwmarkt 1970; De Lastige Amsterdammer (Action group), Binnenring en Burokatie, 16-4-1975; H. Bakker (De Lastige Amsterdammer), R. Dufour (De Lastige Amsterdammer) & G.H. Meijer (Director Public Works), Het Parool 4-2-1972; T. Koot (Heemschut), Het Vrije Volk 2-12-1966; Heemschut (Historical society), Het Parool 2-5-1968; J.J. Vriend (Amsterdaad) & G. Brinkgreve, De Groene Amsterdammer 9-3-1968; W.F. Heinemeijer (Amsterdaad, human geographer), De Volkskrant 11-3-1968; Bond van Nederlandse Architecten (B.N.A., Royal Institute of Dutch Architects), d'Oude Stadt (Community centre), Amstelodamum (Historical society) & Ons Amsterdam (Historical society), Het Parool 20-4-1968; Bond van Nederlandse Architecten (B.N.A., Royal Institute of Dutch Architects), d'Oude Stadt (Community centre), Amstelodamum (Historical society) & Ons Amsterdam (Historical society), Algemeen Handelsblad 22-4-1968; F. de Boer (Raad voor de Stadsvernieuwing), Het Vrije Volk 10-6-1967; Kouwenberg & Herlitz (Swedish action group Alterntive Stad), De Volkskrant 12-3-1973; Unknown journalist, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 30-5-1973; A. Bijlsma (Anti-metro activist), Het Parool 15-10-1974; d'Oude Stadt (Community centre), Action group Nieuwmarktbuurt, Boomspijker (Action group), De Lastige Amsterdammer (Action group), Amsterdams Stadsblad 13-12-1972; P. Kouwenberg (Reader's letter) De Volkskrant 20-1-1973; R. van Duijn (Councillor Provo) & H. Bakker (De Lastige Amsterdammer), Het Parool 16-1-1970; H. Hagens (Journalist), Vrij Nederland 2-10-1971; d'Oude Stadt (Community centre) & Action group Nieuwmarkt, Het Parool 5-1-1972; M. Bierman, De Groene Amsterdammer, 12-2-1972; Shopkeepers, d'Oude Stadt (Community Centre) & Treumann (Councillor PvdA), Nieuws van de Dag 16-4-1976; Local council, PSP, L. Schimmelpennink (Provo), De Volkskrant 16-5-1968; M. Bierman (Member Action group De Lastige Amsterdammer), Unknown newspaper 10-4-1970; De Lastige Amsterdammer, De Telegraaf 15-9-1971; R. Dufour (De Lastige Amsterdammer), De Tijd 16-9-1971; De Lastige Amsterdammer, Het Vrije Volk 24-9-1971; Action group Nieuwmarkt, Het metrorapport van de Nieuwmarktbuurt, 1970; K. Borkent (Action committee Bureau Bezorgde Burgers), De Tijd 10-5-1978; T. Koot, De Waarheid 12-4-1967; B. Kroon (Amsterdaad), De Tijd/Maasbode 10-2-1968; M. Bierman (De Lastige Amsterdammer) & W.F. Heinemeijer (Amsterdaad), De Volkskrant 2-3-1968; G.H. Meijer (Director Public Works), De Tijd 25-1-1973; De



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<sup>29</sup> D.A. Jokinen, *Geef de Stad een Kans*, Stichting Weg, Amsterdam 1968, p. 12

<sup>30</sup> G. Brinkgreve, Elsevier 10-3-1973, also: Bruinsma (Reader's letter), *De Telegraaf* 3-11-1973; E. Spier (Architect), Netherlands Department for Conservation (Monumentenzorg) & G. Brinkgreve, *De Tijd* 2-6-1973; G. Brinkgreve, *De Tijd* 2-6-1973

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<sup>31</sup> H. Hertzberger & B. Delmee (Architects), Nieuwmarkt 1970; Rossen (KVP), Gemeentebld 1969 (afdeling 2, deel II), 16-12-1969, p. 1944; Action group Nieuwmarkt, Het metrorapport van de Nieuwmarktbuurt, 1970 p. 18; Amsterdam Autovrij (Action group, literally: Amsterdam car-less), Reeks No. 1, 3rd revised edition

<sup>32</sup> G. Brinkgreve, Elsevier 10-3-1973; Bruinsma (Reader's letter), De Telegraaf 3-11-1973; E. Spier (Architect), Netherlands Department for Conservation (Monumentenzorg) & G. Brinkgreve, De Tijd 2-6-1973; Wessels (Councillor D'66), Nieuws van de Dag 30-9-1970; H. Hertzberger, A. van Eyck & M. Bierman (Architects) & Local planning department, Haagse Post 27-1-1973; d'Oude Stadt (Community Centre), De Telegraaf 24-9-1974; Unknown journalist, De Groene Amsterdammer 2-3-1968; Unknown journalist, De Groene Amsterdammer 28-2-1973; H. Bakker (De Lastige Amsterdammer) & H. Hofland (Writer, intellectual, journalist), De Tijd 28-5-1973; Unknown journalist, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 30-5-1973; T. Koot, De Telegraaf 7-9-1973; Inhabitants Nieuwmarktbuurt, De Volkskrant 13-2-1974; Action group Nieuwmarktbuurt, Het Parool 25-6-1974; Inhabitants Nieuwmarktbuurt, Unknown newspaper 27-6-1974; A. van Eyck & T. Bosch (Architects), Het Parool 10-7-1974; Inhabitants Nieuwmarktbuurt, Het Parool 30-7-1974; AAP (United action groups), Het Parool 3-9-1974; T. Hofman & H. Hofman (Activists), Trouw 17-9-1974; B. Smit (Artist), Het Parool 10-10-1974; Action group Nieuwmarkt & Inhabitants committee Lastageweg, De Volkskrant 4-12-1974; d'Oude Stadt (Community centre), Action group Nieuwmarktbuurt, Boomsplijker (Action group) & De Lastige Amsterdammer (Action group), Amsterdams Stadsblad 13-12-1972; Unknown journalist, Trouw 13-1-1973; Leeuwes-Bothof (Reader's letter), Nieuws van de Dag 19-1-1973; J. Klaassen (Reader's letter), De Volkskrant 20-1-1973; R. Smit (Journalist), Groene Amsterdammer 30-5-1972; Zeegers, NRC Handelsblad 24-8-1972; D'66, De Tijd 28-4-1970; M.J. Keijzer (State Secretary of Transport and Communications) & Action group Nieuwmarktbuurt, De Tijd 27-8-1970; B. Kroon (Amsterdaad), De Tijd/Maasbode 1-9-1970; Inhabitants Nieuwmarktbuurt & H. Lammers (Alderman Public Works, Urban Development, Harbour & Art), Algemeen Handelsblad 26-1-1970; A. van Eyck (Architect) & Inhabitants Nieuwmarktbuurt, Trouw 24-2-1971; Treumann (Councillor P.v.d.A.) & A. van Eyck (Architect), De Tijd 23-2-1971; L. Schimmelpennink (Provo), Trouw 2-3-1971; Kabouters (Urban social movement), De Tijd 29-10-1971; H. Bakker (De Lastige Amsterdammer), De Tijd 22-12-1971; M. Kloos (Architect), NRC Handelsblad 10-3-1975; Unknown journalist, Het Parool 29-10-1975; Unknown journalist, Nieuws van de Dag 26-3-1977; Various unknown inhabitants, Het Parool 13-10-1977; R. van Duijn & H. Lammers, De Volkskrant 15-10-1977; H. Bakker (Member Action group De Lastige Amsterdammer), Trouw 12-6-1970; Mayor and aldermen, De Volkskrant 5-6-1973; T. Koot (Heemschut), Nieuws van de Dag 26-3-1976; Amsterdam Autovrij (Action group), Pamphlet De Wibautstory 7-10-1976; Amsterdaad, Het Parool 10-10-1967; A. van Eyck (Architect), H. Hertzberger & D. Apon, De Tijd 6-10-1970; A. van Eyck (Architect), De Tijd 9-10-1970; Action group Nieuwmarkt, Het metrorapport van de Nieuwmarktbuurt, 1970; Unknown journalist, De Groene Amsterdammer 7-2-1970; De Lastige Amsterdammer (Action group), Binnenring en Burokratie, 16-4-1975; KVP, CPN, PROVO, Gemeentebld 1969 (afdeling 2, deel II), 16-12-1969, p. 1963; Kouwenberg & Herlitz (Swedish action group Alterntive Stad), De Volkskrant 12-3-

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1973; C.P.N. & anti-communists, Unknown newspaper 9-5-1973; Architectura et Amicitia (Architectural society), Toestand na sloping voor metro (Vol. 23, 4-11-1970), p. 20; E. Paul (Action group Amsterdam Autovrij), Nieuws van de Dag 10-11-1975; Prof. W.F. Heinemeijer & Prof. G.J. van den Berg, De toekomst van de Amsterdamse Binnenstad, KNAG, Amsterdam 1968, p. 23; Action committee Nieuwmarkt, De Volkskrant 26-11-1970; Rossen (KVP), Gemeentebblad 1969 (afdeling 2, deel II), 16-12-1969, p. 1944; Verbruggen (BP), Gemeentebblad 1969 (afdeling 2, deel II), 16-12-1969, p. 1959; De Lastige Amsterdammer, E.G. Stijkel (Chamber of Commerce) & H. Lammers (Alderman Public Works, Urban Development, Harbour & Art), Het Parool 27-12-1972; Boerlage, Nipperus & Roling (Councillors P.S.P.), Algemeen Handelsblad 24-6-1968; Van de Rhee (Reader's letter), Nieuws van de Dag 22-1-1973; De Lastige Amsterdammer (Action group), De Volkskrant 26-1-1973; CPN, De Waarheid 23-2-1973; De Lastige Amsterdammer, Het Parool 2-10-1971; A. Bijlsma (Anti-metro activist), Het Parool 15-10-1974; d'Oude Stadt (Community centre), Redevelopment committee & Inhabitants Nieuwmarkt, De Volkskrant 20-1-1973; H. Hertzberger (Architect), Algemeen Handelsblad 25-2-1971; K.W. (Journalist), Vrij Nederland 13-3-1971; H. Hagens (Journalist), Vrij Nederland 2-10-1971; Various Inhabitants, NRC Handelsblad 14-10-1977; Various protesters, NRC Handelsblad 29-9-1972; Inhabitants committee Wibaut, De Tijd 28-9-1972; Various inhabitants, De Volkskrant 25-4-1977; H. Hertzberger & B. Delmee (Architects), Nieuwmarkt 1970; A. van Eyck, Het Parool 9-10-1967; Inhabitants, De Tijd 16-2-1970; G. Brinkgreve, De Tijd 2-6-1973; T. Koot, Rehbock (Chamber of Commerce), De Wit (Alderman Public Works), Het Parool 30-4-1968; K. Borkent (Action committee Bureau Bezorgde Burgers), Het Parool 10-5-1968; K. Borkent (Action committee Bureau Bezorgde Burgers), De Volkskrant 10-5-1968; Unknown journalist, Algemeen Handelsblad 11-5-1968; T. Koot, De Volkskrant 24-4-1967; M. Bierman (De Lastige Amsterdammer) & W.F. Heinemeijer (Amsterdaad), De Volkskrant 2-3-1968; Unknown journalist, De Tijd 24-1-1973; K.V.P., De Volkskrant 23-5-1973; K.V.P., Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 23-5-1973; T. Koot, Nieuws van de Dag 30-4-1974; R. van Duijn (Councillor Provo) & H. Bakker (De Lastige Amsterdammer), Het Parool 16-1-1970; Zeegers (Reader's letter), De Volkskrant 24-3-1970; Zeegers (Reader's letter), Algemeen Handelsblad 5-3-1970; T. Koot (Heemschut), Nieuws van de Dag 24-11-1971; H. Bakker (De Lastige Amsterdammer), R. Dufour (De Lastige Amsterdammer) & G.H. Meijer (Director Public Works), De Tijd 4-2-1972; Amstelodamum 10-2-1972, Unknown newspaper; M. Bierman, De Groene Amsterdammer 12-2-1972; T. Koot (Heemschut), Nieuws van de Dag 16-1-1974; J.J. Vriend (Amsterdaad) & G. Brinkgreve, De Groene Amsterdammer 9-3-1968; G. Brinkgreve & L. Schimmelpenninck, Algemeen Handelsblad 8-5-1968; T. Koot, Trouw 12-4-1967; Booltink (Heemschut), Nieuws van de Dag 22-1-1973; E. Heerma (Councillor A.R.) & G. Brinkgreve, Trouw 29-5-1973; Heemschut (Historical society), Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 14-11-1974 & in: Unknown newspaper 14-11-1974; P. Kouwenberg (Reader's letter) De Volkskrant 20-1-1973; Urban Railway Department, Algemeen Handelsblad 11-8-1971; Heemschut (Historical society), Het Parool 26-8-1971; W. Drees Jr. (Minister of Transport and Communications), H. Lammers (Alderman Public Works, Urban Development, Harbour & Art) & H. Riethof (Councillor P.S.P), Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 23-12-1974; Action group Nieuwmarkt, De Tijd 11-1-1973; De Lastige

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<sup>33</sup> A. van Eyck (Architect), L. Schimmelpennink (PROVO) & T. Kley (Painter), De Tijd 16-12-1967

<sup>34</sup> H. Hertzberger, A. van Eyck & M. Bierman (Architects) & Local planning department, Haagse Post 27-1-1973; H. Bakker (De Lastige Amsterdammer) & H. Hofland (Writer, intellectual, journalist), De Tijd 28-5-1973; E. Heerma (Councillor A.R.) & G. Brinkgreve, Trouw 29-5-1973; AAP (United action groups), Het Parool 3-9-1974; H. Hagens (Journalist), Vrij Nederland 2-10-1971; M. Kloos (Architect), NRC Handelsblad 10-3-1975; R. van Duijn & H. Lammers, De Volkskrant 15-10-1977; M. Bierman (Member Action group De Lastige Amsterdammer), Unknown newspaper 10-4-1970; H. Bakker (De Lastige Amsterdammer), Noordhollands Dagblad 21-4-1971; T. Koot (Heemschut), Nieuws van de Dag 26-3-1976; Amsterdam autovrij, De wibautstraatstory, p. 3; Verbruggen (BP), Gemeenteblad 1969 (afdeling 2, deel II), 16-12-1969, p. 1959; Action group Nieuwmarkt, Het metrorapport van de Nieuwmarktbuurt, 1970, pp. 15, 16; Amsterdam Autovrij (Action group, literally: Amsterdam car-less), Reeks No. 1, 3rd revised edition, p. 3; De Boer (Prof. Urban Development Technical University Delft), NRC-Handelsblad 26-3-1977; A. van Eyck & T. Bosch (Architects), Het Parool 10-7-1974; De Lastige Amsterdammer (Action group), Binnenring en Burokratie, 16-4-1975, p. xvii; B. Kroon (Amsterdaad), De Tijd/Maasbode 10-2-1968; A. van Eyck, Het Parool 9-10-1967; Besselaar, Algemeen Handelsblad 30-1-1960; Kouwenberg & Herlitz (Swedish action group Alterntive Stad), De Volkskrant 12-3-1973; Rossen (KVP), Gemeenteblad 1969 (afdeling 2, deel II), 16-12-1969, p. 1944

<sup>35</sup> W.F. Heinemeijer & G. Brinkgreve, De Tijd 17-8-1967; Amsterdaad, Unknown newspaper 9-10-1967; F.C. Mijnsen, Amsterdaad & I. Samkalden (Mayor), De Tijd 13-12-1967; Architectura et Amicitia (Architectural society), Toestand na sloping voor metro (Vol. 23, 4-11-1970), p. 20; J.J. Vriend (Amsterdaad) & G. Brinkgreve, De Groene Amsterdammer 9-3-1968

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<sup>36</sup> J.J. Vriend (Amsterdaad) & G. Brinkgreve, *De Groene Amsterdammer* 9-3-1968; *De Lastige Amsterdammer*, *Algemeen Handelsblad* 1-10-1971; *De Lastige Amsterdammer*, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 1-10-1971; H. Riethof (Councillor P.S.P.), *De Telegraaf* 12-2-1974 & in: *Het Parool* 12-2-1974; M. Bierman (Member Action group *De Lastige Amsterdammer*), *De Groene Amsterdammer* 12-2-1972; M. Bierman, *Unknown newspaper* 10-4-1970; H. Bakker (Member Action group *De Lastige Amsterdammer*), *Trouw* 12-6-1970; *Unknown journalist*, *De Groene Amsterdammer* 2-3-1968; *Unknown journalist*, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 30-5-1973

<sup>37</sup> M. Bierman (*De Lastige Amsterdammer*) & W.F. Heinemeijer (Amsterdaad), *De Volkskrant* 2-3-1968; *De Lastige Amsterdammer*, *De Tijd* 13-6-1973; M. Bierman (*De Lastige Amsterdammer*), *De Groene Amsterdammer* 28-11-1970; *Amsterdam Autovrij* (Action group), Pamphlet *De Wibautstory* 7-10-1976, p. 3; *Inhabitants Nieuwmarktbuurt*, *Unknown newspaper* 27-6-1974; *Unknown journalist*, *Nieuws van de Dag* 5-11-1974; *d'Oude Stadt* (Community centre) & Action group *Nieuwmarkt*, *Het Parool* 5-1-1972; T. Koot (Heemschut), *Het Vrije Volk* 2-12-1966; *Treumann* (Councillor P.v.d.A.), *De Tijd* 10-12-1971; *Heinemans* (Member Raad voor de Stedebouw (Board for urban development), *Elsevier* 6-11-1976; *Unknown journalist*, *Algemeen Handelsblad* 6-4-1968; M. Bierman (*De Lastige Amsterdammer*) & W.F. Heinemeijer (Amsterdaad), *De Volkskrant* 2-3-1968; *Unknown journalist*, *De Groene Amsterdammer* 2-3-1968; *Report public teach-inn*, *Het Vrije Volk* 8-5-1968; *Van de Rhee* (Reader's letter), *Nieuws van de Dag* 22-1-1973; H. Bakker (*De Lastige Amsterdammer*) & H. Hofland (Writer, intellectual, journalist), *De Tijd* 28-5-1973; T. Koot, *De Telegraaf* 7-9-1973; T. Koot, *Nieuws van de Dag* 30-4-1974; *d'Oude Stadt* (Community centre), Action group *Nieuwmarktbuurt* & *Boomspijker* (Action group), *De Lastige Amsterdammer* (Action group), *Amsterdams Stadsblad* 13-12-1972; J. Klaassen (Reader's letter), *De Volkskrant* 20-1-1973; *Treumann* (Councillor P.v.d.A.) & A. van Eyck (Architect), *De Tijd* 23-2-1971; L. Schimmelpennink (Provo), *Trouw* 2-3-1971; M. Bierman, *De Groene Amsterdammer*, 12-2-1972; M. Bierman (Member Action group *De Lastige Amsterdammer*), *Unknown newspaper* 10-4-1970; *Inhabitants committee Wibaut*, *De Tijd* 28-9-1972; A. van Eyck, *Het Parool* 9-10-1967; *Amsterdaad*, *Het Parool* 6-10-1967; A. van Eyck & T. Bosch (Architects), *Het Parool* 10-7-1974; *De Lastige Amsterdammer* (Action group), *Binnenring en Burokratie*, 16-4-1975; *Unknown journalist*, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 30-5-1973; A. Bijlsma (Anti-metro activist), *Het Parool* 15-10-1974; *De Lastige Amsterdammer*, *Trouw* 24-4-1975; *Amsterdam Autovrij* (Action group), Pamphlet *De Wibautstory* 7-10-1976, p. 3; *Unknown journalist*, *De Groene Amsterdammer* 7-2-1970; *De Lastige Amsterdammer*, E.G. Stijkel (Chamber of Commerce) & H. Lammers (Alderman Public Works, Urban Development, Harbour & Art), *Het Parool* 27-12-1972; T. Koot, *Trouw* 12-4-1967; *d'Oude Stadt* & Local council, *De Telegraaf* 27-8-1973; T. Koot (Heemschut), *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 13-12-1971; R. van Duijn & H. Lammers, *De Volkskrant* 15-10-1977; H. Bakker (*De Lastige Amsterdammer*), *Noordhollands Dagblad* 21-4-1971; H. Hertzberger & B. Delmee (Architects), *Nieuwmarkt* 1970; Action committee *Nieuwmarkt*, *De Volkskrant* 26-11-1970; *Woudsma*, *Het Parool* 30-3-1971; Action group *Nieuwmarkt*, *Het metrorapport van de Nieuwmarktbuurt*, 1970; *Amsterdam Autovrij* (Action group, literally: Amsterdam car-less), *Reeks No. 4*, p. 3;

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Amsterdam Autovrij (Action group, literally: Amsterdam car-less), Reeks No. 1, 3rd revised edition, p. 23

<sup>38</sup> A. Bijlsma (Anti-metro activist), Het Parool 15-10-1974; Unknown journalist, Nieuws van de Dag 5-11-1974

<sup>39</sup> Geurt Brinkgreve, a highly active culturalist, had been councillor for the KVP.

<sup>40</sup> action group, transl.: 'demanding Amsterdammer'

<sup>41</sup> H. Bakker (De Lastige Amsterdammer), Noordhollands Dagblad 21-4-1971

<sup>42</sup> Hofstede (Reader's letter), Nieuws van de Dag 19-1-1973

<sup>43</sup> Unknown journalist, Het Parool 3-1-1970; A. van Nes (Reader's letter), Wieringer Weekblad 28-4-1971; Goekoop (Councillor), builders & investors, NRC Handelsblad 3-10-1972; Stichting Amsterdam City (Foundation for CBD developments), Nieuws van de Dag 21-8-1973; Prof. Delfgaauw (Economist), Trouw 13-2-1963; Prof. Delfgaauw (Economist), Tijd 14-2-1963; Prof. Delfgaauw, De Volkskrant 14-2-1963; Stichting Amsterdam City (Foundation for CBD developments), Amsterdam denk om je hart. Deel 2, Amsterdam 1977; Stichting Amsterdam City (Foundation for CBD developments), Amsterdam denk om je hart, Amsterdam 1974; De Lastige Amsterdammer, E.G. Stijkel (Chamber of Commerce) & H. Lammers (Alderman Public Works, Urban Development, Harbour & Art), Het Parool 27-12-1972; Koevoets (Journalist), De Telegraaf 26-9-1970; Stichting Amsterdam City, De Volkskrant 26-10-1972; Unknown journalist (about AMTRO plan), De Telegraaf 5-3-1968; Unknown journalist, De Telegraaf 6-3-1968; Various participants, De Volkskrant 25-3-1968; Unknown journalist (about AMTRO PLAN), Het Parool 9-4-1968; B.N.A. (Royal Institute of Dutch Architects), Het Parool 20-4-1968; B.N.A. (Royal Institute of Dutch Architects), De Volkskrant 22-4-1968; B.N.A. (Royal Institute of Dutch Architects), Algemeen Handelsblad 22-4-1968; Unknown journalist, De Tijd 26-4-1968; Participants 'wens-in', Het Parool 26-4-1968; NS (Netherlands Railways), De Volkskrant 2-5-1968; Keja (VVD), Het Parool 3-5-1968; Unknown journalist, Algemeen Handelsblad 11-5-1968; De Gier & Van Walraven (Reader's letter), Algemeen Dagblad 16-6-1966; Unknown journalist, Het Vrije Volk 31-8-1966; Cornet (Reader's letter), Het Vrije Volk 21-2-1967; B.A.N. (Belangenvereniging Amsterdam Noord, litt: Pressure Group Amsterdam Noord), Noord Amsterdammer 7-4-1967; Association of businesses Amsterdam Noord, Noord Amsterdammer 12-4-1967; G. Siegers (V.V.V., Tourist Information Office), De Volkskrant 24-4-1967; Leverland (Reader's letter), De Volkskrant 24-4-1967; Van Wijck (Former aldermen Businesses), De Volkskrant 1-5-1967; Unknown journalist, Typhoon 11-5-1967; G. Siegers (Federatie City van Amsterdam, litt: Federation City of Amsterdam), Het Vrije Volk 12-6-1967; De Mul (Director Aripport Schiphol), Het Vrije Volk 13-6-1967; Van Dijk (Representative Small and Medium-sized businesses), Het Vrije Volk 14-6-1967; Chief Inspector Vos, Het Vrije Volk 16-6-1967; Buisman (Reader's letter), Het Vrije Volk 17-6-1967; Hazewinkel (Journalist) about AMTRO plan, Algemeen Handelsblad 19-12-1967; Unknown journalist about AMTRO plan, De Groene Amsterdammer 2-3-1968; H. Lammers & G. Siegers (Federation City of Amsterdam), Algemeen Handelsblad 18-10-1971; Schildmeijer (Reader's letter), De Tijd 19-10-1971; Prins (Chairman Road Builders), Nieuws van de Dag 22-1-1973; Kwak, Nieuws van de Dag 22-1-1973; Sterk (Shop owner), Nieuws van de Dag 22-1-1973; Bon (Reader's letter), Nieuws van de Dag 22-1-1973; Van de Rhee (Reader's letter), Nieuws van de Dag 22-1-1973; Prins (Chairman Road Builders), De Tijd 26-1-1973; Prins

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<sup>44</sup> D.A. Jokinen, Geef de Stad een Kans, Stichting Weg, Amsterdam 1968, p. 49

<sup>45</sup> Delfgaauw, Het Vrije Volk 30-3-1968; Alderman Van der Velde (CPN), speaking as a private person, De Waarheid 23-2-1973

<sup>46</sup> Van Dijk (Representative Small and Medium-sized businesses) & Van den Berg (Councillor PvdA), Het Vrije Volk 10-2-1967

<sup>47</sup> G. Siegers (Federatie City van Amsterdam, litt: Federation City of Amsterdam), Het Vrije Volk 12-6-1967; Ossewaarde (GVB), De Tijd 2-6-1973; Construction workers, De Waarheid 18-8-1973; Former alderman Polak, De Volkskrant 13-9-1973; Former alderman Polak, NRC Handelsblad 13-9-1973; D.A. Jokinen, Geef de Stad een Kans, Stichting Weg, Amsterdam 1968 p. 49; Departing council member Polak, Het Vrije Volk 2-9-1966; De Lastige Amsterdammer, E.G. Stijkel (Chamber of Commerce) & H. Lammers (Alderman Public Works, Urban Development, Harbour & Art), Het Parool 27-12-1972

<sup>48</sup> Stichting Amsterdam City, De Volkskrant 26-10-1972; Unknown journalist (about AMTRO), Het Parool 9-4-1968; B.N.A. (Royal Institute of Dutch Architects), Algemeen Handelsblad 22-4-1968; Unknown journalist, De Tijd 26-4-1968; T. Koot, Rehbock (Chamber of Commerce), De Wit (Alderman Public Works), Het Parool 30-4-1968; Unknown journalist, Algemeen Handelsblad 11-5-1968; Departing council member Polak, Het Vrije Volk 2-9-1966; Cornet (Reader's letter), Het Vrije Volk 21-2-1967; B.A.N. (Belangenvereniging Amsterdam Noord, litt: Pressure Group Amsterdam Noord), Noord Amsterdammer 7-4-1967; Leverland (Reader's letter), De Volkskrant 24-4-1967; Van Wijck (Former aldermen Businesses), De Volkskrant 1-5-1967; De Mul (Director Aripport Schiphol), Het Vrije Volk 13-6-1967; Van Dijk (Representative Small and Medium-sized businesses), Het Vrije Volk 14-6-1967; Former alderman Polak, Het Vrije Volk 15-6-1967; Chief Inspector Vos, Het Vrije Volk 16-6-1967; Buisman (Reader's letter), Het Vrije Volk 17-6-1967; Hazewinkel (Journalist) about AMTRO plan, Algemeen Handelsblad 19-12-1967; Former alderman Polak, NRC Handelsblad 13-9-1973; Ossewaarde (GVB), Nieuws van de Dag 1-3-1972; Prins (Chairman Road Builders), Nieuws van de Dag 22-1-1973; Kwak, Nieuws van de Dag 22-1-1973; Sterk (Shop owner), Nieuws van de Dag 22-1-1973; Bon (Reader's letter), Nieuws van de Dag 22-1-1973; Van de Rhee (Reader's letter), Nieuws van de Dag 22-1-1973; Pais (VVD), Unknown newspaper 2-2-1973; Stichting Aansluiting (Netherlands Railway & Koninklijke Nederlandse Vereniging van Transport-Ondernemingen (KVTO), De Waarheid 6-4-1973; Ossewaarde (GVB, Amsterdam public transport), De Waarheid 13-4-1973; CPN & anti-communists, Unknown newspaper 9-5-1973; Ossewaarde (GVB), De Tijd 2-6-1973; Construction workers, De Waarheid 18-8-1973; Unknown journalist, Wieringer Weekblad 17-1-1973; Hofstede (Reader's letter), Nieuws van de Dag 19-1-1973; De Langen (Reader's letter), Nieuws van de Dag 19-1-1973; Van der Kruijff, Nieuws van de Dag 19-1-1973; Van Haaren (Conference centre RAI), De Tijd 21-4-1972; Unknown journalist, Het Parool 28-2-1970; Unknown journalist, Het Parool 9-12-1971; Inhabitants Jordaan, Unknown newspaper 20-12-1971; Brucker (Reader's letter), Nieuws van de Dag 17-5-1975; Community centre De Eilanden, Winkel (Chief inspector of Police), Nieuws van de Dag 26-8-1975; Local council & several companies, De Waarheid 29-8-1975;



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<sup>49</sup> Stichting Amsterdam City, Het Parool 26-8-1976

<sup>50</sup> B.A.N. (Belangenvereniging Amsterdam Noord, litt: Pressure Group Amsterdam Noord), Noord Amsterdamer 7-4-1967; Van Haaren (Conference centre RAI), De Tijd 21-4-1972; Stichting Amsterdam City (Foundation for CBD developments), Trouw 8-10-1975; Stichting Amsterdam City (Foundation for CBD developments), De Volkskrant 24-10-1975; Stichting Amsterdam City, Het Parool 6-12-1975; Cotterell (Reader's letter), Het Parool 10-4-1976; Stichting Amsterdam City, Het Parool 26-8-1976; Vlijmen (Stichting Amsterdam City), Het Parool 28-4-1976; Van Dijk (Representative Small and Medium-sized businesses) & Van den Berg (Councillor PvdA), Het Vrije Volk 10-2-1967; Delfgaauw, Het Vrije Volk 30-3-1968; D.A. Jokinen, Geef de Stad een Kans, Stichting Weg, Amsterdam 1968; Stichting Amsterdam City (Foundation for CBD developments), Amsterdam denk om je hart, Amsterdam 1974; Unknown journalist, Het Parool 3-1-1970; Goekoop (Councillor), builders & investors, NRC Handelsblad 3-10-1972; Stichting Amsterdam City (Foundation for CBD developments), Amsterdam denk om je hart. Deel 2, Amsterdam 1977

<sup>51</sup> D.A. Jokinen, Geef de Stad een Kans, Stichting Weg, Amsterdam 1968, p. 53

<sup>52</sup> D.A. Jokinen, Geef de Stad een Kans, Stichting Weg, Amsterdam 1968 pp. 16, 46

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<sup>53</sup> Cornet (Reader's letter), *Het Vrije Volk* 21-2-1967; Association of businesses Amsterdam Noord, *Noord Amsterdammer* 12-4-1967; G. Siegers (Federatie City van Amsterdam, litt: Federation City of Amsterdam), *Het Vrije Volk* 12-6-1967; Former alderman Polak, *Het Vrije Volk* 15-6-1967; Bon (Reader's letter), *Nieuws van de Dag* 22-1-1973; Van Dijk (Representative Small and Medium-sized businesses) & Van den Berg (Councillor PvdA), *Het Vrije Volk* 10-2-1967

<sup>54</sup> B.A.N. (Belangenvereniging Amsterdam Noord, litt: Pressure Group Amsterdam Noord), *Noord Amsterdammer* 7-4-1967; Association of businesses Amsterdam Noord, *Noord Amsterdammer* 12-4-1967; G. Siegers (Federatie City van Amsterdam, litt: Federation City of Amsterdam), *Het Vrije Volk* 12-6-1967; Prins (Chairman Road Builders), *Nieuws van de Dag* 22-1-1973; Prins (Chairman Road Builders), *De Tijd* 26-1-1973; Hofstede (Reader's letter), *Nieuws van de Dag* 19-1-1973; Van der Kruijf, *Nieuws van de Dag* 19-1-1973; D.A. Jokinen, *Geef de Stad een Kans*, Stichting Weg, Amsterdam 1968; Van Wijck (Former aldermen Businesses), *De Volkskrant* 1-5-1967; H. Glimmerveen, *De Waarheid* 16-3-1973; Alderman Van der Velde (CPN), speaking as a private person, *De Waarheid* 23-2-1973

<sup>55</sup> Hazewinkel (Journalist) about AMTRO plan, *Algemeen Handelsblad* 19-12-1967; D.A. Jokinen, *Geef de Stad een Kans*, Stichting Weg, Amsterdam 1968 p. 35.; B.A.N. (Belangenvereniging Amsterdam Noord, litt: Pressure Group Amsterdam Noord), *Noord Amsterdammer* 7-4-1967; Association of businesses Amsterdam Noord, *Noord Amsterdammer* 12-4-1967; G. Siegers (Federatie City van Amsterdam, litt: Federation City of Amsterdam), *Het Vrije Volk* 12-6-1967; Prins (Chairman Road Builders), *De Tijd* 26-1-1973; Hofstede (Reader's letter), *Nieuws van de Dag* 19-1-1973; Van der Kruijf, *Nieuws van de Dag* 19-1-1973; Van Wijck (Former aldermen Businesses), *De Volkskrant* 1-5-1967; H. Glimmerveen, *De Waarheid* 16-3-1973

<sup>56</sup> Leverland (Reader's letter), *De Volkskrant* 24-4-1967; Buisman (Reader's letter), *Het Vrije Volk* 17-6-1967

<sup>57</sup> Hazewinkel (Journalist) about AMTRO plan, *Algemeen Handelsblad* 19-12-1967; Leverland (Reader's letter), *De Volkskrant* 24-4-1967

<sup>58</sup> Leverland (Reader's letter), *De Volkskrant* 24-4-1967

<sup>59</sup> Nielsen (Urban master builder), *De Telegraaf* 29-9-1967; Delfgaauw, *Het Vrije Volk* 30-3-1968; Salomons, *Het Parool* 1-3-1969

<sup>60</sup> Koevoets (Journalist), *De Telegraaf* 26-9-1970; Stichting Amsterdam City, *De Volkskrant* 26-10-1972; Urban Railway Department, *Nieuws van de Dag* 4-2-1966; D.A. Jokinen, *Geef de Stad een Kans*, Stichting Weg, Amsterdam 1968 pp. 12, 13, 107; Stichting Amsterdam City [according to this organization, "The basis of the society was laid in October 1972, by people who one can define as 'the entrepreneurs' in the City of Amsterdam"] *Nieuws van de Dag*, 21-8-73; Van der Kruijf, *Nieuws van de Dag* 19-1-1973; Stichting Amsterdam City (Foundation for CBD developments), *Amsterdam denk om je hart*, Amsterdam 1974, pp. 6, 7, 12; Alderman Van der Velde (CPN), speaking as a private person, *De Waarheid* 23-2-1973

<sup>61</sup> Cornet (Reader's letter), *Het Vrije Volk* 21-2-1967; G. Siegers (Federatie City van Amsterdam, litt: Federation City of Amsterdam), *Het Vrije Volk* 12-6-1967; Community centre De Eilanden, Winkel (Chief inspector of Police), *Nieuws van de Dag* 26-8-1975; Chief inspector of police Vos, *Het Parool* 12-8-1975; Hieselaar

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<sup>62</sup> Unknown journalist, *Het Parool* 3-1-1970

<sup>63</sup> Stichting Amsterdam City (Foundation for CBD developments), *Amsterdam denk om je hart*, Amsterdam 1974; Unknown journalist, *De Tijd* 26-4-1968; Buisman (Reader's letter), *Het Vrije Volk* 17-6-1967; Chamber of Commerce, *Trouw* 7-10-1975; D.A. Jokinen, *Geef de Stad een Kans*, Stichting Weg, Amsterdam 1968, pp. 12, 53; Stichting Amsterdam City, *Reactie op Voorontwerp structuurplan voor Amsterdam*, 1974; *Delfgaauw*, *De Volkskrant* 14-2-1963; Stichting Amsterdam City, *De Volkskrant* 26-10-1972; *Leverland* (Reader's letter), *De Volkskrant* 24-4-1967; Van Wijck (Former aldermen Businesses), *De Volkskrant* 1-5-1967; Van Dijk (Representative Small and Medium-sized businesses), *Het Vrije Volk* 14-6-1967; Hazewinkel (Journalist) about AMTRO plan, *Algemeen Handelsblad* 19-12-1967; Ossewaarde (GVB), *Nieuws van de Dag* 1-3-1972; Pais (VVD), Unknown newspaper 2-2-1973; Stichting Aansluiting (Netherlands Railway & Koninklijke Nederlandse Vereniging van Transport-Ondernemingen (KVTO), *De Waarheid* 6-4-1973; Van der Kruijf, *Nieuws van de Dag* 19-1-1973; Stichting Amsterdam City (Foundation for CBD developments), *De Volkskrant* 24-10-1975; Vlijmen (Stichting Amsterdam City), *Het Parool* 28-4-1976; Unknown journalist, *Het Parool* 27-4-1966; A. van Nes (Reader's letter), *Wieringer Weekblad* 28-4-1971

<sup>64</sup> Alderman De Wit, *Het Parool* 16-5-1968; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, *Voorontwerp van de Tweede nota over de Amsterdamse binnenstad 1968*, bijlage C.

<sup>65</sup> Van Thijn (PvdA), *Het Vrije Volk* 15-5-1968; Alderman De Wit, *Het Parool* 16-5-1968; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, *Voorontwerp van de Tweede nota over de Amsterdamse binnenstad 1968*, bijlage C.

<sup>66</sup> Alderman De Wit, *Het Vrije Volk* 11-5-1966; Mayor and aldermen, *De Tijd* 17-4-1968; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, *Voorontwerp van de Tweede nota over de Amsterdamse binnenstad 1968*, bijlage C, pp. 86-87; Alderman De Wit, *De Tijd* 29-11-1967

<sup>67</sup> Alderman De Cloe (PvdA) & Alderman Lammers (PvdA), *Gemeentebld* 1971 (afdeling 1, deel III), pp. 2325, 2274; *Gemeentebld* 1969 (bijlage R), p. 6; Local planning departmen Amsterdam, *Nota Stadsvernieuwing 1969*, *Gemeentebld* 1969 (bijlage P, bijlage R); H. Hertzberger, A. van Eyck & M. Bierman (Architects) & Local planning department, *Haagse Post* 27-1-1973; Mayor and aldermen, *De Telegraaf* 9-5-1973; Alderman Lammers (PvdA), *Het Parool* 9-5-1973; Alderman Lammers (PvdA), *Het Parool* 9-1-1974; Alderman Lammers (PvdA) & Minister Westerterp, *Het Parool* 8-1-1974; Alderman Lammers (PvdA), *Nieuws van de Dag* 19-10-1972; Mayor and aldermen, *Algemeen Handelsblad* 1-3-1971; Alderman De Wit, *Het Vrije Volk* 30-11-1967; Mayor and aldermen, *Het Parool* 17-4-1968; Mayor and aldermen, *De Tijd* 17-4-1968; Alderman Lammers in: *Het metrorapport van de Nieuwmarktbuurt*, 1970, p. 2; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, *Voorontwerp van de Tweede nota over de Amsterdamse binnenstad 1968*, bijlage C; *Gemeentebld* 1971 (afdeling 1, deel III), pp. 1811-1827

<sup>68</sup> Alderman Lammers, *Het Parool* 17-2-1972

<sup>69</sup> F.C. Mijnsen, *Amsterdaad & I. Samkalden* (Mayor), *De Tijd* 13-12-1967

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<sup>70</sup> Mayor and aldermen, *De Tijd* 30-4-1968; Local planning department & various other participants, *De Volkskrant* 18-4-1968; H. Hertzberger, A. van Eyck & M. Bierman (Architects) & Local planning department, *Haagse Post* 27-1-1973; Alderman De Cloe (PvdA) & Alderman Lammers (PvdA), *Gemeentebblad* 1971 (afdeling 1, deel III), pp. 2325, 2274; Mayor Samkalden, *Het Parool* 27-8-1970; Mayor and aldermen, *De Waarheid* 27-2-1971; Jansen (Department of Public Works), *De Tijd* 5-1-1972; Alderman De Wit, *Het Parool* 16-5-1968; Mayor and aldermen, *Het Parool* 17-5-1968; Alderman De Wit, *De Tijd* 29-11-1967; Mayor and aldermen, *De Tijd* 17-4-1968; Mayor and aldermen, *Het Parool* 17-4-1968; F.C. Mijnsen, *Amsterdam* & I. Samkalden (Mayor), *De Tijd* 13-12-1967; Local council, *De Tijd* 19-8-1969; *Gemeentebblad* 1969 (afdeling I, bijlage R), p. 16; Alderman Lammers in: *Het metrorapport van de Nieuwmarktbuurt*, 1970, p. 2; Local planning department Amsterdam, *Nota Stadsvernieuwing* 1969, *Gemeentebblad* 1969 (bijlage P, bijlage R); Local Planning Department Amsterdam, *Voorontwerp van de Tweede nota over de Amsterdamse binnenstad* 1968, bijlage C

<sup>71</sup> Local council, *Het Parool* 14-3-1968; Mayor and aldermen, *De Tijd* 30-4-1968; Mayor and aldermen, *Algemeen Handelsblad* 3-4-1968; Mayor and aldermen, *Trouw* 4-4-1968; Alderman de Wit, Alderman de Wit, *Het Parool* 26-4-1968; Bureau Stadsspoor, *De Tijd* 9-5-1968; Mayor and aldermen, *De Telegraaf* 9-5-1973; Alderman Lammers (PvdA) & Minister Westerterp, *Het Parool* 8-1-1974; Alderman Lammers (PvdA) & Minister Westerterp, *NRC Handelsblad* 27-10-1973; Alderman Lammers (PvdA), *Nieuws van de Dag* 19-10-1972; Treumann, Van den Bergh & Sinnige (Councillors PvdA), *Unknown newspaper* 16-12-1970; Treumann (Councillor PvdA) & A. van Eyck (Architect), *De Tijd* 23-2-1971; Mayor and aldermen, *De Waarheid* 27-2-1971; Mayor and aldermen, *Algemeen Handelsblad* 1-3-1971; Mayor and aldermen including Lammers, *De Volkskrant* 14-1-1972; Alderman Lammers, *De Tijd* 14-1-1972; H. Bakker (De Lastige Amsterdammer), R. Dufour (De Lastige Amsterdammer) & G.H. Meijer (Director Public Works), *De Tijd* 4-2-1972; Alderman Lammers, *NRC Handelsblad* 4-2-1972; H. Bakker (De Lastige Amsterdammer), R. Dufour (De Lastige Amsterdammer) & G.H. Meijer (Director Public Works), *Het Parool* 4-2-1972; Alderman Lammers, *Het Parool* 17-2-1972; Mayor and aldermen, *Het Vrije Volk* 11-5-1968; Alderman Polak, *De Tijd* 17-5-1968; Alderman De Wit, *Het Parool* 16-5-1968; Local council, *Het Parool* 16-5-1968; Alderman Polak, *De Tijd* 17-5-1968; Mayor and aldermen, *Het Parool* 17-5-1968; Local council Amsterdam, *De Volkskrant* 17-5-1968; *Unknown journalist*, *Trouw* 18-5-1968; *Unknown journalist*, *De Telegraaf* 18-5-1968; Mayor and aldermen, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 18-1-1972; Mayor and aldermen, *Kontakten* 11-2-1972; Alderman Lammers, *De Tijd* 30-9-1972; H. Lammers & Various inhabitants, *Trouw* 30-9-1972; Mayor and aldermen, *Het Parool* 7-6-1973; Alderman De Wit, *De Tijd* 29-11-1967; Alderman De Wit, *Het Vrije Volk* 30-11-1967; Mayor and aldermen, *Het Parool* 17-4-1968; Mayor and aldermen, *De Tijd* 17-4-1968; *Gemeentebblad* 1969 (Bijlage M-W); Local planning department Amsterdam, *Nota Stadsvernieuwing* 1969, *Gemeentebblad* 1969 (bijlage P, bijlage R); Local Planning Department Amsterdam, *Voorontwerp van de Tweede nota over de Amsterdamse binnenstad* 1968, bijlage C, pp. 11, 50, 81; Mayor and aldermen, *De Telegraaf* 9-5-1973; Meijer (Public Works), *Het Parool* 23-9-1971; Alderman De Wit, *Het Parool* 20-6-1969; Mayor and aldermen, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 18-1-1972

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<sup>72</sup> Alderman De Wit, *De Tijd* 29-11-1967; Alderman De Wit, *Het Vrije Volk* 30-11-1967; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp van de Tweede nota over de Amsterdamse binnenstad 1968, bijlage C; Brautigam & Blom van Assendelft, Unknown newspaper 14-7-1971; Mayor and aldermen, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 18-1-1972; Mayor and aldermen, *Trouw* 18-1-1972; Mayor and aldermen, *De Tijd* 9-10-1967; Mayor and aldermen, *De Tijd* 17-4-1968; Den Uyl, *Het Parool* 20-11-1963; Mayor and aldermen, *De Volkskrant* 13-1-1970

<sup>73</sup> Mayor and aldermen, *De Tijd* 30-4-1968; Mayor and aldermen, *Algemeen Handelsblad* 3-4-1968; Mayor and aldermen, *Trouw* 4-4-1968; Local planning department & various other participants, *De Volkskrant* 18-4-1968; Alderman de Wit, *Het Parool* 26-4-1968; H. Lammers & G. Siegers (Federation City of Amsterdam), *Algemeen Handelsblad* 18-10-1971; H. Hertzberger, A. van Eyck & M. Bierman (Architects) & Local planning department, *Haagse Post* 27-1-1973; Mayor and aldermen, *De Telegraaf* 9-5-1973; Mayor and aldermen, *De Tijd* 9-5-1973; Mayor and aldermen, *Het Parool* 9-5-1973; Alderman Lammers, *Het Parool* 9-5-1973; Mayor and aldermen, *Algemeen Handelsblad* 1-3-1971; Meijer (Public Works), *Het Parool* 23-9-1971; Mayor and aldermen including Lammers, *De Volkskrant* 14-1-1972; Alderman Lammers, *De Tijd* 14-1-1972; Alderman Lammers, *NRC Handelsblad* 4-2-1972; Mayor and aldermen, *Het Vrije Volk* 11-5-1968; Mayor and aldermen, *De Tijd* 11-5-1968; Alderman De Wit, *Het Parool* 16-5-1968; Alderman Polak, *De Tijd* 17-5-1968; Mayor and aldermen, *Het Parool* 17-5-1968; Local council Amsterdam, *De Volkskrant* 17-5-1968; Alderman De Wit, *Het Parool* 20-6-1969; Alderman Lammers, *De Tijd* 30-9-1972; Alderman De Wit, *Het Vrije Volk* 30-11-1967; Mayor and aldermen, *De Tijd* 17-4-1968; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp van de Tweede nota over de Amsterdamse binnenstad 1968, bijlage C, p. 111; Den Uyl, *Dagblad van Noord Limburg* 27-11-1963; Local council Amsterdam, *Algemeen Handelsblad* 10-7-1971; Mayor and aldermen, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 18-1-1972; Mayor and aldermen, *Kontakten* 11-2-1972; Mayor and aldermen, *Trouw* 18-1-1972; Alderman De Wit, *De Tijd* 29-11-1967

<sup>74</sup> Mayor and aldermen, *Het Parool* 17-4-1968; Mayor and aldermen, *De Tijd* 17-4-1968; Mayor and aldermen, *Het Vrije Volk* 17-4-1968; Den Uyl, *Het Parool* 20-11-1963; Alderman De Wit, *Het Vrije Volk* 30-11-1967; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp van de Tweede nota over de Amsterdamse binnenstad 1968, bijlage C

<sup>75</sup> Alderman Lammers, *De Tijd* 10-1-1973; Alderman De Cloe (PvdA) & Alderman Lammers (PvdA), *Gemeentebld* 1971 (afdeling 1, deel III), p. 2326; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp van de Tweede nota over de Amsterdamse binnenstad 1968, bijlage C, p. 70

<sup>76</sup> Alderman De Wit, Prof. W.F. Heinemeijer & Prof. G.J. Van den Berg, *De Toekomst van de Amsterdamse Binnenstad*, KNAG, Amsterdam 1968, pp. 27-28; Alderman De Wit, *Het Vrije Volk* 30-11-1967; Mayor and aldermen, *De Tijd* 17-4-1968; Mayor and aldermen, *Het Parool* 17-4-1968; Mayor and aldermen, *Het Vrije Volk* 17-4-1968; *Gemeentebld* 1969 (deel 1, bijlage R), p. 18; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp van de Tweede nota over de Amsterdamse binnenstad 1968, bijlage C, pp. 68-69

<sup>77</sup> Mayor Samkalden, *Het Parool* 27-8-1970; H. Lammers (Alderman Public Works, Urban Development, Harbour & Art), Treumann (Councillor PvdA), Bos

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(Kabouter), Wessels (Councillor D'66), De Tijd 26-11-1970; Local council, Het Parool 16-5-1968; Mayor and aldermen, Het Parool 17-5-1968; Mayor and aldermen, De Tijd 17-4-1968; Mayor and aldermen, Het Vrije Volk 11-5-1968; Mayor and aldermen, De Tijd 30-4-1968; Mayor and aldermen, Algemeen Handelsblad 3-4-1968; Alderman De Wit, Algemeen Dagblad 24-5-1966; Alderman Lammers, De Tijd 14-1-1972; Alderman Lammers, De Tijd 11-2-1972; Alderman De Wit, Het Parool 16-5-1968; Mayor and aldermen, Het Parool 17-4-1968; Mayor and aldermen, Het Vrije Volk 17-4-1968; Gemeentebld 1969 (deel 1, bijlage R), p. 18; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp van de Tweede nota over de Amsterdamse binnenstad 1968, bijlage C; Den Uyl, Dagblad van Noord Limburg 27-11-1963; Den Uyl, Het Parool 20-11-1963; Mayor Van Hall, Hier Rotterdam 6-4-1962; Alderman De Wit, Algemeen Dagblad 31-8-1966; Mayor and aldermen, Het Parool 6-2-1970; Mayor Van Hall, Trouw 17-3-1965; Mayor Van Hall, Amstelveens Weekblad, 25-3-1965; Mayor Van Hall, Trouw 7-5-1965; Gemeente haarlemmermeer Parool 24-6-1965; Mayor and aldermen, De Tijd 26-11-1968

<sup>78</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Stadsvernieuwing 2, Programma voor de Korte termijn, Gemeentebld 1971 (bijlage N), p. 5

<sup>79</sup> Mayor and aldermen, Trouw 4-4-1968; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 27-4-1968; Local council Amsterdam, Trouw 3-6-1967; Mayor Samkalden, Het Parool 27-8-1970; Keyzer, 27-8-1970; Samkalden, Het Parool 6-3-1975; Local council Amsterdam, De Telegraaf 6-4-1968; Samkalden on behalf of mayor and aldermen, De Volkskrant 30-11-1974; Alderman Lammers, Het Parool 2-4-1976

<sup>80</sup> Alderman Lammers, Het Parool 2-4-1976

<sup>81</sup> Mayor Samkalden, Het Parool 27-8-1970; Keyzer, 27-8-1970

<sup>82</sup> Mayor and aldermen, Het Parool 6-2-1970; Local council Haarlemmermeer, Het Parool 24-6-1965; Local council Aalsmeer, De Waarheid 23-7-1966; Unknown journalist, Het Vrije Volk 7-7-1966; Local council Haarlemmermeer, Trouw 4-8-1966; Local council Amsterdam, De Volkskrant 17-8-1966

<sup>83</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp van de Tweede nota over de Amsterdamse binnenstad 1968, bijlage C; Alderman De Wit, Algemeen Dagblad 24-5-1966; Den Uyl, Het Parool 20-11-1963

<sup>84</sup> Alderman Lammers, De Tijd 14-1-1972; Alderman De Wit, De Tijd 11-2-1972; Mayor and aldermen, De Tijd 17-4-1968; nota Mayor and aldermen, Het Vrije Volk 17-4-1968; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp van de Tweede nota over de Amsterdamse binnenstad 1968, bijlage C, pp. 69-70; A. de Groot, D.H. Frieling, G.A. Nassuth (Designer Bijlmermeer), A. Balk, B. Kruyt, G.H. Polet, Zes inleidingen over stadsvernieuwing, Verslag van een bijeenkomst op 31-10-1969, Amsterdam 1970

<sup>85</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp van de Tweede nota over de Amsterdamse binnenstad 1968, bijlage C, p. 8; Den Uyl, Dagblad van Noord Limburg 27-11-1963; Den Uyl, Het Parool 20-11-1963

<sup>86</sup> Wessels (Councillor D'66), Nieuws van de Dag 30-9-1970; d'Oude Stadt (Community centre), Algemeen Handelsblad 2-12-1971; Heinemans (Member Raad voor de Stedebouw (Board for urban development), Elsevier 6-11-1976; Amsterdam Autovrij (Action group, literally: Amsterdam car-less), Reeks No. 1, 3rd revised edition, p. 3; Unknown journalist, De Groene Amsterdammer 7-2-1970

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- <sup>87</sup> E. Spier (Architect), Netherlands Department for Conservation (Monumentenzorg) & G. Brinkgreve, *De Tijd* 2-6-1973; Alderman De Wit, *Het Vrije Volk* 9-2-1971, p. 10; Action group Nieuwmarkt, *Het metrorapport van de Nieuwmarktbuurt*, 1970; Inhabitants Nieuwmarktbuurt, *Het Parool* 30-7-1974
- <sup>88</sup> Alderman De Wit, *Het Vrije Volk* 9-2-1971, p. 10
- <sup>89</sup> Former alderman Polak, *De Volkskrant* 13-9-1973 & in *NRC Handelsblad* 13-9-1973
- <sup>90</sup> Action group Nieuwmarkt, *Het metrorapport van de Nieuwmarktbuurt*, 1970, p. 2
- <sup>91</sup> Rossen (KVP Leader), *De Volkskrant* 9-3-1967; PPR, Unknown newspaper 6-5-1975; Amsterdam Autovrij (Action group), Pamphlet *De Wibautstory* 7-10-1976
- <sup>92</sup> A. van Eyck (Architect), *De Tijd* 9-10-1970; KVP, *De Volkskrant* 28-5-1970
- <sup>93</sup> T. Koot, *Trouw* 12-4-1967
- <sup>94</sup> A. Bijlsma (Anti-metro activist), *Het Parool* 15-10-1974
- <sup>95</sup> De Lastige Amsterdammer (Action group), *Binnenring en Burokratie*, 16-4-1975, p. xiii; Heemschut (Historical society), *De Volkskrant* 30-3-1968; De Hen (Journalist), *Vrij Nederland* 26-5-1973; De Lastige Amsterdammer, *Algemeen Handelsblad* 1-10-1971; De Lastige Amsterdammer, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 1-10-1971; De Lastige Amsterdammer, *De Volkskrant* 2-10-1971; H. Riethof (Councillor P.S.P.), *Het Parool* 12-2-1974 & in: *De Telegraaf* 12-2-1974; P.S.P., P.P.R., De Lastige Amsterdammer, d'Oude Stadt & Action group Nieuwmarkt, *Trouw* 12-2-1974; H. Riethof (Councillor P.S.P.), *De Tijd* 12-2-1974; M. Bierman, De Groene Amsterdammer, 12-2-1972; Prof. W.F. Heinemeijer & Prof. G.J. van den Berg, *De toekomst van de Amsterdamse Binnenstad*, KNAG, Amsterdam 1968, p. 21; Bond van Nederlandse Architecten (B.N.A., Royal Institute of Dutch Architects), d'Oude Stadt (Community centre), Amstelodamum (Historical society) & Ons Amsterdam (Historical society), *Algemeen Handelsblad* 22-4-1968; De Lastige Amsterdammer, *Het Parool* 31-1-1973; J.J. Vriend (Amsterdaad) & G. Brinkgreve, De Groene Amsterdammer 9-3-1968; De Lastige Amsterdammer, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 29-5-1974; d'Oude Stadt (Community centre), Action group Nieuwmarktbuurt, Boemspijker (Action group), De Lastige Amsterdammer (Action group), *De Telegraaf* 15-6-1974; R. van Duijn (Councillor Provo) & H. Bakker (De Lastige Amsterdammer), *Het Parool* 16-1-1970; Society Architectura et Amicitia, *Het Parool* 15-5-1968; Hartsuyker (Foundation league Nieuwe Beelden), *De Volkskrant* 15-5-1968; Action group Nieuwmarkt, *Het metrorapport van de Nieuwmarktbuurt*, 1970, pp. 2, 17, 42
- <sup>96</sup> G. Brinkgreve, *Elsevier* 10-3-1973; E. Spier (Architect), Netherlands Department for Conservation (Monumentenzorg) & G. Brinkgreve, *De Tijd* 2-6-1973; J.J. Vriend (Amsterdaad) & G. Brinkgreve, De Groene Amsterdammer 9-3-1968; W.F. Heinemeijer (Amsterdaad, human geographer), *De Volkskrant* 11-3-1968; Evert Werkman, *Het Parool* 20-3-1968; Heemschut (Historical society), *De Volkskrant* 30-3-1968 K. Borkent (Action committee Bureau Bezorgde Burgers), *De Tijd* 10-5-1978; Results survey among inhabitants, *Algemeen Handelsblad* 11-5-1968; T. Koot, *Trouw* 12-4-1967; Rossen (KVP), *De Volkskrant* 24-4-1967; T. Koot, *De Volkskrant* 24-4-1967; M. Bierman (De Lastige Amsterdammer) & W.F. Heinemeijer (Amsterdaad), *De Volkskrant* 2-3-1968; K.V.P., *De Volkskrant* 23-5-1973; K.V.P., *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 23-5-1973; T. Koot, *De Telegraaf* 7-9-1973; B. Kroon (Amsterdaad), *De Tijd/Maasbode* 1-9-1970; T. Koot (Heemschut), *Nieuws van de Dag* 26-3-1976

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<sup>97</sup> J.J. Vriend (Amsterdaad) & G. Brinkgreve, *De Groene Amsterdammer* 9-3-1968; T. Koot, *De Volkskrant* 24-4-1967; Unknown journalist, *Algemeen Handelsblad* 6-4-1968; Participants 'wens-in', *Het Parool* 26-4-1968; T. Koot, *Trouw* 12-4-1967; G. Brinkgreve, *Elsevier* 10-3-1973; H. Bakker (De Lastige Amsterdammer) & H. Hofland (Writer, intellectual, journalist), *De Tijd* 28-5-1973; T. Koot, *De Telegraaf* 7-9-1973; M. Bierman (De Lastige Amsterdammer), *De Groene Amsterdammer* 28-11-1970; M. Bierman (De Lastige Amsterdammer), *De Groene Amsterdammer* 28-11-1970; A. Bijlsma (Anti-metro activist), *Het Parool* 15-10-1974; T. Koot (Heemschut), *Het Vrije Volk* 2-12-1966; Heinemans (Member Raad voor de Stedebouw (Board for urban development), *Elsevier* 6-11-1976; Unknown journalist, *De Telegraaf* 3-11-1973; Unknown journalist, *De Tijd* 10-1-1973; Unknown journalist, *De Tijd* 2-6-1973; Unknown journalist, *De Tijd* 21-2-1969

<sup>98</sup> A. van Eyck (Architect), *De Tijd* 9-10-1970, or as someone else state dit: "Do we really still have to prove that the metro's starting point 'many offices in the centre' is superseded?" in: A. Bijlsma (Anti-metro activist), *Het Parool* 15-10-1974

<sup>99</sup> d'Oude Stadt (Community centre) & Action group Nieuwmarkt, *Het Parool* 5-1-1972; De Lastige Amsterdammer (Action group), *De Volkskrant* 26-1-1973; M. Bierman (De Lastige Amsterdammer), *De Groene Amsterdammer* 28-11-1970; Action group Nieuwmarkt, *Het metrorapport van de Nieuwmarktbuurt*, 1970 p. 17; E. Spier (Architect), Netherlands Department for Conservation (Monumentenzorg) & G. Brinkgreve, *De Tijd* 2-6-1973; Rossen (KVP Leader), *De Volkskrant* 9-3-1967; Rossen (KVP), *De Volkskrant* 24-4-1967; H. Hertzberger, A. van Eyck & M. Bierman (Architects) & Local planning department, *Haagse Post* 27-1-1973; Unknown journalist, *De Groene Amsterdammer* 28-2-1973; K.V.P., *De Volkskrant* 23-5-1973; T. Koot, *Nieuws van de Dag* 30-4-1974; d'Oude Stadt (Community centre), Redevelopment committee & Inhabitants Nieuwmarkt, *De Volkskrant* 20-1-1973; V. Lebesque, *De Volkskrant* 20-1-1973; Unknown journalist, *Algemeen Handelsblad* 15-5-1968; Hartsuyker (Foundation league Nieuwe Beelden), *De Volkskrant* 15-5-1968; PPR, Unknown newspaper 6-5-1975; Architectura et Amicitia (Architectural society), *Toestand na sloping voor metro* (Vol. 23, 4-11-1970); A. Bijlsma (Anti-metro activist), *Het Parool* 15-10-1974; d'Oude Stadt (Community centre), Redevelopment committee & Inhabitants Nieuwmarkt, *De Volkskrant* 20-1-1973

<sup>100</sup> Unknown journalist, *De Groene Amsterdammer* 7-2-1970; E. Spier (Architect), Netherlands Department for Conservation (Monumentenzorg) & G. Brinkgreve, *De Tijd* 2-6-1973; H. Hertzberger, A. van Eyck & M. Bierman (Architects) & Local planning department, *Haagse Post* 27-1-1973; A. Bijlsma (Anti-metro activist), *Het Parool* 15-10-1974; P. Kouwenberg (Reader's letter) *De Volkskrant* 20-1-1973; M. Bierman, *De Groene Amsterdammer*, 12-2-1972; Inhabitants committee Wibaut, *De Tijd* 28-9-1972; Various unknown inhabitants, *Trouw* 29-9-1972; H. Lammers & Various inhabitants, *Trouw* 30-9-1972; Unknown journalist, *Nieuws van de Dag* 16-1-1973; Amsterdam Autovrij (Action group), Pamphlet *De Wibautstory* 7-10-1976; H. Hertzberger & B. Delmee (Architects), *Nieuwmarkt 1970*; De Lastige Amsterdammer, E.G. Stijkel (Chamber of Commerce) & H. Lammers (Alderman Public Works, Urban Development, Harbour & Art), *Het Parool* 27-12-1972; T. Koot (Heemschut), *Nieuws van de Dag* 26-3-1976

<sup>101</sup> W.F. Heinemeijer (Amsterdaad, human geographer), *De Volkskrant* 11-3-1968; A. Bijlsma (Anti-metro activist), *Het Parool* 15-10-1974; Amsterdaad, *De Tijd* 6-10-



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1967; Unknown journalist, *Het Vrije Volk* 23-2-1967; M. Bierman (Member Action group *De Lastige Amsterdammer*), Unknown newspaper 10-4-1970; *Amstelodamum*, *Het Parool* 8-2-1967

<sup>102</sup> T. Koot (Heemschut), *Nieuws van de Dag* 26-3-1976

<sup>103</sup> *De Lastige Amsterdammer* (Action group), *Binnenring en Burokratie*, 16-4-1975; K. Borkent (Action committee Bureau Bezorgde Burgers), *De Tijd* 10-5-1978; Unknown journalist, *Algemeen Handelsblad* 11-5-1968; Rossen (KVP Leader), *Elsevier* 25-3-1967; Rossen (KVP), *De Volkskrant* 24-4-1967; T. Koot, *De Volkskrant* 24-4-1967; T. Koot, *Trouw* 12-4-1967; *De Lastige Amsterdammer* (Action group), *De Volkskrant* 26-1-1973; H. Hertzberger, A. van Eyck & M. Bierman (Architects) & Local planning department, *Haagse Post* 27-1-1973; *De Lastige Amsterdammer*, *De Tijd* 13-6-1973; d'Oude Stadt (Community centre), Redevelopment committee & Inhabitants Nieuwmarkt, *De Volkskrant* 20-1-1973; P. van Ingen (Television presenter), *Het Vrije Volk* 17-5-1968; M. Bierman (Member Action group *De Lastige Amsterdammer*), Unknown newspaper 10-4-1970; Action group Nieuwmarkt, *Het metrorapport van de Nieuwmarktbuurt*, 1970; H. Hertzberger & B. Delmee (Architects), Nieuwmarkt 1970; H. Bakker (*De Lastige Amsterdammer*), *Noordhollands Dagblad* 21-4-1971

<sup>104</sup> M. Bierman (Member Action group *De Lastige Amsterdammer*), Unknown newspaper 10-4-1970; A. Bijlsma (Anti-metro activist), *Het Parool* 15-10-1974

<sup>105</sup> City planners, *Trouw* 22-10-1971

<sup>106</sup> Bond van Nederlandse Architecten (B.N.A., Royal Institute of Dutch Architects), d'Oude Stadt (Community centre), *Amstelodamum* (Historical society) & *Ons Amsterdam* (Historical society), *Algemeen Handelsblad* 22-4-1968; d'Oude Stadt (Community centre), Action group Nieuwmarktbuurt, *Boomspijker* (Action group), *De Lastige Amsterdammer* (Action group), *Amsterdams Stadsblad* 13-12-1972; *De Lastige Amsterdammer*, *Het Parool* 31-1-1973; J. Klaassen (Reader's letter), *De Volkskrant* 20-1-1973; d'Oude Stadt (Community centre), *Nieuws van de Dag* 2-3-1971; L. Schimmelpennink (Provo), *Trouw* 2-3-1971; T. Koot (Heemschut), *Nieuws van de Dag* 24-11-1971; T. Koot (Heemschut), *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 13-12-1971; *De Lastige Amsterdammer*, *De Telegraaf* 15-9-1971; *De Lastige Amsterdammer*, *Het Vrije Volk* 24-9-1971; Prof. W.F. Heinemeijer & Prof. G.J. van den Berg, *De toekomst van de Amsterdamse Binnenstad*, KNAG, Amsterdam 1968

<sup>107</sup> Unknown journalist, *Het Parool* 13-10-1977

<sup>108</sup> *De Lastige Amsterdammer* (Action group), *Binnenring en Burokratie*, 16-4-1975; *Society Architectura et Amicitia*, *Het Parool* 15-5-1968

<sup>109</sup> K. Borkent (Action committee Bureau Bezorgde Burgers), *De Volkskrant* 10-5-1968; *De Lastige Amsterdammer* (Action group), *De Volkskrant* 26-1-1973; H. Bakker (*De Lastige Amsterdammer*), *Trouw* 26-1-1973; *De Hen* (Journalist), *Vrij Nederland* 26-5-1973; E. Heerma (Councillor A.R.) & G. Brinkgreve, *Trouw* 29-5-1973; *De Lastige Amsterdammer*, *De Tijd* 1-10-1971; *De Lastige Amsterdammer*, *Algemeen Handelsblad* 1-10-1971; *De Lastige Amsterdammer*, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 1-10-1971; A. Bijlsma (Anti-metro activist), *Het Parool* 15-10-1974; d'Oude Stadt (Community centre), Redevelopment committee & Inhabitants Nieuwmarkt, *De Volkskrant* 20-1-1973; H. Hagens (Journalist), *Vrij Nederland* 2-10-1971; M. Bierman, *De Groene Amsterdammer*, 12-2-1972; Action group Nieuwmarkt, *Het metrorapport van de Nieuwmarktbuurt*, 1970; *De Lastige Amsterdammer*, *Het Parool* 2-10-1971

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<sup>110</sup> E. Spier (Architect), Netherlands Department for Conservation (Monumentenzorg) & G. Brinkgreve, *De Tijd* 2-6-1973

<sup>111</sup> Amsterdam Autovrij (Action group, literally: Amsterdam car-less), Reeks No. 1, 3rd revised edition, p. 11; De Zoeten (Reader's letter), *Nieuws van de Dag* 22-1-1973; H. Bakker (De Lastige Amsterdammer), *Trouw* 26-1-1973; H. Hertzberger, A. van Eyck & M. Bierman (Architects) & Local planning department, *Haagse Post* 27-1-1973; Kouwenberg & Herlitz (Swedish action group Alterntive Stad), *De Volkskrant* 12-3-1973; C.P.N. & anti-communists, Unknown newspaper 9-5-1973; H. Bakker (De Lastige Amsterdammer) & H. Hofland (Writer, intellectual, journalist), *De Tijd* 28-5-1973; De Lastige Amsterdammer, *De Tijd* 1-10-1971; Leeuwes-Bothof (Reader's letter), *Nieuws van de Dag* 19-1-1973; J. Klaassen (Reader's letter), *De Volkskrant* 20-1-1973; d'Oude Stadt (Community centre), Redevelopment committee & Inhabitants Nieuwmarkt, *De Volkskrant* 20-1-1973; T. Koot (Heemschut), *Nieuws van de Dag* 24-11-1971; T. Koot (Heemschut), *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 13-12-1971; d'Oude Stadt (Community centre), *Het Parool* 3-12-1971; Action group Nieuwmarkt, *Het metrorapport van de Nieuwmarktbuurt*, 1970; Heinemans (Member Raad voor de Stedebouw (Board for urban development), *Elsevier* 6-11-1976; R. van Duijn & H. Lammers, *De Volkskrant* 15-10-1977; H. Bakker (De Lastige Amsterdammer), *Noordhollands Dagblad* 21-4-1971; Evert Werkman, *Het Parool* 21-3-1968; K. Borkent (Bureau Bezorgde Burgers), *Het Parool* 10-5-1968; Unknown journalist, *Algemeen Handelsblad* 11-5-1968; T. Koot, *Trouw* 12-4-1967; M. Bierman (De Lastige Amsterdammer) & W.F. Heinemeijer (Amsterdaad), *De Volkskrant* 2-3-1968; B. Kroon (Amsterdaad), *De Tijd/Maasbode* 1-9-1970; Genootschap Amstelodamum (Historical society), *Trouw* 10-2-1972; Heemschut (Historical society), *De Volkskrant* 30-3-1968; E. Spier (Architect), Netherlands Department for Conservation (Monumentenzorg) & G. Brinkgreve, *De Tijd* 2-6-1973; K. Borkent (Action committee Bureau Bezorgde Burgers), *De Tijd* 10-5-1978; P. Snoeren (Artist), Unknown newspaper 20-11-1971; M. Kloos (Architect), *NRC Handelsblad* 10-3-1975; T. Koot (Heemschut), *Nieuws van de Dag* 26-3-1976; Amsterdam Autovrij (Action group), Pamphlet *De Wibautstory* 7-10-1976; T. Koot (Heemschut), *Het Vrije Volk* 2-12-1966; G. Brinkgreve & Amsterdaad, *De Tijd* 25-11-1967; A. van Eyck (Architect), *De Tijd* 9-10-1970; Architectura et Amicitia (Architectural society), *Toestand na sloping voor metro* (Vol. 23, 4-11-1970)

<sup>112</sup> R. Smit (Journalist), *Groene Amsterdammer* 30-5-1972

<sup>113</sup> J. Klaassen (Reader's letter), *De Volkskrant* 20-1-1973

<sup>114</sup> V. Lebesque, *De Volkskrant* 20-1-1973

<sup>115</sup> De Hen (Journalist), *Vrij Nederland* 26-5-1973; Evert Werkman, *Het Parool* 21-3-1968; H. Bakker (De Lastige Amsterdammer) & H. Hofland (Writer, intellectual, journalist), *De Tijd* 28-5-1973; De Lastige Amsterdammer, *Het Parool* 2-10-1971; V. Lebesque, *De Volkskrant* 20-1-1973; Action group Nieuwmarkt, *Het metrorapport van de Nieuwmarktbuurt*, 1970, p. 33

<sup>116</sup> More examples in: Unknown journalist, *De Tijd* 24-1-1973; Inhabitants of Amsterdam, *De Telegraaf* 30-3-1974; d'Oude Stadt (Community centre), Redevelopment committee & Inhabitants Nieuwmarkt, *De Volkskrant* 20-1-1973; Kabouters (Urban social movement), *De Tijd* 29-10-1971; d'Oude Stadt (Community centre), Action group Nieuwmarktbuurt, *Boomspijker* (Action group), *De Lastige Amsterdammer* (Action group), *Amsterdams Stadsblad* 13-12-1972

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- <sup>117</sup> Unknown journalist, *De Tijd* 24-1-1973
- <sup>118</sup> B. Kroon (Amsterdaad), *De Tijd/Maasbode* 1-9-1970
- <sup>119</sup> Action group *De Wetering Verbetering*, *Algemeen Handelsblad* 28-5-1971; Evert Werkman, *Het Parool* 21-3-1968; Unknown journalist, *Nieuws van de Dag* 26-3-1977; Action group *Nieuwmarkt*, *Het metrorapport van de Nieuwmarktbuurt*, 1970; H. Hertzberger & B. Delmee (Architects), *Nieuwmarkt* 1970; *Het metrorapport van de nieuwmarkt* 2e druk., p. 18; *Amsterdam Autovrij* (Action group, literally: *Amsterdam car-less*), Reeks No. 1, 3rd revised edition, p. 17
- <sup>120</sup> *De Lastige Amsterdammer* (Action group), *Binnenring en Burokratie*, 16-4-1975
- <sup>121</sup> *Amsterdaad*, *De Tijd* 6-10-1967; *Amsterdaad*, Unknown newspaper 9-10-1967; *Amsterdaad*, *Nieuws van de Dag* 11-10-1967; *De Lastige Amsterdammer*, *Het Vrije Volk* 24-9-1971; *Amsterdam Autovrij* (Action group), Pamphlet *De Wibautstory* 7-10-1976; Several squatters, *NRC Handelsblad* 19-10-1972; Anti-metro committee, *De Volkskrant* 24-9-1971; Various unknown inhabitants, *Het Parool* 13-10-1977; *De Lastige Amsterdammer*, *Het Parool* 28-7-1970
- <sup>122</sup> Hottentot (Reader's letter), *Typhoon* 17-2-1978; A. van Nes (Reader's letter), *Wieringer Weekblad* 28-4-1971
- <sup>123</sup> K. Borkent (Action committee Bureau Bezorgde Burgers), *De Tijd* 10-5-1968
- <sup>124</sup> *De Lastige Amsterdammer* (Action group), *De Volkskrant* 26-1-1973; H. Bakker (*De Lastige Amsterdammer*), *Trouw* 26-1-1973; *De Lastige Amsterdammer*, *De Tijd* 23-9-1971; H. Hagens (Journalist), *Vrij Nederland* 2-10-1971; Action group *Nieuwmarkt*, *De Tijd* 11-1-1973; *Bezorgde Burgers* (Action group Worried Inhabitants), *De Tijd* 17-5-1968; H. Bakker (Member Action group *De Lastige Amsterdammer*), *Trouw* 12-6-1970; Action group *Nieuwmarkt*, *Het metrorapport van de Nieuwmarktbuurt*, 1970; *De Lastige Amsterdammer*, *De Tijd* 1-10-1971
- <sup>125</sup> *De Lastige Amsterdammer*, *De Tijd* 23-9-1971
- <sup>126</sup> *De Lastige Amsterdammer*, *De Tijd* 23-9-1971
- <sup>127</sup> *Amsterdam Autovrij* (Action group, literally: *Amsterdam car-less*), No. X; *Amsterdam Autovrij* (Action group, literally: *Amsterdam car-less*), No. 6; K. Borkent (Action committee Bureau Bezorgde Burgers), *De Tijd* 10-5-1978; *De Groep Zonder Naam* (Action group), *Het Parool* 17-5-1973; Unknown cartoonist, *De Tijd* 28-5-1973; Various unknown inhabitants, *Het Parool* 13-10-1977; Opland (Cartoonist), *De Tijd* 11-5-1968; Action group *Nieuwmarkt*, *Het metrorapport van de Nieuwmarktbuurt*, 1970; Opland, *De Groene Amsterdammer* 7-2-1973
- <sup>128</sup> *De Lastige Amsterdammer*, *De Tijd* 12-1-1972; *De Lastige Amsterdammer*, *Trouw* 12-1-1972; PW (Columnist), *Het Parool* 21-7-1972; E. Heerma (Councillor A.R.) & G. Brinkgreve, *Trouw* 29-5-1973
- <sup>129</sup> Beerling (Artist, Cartoonist), *Vrij Nederland* 23-11-1974
- <sup>130</sup> Construction workers, *De Waarheid* 18-8-1973
- <sup>131</sup> Construction workers, *De Waarheid* 18-8-1973; Construction workers, *Het Parool* 18-8-1973
- <sup>132</sup> J.J. Vriend (*Amsterdaad*) & G. Brinkgreve, *De Groene Amsterdammer* 9-3-1968; T. Koot, *De Volkskrant* 24-4-1967; H. Bakker (*De Lastige Amsterdammer*) & H. Hofland (Writer, intellectual, journalist), *De Tijd* 28-5-1973; Inhabitants *Nieuwmarktbuurt*, Unknown newspaper 27-6-1974; A. van Eyck & T. Bosch (Architects), *Trouw* 11-7-1974; Unknown journalist, *Algemeen Handelsblad* 17-5-1968; H. Bakker (*De Lastige Amsterdammer*), *Noordhollands Dagblad* 21-4-1971; W.F. Heinemeijer & G. Brinkgreve, *De Tijd* 17-8-1967; Action committee

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Nieuwmarkt, De Volkskrant 26-11-1970; Action group Nieuwmarkt, Het metrorapport van de Nieuwmarktbuurt, 1970; Amsterdam Autovrij (Action group, literally: Amsterdam car-less), Reeks No. 1, 3rd revised edition, p. 3; Action group Nieuwmarkt & Inhabitants committee Lastageweg, De Volkskrant 4-12-1974; One anonymous occupant, Nieuws van de Dag 16-10-1974; H. Bakker (De Lastige Amsterdammer), De Tijd 22-12-1971; Various inhabitants & PROVO, De Volkskrant 17-4-1967

<sup>133</sup> Various inhabitants, De Tijd 17-1-1969

<sup>134</sup> Amsterdam Autovrij (Action group, literally: Amsterdam car-less), No. X; De Lastige Amsterdammer (Action group), Binnenring en Burokratie, 16-4-1975; E. Spier (Architect), Netherlands Department for Conservation (Monumentenzorg) & G. Brinkgreve, De Tijd 2-6-1973; T. Koot, De Telegraaf 7-9-1973; Amsterdaad, Het Parool 6-10-1967; C.P.N. & anti-communists, Unknown newspaper 9-5-1973; Inhabitants Nieuwmarktbuurt, Unknown newspaper 27-6-1974; T. Hofman & H. Hofman (Activists), Trouw 17-9-1974; R. Smit (Journalist), Groene Amsterdammer 30-5-1972; T. Koot (Heemschut), Nieuws van de Dag 24-11-1971; T. Koot (Heemschut), Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 13-12-1971; Action group Nieuwmarkt, Het metrorapport van de Nieuwmarktbuurt, 1970; Action group Nieuwmarkt, Het metrorapport van de Nieuwmarktbuurt, 1970

<sup>135</sup> d'Oude Stadt (Community Centre), De Telegraaf 24-9-1974; H. Bakker (Member Action group De Lastige Amsterdammer), Trouw 12-6-1970; A. van Eyck, Het Parool 9-10-1967

<sup>136</sup> A poem from culturalists, in which they threaten to undertake actions against city planners because of their city plans, In: Action group Nieuwmarkt, Het metrorapport van de Nieuwmarktbuurt, 1970

<sup>137</sup> Unknown journalist, De Groene Amsterdammer 7-2-1970; Amsterdam Autovrij (Action group, literally: Amsterdam car-less), Reeks No. 1, 3rd revised edition; Amsterdam Autovrij (Action group, literally: Amsterdam car-less), No. X; Amsterdam Autovrij, No. 3, p. 9; De Lastige Amsterdammer (Action group), Binnenring en Burokratie, 16-4-1975; W.F. Heinemeijer (Amsterdaad, human geographer), De Volkskrant 11-3-1968; Heemschut (Historical society), De Volkskrant 30-3-1968; G. Brinkgreve & L. Schimmelpenninck, Algemeen Handelsblad 8-5-1968; Booltink (Heemschut), Nieuws van de Dag 22-1-1973; De Hen (Journalist), Vrij Nederland 26-5-1973; H. Bakker (De Lastige Amsterdammer) & H. Hofland (Writer, intellectual, journalist), De Tijd 28-5-1973; P.S.P., P.P.R., De Lastige Amsterdammer, d'Oude Stadt & Action group Nieuwmarkt, Trouw 12-2-1974; H. Riethof (Councillor P.S.P.), De Tijd 12-2-1974; Inhabitants Nieuwmarktbuurt, De Volkskrant 13-2-1974; V. Lebesque, De Volkskrant 25-2-1974; Inhabitants Nieuwmarktbuurt, Unknown newspaper 27-6-1974; A. Bijlsma (Anti-metro activist), Het Parool 15-10-1974; Unknown journalist, Nieuws van de Dag 5-11-1974; B. Kroon (Amsterdaad), De Tijd/Maasbode 1-9-1970; Heinemans, De Volkskrant 10-12-1971; M. Bierman, De Groene Amsterdammer, 12-2-1972; M. Bierman (Member Action group De Lastige Amsterdammer), Unknown newspaper 10-4-1970 T. Koot (Heemschut), Nieuws van de Dag 26-3-1976; Heinemans (Member Raad voor de Stedebouw (Board for urban development), Elsevier 6-11-1976; Amstelodamum, Het Parool 8-2-1967; W.F. Heinemeijer & G. Brinkgreve, De Tijd 17-8-1967; A. van Eyck, Het Parool 9-10-1967; A. van Eyck (Architect), De Tijd 25-3-1970; Action committee Nieuwmarkt, De Volkskrant 26-11-1970;

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Action group Nieuwmarkt, Het metrorapport van de Nieuwmarktbuurt, 1970; Action group Nieuwmarkt, De Tijd 11-1-1973

<sup>138</sup> De Lastige Amsterdammer (Action group), Binnenring en Burokratie, 16-4-1975; Flop (Reader's letter), Nieuws van de Dag 22-1-1973; Unknown journalist, De Tijd 24-1-1973; H. Hertzberger, A. van Eyck & M. Bierman (Architects) & Local planning department, Haagse Post 27-1-1973; Unknown journalist, Het Parool 8-11-1973; Inhabitants Nieuwmarktbuurt, De Volkskrant 13-2-1974; V. Lebesque, De Volkskrant 25-2-1974; Inhabitants of Amsterdam, De Telegraaf 30-3-1974; H. Bakker (De Lastige Amsterdammer), De Tijd 22-12-1971; H. Lammers & Van Tijen (activist), NRC Handelsblad 23-8-1975; Action group Nieuwmarkt, Het metrorapport van de Nieuwmarktbuurt, 1970; De Lastige Amsterdammer, E.G. Stijkel (Chamber of Commerce) & H. Lammers (Alderman Public Works, Urban Development, Harbour & Art), Het Parool 27-12-1972

<sup>139</sup> Various unknown inhabitants, Het Parool 13-10-1977

<sup>140</sup> H. Bakker (De Lastige Amsterdammer), Noordhollands Dagblad 21-4-1971

<sup>141</sup> B. Kroon (Amsterdaad), De Tijd/Maasbode 1-9-1970

<sup>142</sup> Amstelodamum, Unknown newspaper 10-2-1972

<sup>143</sup> Amsterdam Autovrij (Action group, literally: Amsterdam car-less), No. 3; T. Koot (Heemschut), Nieuws van de Dag 24-11-1971; T. Koot (Heemschut), Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 13-12-1971; M. Bierman, De Groene Amsterdammer, 12-2-1972; W.F. Heinemeijer & G. Brinkgreve, De Tijd 17-8-1967; Prof. W.F. Heinemeijer & Prof. G.J. van den Berg, De toekomst van de Amsterdamse Binnenstad, KNAG, Amsterdam 1968. More references to WWII were made in: R. Smit (Journalist), Groene Amsterdammer 30-5-1972; Zeegers (Reader's letter), De Volkskrant 24-3-1970; Amstelodamum, Het Parool 8-2-1967; Amsterdam Autovrij (Action group, literally: Amsterdam car-less), Reeks No. 1, 3rd revised edition, p. 3; M.J. Keijzer (State Secretary of Transport and Communications) & Action group Nieuwmarktbuurt, De Tijd 27-8-1970; Action group Nieuwmarkt, Het metrorapport van de Nieuwmarktbuurt, 1970

<sup>144</sup> More examples of city planners being scapegoats in: De Lastige Amsterdammer, Nieuws van de Dag 12-6-1973; De Lastige Amsterdammer, Trouw 13-6-1973; De Lastige Amsterdammer, De Volkskrant 13-6-1973; De Lastige Amsterdammer, De Tijd 13-6-1973; V. Lebesque, De Volkskrant 20-1-1973; B. Kroon (Amsterdaad), De Tijd/Maasbode 1-9-1970; Unknown journalist, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 31-12-1971; M. Bierman (Member Action group De Lastige Amsterdammer), Unknown newspaper 10-4-1970

<sup>145</sup> T. Koot, De Telegraaf 7-9-1973; Zeegers (Reader's letter), De Volkskrant 24-3-1970; M. Bierman, De Groene Amsterdammer, 12-2-1972

<sup>146</sup> Examples are: (1) Amsterdam Autovrij, which was joined by the following organizations: Leidse in last; Amstelveld; Zoef zoef; Stop kindermoord; B.H.P.; Wijkcentrum d'Oude stadt; De stadsboerderij; A.A.P.; Werkgroep verkeer de pijp; PPR afdelingen zuid-west/jordaan; PSP afdeling zuid; Actiegroep Nieuwmarkt; Actiegroep Schinkelbuurt; De Lastige Amsterdammer; Banstraat-actiegroep; Werkgroep Uylenburg/Valkenburg/Rapenburg; Oudezijds autovrij; De Tulp; Werkgroep Weesperzijdestrook; T Streekje; Bewonersgroep Swammerdambuurt; Kerngroep geen hotelreus aan de Weesperzijde; Bewonersgroep rondom de Wibaut; Buurthuis 't Oosterhok; Informatiewinkel de Beuk; Bewonersgroep 2 en 3e Oosterparkstraat; Bier en Bus; Bewonersgroep Ruysch/Tilanusstraat;

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Huurdersvereniging Volkoren; Werkgroep verkeer Oosterparkbuur; Buurthuis Iepenweg; Werkgroep verkeer Transvaalbuurt; Buurthuis Transvaal; Bond van huurders en woningzoekenden; Weesperstraatcomite; Verkeersgroep Watergraafsmeer. (2) ‘Verontruste Amsterdammers’ (litt. transl.: ‘concerned Amsterdammers’), which was joined by: ir. M. van Witsen, Richter Roegholt, Ernst van Altena, M. Bierman, K. Wiekart, Charles Boost, Peter van Straaten, Ton Koot, H. Niman, Opland, J.W.R. Langelaan & Kreatie-3 groep (Het Parool 10-5-1968); (3) ‘Stichting de Straat’ (transl.: ‘foundation the Street’), which was joined by, amongst others: Aldo van Eijk, Rietveld, Pieter Blom, Constant Nieuwenhuis, Violette Cornelius, Luud Schimmelpennink & Theo Kley (De Tijd 16-12-1967); and (3) Amsterdam.

<sup>147</sup> Examples: (1) Royal Institute of Dutch Architects (B.N.A.), Architectura et Amicitia, Academy for Architecture, liga Nieuwe Beelden, the Dutch Federation for Artists, d’Oude Stadt, the Amsterdam community for urban renewal, Amstelodamum, Diogenes, the Royal Archaeological Society (K.O.G.), Hendrick de Keyser, Ons Amsterdam (Het Parool 20-4-1968); (2) Royal Institute of Dutch Architects (B.N.A.), d’Oude Stadt, Amstelodamum & Ons Amsterdam (Algemeen Handelsblad 22-4-1968); (3) a petition that was signed by 700 Amsterdammers in a ‘wens-in’ (Het Parool 26-4-1968); (4) d’Oude Stadt & Action group Nieuwmarkt (Het Parool 5-1-1972); De Lastige Amsterdammer, Community centre d’Oude Stadt, Action group Nieuwmarkt & Foundation for Dwelling (Trouw 29-5-1973); d’Oude Stadt, Action group Nieuwmarkt, De Boomspijker & De Lastige Amsterdammer (Trouw 12-2-1974)

<sup>148</sup> R. van Duyn, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 6-3-1970; Kabouters, Het Vrije Volk 9-3-1970; Kabouters, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 17-8-1970; Kabouters, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 12-10-1970; Kabouters, Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 14-10-1970; Kabouters, Het Vrije Volk 13-8-1970; Kabouters, Unknown newspaper 27-6-1974

<sup>149</sup> Unknown journalist, Algemeen Handelsblad 11-5-1968

<sup>150</sup> H. Bakker (Member Action group De Lastige Amsterdammer), Trouw 12-6-1970; Amsterdam Autovrij (Action group, literally: Amsterdam car-less), No. 3; E. Spier (Architect), Netherlands Department for Conservation (Monumentenzorg) & G. Brinkgreve, De Tijd 2-6-1973; P. Kouwenberg (Reader’s letter) De Volkskrant 20-1-1973; G. Brinkgreve, Gemeentebblad 1966 (afdeling 2, deel II), 14-12-1966, p. 1761

<sup>151</sup> R. Roegholt, Amsterdam in de 20<sup>ste</sup> eeuw. Deel 2 (1945-1970), Uitgeverij Het Spectrum, Utrecht/Antwerpen 1979, pp. 168-173

<sup>152</sup> A poem from culturalists, in which major Samkalden is blackened, In: T. Hofman & H. Hofman (Activists), Trouw 17-9-1974

<sup>153</sup> Heemschut (Historical society), Het Parool 2-5-1968; Report public teach-inn, Het Vrije Volk 8-5-1968; d’Oude Stadt (Community centre), Action group Nieuwmarktbuurt, Boomspijker (Action group), De Lastige Amsterdammer (Action group), Amsterdams Stadsblad 13-12-1972; d’Oude Stadt (Community centre) & Action group Nieuwmarkt, Het Parool 5-1-1972; Hieselaar (Reader’s letter), De Tijd 14-5-1968; Action committee Nieuwmarkt, De Volkskrant 26-11-1970; d’Oude Stadt (Community centre), Redevelopment committee & Inhabitants Nieuwmarkt, De Volkskrant 20-1-1973; Gemeentebblad 1972 (afdeling 2, deel IV), p. 2822, alderman Lammers about letter d’Oude Stadt to study alternatives again (which he rejected)

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<sup>154</sup> Unknown journalist, *De Tijd* 22-5-1973; Hieselaar (Reader's letter), *De Tijd* 14-5-1968; Buisman (Reader's letter), *Het Vrije Volk* 17-6-1967; Heemschut (Historical society), Unknown newspaper, 14-11-1974; H. Bakker (De Lastige Amsterdammer) & H. Hofland (Writer, intellectual, journalist), *De Tijd* 28-5-1973; T. Koot, *Nieuws van de Dag* 30-4-1974; P. Kouwenberg (Reader's letter) *De Volkskrant* 20-1-1973; M. Bierman, *De Groene Amsterdammer*, 12-2-1972; *De Lastige Amsterdammer*, *De Tijd* 26-1-1973

<sup>155</sup> *De Lastige Amsterdammer* (Action group), *Binnenring en Burokratie*, 16-4-1975, p. iii; Evert Werkman, *Het Parool* 20-3-1968; Unknown journalist, *Het Parool* 27-4-1968; T. Koot, Rehbock (Chamber of Commerce), *De Wit* (Alderman Public Works), *Het Parool* 30-4-1968; K. Borkent (Action committee Bureau Bezorgde Burgers), *De Tijd* 10-5-1968; G. Brinkgreve & L. Schimmelpenninck, *Algemeen Handelsblad* 8-5-1968; H. Hertzberger, A. van Eyck & M. Bierman (Architects) & Local planning department, *Haagse Post* 27-1-1973; Unknown journalist, *De Tijd* 22-5-1973; *De Lastige Amsterdammer*, *De Tijd* 13-6-1973; H. Riethof (Councillor P.S.P.), *Het Parool* 12-2-1974; P.S.P., P.P.R., *De Lastige Amsterdammer*, d'Oude Stadt & Action group Nieuwmarkt, *Trouw* 12-2-1974; Inhabitants Nieuwmarktbuurt, *De Volkskrant* 13-2-1974; Inhabitants of Amsterdam, *De Telegraaf* 30-3-1974; T. Koot, *Nieuws van de Dag* 30-4-1974; R. Smit (Journalist), *Groene Amsterdammer* 30-5-1972; *De Lastige Amsterdammer*, *Trouw* 24-4-1975; Unknown journalist, *Algemeen Dagblad* 10-3-1973; H. Bakker (De Lastige Amsterdammer), *De Volkskrant* 20-12-1971

<sup>156</sup> Action committee Nieuwmarkt, *Het Parool* 11-3-1975; A. Bijlsma (Anti-metro activist), *Het Parool* 15-10-1974; A. van Eyck & T. Bosch (Architects), *Trouw* 11-7-1974; A. van Eyck & T. Bosch (Architects), *Het Parool* 10-7-1974; A. van Eyck & T. Bosch (Architects), *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 15-7-1974; A. van Eyck (Architect) & Inhabitants Nieuwmarktbuurt, *Trouw* 24-2-1971

<sup>157</sup> Amstelodamum, *De Volkskrant* 13-2-1967; Action committee Nieuwmarktbuurt, *De Volkskrant* 26-11-1970

<sup>158</sup> M. Bierman (Member Action group De Lastige Amsterdammer), Unknown newspaper 10-4-1970

<sup>159</sup> *De Lastige Amsterdammer*, *Nieuws van de Dag* 12-6-1973; *De Lastige Amsterdammer*, *Trouw* 13-6-1973; *De Lastige Amsterdammer*, *De Volkskrant* 13-6-1973; *De Lastige Amsterdammer*, *De Tijd* 13-6-1973; *De Lastige Amsterdammer*, *Nieuws van de Dag* 11-9-1973; *De Lastige Amsterdammer*, *De Telegraaf* 11-9-1973; Inhabitants Nieuwmarktbuurt, *Trouw* 12-9-1973; Bram van der Lek (PSP), *Nieuws van de Dag* 13-9-1973; d'Oude Stadt (Community centre), Action group Nieuwmarktbuurt, Boomsplijker (Action group), *De Lastige Amsterdammer* (Action group), *De Telegraaf* 15-6-1974; d'Oude Stadt & Local council, *De Telegraaf* 27-8-1973

<sup>160</sup> d'Oude Stadt (Community centre), Action group Nieuwmarktbuurt, Boomsplijker (Action group), *De Lastige Amsterdammer* (Action group), *Amsterdams Stadsblad* 13-12-1972; Action group Nieuwmarkt, *Het metrorapport van de Nieuwmarktbuurt*, 1970, p. 35; T. Koot, *De Volkskrant* 24-4-1967; T. Koot, Rehbock (Chamber of Commerce), *De Wit* (Alderman Public Works), *Het Parool* 30-4-1968; K. Borkent (Bureau Bezorgde Burgers), *Het Parool* 10-5-1968; Rossen (KVP Leader), Elsevier 25-3-1967; M. Bierman (*De Lastige Amsterdammer*) & W.F. Heinemeijer (Amsterdaad), *De Volkskrant* 2-3-1968; Various anonymous participants, *Nieuwe*

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Rotterdamse Courant 4-6-1974; V. Lebesque, De Volkskrant 20-1-1973; Zeegers (Reader's letter), Algemeen Handelsblad 5-3-1970; T. Koot, De Waarheid 12-4-1967; H. Hertzberger (Architect), Algemeen Handelsblad 25-2-1971; d'Oude Stadt (Community centre), Nieuws van de Dag 2-3-1971; Amsterdam Autovrij (Action group, literally: Amsterdam car-less), Reeks No. 4, p. 3

<sup>161</sup> Poem written by culturalists and addressed to opponents, In: T. Hofman & H. Hofman (Activists), Trouw 17-9-1974

<sup>162</sup> Results of a survey among inhabitants, Algemeen Handelsblad 11-5-1968; Unknown journalist, Algemeen Handelsblad 11-5-1968

<sup>163</sup> Various unknown inhabitants, Het Parool 13-10-1977; Woudsma, Het Parool 30-3-1971; Action group Nieuwmarkt, Het metrorapport van de Nieuwmarktbuurt, 1970

<sup>164</sup> Amsterdam Autovrij (Action group, literally: Amsterdam car-less), Reeks No. 1, 3rd revised edition, pp. 3, 25; Inhabitants Nieuwmarktbuurt, Het Parool 30-7-1974; Bezorgde Burgers (Action group Worried Inhabitants), De Tijd 17-5-1968; Woudsma, Het Parool 30-3-1971; Unknown journalist, Het Parool 13-12-1974; Unknown journalist, Het Parool 25-3-1975; Various unknown inhabitants, Het Parool 13-10-1977; Various Inhabitants, NRC Handelsblad 14-10-1977

<sup>165</sup> PROVO, De Tijd 7-4-1967; Amsterdam Autovrij (Action group, literally: Amsterdam car-less), Reeks No. 1, 3rd revised edition, p. 3; Various unknown inhabitants, Het Parool 13-10-1977

<sup>166</sup> AAP (United action groups), Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 7-9-1974; AAP (United action groups), De Volkskrant 7-9-1974

<sup>167</sup> Inhabitants Nieuwmarktbuurt, Unknown newspaper 27-6-1974; M.J. Keijzer (State Secretary of Transport and Communications) & Action group Nieuwmarktbuurt, De Volkskrant 28-8-1970; H. Bakker (De Lastige Amsterdammer), Noordhollands Dagblad 21-4-1971

<sup>168</sup> Various anonymous participants, Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 4-6-1974; Anonymous, Het Parool 14-5-1968

<sup>169</sup> Amsterdam Autovrij (Action group, literally: Amsterdam car-less), No. X; De Lastige Amsterdammer, Het Parool 17-5-1971; Action group Nieuwmarkt, Het metrorapport van de Nieuwmarktbuurt, 1970, p. 3; Various action groups, De Volkskrant 23-11-1974; Various unknown inhabitants, Trouw 29-9-1972

<sup>170</sup> More actions were described in: Action group De Wetering Verbetering, Algemeen Handelsblad 28-5-1971; d'Oude Stadt (Community centre), Het Parool 26-3-1973; De Lastige Amsterdammer, Het Vrije Volk 24-9-1971; De Lastige Amsterdammer, De Tijd 23-9-1971; Action group Nieuwmarktbuurt, Het Parool 25-6-1974; Inhabitants Nieuwmarktbuurt, Unknown newspaper 27-6-1974; Heemschut (Historical society), Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant 14-11-1974; B. Smit (Artist), Het Parool 10-10-1974; Inhabitants Nieuwmarktbuurt & H. Lammers (Alderman Public Works, Urban Development, Harbour & Art), Algemeen Handelsblad 26-1-1970; Anti-metro committee, De Volkskrant 24-9-1971; De Lastige Amsterdammer, De Tijd 24-9-1974; Opponents metro, Het Parool 14-10-1977; M. Bierman (Member Action group De Lastige Amsterdammer), Unknown newspaper 10-4-1970; Alderman Lammers, Het Parool 17-2-1972; Action committee Nieuwmarkt, De Volkskrant 26-11-1970; Action committee Nieuwmarkt, Lastige Amsterdammer, d'Oude Stadt & Boomsnijker, Het Parool 26-6-1974; Action group Nieuwmarkt, Het metrorapport van de Nieuwmarktbuurt, 1970; A. van Eyck, Het Parool 9-10-



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1967; Amsterdam Autovrij (Action group, literally: Amsterdam car-less), Reeks No. 1, 3rd revised edition, p. 22, 25; Amsterdam Autovrij (Action group, literally: Amsterdam car-less), No. 3

<sup>171</sup> L. Schimmelpennink (Provo), Trouw 2-3-1971; Various unknown inhabitants, Het Parool 13-10-1977; Bezorgde Burgers (Action group Worried Inhabitants), De Tijd 17-5-1968; d'Oude Stadt (Community centre), Het Parool 26-3-1973; Inhabitants Nieuwmarktbuurt & H. Lammers (Alderman Public Works, Urban Development, Harbour & Art), Algemeen Handelsblad 26-1-1970; Gemeentebld 1966 (afdeling 2, deel II), 14-12-1966, p. 1762

<sup>172</sup> Various anonymous squatters, Het Parool, 30-1-1971

<sup>173</sup> i.e.: Van der Kleij (KVP), Gemeentebld 1973 (Afdeling 2, deel II), 6-6-1973, p. 835

<sup>174</sup> Amsterdaad, Het Parool 6-10-1967; Action group Nieuwmarkt, Het metrorapport van de Nieuwmarktbuurt, 1970

<sup>175</sup> H. Bakker (De Lastige Amsterdammer) & H. Hofland (Writer, intellectual, journalist), De Tijd 28-5-1973

<sup>176</sup> Amsterdaad, Unknown newspaper 9-10-1967

<sup>177</sup> Amsterdaad, Het Parool 6-10-1967; Action group Nieuwmarkt, Het metrorapport van de Nieuwmarktbuurt, 1970; Vlijmen (Stichting Amsterdam City), Het Parool 28-4-1976; D.A. Jokinen, Geef de Stad een Kans, Stichting Weg, Amsterdam 1968 p. 103; Hofstede (Reader's letter), Nieuws van de Dag 19-1-1973; Polak, De Telegraaf 13-10-1977

<sup>178</sup> Poem in which culturalists try to convince the public that the metro will bring about the financial downfall of the city, In: De Groep Zonder Naam (Action group), Het Parool 17-5-1973

<sup>179</sup> Stichting Amsterdam City (Foundation for CBD developments), Nieuws van de Dag 21-8-1973; Stichting Amsterdam City (Foundation for CBD developments), Amsterdam denk om je hart. Deel 2, Amsterdam 1977; Koevoets (Journalist), De Telegraaf 26-9-1970; Vlijmen (Stichting Amsterdam City), Het Parool 28-4-1976; Louwen (Reader's letter), Nieuws van de Dag 22-1-1973; H. Glimmerveen, De Waarheid 16-3-1973; Van der Kruijf, Nieuws van de Dag 19-1-1973; Hieselaar (Reader's letter), De Tijd 14-5-1968; Unknown journalist, Het Vrije Volk 23-2-1967; Stichting Amsterdam City (Foundation for CBD developments), Amsterdam denk om je hart, Amsterdam 1974, pp. 8-9; Unknown journalist, De Tijd 26-4-1968; Delfgaauw, Het Vrije Volk 30-3-1968

<sup>180</sup> Pais (VVD), Algemeen Handelsblad 15-5-1968

<sup>181</sup> Stichting Amsterdam City (Foundation for CBD developments), Nieuws van de Dag 21-8-1973; Stichting Amsterdam City (Foundation for CBD developments), Amsterdam denk om je hart. Deel 2, Amsterdam 1977; Stichting Amsterdam City (Foundation for CBD developments), Amsterdam denk om je hart, Amsterdam 1974, pp. 5, 6, 8, 9; Chief inspector of Police Vos, Het Parool 12-8-1975; Koevoets (Journalist), De Telegraaf 26-9-1970; Brucker (Reader's letter), Nieuws van de Dag 17-5-1975; Shopkeepers, d'Oude Stadt (Community Centre) & Treumann (Councillor PvdA), Nieuws van de Dag 16-4-1976; D.A. Jokinen, Geef de Stad een Kans, Stichting Weg, Amsterdam 1968

<sup>182</sup> Stichting Amsterdam City (Foundation for CBD developments), Nieuws van de Dag 21-8-1973

<sup>183</sup> Delfgaauw, Het Vrije Volk 30-3-1968

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<sup>184</sup> A. van Eyck (Architect), *De Tijd* 9-10-1970

<sup>185</sup> Hofstede (Reader's letter), *Nieuws van de Dag* 19-1-1973; Results survey among inhabitants, *Algemeen Handelsblad* 11-5-1968; Unknown journalist, *Algemeen Handelsblad* 11-5-1968; Former alderman Polak, *Het Vrije Volk* 15-6-1967; Chief Inspector Vos, *Het Vrije Volk* 16-6-1967; Ossewaarde (GVB), *Nieuws van de Dag* 1-3-1972; Bon (Reader's letter), *Nieuws van de Dag* 22-1-1973; Ossewaarde (GVB), *De Tijd* 2-6-1973

<sup>186</sup> Hofstede (Reader's letter), *Nieuws van de Dag* 19-1-1973; Unknown journalist, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 30-5-1973

<sup>187</sup> Ossewaarde (GVB), *De Tijd* 2-6-1973; Van der Kruijf, *Nieuws van de Dag* 19-1-1973; Stichting Amsterdam City (Foundation for CBD developments), *Trouw* 8-10-1975; H. Glimmerveen, *De Waarheid* 16-3-1973; Alderman Van der Velde (CPN), speaking as a private person, *De Waarheid* 23-2-1973

<sup>188</sup> H. Glimmerveen, *De Waarheid* 16-3-1973; Van Haaren (Conference centre RAI), *De Tijd* 21-4-1972

<sup>189</sup> Unknown journalist, *Typhoon* 11-5-1967; Van Dijk (Representative Small and Medium-sized businesses), *Het Vrije Volk* 14-6-1967; Chief Inspector Vos, *Het Vrije Volk* 16-6-1967; Louwen (Reader's letter), *Nieuws van de Dag* 22-1-1973; Bon (Reader's letter), *Nieuws van de Dag* 22-1-1973; Ossewaarde (GVB), *De Tijd* 2-6-1973; Van der Kruijf, *Nieuws van de Dag* 19-1-1973

<sup>190</sup> Unknown journalist, *Typhoon* 11-5-1967

<sup>191</sup> H. Glimmerveen, *De Waarheid* 16-3-1973; Van Wijck (Former aldermen Businesses), *De Volkskrant* 1-5-1967

<sup>192</sup> Buisman (Reader's letter), *Het Vrije Volk* 17-6-1967

<sup>193</sup> Unknown journalist, *De Tijd* 26-4-1968; D.A. Jokinen, *Geef de Stad een Kans*, Stichting Weg, Amsterdam 1968, p. 53

<sup>194</sup> for example in: *De Waarheid*, 7-1-1972 & *De waarheid* 18-8-1973

<sup>195</sup> B.A.N. (Belangenvereniging Amsterdam Noord, litt: Pressure Group Amsterdam Noord), *Noord Amsterdammer* 7-4-1967; Association of businesses Amsterdam Noord, *Noord Amsterdammer* 12-4-1967; G. Siegers (Federatie City van Amsterdam, litt: Federation City of Amsterdam), *Het Vrije Volk* 12-6-1967; Prins (Chairman Road Builders), *Nieuws van de Dag* 22-1-1973; Prins (Chairman Road Builders), *De Tijd* 26-1-1973; Hofstede (Reader's letter), *Nieuws van de Dag* 19-1-1973; Van der Kruijf, *Nieuws van de Dag* 19-1-1973; D.A. Jokinen, *Geef de Stad een Kans*, Stichting Weg, Amsterdam 1968; Van Wijck (Former aldermen Businesses), *De Volkskrant* 1-5-1967; H. Glimmerveen, *De Waarheid* 16-3-1973; Unknown journalist, *Het Parool* 9-4-1968

<sup>196</sup> Various participants, *De Volkskrant* 25-3-1968; Unknown journalist, *De Telegraaf* 6-3-1968; Ossewaarde (GVB), *De Tijd* 2-6-1973; Unknown journalist, *De Tijd* 26-4-1968

<sup>197</sup> Van Haaren (Conference centre RAI), *De Tijd* 21-4-1972

<sup>198</sup> D.A. Jokinen, *Geef de Stad een Kans*, Stichting Weg, Amsterdam 1968, p. 60

<sup>199</sup> Cotterell (Reader's letter), *Het Parool* 10-4-1976; Stichting Amsterdam City (Foundation for CBD developments), *Trouw* 8-10-1975; Stichting Amsterdam City (Foundation for CBD developments), *De Volkskrant* 24-10-1975; Stichting Amsterdam City, *Trouw* 10-6-1976; Stichting Amsterdam City, *Het Parool* 26-8-1976; Stichting Amsterdam City, *Het Parool* 15-11-1976; Stichting Amsterdam City, *Reactie op Voorontwerp structuurplan voor Amsterdam*, 1974; Stichting

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Amsterdam City (Foundation for CBD developments), *Nieuws van de Dag* 21-8-1973; Stichting Amsterdam City (Foundation for CBD developments), Amsterdam denk om je hart. Deel 2, Amsterdam 1977; Stichting Amsterdam City (Foundation for CBD developments), Amsterdam denk om je hart, Amsterdam 1974; H. Lammers & G. Siegers (Federation City of Amsterdam), *Algemeen Handelsblad* 18-10-1971

<sup>200</sup> Cotterell (Reader's letter), *Het Parool* 10-4-1976

<sup>201</sup> Van Dijk (Representative Small and Medium-sized businesses) & Van den Berg (Councillor PvdA), *Het Vrije Volk* 10-2-1967; D.A. Jokinen, Geef de Stad een Kans, Stichting Weg, Amsterdam 1968

<sup>202</sup> Van Dijk (Representative Small and Medium-sized businesses) & Van den Berg (Councillor PvdA), *Het Vrije Volk* 10-2-1967

<sup>203</sup> Stichting Amsterdam City (Foundation for CBD developments), *Nieuws van de Dag* 21-8-1973; Stichting Amsterdam City (Foundation for CBD developments), Amsterdam denk om je hart, Amsterdam 1974, p. 9; Local planning department & various other participants, *De Volkskrant* 18-4-1968; Van Wijck (Former aldermen Businesses), *De Volkskrant* 1-5-1967 Van Dijk (Representative Small and Medium-sized businesses), *Het Vrije Volk* 14-6-1967; Ossewaarde (GVB), *De Tijd* 2-6-1973; Brucker (Reader's letter), *Nieuws van de Dag* 17-5-1975; Local council & several companies, *De Waarheid* 29-8-1975; Chief inspector of police Vos, *Het Parool* 12-8-1975; Community centre De Eilanden, Winkel (Chief inspector of Police), *Nieuws van de Dag* 26-8-1975; Stichting Amsterdam City (Foundation for CBD developments), *De Volkskrant* 24-10-1975; Cotterell (Reader's letter), *Het Parool* 10-4-1976; Chamber of Commerce, *Het Parool* 14-4-1976; Stichting Amsterdam City, *Het Parool* 15-11-1976; D.A. Jokinen, Geef de Stad een Kans, Stichting Weg, Amsterdam 1968, p. 15; Van Haaren (Conference centre RAI), *De Tijd* 21-4-1972; Unknown journalist, *Nieuws van de Dag* 9-11-1967

<sup>204</sup> Buisman (Reader's letter), *Het Vrije Volk* 17-6-1967

<sup>205</sup> Stichting Amsterdam City (Foundation for CBD developments), Amsterdam denk om je hart, Amsterdam 1974 p. 12; Unknown journalist, *Wieringer Weekblad* 17-1-1973

<sup>206</sup> Stichting Amsterdam City (Foundation for CBD developments), Amsterdam denk om je hart, Amsterdam 1974 p. 70

<sup>207</sup> D.A. Jokinen, Geef de Stad een Kans, Stichting Weg, Amsterdam 1968, p. 57

<sup>208</sup> Stichting Amsterdam City (Foundation for CBD developments), Amsterdam denk om je hart, Amsterdam 1974, p. 6; Koevoets (Journalist), *De Telegraaf* 26-9-1970

<sup>209</sup> Unknown journalist, *Het Parool* 3-1-1970; Stichting Amsterdam City (Foundation for CBD developments), Amsterdam denk om je hart, Amsterdam 1974, p. 5; Chief Inspector Vos, *Het Vrije Volk* 16-6-1967; Unknown journalist, *De Waarheid* 16-3-1973; CPN & anti-communists, Unknown newspaper 9-5-1973; Hofstede (Reader's letter), *Nieuws van de Dag* 19-1-1973; Unknown journalist, *Het Parool* 28-2-1970; Salomons, *Het Parool* 1-3-1969; Several businesses, *Het Parool* 10-12-1977; Hieselaar (Reader's letter), *De Tijd* 14-5-1968; Voute (VVD), *De Telegraaf* 22-8-1972; Voute (VVD), *NRC Handelsblad* 22-8-1972

<sup>210</sup> Flex (Columnist), *Trouw* 11-5-1968

<sup>211</sup> Van Dijk (Representative Small and Medium-sized businesses), *Het Vrije Volk* 14-6-1967; Rehbock (Chamber of Commerce) & Alderman de Wit, *Het Parool* 30-

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4-1968; Alderman Van der Velde (CPN), speaking as a private person, *De Waarheid* 23-2-1973

<sup>212</sup> Stichting Amsterdam City, *De Volkskrant* 26-10-1972

<sup>213</sup> Several businesses, *Het Parool* 10-12-1977

<sup>214</sup> Stichting Amsterdam City (Foundation for CBD developments), *Nieuws van de Dag* 21-8-1973; Ossewaarde (GVB), *Nieuws van de Dag* 1-3-1972; Hofstede (Reader's letter), *Nieuws van de Dag* 19-1-1973; Van der Kruijf, *Nieuws van de Dag* 19-1-1973; Unknown journalist, *De Telegraaf* 26-2-1970

<sup>215</sup> Delfgaauw, *Gemeentebblad* 1966 (afdeling 2, deel II), 14-12-1966, p. 1742; Chamber of Commerce & Amsterdam Union of Industries, *Gemeentebblad* 1968 (afdeling 2, deel I), 15-5-1968, p. 676

<sup>216</sup> Stichting Amsterdam City (Foundation for CBD developments), *Amsterdam denk om je hart*, Amsterdam 1974; Chief Inspector Vos, *Het Vrije Volk* 16-6-1967; Unknown journalist, *De Telegraaf* 11-10-1977

<sup>217</sup> Stichting Amsterdam City (Foundation for CBD developments), *Nieuws van de Dag* 21-8-1973; Stichting Amsterdam City, *De Volkskrant* 26-10-1972

<sup>218</sup> Stichting Amsterdam City (Foundation for CBD developments), *Nieuws van de Dag* 21-8-1973; Stichting Amsterdam City (Foundation for CBD developments), *Amsterdam denk om je hart*, Amsterdam 1974, p. 5; Koevoets (Journalist), *De Telegraaf* 26-9-1970; Stichting Amsterdam City, *De Volkskrant* 26-10-1972

<sup>219</sup> Ossewaarde (GVB), *De Tijd* 2-6-1973

<sup>220</sup> Van Haaren (Conference centre RAI), *De Tijd* 21-4-1972

<sup>221</sup> Delfgaauw, *Het Vrije Volk* 30-3-1968; Buisman (Reader's letter), *Het Vrije Volk* 17-6-1967

<sup>222</sup> De Langen (Reader's letter), *Nieuws van de Dag* 19-1-1973

<sup>223</sup> Stichting Amsterdam City (Foundation for CBD developments), *Amsterdam denk om je hart*. Deel 2, Amsterdam 1977

<sup>224</sup> A. Bijlsma (Anti-metro activist), *Het Parool* 15-10-1974

<sup>225</sup> City planners quoted in: Action group Nieuwmarkt, *Het metrorapport van de Nieuwmarktbuurt*, 1970, p. 2

<sup>226</sup> Mayor Polak, *Amsterdam Hoofdstad?*, Junior Kamer Amsterdam, Amsterdam 1977, p. 7; Mayor and aldermen, *De Tijd* 17-4-1968; Mayor and aldermen, *De Tijd* 26-11-1968; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, *Voorontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam*, Deel A & Deel B, 1978, p. 3; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, *Voorontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam*, Deel C *Werken in Amsterdam*, 1978, p. 2; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, *Voorontwerp van de Tweede nota over de Amsterdamse binnenstad 1968*, bijlage C; Former alderman Polak, *De Volkskrant* 13-9-1973; *Gemeentebblad* 1969 (bijlage M-W), p. 2; Local planning department Amsterdam, *Nota Stadsvernieuwing 1969*, *Gemeentebblad* 1969 (bijlage P, bijlage R)

<sup>227</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, *Voorontwerp van de Tweede nota over de Amsterdamse binnenstad 1968*, bijlage C; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, *Voorontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam*, Deel A & Deel B, 1974; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, *Voorontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam*, Deel C *Werken in Amsterdam*, 1978

<sup>228</sup> Mayor and aldermen, *De Tijd* 30-4-1968; Mayor Samkalden, *Het Parool* 27-8-1970; Mayor Polak, *Amsterdam Hoofdstad?*, Junior Kamer Amsterdam, Amsterdam 1977, p. 7

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- <sup>229</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam, 1978; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel A & Deel B, 1974
- <sup>230</sup> Alderman Lammers, Het Parool 28-5-1974
- <sup>231</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp van de Tweede nota over de Amsterdamse binnenstad 1968, bijlage C; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel A & Deel B, 1974; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam, 1978; Alderman Lammers, Algemeen Handelsblad 18-10-1971
- <sup>232</sup> Alderman Lammers, Het Parool 9-1-1974
- <sup>233</sup> Local council Amsterdam, De Telegraaf 6-4-1968
- <sup>234</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp van de Tweede nota over de Amsterdamse binnenstad 1968, bijlage C; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel A & Deel B, 1974; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam, 1978; Local council Amsterdam, Algemeen Handelsblad 3-4-1968; Local council Amsterdam, De Tijd 30-4-1968
- <sup>235</sup> Local council Amsterdam, De Tijd 30-4-1968
- <sup>236</sup> Alderman Lammers, De Volkskrant 25-5-1974
- <sup>237</sup> Under the authority of minister Westerterp (verkeer en waterstaat), the NEI investigated the pros and cons of the completion of the east-line of the metro (Trouw 13-9-1973; De Volkskrant 13-9-1973)
- <sup>238</sup> City planners, De Waarheid 30-5-1974
- <sup>239</sup> H. Lammers & G. Siegers (Federation City of Amsterdam), Algemeen Handelsblad 18-10-1971; Polak, De Telegraaf 13-10-1977
- <sup>240</sup> Kouwenberg & Herlitz (Swedish action group Alternatieve Stad), De Volkskrant 12-3-1973; Alderman De Wit, Het Parool 20-6-1969; Mayor and aldermen, Algemeen Handelsblad 3-4-1968
- <sup>241</sup> Polak, De Tijd 17-5-1968. More examples of ‘counting creatively’ in: Alderman Lammers, Algemeen Handelsblad 18-10-1971; Polak, De Telegraaf 13-10-1977; Meijer, Het Parool 19-3-1974
- <sup>242</sup> Local council Amsterdam, De Telegraaf 6-4-1968; Mayor & aldermen, NRC Handelsblad Date unknown; Alderman De Wit, Het Parool 16-5-1968; Mayor and aldermen, De Tijd 17-4-1968; Alderman De Cloe (PvdA) & Alderman Lammers (PvdA), Gemeentebld 1971 (afdeling 1, deel III), p. 2274; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp van de Tweede nota over de Amsterdamse binnenstad 1968, bijlage C; Lammers, De Telegraaf 30-5-1973
- <sup>243</sup> For example, city planners had stated that the Schreierstoren had to be demolished if they would opt the alternative track – which turned out to be incorrect
- <sup>244</sup> for example in: G.H. Meijer (Director Public Works), Het Parool 25-1-1973; G.H. Meijer (Director Public Works), Nieuws van de dag 25-1-1973; G.H. Meijer (Director Public Works), De Telegraaf 26-1-1973; Mayor and aldermen, De Telegraaf 19-12-1972
- <sup>245</sup> H. Lammers & G. Siegers (Federation City of Amsterdam), Algemeen Handelsblad 18-10-1971; d’Oude Stadt (Community centre) & G.H. Meijer (Director Public Works), Het Parool 25-1-1973; Mayor and aldermen, De Tijd 9-5-1973; Mayor and aldermen, Het Parool 9-5-1973; Minister Westerterp & Alderman

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Lammers, De Volkskrant 10-1-1974; Local council Amsterdam, De Waarheid 30-5-1974

<sup>246</sup> Local council Amsterdam, Het Vrije Volk 6-3-1968; Mayor and aldermen, Trouw 4-4-1968; Local council Amsterdam, Trouw 3-6-1967; Mayor and Aldermen, Het Parool 3-10-1975; Mayor and Aldermen, Trouw 22-10-1971

<sup>247</sup> H. Lammers & Van Tijen (activist), NRC Handelsblad 23-8-1975; Local council Amsterdam, Nieuws van de dag 21-8-1975; PW (Columnist), Het Parool 21-7-1972

<sup>248</sup> De Tijd 17-8-1967; Algemeen Handelsblad 24-6-1968

<sup>249</sup> H. Lammers & Van Tijen (activist), NRC Handelsblad 23-8-1975; City planners, De waarheid 24-9-1975; city planners, Nieuws van de Dag 8-10-1975

<sup>250</sup> De Lastige Amsterdammer, E.G. Stijkel (Chamber of Commerce) & H. Lammers (Alderman Public Works, Urban Development, Harbour & Art), Het Parool 27-12-1972

<sup>251</sup> Alderman De Cloe (PvdA) & Alderman Lammers (PvdA), Gemeentebblad 1971 (afdeling 1, deel III), pp. 2274; H. de Mari (Journalist), De Telegraaf 26-5-1973; Alderman Lammers, De Tijd 23-12-1971; Alderman Lammers, Het Parool 2-4-1976

<sup>252</sup> Alderman Lammers, Gemeentebblad 1973 (afdeling 2, deel II), 7-6-1973, p. 847

<sup>253</sup> G.H. Meijer (Director Public Works), De Tijd 25-1-1973; T. Koot, De Telegraaf 7-9-1973; Zeegers (Reader's letter), De Volkskrant 24-3-1970; M. Bierman, De Groene Amsterdammer, 12-2-1972; Mayor and aldermen, De Tijd 30-4-1968; Buisman (Reader's letter), Het Vrije Volk 17-6-1967; Local council Amsterdam, Trouw 11-10-1967; M.J. Keijzer (State Secretary of Transport and Communications) & Action group Nieuwmarktbuurt, De Volkskrant 28-8-1970; Alderman Lammers, Het Parool 17-2-1972

<sup>254</sup> De Lastige Amsterdammer (Action group), Binnenring en Burokratie, 16-4-1975; Unknown journalist, Algemeen Handelsblad 6-4-1968; Community centre De Eilanden, Winkel (Chief inspector of Police), Nieuws van de Dag 26-8-1975; Action committee Nieuwmarkt, De Volkskrant 26-11-1970; Action group Nieuwmarktbuurt, Het Parool 25-6-1974

<sup>255</sup> H. Lammers, PSP, Kabouters, D'66 & part of PvdA, NRC Handelsblad 28-5-1974; H. Lammers & Van Tijen (activist), NRC Handelsblad 23-8-1975; Alderman Lammers, Het Parool 2-4-1976; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 27-4-1968; T. Koot, Rehbock (Chamber of Commerce), De Wit (Alderman Public Works), Het Parool 30-4-1968; M. Bierman (De Lastige Amsterdammer), De Groene Amsterdammer 28-11-1970; Inhabitants Nieuwmarktbuurt & H. Lammers (Alderman Public Works, Urban Development, Harbour & Art), Algemeen Handelsblad 26-1-1970; A. van Eyck (Architect) & Inhabitants Nieuwmarktbuurt, Trouw 24-2-1971

<sup>256</sup> Alderman Lammers, NRC Handelsblad 15-6-1972; Unknown journalist, Het Parool 15-10-1974

<sup>257</sup> Samkalden on behalf of mayor and aldermen, De Volkskrant 30-11-1974

<sup>258</sup> Alderman Lammers & Dutch State, Nieuws van de Dag 28-3-1973; Alderman Lammers & Dutch State, Het Parool 28-3-1973; Alderman Lammers & Dutch State, De tijd 28-3-1973; Alderman Lammers Trouw 29-3-1973; Alderman Lammers, NRC Handelsblad 4-2-1972

<sup>259</sup> Mayor and aldermen, De Telegraaf 9-5-1973; Mayor and aldermen, NRC Handelsblad 9-5-1973; Local council, De Telegraaf 26-5-1973; Mayor, councillors & aldermen, De Telegraaf 28-10-1971; Local council, Het Parool 23-10-1973

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<sup>260</sup> Keja (VVD), Het Parool 3-5-1968; Treumann, Van den Bergh & Sinnige (councillors PvdA) 16-12-1970; H. Lammers (Alderman Public Works, Urban Development, Harbour & Art), Treumann (Councillor P.v.d.A.), Bos (Kabouter), Wessels (Councillor D'66), De Tijd 26-11-1970; Treumann (Councillor P.v.d.A.) & A. van Eyck (Architect), De Tijd 23-2-1971; Treumann, De Telegraaf 4-3-1971; Alderman Bootsma, Het Parool 4-3-1971; Treumann (Councillor P.v.d.A.), De Tijd 10-12-1971; Alderman Lammers, NRC Handelsblad 15-6-1972; PvdA, NRC Handelsblad 21-5-1973; PvdA & VVD, De Tijd 22-5-1973; PvdA, Trouw 22-5-1973; Lammers (PvdA), De Telegraaf 30-5-1973; PvdA, Nieuws van de Dag 30-5-1973; PvdA, Het Parool 30-5-1973; Lammers, Het Parool 30-5-1973; Treumann, NRC Handelsblad 27-6-1973; Treumann, De Volkskrant 27-6-1973; PvdA, Het Parool 12-10-1973; PvdA, De Telegraaf 12-10-1973; PvdA, NRC Handelsblad 12-10-1973; Westerterp & Lammers, Het Parool 25-10-1973; Westerterp & Lammers, De Volkskrant 8-10-1974; Westerterp & Lammers, Trouw 8-10-1974; Westerterp & Lammers, NRC Handelsblad 8-10-1974; Westerterp & Lammers, Nieuws van de Dag 8-10-1974; Westerterp & Lammers, De Waarheid 8-10-1974; R. van Duijn & H. Lammers, De Volkskrant 15-10-1977; De Wit, De Telegraaf 11-10-1977; Gemeentebld 1970 (afdeling 2, deel II), 27-5-1970, pp. 1340, 1411

<sup>261</sup> Alderman De Cloe, Gemeentebld 1973 (afdeling 2, deel II), 7-6-1973, p. 813

<sup>262</sup> Keja (VVD), Gemeentebld 1968 (afdeling 2, deel I), 15-5-1968, p. 688 & Van het Schip (CPN), Gemeentebld 1968 (afdeling 2, deel I), 15-5-1968, p. 707

<sup>263</sup> De Tijd 13-12-1967

<sup>264</sup> Brinkgreve, Gemeentebld 1965 (afdeling 2, deel II), 7-7-1965, p. 1048; Nipperus, Gemeentebld 1965 (afdeling 2, deel II), 29-9-1965, p. 1251; Seegers, Gemeentebld 1965 (afdeling 2, deel II), 29-9-1965, p. 1260; Mayor Samkalden, Gemeentebld 1966 (afdeling 2, deel II), 14-12-1966, pp. 1742, 1745; Bootsma (AR/CHU), Gemeentebld 1966 (afdeling 2, deel II), 14-12-1966; Brinkgreve (KVP), Gemeentebld 1966 (afdeling 2, deel II), 14-12-1966, pp. 1749-1765; Keja (VVD), Gemeentebld 1966 (afdeling 2, deel II), 14-12-1966, p. 1765; De Vries (PROVO), Gemeentebld 1966 (afdeling 2, deel II), 14-12-1966, pp. 1796-1798; Alderman De Wit (PvdA), Gemeentebld 1966 (afdeling 2, deel II), 14-12-1966, p. 1803; Mayor Samkalden, Gemeentebld 1966 (afdeling 2, deel II), 14-12-1966, pp. 1811-1815; De Vries (PROVO), Gemeentebld 1966 (afdeling 2, deel II), 15-12-1965, p. 1833; Pais (VVD), Gemeentebld 1968 (afdeling 2, deel I), 15-5-1968, pp. 677-680; Keja (VVD), Gemeentebld 1968 (afdeling 2, deel I), 15-5-1968, pp. 687-689; Van Thijn (PvdA), Gemeentebld 1968 (afdeling 2, deel I), 15-5-1968, pp. 690-700; Van het Schip (CPN), Gemeentebld 1968 (afdeling 2, deel I), 15-5-1968, pp. 707-708; Steenberg (AR/CHU), Gemeentebld 1968 (afdeling 2, deel I), 15-5-1968, pp. 721-722; Rossen (KVP), Gemeentebld 1968 (afdeling 2, deel I), 15-5-1968, p. 723; Van der Eyden (KVP), Gemeentebld 1968 (afdeling 2, deel I), 15-5-1968, p. 730; Schimmelpennink (PROVO), Gemeentebld 1968 (afdeling 2, deel I), 15-5-1968, p. 735; Baank-Meijer (Onafhankelijk), Gemeentebld 1968 (afdeling 2, deel I), 15-5-1968, p. 738; Alderman De Wit, Gemeentebld 1968 (afdeling 2, deel I), 15-5-1968, pp. 740-757; Major Samkalden, Gemeentebld 1968 (afdeling 2, deel I), 15-5-1968, pp. 774-775; Rossen (KVP), Gemeentebld 1969 (afdeling 2, deel II), 16-12-1969, p. 1944; Van het Schip (CPN), Gemeentebld 1969 (afdeling 2, deel II), 16-12-1969, p. 1945; Verbruggen (Boerenpartij), Gemeentebld 1969 (afdeling 2, deel II), 16-12-1969, p. 1959; Van Duijn (PROVO), Gemeentebld 1969

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(afdeling 2, deel II), 16-12-1969, pp. 1961-1963; Boerlage (PSP), Gemeentebblad 1969 (afdeling 2a, deel II), 15-1-1969, p. 40; Treumann, Gemeentebblad 1971 (afdeling 2, deel I), 3-3-1971, pp. 464-469; Keja, Gemeentebblad 1971 (afdeling 2, deel I), 3-3-1971, p. 465; Treumann, Gemeentebblad 1971 (afdeling 2, deel I), 3-3-1971, pp. 464-465; Keja, Gemeentebblad 1971 (afdeling 2, deel I), 3-3-1971, p. 465; Van der Kleij, Gemeentebblad 1971 (afdeling 2, deel I), 3-3-1971, pp. 466-467; Alderman Lammers, Gemeentebblad 1971 (afdeling 2, deel I), 3-3-1971, pp. 468-469; Alderman Lammers, Gemeentebblad 1971 (afdeling 2, deel III), 3-3-1971; Alderman Lammers, Gemeentebblad 1970 (afdeling 2, deel II), 27-5-1970, p. 1340; Jacobse (VVD), Gemeentebblad 1970 (afdeling 2, deel II), 27-5-1970, p. 1346; Keja, Gemeentebblad 1970 (afdeling 2, deel II), 27-5-1970, p. 1347; De Vries, Gemeentebblad 1970 (afdeling 2, deel II), 27-5-1970, pp. 1374-1375, Alderman De Wit, Gemeentebblad 1970 (afdeling 2, deel II), 27-5-1970, pp. 1381-1384; Brautigam, Gemeentebblad 1970 (afdeling 2, deel II), 27-5-1970, p. 1414; Alderman Lammers, Gemeentebblad 1972 (afdeling 2, deel IV), p. 2822; Treumann (PvdA), Gemeentebblad 1973 (afdeling 2, deel II), 6-6-1973, pp. 786-790; Pais (VVD), Gemeentebblad 1973 (afdeling 2, deel II), 6-6-1973, pp. 796-797; Wessels (D66), Gemeentebblad 1973 (afdeling 2, deel II), 6-6-1973, p. 800; De Cloe (PvdA), Gemeentebblad 1973 (afdeling 2, deel II), 6-6-1973, p. 813; Van het Schip (CPN), Gemeentebblad 1973 (afdeling 2, deel II), 6-6-1973, p. 815; Riethof (PSP), Gemeentebblad 1973 (afdeling 2, deel II), 6-6-1973, p. 828; Van der Kleij (KVP), Gemeentebblad 1973 (afdeling 2, deel II), 7-6-1973, p. 835; Alderman Lammers, Gemeentebblad 1973 (afdeling 2, deel II), 7-6-1973, pp. 844-860; Jacobse (VVD), Gemeentebblad 1973 (afdeling 2, deel II), 7-6-1973, p. 883; Treumann (PvdA), Gemeentebblad 1973 (afdeling 2, deel II), 7-6-1973, pp. 884-885; Pais (VVD), Gemeentebblad 1973 (afdeling 2, deel II), 7-6-1973, p. 885; Wessels (D66), Gemeentebblad 1973 (afdeling 2, deel II), 7-6-1973, p. 889; Van het Schip (CPN), Gemeentebblad 1973 (afdeling 2, deel II), 7-6-1973, p. 891; Hakkenberg Van Gaasbeek (AK), Gemeentebblad 1973 (afdeling 2, deel II), 7-6-1973, pp. 895-896; Riethof (PSP), Gemeentebblad 1973 (afdeling 2, deel II), 7-6-1973, pp. 898-899; Steenbergen (CHU), Gemeentebblad 1973 (afdeling 2, deel II), 7-6-1973, p. 908; De Jong (AK), Gemeentebblad 1973 (afdeling 2, deel II), 7-6-1973, pp. 910-911; Alderman Lammers, Gemeentebblad 1973 (afdeling 2, deel II), 7-6-1973, pp. 912-943; Martini (D66), Gemeentebblad 1975 (afdeling 2, deel I), 19-3-1975, pp. 421-424, Clerx (CPN), Gemeentebblad 1975 (afdeling 2, deel I), 19-3-1975; Van de Ven (PPR), Gemeentebblad 1975 (afdeling 2, deel I), 19-3-1975; Heerma (CDA), Gemeentebblad 1975 (afdeling 2, deel I), 19-3-1975, p. 454; Alderman Lammers, Gemeentebblad 1975 (afdeling 2, deel I), 19-3-1975, pp. 457-461; Treumann, Gemeentebblad 1975 (afdeling 2, deel I), 19-3-1975, p. 462; Alderman Lammers, Gemeentebblad 1975 (afdeling 2, deel I), 19-3-1975, p. 462; Alderman Verheij (CPN), Gemeentebblad 1975 (afdeling 2, deel I), 19-3-1975, pp. 473-475

<sup>265</sup> Alderman De Cloe, Gemeentebblad 1971 (afdeling 2, deel III), p. 2274

<sup>266</sup> Gemeentebblad 1968 (afdeling 2, deel I), 15-5-1968, p. 753

<sup>267</sup> The proposal was done by Treumann, Riethof, Polak, Stam & Visser. Gemeentebblad 1973 (afdeling 2, deel II), 6-6-1973; Gemeentebblad 1973 (afdeling 2, deel II), 7-6-1973, pp. 884-885, pp. 912-943

<sup>268</sup> PvdA, NRC Handelsblad 21-5-1973; PvdA en VVD, De Tijd 22-5-1973; PvdA, Trouw 22-5-1973; PvdA, De Telegraaf 30-8-1973; PvdA, Nieuws van de dag 29-8-



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1973; PvdA, Het Parool 12-10-1973; PvdA, De Telegraaf 12-10-1973; PvdA, NRC Handelsblad 12-10-1973; Westerterp & Lammers, Het Parool 25-10-1973; Westerterp & Lammers, Trouw 26-10-1973; Westerterp & Lammers, De Volkskrant 26-10-1973; Alderman Lammers (PvdA) & Minister Westerterp, NRC Handelsblad 27-10-1973; Alderman Lammers, Het Parool 9-1-1974; Minister Westerterp & Alderman Lammers, De Volkskrant 10-1-1974; Alderman Lammers, De Volkskrant 25-5-1974; H. Lammers, PSP, Kabouters, D'66 & part of PvdA, NRC Handelsblad 28-5-1974; Alderman Lammers, Het Parool 28-5-1974; Local council Amsterdam, De Waarheid 30-5-1974; Alderman Lammers, De Tijd 11-2-1972; Dutch State, Nieuws van de Dag, 24-8-1973; Dutch State, Het Parool 24-8-1973; Unknown journalist, Het Parool 23-3-1972

<sup>269</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel A & Deel B, 1974; Alderman De Wit, De Toekomst van de Amsterdamse binnenstad, KNAG, Amsterdam 1968

<sup>270</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel A & Deel B, 1974, pp. 4, 9, 11, 13, 16, 18, 25, 31-32, 76; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 10-10-1974; Local council Amsterdam, De Waarheid 30-5-1974; Alderman Lammers, Het Parool 9-1-1974; Westerterp, De Waarheid 8-10-1974; Mayor and aldermen, NRC Handelsblad 8-4-1976; Mayor Polak, De Telegraaf 13-10-1977; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam, 1978; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp verkeerscirculatieplan 1976; Alderman Lammers, Het Parool 28-5-1974; Local council, Het Parool 10 oktober 1974; Minister Westerterp & Alderman Lammers, De Volkskrant 10-1-1974; Alderman Lammers, De Volkskrant 25-5-1974

<sup>271</sup> Nieuws van de Dag, 24-8-1973; Nieuws van de Dag 28-3-1973; Het Parool 24-8-1973. In 1973, Amsterdam became an 'artikel 12 gemeente' (Projectmanagement Bureau, Het gezicht van Amsterdam, 2000, p. 89

<sup>272</sup> Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 18-3-1975; Treumann, Het Parool 17-7-1975

<sup>273</sup> Alderman Lammers, Gemeentebld 1975 (afdeling 2, deel I), 19-3-1975, pp. 457-461

<sup>274</sup> Mayor and alderman, NRC Handelsblad 8-4-1976; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp verkeerscirculatieplan 1976

<sup>275</sup> Unknown journalist, Het Parool 13-12-1974; Major and aldermen, Het Parool 4-3-1975; Samkalden, Het Parool 6-3-1975; Lammers, De Telegraaf 16-1-1973

<sup>276</sup> In 1983, the first inhabitants moved into their new homes in the housing block on top of the metro called Het Pentagon, designed by Theo Bosch, which was indeed one of the culturalists in the debate (Het Parool, 13-8-1983)

<sup>277</sup> De Volkskrant 22-4-1977

<sup>278</sup> Unknown journalist, De Volkskrant 4-2-1978; Unknown journalist, Nieuws van de Dag 5-4-1978

<sup>279</sup> Unknown journalist, Nieuws van de Dag 5-4-1978; Unknown journalist, Het Parool 13-10-1977

<sup>280</sup> Anonymous person working at metro, Nieuws van de Dag 3-4-1975

<sup>281</sup> Alderman Lammers, De Volkskrant, 15-10-1977

<sup>282</sup> Lammers, Het Parool 13-8-1983; Lammers in: Projectmanagement Bureau, Het gezicht van Amsterdam, Amsterdam 2000, pp. 51-56

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<sup>283</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam, 1978; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam 1981, p. 7

<sup>284</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam 1981

<sup>285</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam 1981, pp. 5, 38; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Derde nota Stadsvernieuwing, Gemeenteblad 1978 (afdeling 1, deel I), 25-4-1978, p. 1071; De Cloe, De Volkskrant 8-2-1977; Lammers & Polak, De Telegraaf 13-10-1977; Mayor Polak, Amsterdam Hoofdstad?, Junior Kamer Amsterdam, Amsterdam 1977, p. 7

<sup>286</sup> De Cloe, De Volkskrant 8-2-1977; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam 1981, pp. 7, 8, 28, 33, 37, 38, 45, etc.; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam, 1978, pp. 2-3 6-8, 16; Mayor Polak, Amsterdam Hoofdstad?, Junior Kamer Amsterdam, Amsterdam 1977, p. 7; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Derde nota Stadsvernieuwing, Gemeenteblad 1978 (afdeling 1, deel I), 25-4-1978, p. 1071; Lammers & Polak, De Telegraaf 13-10-1977

<sup>287</sup> Voorontwerp verkeerscirculatieplan 1976. In verkeerscirculatieplan 1976, a glossary was made in order to stimulate participation; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Derde nota Stadsvernieuwing, Gemeenteblad 1978 (afdeling 1, deel I), 25-4-1978, p. 1077; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam 1981

<sup>288</sup> Lammers & Polak, De Telegraaf 13-10-1977; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Derde nota Stadsvernieuwing, Gemeenteblad 1978 (afdeling 1, deel I), 25-4-1978; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam 1981, p. 45

<sup>289</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam, 1978, p. 2; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam 1981, p. 21; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Derde nota Stadsvernieuwing, Gemeenteblad 1978 (afdeling 1, deel I), 25-4-1978, p. 1082; De Cloe, De Volkskrant 8-2-1977

<sup>290</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam 1981; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam, 1978, p. 2

<sup>291</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam 1981; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam, 1978; Mayor Polak, Amsterdam Hoofdstad?, Junior Kamer Amsterdam, Amsterdam 1977, p. 7

<sup>292</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam, 1978; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam 1981, pp. 6, 38, 52, 53

<sup>293</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam 1981; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam, 1978

<sup>294</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam 1981; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Derde nota

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Stadsvernieuwing, Gemeentebld 1978 (afdeling 1, deel I), 25-4-1978, pp. 1076-1078; Lammers & Polak, De Telegraaf 13-10-1977; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam, 1978, pp. 2-3; Gemeentebld 1978, afdeling 1, deel 1, nr. 524. “Nadere standpuntbepaling inzake de stadsvernieuwing”, 25 april 1978, pp. 1078, 1086

<sup>295</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam 1981; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Derde nota Stadsvernieuwing, Gemeentebld 1978 (afdeling 1, deel I), 25-4-1978, pp. 1076-1078, 1086; Lammers & Polak, De Telegraaf 13-10-1977; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam, 1978, pp. 2-3

<sup>296</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam 1981, pp. 35, 52; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Derde nota Stadsvernieuwing, Gemeentebld 1978 (afdeling 1, deel I), 25-4-1978, p. 1076; Gemeentebld 1979, afdeling 1, deel 1 pp. 397-407, 23 februari 1979, pp. 399-400

<sup>297</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Derde nota Stadsvernieuwing, Gemeentebld 1978 (afdeling 1, deel I), 25-4-1978; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam 1981

<sup>298</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam, 1978, p. 2; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Derde nota Stadsvernieuwing, Gemeentebld 1978 (afdeling 1, deel I), 25-4-1978; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam 1981

<sup>299</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam, 1978; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam 1981, pp. 6, 38, 52, 53

<sup>300</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam, 1978; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam 1981

<sup>301</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam 1981; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam, 1978; Lammers & Polak, De Telegraaf 13-10-1977

<sup>302</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam 1981, pp. 7, 30, 33, 38, 68; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam, 1978, p. 2

<sup>303</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam 1981

<sup>304</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam 1981

<sup>305</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam, 1978

<sup>306</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam, 1978; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam 1981, pp. 6, 38, 52, 53

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<sup>307</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam, 1978

<sup>308</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam 1981; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam, 1978

<sup>309</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam 1981; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam, 1978

<sup>310</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam, 1978; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam 1981, pp. 6, 38, 52, 53

<sup>311</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam 1981; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam, 1978

<sup>312</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam 1981; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Voorontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, Deel C Werken in Amsterdam, 1978



## Conclusions Part 2

In period 2, all voices still seem to have sung the same song, expressing a strong belief in the city's future. Despite some suburbanization of people and businesses, and despite decaying 19<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhoods, all had great trust that it would turn all right for both cities. With overwhelming passion, culturalists, progressists and city planners participated in city debates, supercharged by their torrid desire for a flourishing future for the city.

The flourishing future city should be realized by levels 2 of the urban ideal images, and on this point, opinions differed. Just as in period 1, progressists and city planners thought that the future city should contain a CBD located inside the inner city and that it should be on top of the urban hierarchy; thought that planning should focus on trade and industry; and idealized the future as they wanted to be progressive. On the contrary, the focus of culturalists was still backwards, and their ideals derived from the past, aiming at realizing a future city that looked like Amsterdam and Rotterdam centuries ago. Moreover, they wanted a future city with a cultural historic inner city, whereby city planning should focus on community and history – just like in period 1.

Once more, culturalists stated that the ideal of a CBD inside the inner city and on top of the urban hierarchy was outdated and definitely no longer progressive. Of course, again, it was used as a strategy to gain support and, moreover, the urban ideal image of culturalists was not progressive at all. But the fact remains that part of level 2 of the urban ideal image of progressists and city planners was indeed not that progressive, although both categories said they wanted a forward-looking, progressive city. Thus, for some reason, city planners and progressists had not felt any urge to 'update' all of level 2 of their urban ideal image yet, which made me very curious to know what their level 2 would be like in period 3.

Again, there seemed to be a correlation between occupation and ideology on the one hand, and level 2 of the urban ideal images on the other hand. The identity of urban intellectuals describing the culturalist urban ideal image was quite similar to the identity of those who had done so in period 1. This time, the most notable ones were the members of 19<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhood action groups and social movements, and the actual inhabitants of 19<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhoods – a logical result of the topics discussed in the debates in period 2. Moreover, historians, members of historical associations, people working for organizations concerned with monuments, architects, architectural experts, biologists, urban developers, sociologists, human geographers, and students of architecture, sociology and pedagogy were the higher-educated people belonging to the culturalist category. In addition, squatters and all kinds of people with a creative occupation – for example artists, painters, writers, graphic artists –

articulated the culturalist urban ideal image, as did journalists in particular those from the newspapers *De Groene Amsterdammer*, *Het Parool*, *Vrij Nederland* and *Nieuws van de Dag*. Finally, councillors from the more leftist political parties – namely D66, PSP, PPR, KVP and PROVO – were amongst them too. Thereby, some culturalists had multiple identities, like Geurt Brinkgreve, one of the most active participants in the debate in this period (just like in period 1), who had been councillor for the KVP but was also the initiator of *Amsterdaad* – which was one of the initiators of the second debate in Amsterdam – and an active member of *Heemschut* and *Amstelodamum*. So apart from the fact that there were a lot more culturalists in the second period, their identity is quite comparable to that in period 1.

The identity of progressist urban intellectuals showed quite a great resemblance to period 1, too. Architects, those allied to *Kring Rotterdam Bond van Nederlandsche Architecten*, economists, traffic economists, professors from economic scientific research schools (NEI and HES), structural engineers, mathematicians, and youngsters studying traffic science, architecture, or economics were the more educated ones describing the progressist ideal urban image. Moreover, Professor Wentholt – initiator of the debate in Rotterdam – and Professor Jokinen – co-initiator of the debate in Amsterdam – also fell into this category. In addition, journalists working for the newspapers *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* and the communist newspaper *De Waarheid* held the progressist ideal, as did those more directly involved with the urban economy, transport or tourism, namely employees of the Chamber of Commerce, sales representatives, real estate developers, investors, shop-owners, shopkeepers' associations for businesses and industry, industrial insurance boards, the director of Schiphol Airport, the director of the RAI conference centre, the passenger transport companies GVB and NS, the chief commissioner of police and people working for the tourist board. Moreover, council members for the liberal-right political party VVD and the communist CPN, as well as inhabitants of the 17<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhood Jordaan, the former Amsterdam alderman Polak (Finances, Taxes and Artistic Matters), and former Amsterdam aldermen Van Wijck (Businesses) fell into this category too. So again, the identity of progressists in period 2 showed quite some similarities with the identity of progressists in period 1.

Level 3 of the urban ideal image was meant to realize level 2 of the urban ideal image, with the ultimate goal, of course, of realizing level 1. Thereby, again, on this level, there were differences between culturalists, progressists and city planners, but there were also a few similarities (table 18). Table 1, based on Choay's dichotomy preservationists / culturalists, was developed a little further and some elements had been changed since period 1. But no truly new elements were added, and all changes on level 3 of the urban ideal image concerned elements that were already mentioned by Choay or were in figure 4 regarding the body of knowledge in 1945 (Chapter

2). Table 18 presents the urban ideal images of both Amsterdammers and Rotterdammers, along with the differences between the two cities.

**Table 18 Urban ideal images of culturalists, progressists and city planners, Amsterdam and Rotterdam period 2<sup>1</sup>**

		<b>Elements of urban ideal image</b>	<i>Culturalists</i>	<i>Progressists</i>	<i>City planners before planning turn</i>	<i>City planners after planning turn</i>
<b>L</b>	<b>e</b>		Flourishing city	Flourishing city	Flourishing city	Flourishing city
<b>L</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>Position of inner city</b>	Cultural historic centre	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy
<b>2</b>		<b>Orienta tion</b>	Towards the past	Towards the future	Towards the future	Towards the future
		<b>Focus of planning</b>	Community & history	Trade & industry	Trade & industry	Trade & industry
<b>L</b>	<b>G</b>	<b>Basis of planning</b>	Surveys & desires	Survey & desires	Survey & desires	Survey & desires
<b>e</b>			Flexible plan, not detailed (Rdm)	Flexible plan, not detailed	Flexible plan, not detailed	Flexible plan, not detailed
<b>3</b>	<b>a</b>		Public participation	Public participation	Public support	Public participation
			City as part of a larger whole: the region and the rest of the world (Adm)	City as part of a larger whole: the region and the rest of the world (Adm)	City as part of a larger whole: the region and the rest of the world (Adm)	
		<b>Architec ture</b>	Not contempo rary but fit to the existing structure	Contempo rary but neither harmonious nor homo geneous		



Level 3	<b>G</b>	<b>Main planning actor</b>	Government	Government	Government	Government
		<b>City extension</b>	Garden cities (Rdm) / Compact city (Adm)	Concentric (Rdm) / Satellite city & compact city (Adm)	Radial belts along arterial roads surrounded by nature (Rdm, Adm) / satellite cities (Adm)	Compact city (Rdm) / radial belts along arterial roads surrounded by nature and satellite cities (Adm)
		<b>Border between city and country side</b>	Faded (Rdm) / Sharp (Adm)		Sharp	Sharp
		<b>Accent on city or country side</b>	City	City	City	City
		<b>City size</b>	Infinite (Rdm) / limited (Adm)	Limited (Adm)	Limited (Rdm)	Limited
		<b>Height</b>	Limited	High, unlimited (Rdm)		
		<b>City functions</b>	Mixed	Zoned and a little mix (Rdm)	Zoned, with a little mix	Mix if possible (no nuisance)
		<b>History</b>	Pattern of living riddled with history	Keep the past in mind, but focus on the future / preserved valuable historic urban quarters or buildings	Keep the past in mind, but focus on the future	If possible, preserve urban quarters and monuments by alternative plans

<b>L e v e l 3</b>	<b>G</b>	<b>Density</b>	Uniform (Rdm) / increasing towards centre (Adm)	Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city's edge (Adm)	Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city's edge (Rdm)	Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city's edge (Rdm)
	<b>D w e l l i n g</b>	<b>Structure</b>	Preserved, close-knit 19 <sup>th</sup> -century urban neighbour hoods	Airy, light, new / rehabilitated urban quarters (Rdm)	Airy, light, urban housing quarters	Liveable urban quarters with a high building density (Rdm)
		<b>Housing types</b>	No high-rise buildings	High-rise / existing height preserved (Rdm)	High- or medium-rise (Rdm)	
			Identifiable houses	Identifiable houses (Rdm)		Identifiable houses (Rdm)
		<b>Stratification</b>	Mix strata & ethnicity on urban scale – preserve historic zoned strata (canals: upscale, workers in workers neighbour hoods) (Adm)	Mixed social strata (Rdm)	Mixed social strata & family size in space (Adm)	Mixed social strata inside neighbour hoods
			Full attention to public housing		Attention to both private & public housing, focus: upmarket	

L e v e l i n g  3	<b>D</b>	<b>Renewal of residential quarters</b>	Rehabilitation	Comprehensive redevelopment (Adm, Rdm) /rehabilitation (Rdm)	Comprehensive redevelopment	Rehabilitation
	<b>L e i s u r e</b>	<b>Green elements</b>	Parks, gardens	Parks (Rdm)	City parks	City parks, flower-tubs, shrubs
		<b>Nature</b>	Inside city	Nature subordinate to commercial development & located only outside the city (Rdm)	Nature subordinate to commercial development & located only outside the city	Nature subordinate to commercial development & located only outside the city
		<b>Buffers around build-up areas</b>	No buffers (Rdm)		Buffers around build-up areas (Rdm)	
		<b>Use of water fronts</b>	Non-commercial	Commercial (Rdm)	Commercial (Rdm)	
		<b>Location of recreational areas</b>	Interwoven with the city (Rdm)	Outside the city (Rdm)	Outside the city	Outside the city
	<b>W o r k</b>	<b>Location</b>	Mixed with other functions	Separated with a little mix	Separated with a little mix	Mixed if possible (no nuisance)
		<b>Industries</b>	Inside neighbourhoods	Decentralized to accessible industrial areas at city's edge (Adm)	Decentralized to accessible industrial areas at city's edge	Decentralized to accessible industrial areas at city's edge (Adm)

<b>L e v e l 3</b>	<b>T r a n s p o r t a t i o n</b>	<b>Focus</b>	Accessible urban areas, limit width of roads	Fast & efficient transport system	Fast & efficient transport system	Fast transport system
		<b>Mobility</b>	Limit mobility by localizing life	Meet mobility needs by constructing roads	Meet mobility needs by constructing roads (Adm, Rdm) & limit mobility by localizing life (Rdm)	Limit mobility by localizing life
		<b>Design</b>	Radial (Rdm) / non-radial (Adm). Preserved old structure, ring-road	Rational/historic in some places, radial	Rational, radial	No roads that stimulate suburbanization (Rdm). Rational, radial, ring-road
		<b>Traffic types</b>	Zoned (Adm)	Zoned (Adm)	Zoned (Adm)	Separated
	<b>I n n e r c i t y</b>	<b>Main function</b>	Cultural	Economic	Economic	Economic
		<b>Inner city functions</b>	Mixed	Zoned, mixed in some instances	Mainly zoned	Mixed
		<b>Location of offices</b>	Mainly outside inner city, mixed inside neighbourhoods	Inside inner city	Inside inner city	Inside inner city, partly decentralized to many small sub-centres
		<b>Accessibility</b>	Moderate (Rdm) / Low (Adm)	High	High	High
		<b>Car traffic</b>	Limited	Unlimited (Adm, Rdm), discouraged (Adm)	Limited	Limited

Level 3	<b>Residential function</b>	Large	Limited	Limited	Moderate
	<b>Public transport</b>	Metro (Rdm) / small scaled (Adm)	Metro	Metro	Metro (Rdm). Buses, trams (Rdm, Adm)
	<b>Traffic priority</b>	Pedestrians	Motorists	Motorists	Motorists, but attention needed for pedestrians & bicycles
	<b>Public space</b>	Squares (Adm)	Liveable squares as forums (Rdm)	Liveable, lively (shops, kiosks, terraces, cafes) (Rdm)	Liveable (kiosks, benches) (Rdm)
	<b>Design</b>	Heterogeneous, preserved, fit to existing architecture in city (Adm)	Contemporary (Rdm)	Contemporary (Rdm)	

Changes of urban ideal images on level 3 were so drastic that a compromise was reached between culturalists and city planners. It was a true planning turn, was made possible by significant others (Chapter 1) entering and leaving the category of city planners. In Rotterdam, the old guard left, making room for new local politicians who could and did agree with the demands of culturalist urban intellectuals. Van der Ploeg granted all the requests of residents' committees and action groups, including that to exclude homeowners from the project groups – which had been an important point of controversy.

In Amsterdam, the turn took place more gradually, and was spread out over four years, whereby the turn was more or less closed by a change of guard. A conflict had arisen between the old guard and the new members of the PvdA, on both the local and the national level. And as in Rotterdam, the new city planners were the first to adopt new elements on level 3 of the urban ideal image, in the case of Amsterdam against a full metro-network. Thus, in both cities, harmony over some elements regarding level 3 of the urban ideal image was enough to allow a compromise, to satisfy both city

planners and culturalists. Despite the yawning differences on level 2 of their urban ideal images, a compromise over some elements on level 3 was enough to end the city debate and to take away the urge to fight for ideals – which is quite an achievement, especially in Amsterdam. Thus, significant others had made it possible for level 3 of the city planner's urban ideal image to change, but at least some of the cause of this change seems to lie in the strategies that were used in the public city debates.

On the basis of my empirical research regarding period 2, the list of strategies was further expanded (table 19). Thereby, particularly the culturalists' efforts to gain support never cease to elicit wonder, considering the tremendous amount of effort made compared to progressists and city planners. Culturalists were the kings of creative strategies, which confirmed their identity as persons with a creative occupation. Moreover, concerning their major differences of opinion with both progressists and city planners, it is not too surprising that culturalists used the most physical expressions, as though words did not have the effect the culturalists had in mind. City planners, in their turn, had unique strategies, which culturalists and progressists simply lacked. Progressists had not even one strategy that they used alone, which may be a result of their urban ideal image being quite similar to that of those in power – city planners. Despite the differences, progressists, city planners and culturalists used many similar strategies. As a result, sometimes conflicting strategies were used, by which they contradicted fellow category members – or themselves.

If one compares these strategies to those used in period 1, a few things catch the eye. First, the motive 'efficiency' had lost dominance to the motives 'liveliness / liveability / environment' – not that the motive 'efficiency' was no longer mentioned, but it was mentioned considerably less often than in period 1, and less often than the motive 'liveliness / liveability / environment'. This aligns with existing research about this period in the Netherlands<sup>2</sup>. Second, 'CBD' and 'City' had disappeared from the vocabulary of city planners and progressists, probably a result of the aversion they caused in many inhabitants. They had chosen other words to describe the same phenomenon, and therefore I feel no urge to stop using the 'CBD' to describe the central business district both categories desired. Third, while in period 1 Amsterdammers referred to Rotterdam as a national example of how to plan parts of cities, and vice versa, in period 2, this had changed a little: Amsterdammers now grumbled a little bit at Rotterdammers. Forth, the motive 'perfect city' was not used in period 2, although as a motive, as it had not disappeared from the urban ideal images.

Many of the strategies used in period 1 were used in period 2. As a result, similar strategies were used for different policies (level 3), which led to quite hilarious findings. To recall just a few: while city planners in 1973 stated that urban functions should be separated for the sake of liveability, one year later they said they should be mixed – because of liveability; the

efficiency argument was used to justify the metro network in 1973 *and* its abolishment in 1975; and the same argument was given for both comprehensive redevelopment of 19<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhoods in the early 1970s *and* their rehabilitation a few years later.

Table 19 presents the strategies of Amsterdammers and Rotterdammers, along with the differences between both cities. In Amsterdam, strategies were a little different from those used in Rotterdam. Far more physical expressions were made in Amsterdam, as though the Amsterdammers were unsatisfied with the results their words had on their opponents. And while Rotterdam urban intellectuals mainly used words to defend their ideal, proper words that is, Amsterdammers not only criticized, groused, discussed and quarrelled, but also lashed out furiously and bashed each other's brains in over every single detail they disagreed with.

The influence of the strategies undertaken in the public city debate in period 2 differs from that in period 1. Unchanged is the fact that alderman, mayor and councillors were very well informed about the ideal urban images of both progressist and culturalist urban intellectuals, as revealed by the reports on local council meetings, but different from period 2 is that quite some elements of level 3 of the urban ideal image of in particular culturalists were adopted by city planners. Causes of this influence must be sought also in the social and political changes in Dutch society, which were briefly described in the introduction to part 2, and to which we shall return in chapter 9. City planners themselves justified their changes by the tremendous number of letters and reports they had received, and the protests and riots they had suffered. In Amsterdam, the most violent actions had the most effect, that is, in the short term, as they made city planners decide to temporarily halt construction work on the metro. Moreover, even in the well-behaved Rotterdam, it was noticed that the noisiest neighbourhoods got the most attention from city planners. But as we also know now, the effects were only temporary: in the end, all neighbourhoods got the same promises. Even worse, the demands of culturalists in Rotterdam were satisfied years earlier than those of their fellows in Amsterdam. And thus, while in Rotterdam the debate had come to an end around 1974, in the same year in Amsterdam, some of the most violent riots in decades took place<sup>3</sup>. Other differences regarding strategies between Rotterdam and Amsterdam are outlined in table 19.

**Table 19 Strategies of culturalists, progressists and city planners, Rotterdam and Amsterdam period 2<sup>4</sup>**

	<i>Culturalists</i>	<i>Progressists</i>	<i>City planners</i>
<b>Motives</b>	Image of the present city	Image of the present city	Image of the present city
	Liveliness (Rdm) / liveability (Adm) / environment (Adm, Rdm)	Liveliness (Rdm) / liveability & environment (Adm, Rdm)	Liveliness (Rdm) / liveability & environment (Adm)
	Efficiency	Efficiency	Efficiency
	Cultural history	Cultural history (Adm)	Cultural history (Adm)
	Valuation		
	Research methods	Research methods (Rdm)	Research methods
	Facts	Facts	Facts
	Goal will not be reached	Goal will not be reached	Goal will not be reached (Rdm)
	Goal cannot be reached		
	Gloomy future	Gloomy future	Gloomy future
		Inevitability	Inevitability
	Last chance/emergency	Last chance/emergency (Adm)	Last chance/emergency (Adm)
	International/national examples	International/national examples	International/national examples
		Spent so much time/effort/money (Adm)	Spent so much time/effort/money (Adm)
	Irreversible	Irreversible (Adm)	
	People want it	People want it	People want it (Adm)
People need it	People need it	People need it	
Short public enquiry procedure			
<b>Creative expression</b>	Brochures		Brochures (Adm)
	Photos	Photos	Photos (Adm)
	Songs		
	Poems		
	Cartoons	Cartoons (Rdm)	
	Creative accounting	Creative accounting	Creative accounting (Adm)
	Posters		



<b><i>Creative expression</i></b>	Drawings & sketches	Drawings & sketches	Drawings & sketches
	Scale models (Adm)		Scale models
	Lay out reports		Lay out reports
	Exhibitions (Adm)		Exhibitions (Adm)
<b><i>Linguistic expression</i></b>	Talking & writing	Talking & writing	Talking & writing
		Present tense	Present tense (Adm)
	Vocabulary	Vocabulary	Vocabulary
	Slogans (Adm)	Slogans	
	Ads (Adm)		
<b><i>Friends &amp; enemies</i></b>	Editorial power	Editorial power	Editorial power
	Denigrating	Denigrating	Denigrating
	Rousing	Rousing (Rdm)	
	Heroes	Heroes	Heroes (Rdm)
	Scapegoats	Scapegoat (Rdm)	Scapegoats (Rdm)
	Lots of us	Lots of us (Adm)	
	Curry favour	Curry favour	Curry favour
			Just like you
	We can change the world! (Adm)	We can change the world!	We can change the world!
	Order! (Rdm)		Order!
	Conspiring	Threaten to conspire (Adm)	
			Nothing the matter (Adm)
			Admit failure (Adm)
<b><i>Gaining power</i></b>	Choice reduction	Choice reduction	
			Advisory councils
	Emphasizing own importance	Emphasizing own importance (Adm)	
	Compromise (Adm)		Compromise (Rdm)
	Writing letters/signing petitions	Writing letters/signing petitions (Adm)	
	'Translating' city plans (Rdm)		
	Inaccuracies	Inaccuracies	Inaccuracies (Adm)
	Revealing secrets		
	Refuse to talk		Refuse to talk
	Refuse to vote (Rdm)		
	Refuse to pay rent (Rdm)		
			Superficial discussion (Rdm)

<b><i>Gaining power</i></b>			Writing theoretical plans (Rdm)
			Participation in pretty final plans (Rdm)
			Public enquiry procedures during holidays (Adm)
	Approach national government (Adm)		
<b><i>Physical expression</i></b>	Actions		Actions (Adm)
	Demonstrations		
	Demolitions (mainly Adm)		
	Banners		
	Personal attacks (Adm)		
	Disturbing council meetings		
	Squatting (Adm)		
	Congress (Adm)	Congress (Adm)	Congress (Adm)

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<sup>1</sup> Empty compartments in this table mean that nothing was said about this particular element. 'Rdm' refers to Rotterdam, which means that this particular element was only described in Rotterdam. 'Adm' refers to Amsterdam.

<sup>2</sup> H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, Ruimtelijke ordening. Van plannen komen plannen, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 1996; R. van Engelsdorp Gastelaars & W.G.M. Salet, Strategische keuzen voor ruimtelijke ontwikkeling, Amsterdam Study Centre for the metropolitan environment (AME), Amsterdam 1996

<sup>3</sup> NRC Handelsblad 13-12-1974

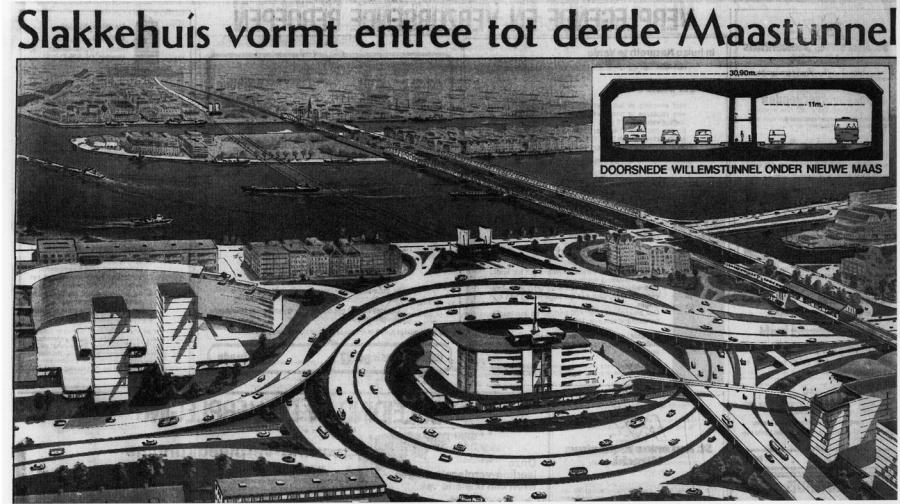
<sup>4</sup> Empty compartments in this table mean that this particular strategy was not used. 'Rdm' refers to Rotterdam, which means that this strategy was used only in Rotterdam. 'Adm' refers to Amsterdam.



Figure 8 Cartoon, +/- 1971 (Gemeentearchief Rotterdam, XXII 1971 0149 A)



Figure 9 Slakkehuis (Gemeentearchief Rotterdam, Topografisch-historische atlas, 1971 1466)



## **Part 3 1980/85-1995**

# Introduction

In 1989, the Berlin Wall fell, signalling the end of the Cold War. The USSR collapsed like a house of cards and new countries were formed in Eastern Europe. There were still many wars to come, though, like the Gulf War in 1991, whereby an air offensive was mounted by, amongst others, the US, the UK and Egypt on the Iraqis who, under the leadership of Saddam Hussein, had invaded Kuwait in 1990 and declared it a province of Iraq. The air offensive was meant to force the Iraqis out of Kuwait: Saddam retaliated by firing Scud missiles at Tel Aviv and Haifa. The war came to an end in February 1991, but its consequences were felt long after, particularly by the citizens who, as always in wars, were affected the most. And when in 1992 lightning struck the kibbutz I was working on, the kibbutzniks were shaken for days, because it had flashed through their minds that it was one of Saddam's Scud rockets<sup>1</sup>.

During the 1980s and early 1990s, the production of goods changed; Fordism was replaced by Toyotism, and instead of producing 'just in place', goods were produced more and more 'just in time' which made production and producers more footloose. In 1983, IBM introduced its first personal computer (the 'IBM PC'), powered by an Intel 8088 processor (4.77 MHz). The percentage of Dutch households possessing a PC increased from 9% in 1985 to 44% in 1995. GSM (Global Standard for Mobile Communication), developed in Finland, was introduced in the Netherlands in 1994 by KPN, the Dutch telecommunications company. In the Netherlands, the economic recession lasted from 1979 until 1984. As a result of the post-industrial economy, many former blue-collar workers – most of whom lived in one of the big Dutch cities – became unemployed. Partly because of the 'upside down' oil crisis in 1986/1987, the economy recovered only slowly. Oil prices were low, and because they were linked to the price of Dutch natural gas, it lowered the country's GNP. In 1982, 48% of all Dutch persons aged 15 or older were working; in 1999, the figure was 62%. The share of women participating in the labour market increased from 20% in 1962 to about 50% in 1995. But many women still had traditional 'female' jobs, as a newspaper article notes, making most of the event that the first Dutch woman graduated as a car mechanic in 1992<sup>2</sup>.

In 1982, a coalition was formed between VVD and CDA, which was continued in 1986. In 1989, this coalition was replaced by CDA and PvdA, which lasted until 1994. In the early 1980s, the Dutch government started to reorganize the welfare state. The extent of social welfare was curtailed and some key public services were privatized<sup>3</sup>.

The 1980s and 1990s saw the spread of HIV-AIDS, house music (named after *The Warehouse* disco in Chicago) and house parties, where the drug XTC was popular because it helps one to dance all night. The hippies

had cut their hair and put aside their activism, and were absorbed by the grey herd. These were also the times of *Generation X*, named after the famous book by Douglas Coupland. Generation X was born between 1964 and 1976 – their teen years touched the 1980s – and started as a prospect-less bunch of losers. They had a nihilistic view of life, a deep-rooted feeling of disengagement and an aversion to hippies –their parents’ generation. They were slackers, twentysomethings, twentynothings, the ‘why- bother generation’ and their greatest hero was the suicidal Kurt Cobain of the band Nirvana. Generation X wanted to have fun, both in their personal life and at work. But it was also the generation that dared to focus on niches, on telecommunication and computer technology. They were headstrong, pragmatic, optimistic, preferred non-hierarchical environments, and set up the dotcom economy which made the Dow Jones rise between 1990 and 2000 by almost 600 percent. Never before has one generation produced so many millionaires<sup>4</sup>.

Between 1985 and 2002, the Dutch population increased by 11%, from 14.5 to 16.1 million, of whom about 10% were born abroad. The number of households increased by 24% (from 5.2 to 6.8 million) as a result of ‘greying’ and individualization. Particularly in cities, the ‘ordinary’ family consisting of a father, mother and two children became a rare phenomenon. Their place was taken by new types of households: dinkies (double income, no kids), yuppies (young urban professional, single), households of people living together, and self-reliant seniors (more or less well to do). The need for singularity, individuality and expression grew, which could be satisfied by living, working, recreating, walking, or partying in ‘the right’ places, which, in a way, counteracted the footloose-ness described<sup>5</sup>.

In period 3, the Dutch still nourished their ideal of strong, small cities embedded in a green environment. This time, many motives concerning cultural history were heard – the Green Heart had to be preserved because it was of great cultural historic value. When it turned out that the concept of clustered deconcentration was ineffectual, in 1983 the national government decided to adopt the compact-city strategy city, something both city governments and scientists had asked for. In 1993, the VINEX policy was introduced, which implied the construction of thousands of houses in areas around and closely fitted to cities. The aim was to preserve the Green Heart, to strengthen existing cities and to keep them of limited size, while satisfying those who wanted to live in a suburban environment. As a result, at the end of the 1980s, population decline in cities indeed stopped, and even increased in some of the larger cities. In fact, no other Western country has been as successful in resisting American-style developments as the Netherlands, where the ‘edge city’ remains a very underdeveloped phenomenon<sup>6</sup>.



The partial adoption of the Anglo-American market-led approach to public policy resulting in public services becoming privatized, was echoed in urban policies. Because to businesses had become more footloose, large cities in the Randstad lost many businesses to attractive locations (i.e. those offering nice homes, leisure and cultural facilities, and high-quality amenities) in suburbs, smaller cities and suburban provinces like Utrecht, Gelderland and Noord-Brabant. However, after 1985, the inner cities regained some popularity as a home to ICT businesses. Journals and newspapers even spoke of a *revival*, although some thought that this was highly exaggerated – more a desire than reality. To boost economic growth in inner cities, and following Boston, Toronto, London and New York, waterfront regeneration projects were formulated in Groningen, Maastricht, Amersfoort, Eindhoven, Rotterdam and Amsterdam. They were meant to strengthen the cities, so that they could compete with other urban regions like Brussels, Paris, London, Frankfurt/Munich and Milan. These projects were accompanied by marketing schemes, whereby instead of the city's weak points – as was done in the second period – the city's qualities were put under the spotlights. The public government joined partnerships with private investors (public private partnerships, PPPs), but although compared to period 2, the role of private parties increased tremendously, it remained modest in comparison to that in, for example, the UK and the US. Rotterdam's waterfront project was called *Kop van Zuid*, and Amsterdam's the *IJ-oever*s, and both caused controversial debates – the last two I shall discuss in this book<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Rotterdamsch Dagblad 25-11-1991

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.breepunt.nl/artikel.asp?id=1303>; <http://www.google.nl/search?q=cache:3FyHgolrcjkJ:www.socialestaat.nl/scp/publicaties/boeken/905749518X/905749518X-h6.pdf+computerbezit+1995&hl=nl>; <http://www.google.nl/search?q=cache:hVC6mc02oEcJ:www.bnb.be/sg/En/Produits/publication/working/WP38.pdf+fordisme+toyotisme+nederland&hl=nl> (accessed 24-9-2004); H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, *Ruimtelijke ordening. Van grachtengordel tot Vinex-wijk*, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 2003; *Het Vrije Volk* 7-12-1983

<sup>3</sup> S.V. Ward, *the twentieth-century city: the advanced capitalist world*, John Wiley & Sons, LTD., Chichester 2002, p. 356; H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, *Ruimtelijke ordening. Van grachtengordel tot Vinex-wijk*, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 2003, pp. 297, 292, 366; <http://www.nrc.nl/denhaag/geschiedenis/986193409938.html> (accessed 24-9-2004); [www.parlement.com](http://www.parlement.com) (accessed 24-9-2004)

<sup>4</sup> D.C. Coupland, *Generation X: tales for an accelerated culture*, St. Martin's press, New York 1991; <http://www.planet.nl/planet/show/id=101419/contentid=385296/sc=758b2c> (accessed 8-7-2004); [http://www.domountview.com/columns\\_inhoud.htm](http://www.domountview.com/columns_inhoud.htm) (accessed 8-7-2004); <http://www.aaa-mainstreet.nl/journal/2/10/positivo.html> (accessed 8-7-2004); <http://www.dreamcommunity.nl/?id=109&account=6r5mRDt> (accessed 8-7-2004); [http://www.wordiq.com/definition/Generation\\_X](http://www.wordiq.com/definition/Generation_X) (accessed 24-9-2004); [www.encyclopedia.thefreedictionary.com](http://www.encyclopedia.thefreedictionary.com)

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(accessed 24-9-2004); Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 6-6-1987; Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad 12-4-1989

<sup>5</sup> H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, Ruimtelijke ordening. Van grachtengordel tot Vinex-wijk, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 2003, pp. 296-304, 327, 328, 370, 366-374, 377-381, 425; R. van Engelsdorp Gastelaars, Niet elke stadsbewoner is een stedeling: een typologische studie naar het ruimtegebruik van bewoners van Amsterdam, Universiteit van Amsterdam, Sociaal Geografisch Instituut, Amsterdam 1980; J. Vijgen & R. van Engelsdorp Gastelaars, Stedelijke bevolkingscategorieën in opkomst: stijlen en strategieën in het alledaagse bestaan, Koninklijk Aardrijkskundig Genootschap, Instituut voor Sociale Geografie (Under the authority of the Rijksplanologische Dienst), Amsterdam 1986; R. van Engelsdorp Gastelaars & J. Vijgen, Het Parool 3-10-1991; Rotterdamsch Dagblad 16-12-1992; De Volkskrant 6-10-1989; S. Zukin, Landscapes of power. From Detroit to Disneyworld, University of California Press, Berkely/Los Angeles 1991; R. van Engelsdorp Gastelaars, Intermediair 6-11-1987; Nieuws van de Dag Unknown date, 1992

<sup>6</sup> S.V. Ward, the twentieth-century city: the advanced capitalist world, John Wiley & Sons, LTD., Chichester 2002, pp. 357-361; H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, Ruimtelijke ordening. Van grachtengordel tot Vinex-wijk, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 2003, pp. 278-281; Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordening Gemeente Amsterdam, Ontwerp Structuurplan 1990 Amsterdam deel 1 Het Plan, Amsterdam 1990; Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordening Gemeente Amsterdam, Ontwerp Structuurplan 1990 Amsterdam deel 2 De Toelichting, Amsterdam 1990; Haarlems Dagblad 7-11-1980; R. van Engelsdorp Gastelaars, Intermediair 6-11-1987; Ministerie van Volkshuisvesting, Ruimtelijke Ordening en Milieubeheer, Structuurschets Stedelijke Gebieden 1983 deel a: beleidsvoornemen. Partiele herziening van de Verstedelijkingsnota, de Structuurschets voor de landelijke gebieden en het Structuurschema verkeer en vervoer, Staatsuitgeverij, 's-Gravenhage 1983; Ministerie van Volkshuisvesting, Ruimtelijke Ordening en Milieubeheer, Structuurschets Stedelijke Gebieden 1983 deel d: regeringsbeslissing, Staatsuitgeverij, 's-Gravenhage 1983; Ministerie van Volkshuisvesting, Ruimtelijke Ordening en Milieubeheer, De compacte stad gewogen. Verkenning van de zin en onzin van een eigentijds concept, Studierapporten Rijksplanologische Dienst 27, 's-Gravenhage 1985; Ministerie van Volkshuisvesting, Ruimtelijke Ordening en Milieubeheer, Vierde nota over de ruimtelijke ordening, Ruimte voor kwaliteit: concept beleidsvoornemen, SDU, 's-Gravenhage 1987; Ministerie van Volkshuisvesting, Ruimtelijke Ordening en Milieubeheer, Vierde nota over de ruimtelijke ordening: op weg naar 2015 deel a: beleidsvoornemen, SDU, 's-Gravenhage 1988; Ministerie van Volkshuisvesting, Ruimtelijke Ordening en Milieubeheer, Vierde nota over de ruimtelijke ordening: op weg naar 2015 deel d: regeringsbeslissing, SDU, 's-Gravenhage 1989; Ministerie van Volkshuisvesting, Ruimtelijke Ordening en Milieubeheer, Vierde nota over de ruimtelijke ordening Extra: op weg naar 2015 deel 1: ontwerp - planologische kernbeslissing, SDU, 's-Gravenhage 1991; Ministerie van Volkshuisvesting, Ruimtelijke Ordening en Milieubeheer, Vierde nota over de ruimtelijke ordening Extra: op weg naar 2015 deel 3: kabinetsstandpunt, SDU, 's-Gravenhage 1991; Ministerie van Volkshuisvesting, Ruimtelijke Ordening en Milieubeheer, Actualisering vierde nota over de ruimtelijke ordening extra, Den Haag 1996; De Waarheid 13-8-1976; Prof.

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Dr. J.G. Lambooy (Professor economic geography and regional economy, Amsterdam University), Elsevier 12-1-1980; Prof. Ir. N.A. de Boer (Professor urban development, Technological University Delft), NRC Handelsblad 26-3-1977; R. van Engelsdorp Gastelaars, Het Parool 8-8-1989

<sup>7</sup> H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, Ruimtelijke ordening. Van grachtengordel tot Vinex-wijk, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 2003, pp. 295, 313-316, 333-347; Het Parool 25-5-1988; Het Parool 20-10-1989; NRC Handelsblad 7-7-1989; Het Parool 11-4-1988, in association with The Economist; Het Parool 22-3-1988. Someone who had been propagating a city with international allure and a flourishing CBD long before planners did, was, again, Prof. Ir. N.A. de Boer (Professor urban development, Technological University Delft), NRC Handelsblad 26-3-1977; Elseviers Magazine 23-3-1985; De Volkskrant 6-10-1989; S.V. Ward, the twentieth-century city: the advanced capitalist world, John Wiley & Sons, LTD., Chichester 2002; H. Ruijssenaars (Architect), De Volkskrant 1-4-1989

## Chapter 7 Kop van Zuid

### ***Provocation***

In 1982, Architecture International Rotterdam (AIR) asked the architects Aldo Rossi (Italy), Joseph Paul Kleihues and Oswald Mathias Ungers (Germany), Derek Walter (England) and Richard Meier (US) to design a plan for the *Kop van Zuid*, which embraces the urban renewal districts *Feyenoord*, *Noordereiland*, *Afrikaanderbuurt* and *Katendrecht*, as well as the harbours in between them. Once, ocean steamers of the Holland-America line used to depart from these docklands, but now the terminals and warehouses had passed their time in idleness. The aim of AIR was to start discussions about its regeneration. Moreover, the AIR organizers thought that architects should get an important role in urban planning again, instead of their current status of being forced to design functional, efficient, reliable and cheap buildings. Like honeybees, people swarmed around the exhibition showing the AIR schemes, and they were discussed with a great deal of verve in the newspapers. The schemes were criticized and applauded, but after one month, the debate grew silent again<sup>1</sup>.

In 1987, the local authorities organized the conference *Rotterdam onder de Loep*<sup>2</sup>. Although journalists observed little interest from the public, the conference did mark the rebirth of the debate about the Kop van Zuid. As Ward (2002) correctly remarked, according to Dutch tradition, the waterfront regeneration plans combined openness to international thoughts on urban planning with distinctive national approaches. The Rotterdam waterfront regeneration plan was mainly based on American plans but also on British and Spanish experiences. But contrary to Baltimore and London, the public sector had an important role in the Rotterdam project. The Kop van Zuid docklands were scheduled to accommodate a large number of offices together with leisure, culture, tourism and expensive, luxurious apartments. Riek Bakker took charge of the plan area in 1986 and spearheaded the development of the Kop van Zuid under a plan prepared in 1987 by Teun Koolhaas<sup>3</sup>. This marked a true planning turn, *after which* a public debate emerged – quite different from the second period<sup>4</sup>. The debate lasted until about 1994 and was somewhat bashful compared to period 2.

## ***Urban ideal images***

Again, a familiar undertone was found when studying contributions regarding this fifth debate: all contributions showed great trust in the city's future. Regardless of the differences on level 2 and level 3 between urban ideal images, all elements were meant to create a flourishing Rotterdam in the future – level 1 of all urban ideal images.

### **The urban ideal image of culturalists**

In period 3, culturalists in Rotterdam still idealized past cities. They aimed at creating a future city that looked like Rotterdam as it was preserved in their memories. Thereby, planning should focus on community and history, while the inner city should become a cultural, historic centre. Again, level 2 of the urban ideal image of culturalists in Rotterdam was similar to that in period 1. And again, all the other elements mentioned were meant to realize level 2 of their urban ideal image and thus part of level 3. And since some elements of level 3 had turned out not to be sufficient enough for the goal they were supposed to serve, they had been changed in this third period (table 20).

Contrary to period 2, in period 3, culturalists thought that Rotterdam was and should stay a provincial town: compact and of limited size. In their ideal city, urban functions would be mixed, just like they had been in the past. The city would contain lots of quite autonomous, liveable neighbourhoods with identifiable houses, affordable homes and urban public parks. In these neighbourhoods, people could live, work, be nourished, clothed, educated, dry cleaned and enlightened without walking more than a few steps. And for that, full scope should be given to the government<sup>5</sup>.

Culturalists strongly disagreed with city planners and progressists who wanted to get offices to move back to the city centre. Culturalists still truly hated the idea of a CBD in the inner city. *“I think that there are enough other places where these colossal office towers can be constructed”*<sup>6</sup>. Instead, the future inner city should be of limited height and contain lots of homes and other weak urban functions. High-tech offices and businesses should be located in rehabilitated residential areas. *“Mind, there it should happen too!”*<sup>7</sup> The inner city would be as accessible as other urban quarters, but in particular to small-scaled public transport (trams, buses). Traffic types should be mixed, whereby the behaviour of cars should be adjusted to that of pedestrians<sup>8</sup>. But more than anything, culturalists desired to realize a city riddled with history. For that, all historic structures should be preserved – and thus also the historic character of the Kop van Zuid<sup>9</sup>.

According to culturalists, ‘the public’ should participate in planning or even in designing city plans, but they expected the public to hold the same

ideals as they, culturalists, did. If it was up to them, the Kop van Zuid would not become part of the enlarged economic heart, but an urban quarter in itself. So it would not contain any of the offices and luxurious apartments for rich strangers, like the dinkies and the yuppies described by city planners, but instead be replete with public housing and public spaces. It would not contain any contemporary architecture either: “*The local government should realize once and for all that the ordinary Rotterdammer is not anxiously awaiting this architectonic tour de force*”<sup>10</sup>. Instead, little shops and homes could be accommodated in the precious, restored warehouses. Moreover, the height of buildings along the waterfront should be kept limited because the proposed multi-storey buildings would inevitably block some views of the river they wanted to conserve. To them, it was important that the area be preserved as a representative sample of the industrial era in Rotterdam – so typical of the city’s identity. Quays, wharfs, piers, warehouses and cranes: it all had to be preserved – not as single relicts, but as a historic whole. In addition, since most people were not yet that familiar with the image of 19<sup>th</sup>-century history, something had to be done about its dark image, with something like city marketing<sup>11</sup>.

Still, a small group of culturalists did agree with the plans for the Kop van Zuid: the neighbourhood committees of Feijenoord (BOF) and Afrikaanderwijk (BOA). They had been informed about the plans extensively and intensively by city planners. The ideal future city of BOF and BOA was a preserved city containing preserved 19<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhoods and city planners had assured them that the Kop van Zuid would ensure the latter. And so they agreed with the development of an economic heart. It was a heart that would generate money for level 2 of their urban ideal image – and thus the economic heart was not part of level 2 of the urban ideal image of these culturalists but part of level 3. Apparently, BOF and BOA came to realize that money was needed to preserve their sweethearts, and thus they were willing to sacrifice one quarter – Kop van Zuid – to save the others.

### *Who were these culturalist urban intellectuals?*

Monumental organizations and councillors for leftist or conservative parties (D’66, PvdA, Groen Links, and CDA) articulated a culturalist urban ideal image. Moreover, contrary to period 2, in period 3, hardly any neighbourhood action group participated in the discussion about the future city, except for BOF and BOA. Furthermore, in particular journalist Herman Moscoviter wrote many articles in the newspapers *Het Vrije Volk*, *Rotterdamsch Dagblad* and *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad*, in which he propagated a culturalist urban ideal image.

**Table 20 Urban ideal images of culturalists, Rotterdam periods 1, 2 & 3**

		<b>Elements of urban ideal image</b>	<i>Period 1</i>	<i>Period 2</i>	<i>Period 3</i>
<b>Level 1</b>			Flourishing city	Flourishing city	Flourishing city
<b>Level 2</b>		<b>Position of inner city</b>	Cultural historic centre	Cultural historic centre	Cultural historic centre
		<b>Orientation</b>	Towards the past	Towards the past	Towards the past
		<b>Focus of planning</b>	Community & history	Community & history	Community & history
<b>Level 3</b>	<b>G e n e r a l</b>	<b>Basis of planning</b>	Survey & desires	Surveys & desires	Surveys & desires
			Flexible city plan, not detailed	Flexible plan, not detailed	
			Public participation	Public participation	Public participation
		<b>Architecture</b>	Contemporary	Not contemporary but fit to the existing structure	Not contemporary
		<b>Main planning actor</b>	Government	Government	Government
		<b>City extension</b>	Garden cities	Garden cities	Compact city
		<b>Border between city and countryside</b>	Faded	Faded	
		<b>Accent on city or countryside</b>	City	City	City
		<b>City size</b>	Infinite	Infinite	Limited
		<b>Height</b>	Limited	Limited	Limited
		<b>City functions</b>	Mixed versus zoned	Mixed	Mixed
		<b>History</b>	Pattern of living riddled with history	Pattern of living riddled with history	Pattern of living riddled with history
		<b>Density</b>	Uniform	Uniform	
		<b>Image</b>			Industrial image

<b>Level 3</b>	<b>D w e l l i n g</b>	<b>Structure</b>	Airy, light, decentralized, autonomous urban neighbourhoods; lots of dwellings inside the inner city	Preserved, close-knit 19 <sup>th</sup> -century urban neighbourhoods	Preserved, autonomous urban neighbourhoods (garden cities inside city)
		<b>Housing types</b>		No high-rise buildings	No high-rise buildings
			Identifiable houses	Identifiable houses	Identifiable houses
		<b>Stratification</b>		Full attention to houses with low rents.	Focus: public housing
					Mixed social strata
		<b>Renewal of residential quarters</b>	Comprehensive redevelopment versus rehabilitation	Rehabilitation	Rehabilitation
	<b>L e i s u r e</b>	<b>Green elements</b>	Parks, gardens, roof gardens	Parks, gardens	Parks, gardens
		<b>Nature</b>	Bringing nature into the city	Bringing nature into the city	
		<b>Buffers around build-up areas</b>	No buffers	No buffers	
		<b>Use of waterfronts</b>	Non-commercial	Non-commercial	Non-commercial
		<b>Location of recreational areas</b>	Interwoven with the city	Interwoven with the city	
	<b>W o r k</b>	<b>Location</b>	Mixed with other functions	Mixed with other functions	Mixed with other functions
		<b>Industries</b>	Inside neighbourhood units	Inside neighbourhoods	Inside neighbourhoods



<b>Level 3</b>	<b>T r a n s p o r t a t i o n</b>	<b>Focus</b>	Accessible urban areas	Accessible urban areas, limit width of roads	Accessible urban areas
		<b>Design</b>	Based on old structure, radial	Based on old structure, radial	Based on old structure, radial
		<b>Mobility</b>	Limit mobility by localizing life	Limit mobility	Limit mobility
		<b>Traffic types</b>	Mixed		Mixed
	<b>I n n e r c i t y</b>	<b>Main function</b>	Cultural	Cultural	Cultural
		<b>Inner city functions</b>	Mixed	Mixed	Mixed
		<b>Location of offices</b>	Mainly outside inner city, mixed inside neighbourhoods	Mainly outside inner city, mixed inside neighbourhoods	Mainly outside inner city, mixed inside neighbourhoods
		<b>Accessibility</b>	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate
		<b>Car traffic</b>	Limited	Limited	Limited
		<b>Residential function</b>	Large	Large	Large
		<b>Public transport</b>		Metro	Small scaled: tram, bus
		<b>Traffic priority</b>	Pedestrians	Pedestrians	Public transport
		<b>Public space</b>			
		<b>Design</b>	Heterogeneous, anti-homogeneous		Historic – as much as possible

### The urban ideal image of progressists

Since period 1, Rotterdam progressists had also not changed level 2 of their urban ideal image: they still wanted a forward-looking city, with a CBD heart located in the inner city and on top of the urban hierarchy, whereby planning would focus on trade and industry. But in particular with the element regarding the CBD, they were standing up to the onslaught of facts describing economic decline in the inner city – which, judging by their vocabulary, was something they seemed to realize. I shall return to this in

the section on strategies. All the other elements mentioned, belonging to level 3 of their urban ideal image, had changed a little since period 2, and were meant to realize level 2 of their urban ideal image (table 21).

The city plan for the Kop van Zuid should be flexible and adjustable to future needs and desires<sup>12</sup>. The government should take care of public amenities like the construction of roads and bridges and clearing the land, while private enterprises should be given full scope to generate and implement plans<sup>13</sup>. Thereby, it would be nice if plans were supported by the public, but if it was up to them – city planners – the days of endless discussions with the public over. Only then could Rotterdam maintain its forward position in the region and the rest of the world<sup>14</sup>.

I think that there are enough other places where these colossal office towers can be constructed (culturalist) <sup>15</sup>
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As though to emphasize their ideal of a CBD on top of the urban hierarchy, building heights and density would be the highest in the very centre of the city, and the lowest towards the outskirts<sup>16</sup>. Moreover, urban functions would be mixed. To impress the outside world with its architectural wonders, the Kop van Zuid should be designed by foreign celebrities, be contemporary and built of experimental modern building materials<sup>17</sup>.

*Who says new Rotterdam is not beautiful? Who says that compared to our historic monuments, the gigantic office buildings look like characterless tower blocks? Just exert yourself, and look at it from a different point of view. Then you will see surprisingly interesting and beautiful lines, planes, colours – often reflected in hundreds of windows<sup>18</sup>.*

To them, the sky was the limit – literally – and they wanted luxurious, modern skyscrapers<sup>19</sup>, and definitely not those *Chinese walls in the Bijlmermeer*<sup>20</sup>. Thus, the historic warehouses had to be demolished: “*I think they do not suit the new estates*”<sup>21</sup> and “*They are beautiful now, but soon, they will be invisible. Then, we will regret that we have preserved them*”<sup>22</sup>. For the sake of design, a few warehouses could be left and redeveloped – but only if they would not literally or figuratively stand in their way<sup>23</sup>. The Kop van Zuid had to become an orgy of construction, providing unparalleled opportunities for foreign and national architects to fulfil their wildest dreams.

In their stylish Kop van Zuid, council housing would be a mortal sin. It had to be luxurious apartments, particularly along the waterfront, for prosperous citizens and foreign businessmen<sup>24</sup>. Council housing should be kept in the surrounding neighbourhoods – but as their precious heart should

not be bordered by dilapidated, black edges, rehabilitation was needed as soon as possible<sup>25</sup>. To upgrade the redevelopment area, the future Kop van Zuid would contain lots of art, urban parks and museums<sup>26</sup>. Thus, the waterfront would be revitalized, provide stunning views of the river and function as a magnet for wealthy inhabitants and international businessmen sipping cocktails or gourmet coffees on silk couches on deck of yachts<sup>27</sup>.

In order to strengthen the heart, the body should be kept in shape – not too obese<sup>28</sup>. Infill developments would keep the city compact. Moreover, the heart needed good arteries, and so some progressists said that they would participate in the waterfront regeneration project only if the government ensured very good accessibility<sup>29</sup>. Cars were considered the most essential blood cells, and to keep the roads fast, quite some attention was paid to bicycles and public transport<sup>30</sup>. For that, an extra metro stop and a fancy shuttle train as well as an improved tram and bus network should do<sup>31</sup>. Thus, the Kop van Zuid was considered the very core of a radial transport pattern – although a few wanted a more criss-cross pattern with the inner city as a node<sup>32</sup>.

In addition to the physical improvements, it was important that people should regard Rotterdam as a quality city. To effect that, Rotterdam had to swap its *expressionless industrial character* for a *new image*: a modern city with worldwide leadership in international trade and technological knowledge. With city marketing, Rotterdam should shake off its horrible image of being an underclass city, promote its qualities and refine the mentality of the Rotterdammers<sup>33</sup>.

### *Who were these progressist urban intellectuals?*

Professors and other scientists in planning, scientists working for the Institute for Economic Geography, architects and economists articulated a progressist urban ideal image. Moreover, directors, real estate developers and agents, insurance institutes, the Chamber of Commerce and investment banks also shared the ideal, as did consultancies involved in urban planning, a foundation for promoting CBD developments and a foundation for the improvement of high-rise buildings erected by architects. Moreover, councillors for the VVD and PvdA as well as the chairman of the VVD shared the progressist ideal. And last but not least, Koos de Gast – journalist of the newspaper *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* – seemed a veritable human dynamo, describing the progressist urban ideal image over and over again.

**Table 21: Urban ideal images of progressists, Rotterdam periods 1, 2 & 3**

		<b>Elements of urban ideal images</b>	<i>Period 1</i>	<i>Period 2</i>	<i>Period 3</i>
<b>Level 1</b>			Flourishing city	Flourishing city	Flourishing city
<b>Level 2</b>		<b>Position of inner city</b>	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy
		<b>Orientation</b>	Towards the future	Towards the future	Towards the future
		<b>Focus of planning</b>	Trade & Industry	Trade & industry	Trade & industry
<b>Level 3</b>	<b>G e n e r a l</b>	<b>Basis of planning</b>	Survey & desires	Survey & desires	Survey & desires
			Flexible city plan, not detailed	Flexible city plan, not detailed	Flexible city plan, not detailed
			City as part of a larger whole: the region		City as part of a larger whole: the region and the world
			Public participation	Public participation	Plans supported by the public
		<b>Architecture</b>	Contemporary, harmonious & homogeneous	Contemporary but neither harmonious nor homogeneous	Contemporary
		<b>Main planning actor</b>	Government	Government	Private parties
		<b>City extension</b>	Satellite cities	Concentric	Compact city
		<b>Border between city and countryside</b>	Sharp		
		<b>Accent city-countryside</b>	City	City	City
		<b>City size</b>	Limited		Limited
		<b>Height</b>		High, unlimited	High, unlimited
		<b>City functions</b>	Zoned	Zoned and a little mix	Mixed

<b>Level 3</b>	<b>G e n e r a l</b>	<b>History</b>	Keep the past in mind, but focus on the future	Keep the past in mind, but focus on the future / preserved valuable historical urban quarters or buildings	Keep the past in mind, but focus on the future (preserve a few true monuments if not hampering economic growth)
		<b>Density</b>	Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city's edge	Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city's edge	Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city's edge
		<b>Image</b>			Attractive, modern, high-tech, international city image
	<b>D w e l l  i n g</b>	<b>Structure</b>	Airy, light, decentralized housing quarters	Airy, light, new / rehabilitated urban quarters	
		<b>Housing types</b>	Mix high- & low-rise	High rise / existing height preserved	
			Homogeneous whole	Identifiable houses	Identifiable houses
		<b>Stratification</b>	Luxurious housing along the river	Socially mixed	Luxurious housing along waterfronts
					Focus on upscale housing
		<b>Renewal of residential quarters</b>	Comprehensive redevelopment	Comprehensive redevelopment /rehabilitation	Rehabilitation

<b>Level 3</b>	<b>L e v e l</b>	<b>Green elements</b>	Parks	Parks	Parks
		<b>Nature</b>	Nature subordinate to commercial development & located only outside the city	Nature subordinate to commercial development & located only outside the city	
		<b>Buffers around built-up areas</b>	Green buffers		
		<b>Use of waterfronts</b>	Commercial	Commercial	Commercial
		<b>Location of recreational areas</b>	Outside the city	Outside the city	
	<b>W o r k</b>	<b>Location</b>	Separated	Separated with a little mix	Separated with a little mix
		<b>Industries</b>	Decentralized to accessible industrial areas at city's edge		
	<b>T r a n s p o r t a t i o n</b>	<b>Focus</b>	Fast & efficient transport system	Fast & efficient transport system	Fast & efficient transport system
		<b>Mobility</b>	Meet mobility needs by constructing roads	Meet mobility needs by constructing roads	Meet mobility needs by constructing roads
		<b>Design</b>	Rational, radial	Rational / historic in some places, radial	Rational, radial / non-radial
		<b>Traffic types</b>	Separated		
	<b>I n n e r c i t y</b>	<b>Main function</b>	Economic	Economic	Economic
		<b>Inner city functions</b>	Zoned	Zoned, mixed in some instances	Mixed
		<b>Location of offices</b>	Inside inner city, along waterfronts	Inside inner city	Inside inner city
		<b>Accessibility</b>	High	High	High

<b>Level 3</b>	<b>I n n e r c i t y</b>	<b>Car traffic</b>	Unlimited	Unlimited, stimulate use of ring-road	Unlimited
		<b>Residential function</b>	Limited	Limited	Limited
		<b>Public transport</b>		Metro	Metro & trams
		<b>Traffic priority</b>	Motorists	Motorists	Motorists
		<b>Public space</b>	Squares as forums	Liveable squares as forums	Luxurious squares and promenades with allure
		<b>Design</b>	Homogeneous, contemporary	Contemporary	Contemporary, international

## The urban ideal image of city planners

Rotterdam is swallowing its own history without a blush (culturalist)<sup>34</sup>

Level 2 of the urban ideal image of planners had not changed since period 1. City planners said they idealized a future city, with at its heart a CBD, on top of the urban hierarchy, and located in the inner city of Rotterdam. Planning should still focus on trade and industry. However, like progressists, city planners realized that the boast was beginning to sound a little hollow, and that facts threatened part of their level 2: the CBD on top of the urban hierarchy. As we will see later on, their vocabulary shows that city planners were aware of that. All other elements of their urban ideal image belonged to level 3, and were meant to realize level 2 and, in the end, level 1 of their urban ideal image.

Because of the city's dependence on the unpredictable rest of the world, the plan for the Kop van Zuid should be flexible and adjustable to future desires and needs<sup>35</sup>. Moreover, it should be based on surveys done in association with private investors<sup>36</sup>. Private parties would get an important role – the government mostly only taking care of public amenities. For that, PPPs were created<sup>37</sup>. Compared to period 2, and to the discontent of culturalists, public participation was limited. *“This is a such-and-such example of the Rotterdam mentality: don't talk but act”*, a culturalist sneered<sup>38</sup>. But unfortunately for culturalists, in these days, city planners' ears were turned towards the sounds produced by progressists, and although public debates were organized, they often were meant to *inform* the people – not to discuss plans<sup>39</sup>.

To keep their precious heart flourishing and on top of the urban hierarchy, it had to grow – the Kop van Zuid being the appropriate location<sup>40</sup>. To emphasize its central location, the height of buildings would increase towards the centre<sup>41</sup>. Buildings should be high, very high, although a maximum was mentioned of 1.73 times the distance between the outer walls<sup>42</sup>. Moreover, the inner city needed contemporary architecture and modern building materials<sup>43</sup>. The Kop van Zuid would become an exclusive sanctuary for contemporary architecture, with daring glass buildings. To ensure that the design would meet international standards, a special ‘quality team’ (Q team) was composed of Professor K. Rijnbout (also the chief government architect), H. Kollhoff (Berlin), B. Huet (Paris) and Professor J. Busquets (Barcelona)<sup>44</sup>. Thus, only monuments that would add something to their precious heart could be saved, namely only the former HAL office, the former passenger terminal and *Leidsche Veem*. All other historic structures and buildings – including part of the harbours – could be wiped out<sup>45</sup>. From the rubble of old alleyways and decrepit warehouses, there should arise gleaming office towers and shopping malls, colossal apartment blocks and lavish government buildings.

The local government should realize once and for all that the ordinary Rotterdammer is not anxiously awaiting this architectonic tour de force (culturalist)<sup>46</sup>

While in 1984 city planners wanted to keep the number of expensive houses limited because of decreasing incomes, this policy was abandoned in 1988. The Kop van Zuid would be a paradise for the middle- and high-income classes. The wealthy would be housed in both high-rise residential towers on the nicest spots along the waterfront, and in low-rise family dwellings in classic-looking streets, each home with its own front door<sup>47</sup>. By providing superb housing and environmental qualities, it was hoped to persuade the affluent to move back to the city – just what the national government had in mind<sup>48</sup>. To increase the attractiveness of this area, the Kop van Zuid would also contain parks with an urban identity, cultural amenities and upscale recreational facilities<sup>49</sup>. In order to ensure that the newly chic downtown area would not turn into a yuppie ghetto, public housing should be kept where it was already concentrated: in the soon to be rehabilitated 19<sup>th</sup>- and early 20<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhoods. This was intended to obviate social segregation – a lesson learned from the London Docklands, which had become a true enclave for the rich<sup>50</sup>.

At the Kop van Zuid, the desired urban functions would be mixed<sup>51</sup>. Moreover, the heart would be extremely accessible – at the centre of a radial pattern – for which city planners got financial support from the national government<sup>52</sup>. City planners were very proud that Rotterdam’s city centre was that well accessible by car – unlike many other cities – and they would not touch that accessibility with a ten-foot pole<sup>53</sup>. So in order to keep the



roads fast, car drivers should be encouraged to take public transport or their bicycle, or to drive along the ring-road rather than through the city<sup>54</sup>. Apart from an extra metro stop, the idea of a shuttle train was discussed for a while but abandoned after a very disappointing trip to Lille<sup>55</sup>. In addition, the existing bus and tram network would be improved<sup>56</sup>.

To strengthen their precious heart, a compact city of limited size was required, clearly separated from the green countryside<sup>57</sup>. ‘Thousands of houses can still be built in the city’, the newspapers said<sup>58</sup>. In addition, next to the physical measures, something had to be done about the image of Rotterdam. People had to think of Rotterdam as being the very centre of international trade, distribution and technological knowledge<sup>59</sup>. *Rotterdam is fun!*<sup>60</sup>, they cried out. The new business card for the Kop van Zuid would be an impressive, very expensive pylon bridge – *The Swan* – which would identify the city. It was designed by Ben van Berkel, an extremely proud young architect from Amsterdam who had trained with the famous Spanish engineer, Santiago Calatrava<sup>61</sup>.

**Table 22 Urban ideal images of culturalists, progressists and city planners, Rotterdam period 3**

		<b>Elements of urban ideal images</b>	<i>Culturalists</i>	<i>Progressists</i>	<i>City planners</i>
<b>Level 1</b>			Flourishing city	Flourishing city	Flourishing city
<b>Level 2</b>		<b>Position of inner city</b>	Cultural historic centre	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy
		<b>Orientation</b>	Towards the past	Towards the past	Towards the past
		<b>Focus of planning</b>	Community and history	Trade and industry	Trade and industry
<b>Level 3</b>	<b>G e n e r a l</b>	<b>Basis of planning</b>	Surveys & desires	Survey & desires	Survey & desires
				Flexible city plan, not detailed	Flexible city plan, not detailed
			Public participation	City as part of a larger whole: the region and the world	
				Plans supported by the public	Public participation
		<b>Architecture</b>	Not contemporary	Contemporary	
		<b>Main planning actor</b>	Government	Private parties	Government

<b>Level 3</b>	<b>G e n e r a l</b>	<b>City extension</b>	Compact city	Compact city	Compact city
		<b>Border between city and countryside</b>			Sharp
		<b>Accent on city and countryside</b>	City	City	City
		<b>City size</b>	Limited	Limited	Limited
		<b>Height</b>	Limited	High, unlimited	
		<b>City functions</b>	Mixed	Mixed	Mixed if possible (no nuisance)
		<b>History</b>	Pattern of living riddled with history	Keep the past in mind, but focus on the future (preserve a few monuments if not hampering economic growth)	If possible, preserve urban quarters & monuments by alternative plans
		<b>Density</b>		Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city's edge	Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city's edge
		<b>Image</b>	Industrial image	Attractive, modern, high-tech, international city image	
	<b>D w e l l i n g</b>	<b>Structure</b>	Preserved, autonomous urban neighbourhoods (garden cities inside city)		Liveable urban quarters with a high building density
		<b>Housing types</b>	No high-rise buildings		
			Identifiable houses	Identifiable houses	Identifiable houses
		<b>Stratification</b>	Focus: public housing	Luxurious housing along waterfronts	Mixed social strata inside neighbourhoods

<b>Level 3</b>	<b>Dwellings</b>	<b>Stratification</b>	Mixed social strata	Focus on upscale housing	
		<b>Renewal of residential quarters</b>	Rehabilitation	Rehabilitation	Rehabilitation
	<b>Leisure</b>	<b>Green elements</b>	Parks, gardens	Parks	City parks, flower-tubs, shrubs
		<b>Nature</b>			Nature subordinate to commercial development & located only outside the city
		<b>Buffers around built-up areas</b>			
		<b>Use of waterfronts</b>	Non-commercial	Commercial	
		<b>Location of recreational areas</b>			Outside the city
		<b>Work</b>	<b>Location</b>	Mixed with other functions	Separated with a little mix
		<b>Industries</b>	Inside neighbourhoods		
	<b>Transportation</b>	<b>Focus</b>	Accessible urban areas	Fast & efficient transport system	Fast transport system
		<b>Mobility</b>	Based on old structure, radial	Meet mobility needs by constructing roads	Limit mobility by localizing life
		<b>Design</b>	Limit mobility	Rational, radial/non-radial	Rational, radial, no roads that stimulate suburbanization
		<b>Traffic types</b>	Mixed		Separated

<b>Level 3</b>	<b>I n n e r c i t y</b>	<b>Main function</b>	Cultural	Economic	Economic
		<b>Inner city functions</b>	Mixed	Mixed	Mixed
		<b>Location of offices</b>	Mainly outside inner city, mixed inside neighbourhoods	Inside inner city	Inside inner city, partly decentralized to many small sub-centres
		<b>Accessibility</b>	Moderate	High	High
		<b>Car traffic</b>	Limited	Unlimited	Limited
		<b>Residential function</b>	Large	Limited	Moderate
		<b>Public transport</b>	Small scaled: tram, bus	Metro, trams	Metro, buses, trams
		<b>Traffic priority</b>	Public transport	Motorists	Motorists, but attention needed for pedestrians & cyclists
		<b>Public space</b>		Luxurious squares and alluring promenades	Liveable (kiosks, benches)
		<b>Design</b>	Historic – as much as possible	Contemporary, international	

## **Strategies**

### **The strategies of culturalists**

In sentence after sentence, culturalists related the history of the warehouses and busy wharfs: the smell of tea, pipes, spices, sandwiches and sweat; the noise of cranes, passengers, steam ships, shouting workers and bosses effing and blinding. And all this may not be overwhelming, may not have a modern allure, but it was part of Rotterdam's history – its true identity. Thus, the historic Kop van Zuid should be preserved – as a whole. If we were to preserve just a couple of buildings, and modernize the rest, culturalists argued, it would make the historic ones look like funny senior gnomes in the fairytale about the modern country for giants<sup>62</sup>. Therefore, there were only two choices: “*You either preserve the structure or you demolish it entirely .... Every middle course would be an incomprehensible compromise*”<sup>63</sup>.

But culturalists had more than one string on their bow. We should stop talking about the inhumane American city as our role model, they said, and instead start to take care of preserving our Rotterdam history – and, mind, demolitions would be irreversible. Moreover, plans for the Kop van Zuid were based on biased research – as when researchers would investigate the value of historic buildings but were told that they only had to investigate the ones that were not listed to be demolished according to the existing zoning scheme – or based on no research at all<sup>64</sup>. “*Recognizing the ‘Rotterdam mentality’ came as quite a shock. We are going to demolish a large part of our inheritance*”<sup>65</sup>. Besides, people neither need nor want a contemporary designed Kop van Zuid: “*The government should realize by now that the ordinary Rotterdammer needs architectonic tour the forces like a hole in the head*”<sup>66</sup>. In addition, the whole idea of a CBD was totally outdated, as facts had shown, so apart from the fact that the desire to keep one was ridiculous, it would be impossible too. Moreover, why should we want such an unliveable centre? One had to realize what a gloomy future we would face were our historic preciousness to die, if it were to peter out without anyone giving it terminal care. In the end, it was all a matter of valuation; history, liveability and a diminishing gap between the rich and poor should prevail over the economy, a business centre and rich inhabitants<sup>67</sup>.

Culturalists attempted to gain some power, and so they emphasized that the plans for the Kop van Zuid contained inaccuracies and that city planners concealed the objections raised by heritage commissions. For the same reason, culturalists lodged many appeals. And when it looked like a request was not going to be granted by city planners, they refused to talk to them – as if *that* would improve their chances of getting it granted<sup>68</sup>.

To spread their message, culturalists embellished their statements with slogans and photographs taken on rainy days of destroyed warehouses and the CBD in London – adding the grim message that sociologists had predicted that after working hours, the homeless, the unemployed, drug dealers, drug addicts and hooligan youths would wash over the Kop van Zuid<sup>69</sup> – or no people at all: “*In the future, after six o’clock, it will be as like the old days in Rotterdam: you could fire a cannon without anyone noticing*”<sup>70</sup>. Moreover, they plundered the dictionary of sad words to describe what would be lost, and the dictionary of ugly words to denigrate city planners. City planners were criminals, because they were about to murder their sweethearts and for crying crocodile tears<sup>71</sup>. “*Bitter tears are rolling down their soft cheeks. Their moaning in deep distress pours in*”<sup>72</sup>. Their plans were fairytales, myths, chock-full with superlatives, proving just one thing: they had gone totally out of their mind<sup>73</sup>. “*Have they gone crazy??? Little Manhattan along the Maas?? Did megalomania run away with the officials and politicians of this provincial town?*”<sup>74</sup>. Their scapegoats were alderman Joop Linthorst (PvdA) and the director of the

urban planning department, Riek Bakker,<sup>75</sup> but councillor Hemelsoet-van Deelen (CDA) had to pay for it too, when she proposed to build a nice scale-model of the *Jan Luijkenblok* before it was destroyed so that in a way, afterwards we still could enjoy it. “*For me this is the remark of the year. Let us build a nice scale-model of the whole of Rotterdam. Then, we’d never have to think about how to fit existing structures into new developments*”<sup>76</sup>. They trumpeted forth Jan van der Ploeg and André van der Louw for being the ‘kings of rehabilitation’. True, their heroes had made some mistakes, but that was logical, they said, trying to put a good face on it, since they had worked so hard<sup>77</sup>. Some of them even dared to conspire with the enemy: BOF and BOA discussed plans with city planners, partly at co-organized conferences<sup>78</sup>. Moreover, although they said lots of people supported their ideas, they still tried to rouse people too, by rubbing the fact into them that the Kop van Zuid was not meant for the average Rotterdammer but for rich strangers<sup>79</sup>.

## The strategies of progressists

If you want to be a true villainous Rotterdammer, you have to forget the past! Wipe out all your memories! Go through the brainwashing voluntarily! (culturalist) <sup>80</sup>
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Oh Lord, would it be inefficient to preserve historic buildings. And, since they wanted to wipe it out entirely, oh dear, progressists tried to make the current situation on the Kop van Zuid seem as gloomy as possible. So progressists rolled up their sleeves and tried to dig up the gloomiest words from the gloomy-word dictionary hole. Progressists described the ramshackle area as faded glory, as a relict from an era of realism and rationality when people did not care about aesthetics. And now, the shoddy, stinky wharfs, the rust-corroded bollards and gloomy, dilapidated warehouses inhabited by drug addicts creating a feeling of danger and depression when walking through the area. However, luckily, progressists managed to counterweight this depressive reaction by a manic psychosis. Their *Little Manhattan*, they said with loving devotion, happened to be the most perfect redevelopment spot anywhere in Europe, and it had so much more to offer than the London Docklands. This exclusive, international top location could meet the highest international requirements, and of course, it would become *so* much better than the *IJ-oevers* in Amsterdam. In fact, from an urban development point of view, the Kop van Zuid was no less than a goldmine. So yes, indeed, and of course, and for sure too, the waterfront should be regenerated<sup>81</sup>.

Still, from their vocabulary, it appeared that progressists knew that part of level 2 of their urban ideal image may have been not that extremely progressive anymore, despite the fact that they said they idealized a forward-looking city. They frequently used the word ‘again’: the inner city should be

the flourishing economic heart ‘again’, people and businesses should move ‘back’ to the city ‘again’, and the Kop van Zuid was meant to ‘get life back again’. And as facts had indeed shown, and as culturalists were eager to point out, the idea of a CBD inside an inner city was indeed not that forward-looking – but I shall return to this point in Chapter 9.

For the Kop van Zuid to become a true success story, the construction of a majestic, beautiful, expensive and huge bridge was inevitable. The Swan would bridge north and south Rotterdam, merging the two into one economic heart<sup>82</sup>. Still, a few progressists managed to shake off the manic state for a while when concluding that current facts were not yet that rosy. Therefore, they thought feasibility studies were necessary, especially since the number of vacant offices had increased recently, and Rotterdam should be spared a gloomy future<sup>83</sup>. But this plea fell on deaf ears – at least among their fellow progressists, most of whom were too busy looking through their rose-tinted glasses.

To gain support, progressists tried to rouse the inhabitants, to get them on their feet and to support their ideals:

*The Rotterdammers should behave themselves as chauvinistic city-dwellers, who have finally grown to maturity. Down with that long nourished inferiority complex! Be proud of your city! Truly, that is not a disgrace! With a different attitude like that, Baltimore, too, has managed to get its image of eternal loser changed into the image of a winner*<sup>84</sup>.

So yes, that world could be changed – or at least Rotterdam could be – if only we try hard enough<sup>85</sup>.

Progressists had a few more strategies to offer. They argued that a flourishing Kop van Zuid was inevitable if we wanted to win the competition with cities like Brussels and Frankfurt<sup>86</sup> – which we should, of course, since we would face a very, very gloomy future if the waterfront were not regenerated. Then, progressists whispered fearfully, we would become a *middle-sized country town*, unimportant to the rest of Europe<sup>87</sup>, and boy would that be gloomy! So the risks accompanying this adventure were simply inevitable: “*Anyone who does not dare to invest in the future runs the risk of losing hold on this future*”<sup>88</sup>. In addition, progressists tried to curry favour with city planners by praising their efforts to realize a true Little Manhattan. “*Rotterdam does it again!*”<sup>89</sup> they cried out. And, therefore, they truly did not understand why city planners moderated their cheering stories about the future Kop van Zuid in the early 1990s<sup>90</sup>. What for? Why should they? What had got into them? “*The strange thing is that mayor and aldermen themselves have started talking about dark clouds – not the surrounding neighbourhoods!*”<sup>91</sup>

And that was about it. Progressists did not use any of the strategies related to power nor any of the creative or physical expressions. But some of them did have something culturalists and city planners lacked: the money to invest in the Kop van Zuid. And as we shall see in a couple of pages, city planners were aware of that.

## The strategies of city planners

City planners in Rotterdam pulled out all the stops. More than anyone else in the whole world, they wanted to gain support and eliminate competitive ideas, and thus they showed themselves as indefatigable campaigners for their own ideals. To start with, they altered their image of the current city – a true about-turn compared to period 2. So instead of focussing on the city's weak points – namely unemployment and dilapidated neighbourhoods – city planners now focussed on the bright aspects of Rotterdam life. And thus city planners joined the progressists in their manic state. They wrote about Rotterdam's unique position in Europe, and the extraordinary attractiveness<sup>92</sup> of their high-quality top location *Little Manhattan*, or *Manhattan along the Maas*<sup>93</sup> – both terms being in use. They used an abundance of superlatives to describe a vital future metropolis as an international selling point offering an excellent business climate and a splendid quality of life – ready to win the international battle for success<sup>94</sup>. The image of Rotterdam was improving, they said, and more and more people were supporting their plans – and rightly so<sup>95</sup>: “*Everyone who knows the Kop van Zuid will agree that it is a fantastic location: close to the city centre and a splendid view*”<sup>96</sup>. Truly, city planners made everything out of nothing, like calling a couple of bulbs inside the metro *dramatic*<sup>97</sup>. “*Do these marketing talks have any limits?*”, a journalist asked<sup>98</sup>. Well, no, for the time being, they did not. And so yes, of course, with our iron will, we could force the city into becoming the most perfect world<sup>99</sup>.

However, once in a while, city planners seemed to have some self-knowledge, showing that the image of the present city they articulated was indeed a true strategy. A case in point was when Mayor Peper (PvdA) tried to delay the announcement of the results of an inquiry that showed that a quarter of all Rotterdammers were not satisfied with their living conditions and wanted to leave the city. Peper justified his behaviour by stating that these results would have spoiled the cheerful character of the event they had organized concerning the future of Rotterdam<sup>100</sup>. However, this event did not throw city planners off balance, nor did statements of real estate agents predicting vacant offices at the Kop van Zuid – as was the case yet in so many other urban quarters<sup>101</sup>. According to city planners, Little Manhattan was simply inevitable if we want to keep Rotterdam flourishing<sup>102</sup>. Moreover, it was the very last chance to do so<sup>103</sup>. And therefore, equally inevitable was the fact that it brought with it huge financial risks<sup>104</sup>.



Like progressists, city planners used a vocabulary that was not fully in line with the forwardness they idealized in part of their level 2 of their urban ideal image. City planners spoke of getting life back *again*, making Rotterdam attractive for businesses and affluent inhabitants *again*, et cetera<sup>105</sup>. I shall return to this point in Chapter 9.

City planners pretended they had lots of public support for their plans, and mentioned support from BOF – the latter indeed being true<sup>106</sup>. In fact, they concluded optimistically, hardly anyone was *against* their plans<sup>107</sup>. People who had left the city for the suburbs, national and international investors, and businessmen and inhabitants from all over the world (US, France, Sweden, Japan, Italy, England): they all stood in line, eager to settle in Rotterdam's Manhattan, and revitalization breeds consumers<sup>108</sup>. Besides, they said, the entire Dutch population needed a Kop van Zuid since they would all profit from a flourishing Rotterdam<sup>109</sup>. In addition, research and interviews – with for example, stakeholders – had proven that it was simply the right thing to do<sup>110</sup>. Furthermore, similar redevelopment schemes in Toronto, Baltimore and London had taught them that they were on the right track – and that some things should be done differently in Rotterdam. As a result, to prohibit a luxurious office centre embedded in a totally dilapidated environment – as had happened in London – the *social-return project* was formulated to improve the surrounding neighbourhoods by using the profits made at the Kop van Zuid<sup>111</sup>, as they had done in Boston. So just like you, city planners said to culturalists, we want to improve life in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhoods. But as one journalist remarked, the government did not want to force investors to participate in this social-return project and so the results of it were still uncertain<sup>112</sup>.

Plans were made before city planners had realized that the current buildings on the Kop van Zuid could be of historic value – at least that was what they said – and since they had made too much effort and spent too much money to change the plans, most of the historic structure would be demolished. Besides, it was most efficient to demolish them, and as they literally and figuratively stood in the way – of both ideals and buildings – doing so was quite inevitable<sup>113</sup>. It appeared that history was not too important to them, as was shown for example when they said that they were pleased that the Q team had advised them to preserve some historic buildings – but that they would have agreed happily too had the Q-team told them to demolish everything<sup>114</sup>. In the end, they said, there was *no monumental building* there, by which of course they rubbed culturalists up the wrong way.

*So a monument is only a monument when it says 'monument'. Buildings in Entrepotstraat and the rest of the old harbour do not bear the stamp 'Monument', SO we do not have to preserve them. It*

*is that simple in Rotterdam. Sometimes, it is difficult to keep the balance in your love-hate relationship with the city*<sup>115</sup>.

City planners said that the majestic, expensive Swan had to be constructed because that was inevitable – investors had said they would only invest in the Kop van Zuid if the bridge were constructed. Moreover, people needed the bridge for psychological reasons: north and south had to become one. In addition, facts had shown the Swan was necessary for an attractive city image and thus the success of *Little Manhattan*<sup>116</sup>. What's more, it was exactly what Rotterdammers were waiting for: “*Rotterdammers love beautiful things, they are proud of it, and are very willing to pay for it*”<sup>117</sup>. True, it may be an expensive bridge – and more expensive than the cheaper version – but one had to keep in mind that it would be there for the next 75 years, and that the daring bridge would attract tourists and therefore generate more money – so the costs would easily be recovered<sup>118</sup>. “*The bridge is a sweetheart, and sweethearts are expensive*”<sup>119</sup>, it was explained once more. In the end, it was all a matter of valuation: “*Beauty has it over money*”<sup>120</sup>.

City planners were in particular focussed on making and staying friends – inside and outside their own community. From the outside, it appeared that city planners were at one with each other<sup>121</sup>, which was a truly remarkable situation compared to that in Amsterdam, as we shall see later on. “*With the development of the Kop van Zuid, keeping differences of opinion out of sight and acting as one person has the highest priority*”<sup>122</sup>, a journalist remarked, which city planners sort of confirmed by saying things like: “*We are a team*”<sup>123</sup>. Moreover, city planners curried favour by telling fellow city planners that they had done such a good job<sup>124</sup>; and they conspired with investors, businessmen, international architects of the Q team, the BOF, the Rotary Club, etc.<sup>125</sup>. In addition, when they made a true mistake, city planners were the first ones to admit them<sup>126</sup>. And thus they apologized for making a wrong calculation when it turned out that the Kop van Zuid infrastructure would cost 603 million guilders – 200 million more than they had expected; they promised they would never forget to study the value of historic buildings before making plans in the future<sup>127</sup>. And when fellow city planners still managed to go off the road – hardly ever – they called them to order immediately. So when alderman Laan (PvdA) said in the early evening (5.30 pm) news that the council supported the plan for Kop van Zuid before the local council had discussed it (scheduled for 8.00 pm), Mayor Peper called him to order and the same night, Laan made his apologies to the local council, and peace was restored<sup>128</sup>.

To gain power, city planners kept some more strategies in store. A new strategy not identified before was that they kept a close eye on their opponents and responded as quickly as possible whenever a contrary view was shown<sup>129</sup>. Thus, when a real estate agent said that the future Kop van Zuid would be filled with vacant offices, Laan immediately responded that

he was of the opinion that the Kop van Zuid was sure to be fully occupied<sup>130</sup>. Moreover, one day after a financial expert had stated that the whole project would turn out to be a financial disaster, alderman Laan responded that he understood why this man was such a pessimist since these people are hired to look for financial setbacks, but that they – city planners – looked at things optimistically<sup>131</sup>. Sometimes, city planners simply refused to talk or to talk things over again – as when a councillor proposed to demolish all historic buildings even though the council had already decided to save a few<sup>132</sup>. Moreover, city planners organized conferences<sup>133</sup> and talked with many people<sup>134</sup>, but they were less willing to let the public influence their plans. However, the people themselves seemed not to be too sad about that, and when some public enquiries were organized during holidays<sup>135</sup>, or some of their objections were rejected, only just a few people protested. In addition, compared to period 2, they hardly visited conferences or exhibitions that were organized by city planners<sup>136</sup>.

The Kop van Zuid project in Rotterdam is a spectacular waterfront regeneration project, located at the south bank of the Nieuwe Maas – the last part of the Rhine before it flows into the North Sea (....) Feasibility studies for the redevelopment plan were carried out by national and international research institutes and market experts. They all came to the conclusion that the Kop van Zuid was very suitable for exclusive housing, international companies and attractive leisure and culture activities (....) Face the facts. The importance of Rotterdam as a location for residence and business is growing. The international business community is increasingly interested in the city with the world's largest port .... a bustling location in a historical setting ... a unique project on a unique location ... the top!<sup>137</sup>

To sell the message, lots of cheerful brochures and plans were distributed, regularly written in English, and always including one or more trendy slogans. Instead of the black-and-white reports of 1985, from 1987 on, they were printed on glossy, full-colour paper, replete with fancy photographs and drawings showing how nice the future would be. Luckily, city planners had found a way to order very nice weather in the future, and thus, in the pictures, children played in rubber boats on ponds, while adults enjoyed a beer on a terrace, strolled in the sun or took a sunbath on the balcony of their beautiful apartment – things, due to the normal Dutch weather, we normally can do only a couple of days a year, but not in future Rotterdam! To let all the inhabitants – that is, the immigrants too – join in their cries of joy, city planners included summaries in Turkish, Arabic and Portuguese. Remarkably, the focus of the maps they had included in these brochures was moved towards the south, so that the Kop van Zuid together with the old CBD on the north bank were now centred in the middle of the page. Moreover, city planners often used the present tense when talking about the future city, as though that city were already realized and thus needed no further discussion. Moreover, they let people take a virtual step into the future by means of computer simulation models and spectacular

slide shows, for which the Rotterdam Promotion Centre was erected. To attract more attention from the international audience, city planners built spectacular scale-models which they showed at conferences abroad. But they did not manage to put all those down-to-earth Rotterdammers in their pockets, and after having observed a dozen speakers working themselves to death trying to convince their audience, a journalist remarked dryly that he thought that the future would not become *that* beautiful<sup>138</sup>.

Of course, lots of these cheering stories were largely pure, uncompromising propaganda. City planners were aware of and admitted that, but said that it was necessary in order to develop successfully such a large-scaled urban regeneration project<sup>139</sup>. However, the journalist's question mentioned above – namely whether the cheerfulness of city planners had any limits – was finally answered around 1991: they did, as we shall see.

**Table 23 Strategies of culturalists, progressists and city planners, Rotterdam period 3**

	<i>Culturalists</i>	<i>Progressists</i>	<i>City planners</i>
<i>Motives</i>	Image of the present city	Image of the present city	Image of the present city
	Liveability/environment		
		Efficiency	Efficiency
	Cultural history		
	Valuation		Valuation
	Research methods	Research methods	Research methods
	Facts	Facts	Facts
	Goal will not be reached	Goal will not be reached	
	Goal cannot be reached		
	Gloomy future	Gloomy future	
		Perfect future	Perfect future
		Inevitability	Inevitability
			Last chance/emergency
	International/national examples	International/national examples	International/national examples
			Spent so much time/effort/money
	Irreversible		
	People want it	People want it	People want it
	People need it		People need it
Short public enquiry procedure			

<b><i>Creative expression</i></b>			Brochures
	Photos		Photos
			Creative accounting
			Drawings & sketches
			Scale models
			Lay out reports
<b><i>Linguistic expression</i></b>	Talking & writing	Talking & writing	Talking & writing
			Present tense
	Vocabulary	Vocabulary	Vocabulary
	Slogans		Slogans
<b><i>Friends &amp; enemies</i></b>	Denigrating		
	Rousing	Rousing	
	Heroes		
	Scapegoats		
	Lots of us		Lots of us
		Curry favour	Curry favour
			Just like you
		We can change the world!	We can change the world!
			Order!
	Conspiring	Conspiring	Conspiring
		Admit failure	
<b><i>Gaining power</i></b>	Choice reduction		
			Emphasizing own power
	Compromise		
	Inaccuracies		
	Refuse to talk		Refuse to talk
			Public enquiry procedures during holidays
			Suppress opponents immediately
			Inform possible opponents intensively and extensively
	Lodge appeals		
		Hiding differences of opinion – act as one person	
<b><i>Physical expression</i></b>	Congress		Congress

## ***The influence of urban ideal images in the public debate on final city plans***

In evaluation reports on urban renewal and city plans in the 1980s, city planners remarked that they had altered their policies too drastically. They had put too much emphasis on the weak elements of the city – such as public housing and cheap rents – and too little on the city’s traditionally strong points. As a result, the first planning turn was counteracted by a second one. Oddly, that happened without a public debate preceding it. But the second turn was not that drastic – at least not compared to the one that had taken place in the 1970s. What had been changed since the second planning turn – as has been pointed out in several studies – was the focus on the city’s strong points instead of its weak ones<sup>140</sup>. However, as we have seen, it concerned the content of a strategy – not the urban ideal image. In addition, what was new too, at least at that time, was that private parties became involved in planning. Moreover, they wanted to construct an attractive image for outsiders, and focussed on luxurious housing and luxurious public spaces instead of public housing. But that was about it. A few elements had been changed, but only regarding level 3 of the urban ideal image. And the reason for these changes was that these new elements on level 3 were thought to better serve level 2 of their urban ideal image.

So, what about the influence of urban intellectuals on final city plans? As revealed by reports on local council meetings (1982-1993), councillors, alderman and mayor were, again, very well informed about the ideals articulated in the public debate. Again, they praised those who had taken the role of urban intellectuals and thanked them for their participation – although they did not always agree with them. Again, councillors and aldermen describing the progressist urban ideal often referred to addresses from economists and the Chamber of Commerce, while councillors supporting the culturalist ideal were inclined to refer to statements made by culturalist urban intellectuals including, still, Wentholt. But more than that, mayor and aldermen were very aware of what investors, banks and private developers thought about the future city – the ones with money to invest in the Kop van Zuid *and* the ones who often held a progressist urban ideal image. Expressing a viewpoint shared by a great majority of the city council, councillor Zijlstra (CDA) said:

*The current situation is entirely different from the years at the end of the 1970s, early 1980s, when we were occupied with rehabilitation. Rehabilitation went in an entirely different way than the current regeneration of the Kop van Zuid. With the latter project, we need to do justice to everyone, and we need to talk to all partners<sup>141</sup>.*

These days, routes or plans were no longer altered for inhabitants, historians or culturalists. From the local council reports and journals it appears that these were the days of the progressists, the days of those who had the money to invest, the days of the city planners' partners: their private partners<sup>142</sup>.

It can be read in the council reports and journals that after the planning turn, city planners let level 3 of their urban ideal image be influenced by private parties, who often articulated the progressist urban ideal image. Of course, the idea of the PPPI was just that: city planners and private parties would sit around a table and talk over and design the future city. Furthermore, it is indeed plausible that persons with a progressist urban ideal image did influence city planners that much, that a true planning turn emerged. But what we do know is that it was not by means of a public debate – since there was none. So the answer to the question to what extent the public debate influenced final city plans is: very little or not at all.

Around 1991, it seemed as though city planners suddenly realized they had been viewing the world through too rose-tinted glasses, and wanted to get their feet back on the ground. Their reaction was similar to what it had been about ten years earlier: it was as though they felt they were influenced *by others* too much. After the first planning turn of 1974, city planners remarked they had let the scale tip too much towards the neighbourhoods and weak urban functions – what culturalists had been yelling for. This time, after the second turn, it seemed they said they had let themselves be taken in by the jubilant stories of investors, developers and bankers – those with a progressist urban ideal image. Both times, city planners subsequently were somewhat disillusioned; they went quiet, as though they had had a wonderful mind-trip but now realized that it was time to get back to business, to govern the real world.

So, in the early 1990s, Rotterdam city planners recovered from their mania, smoothed down their clothes, combed their hair and said, trying to look not too upset: “*The projects we are realizing do have allure. But they are too small scaled to compare them to Manhattan*”. So they urgently requested the media to no longer portray Rotterdam as Manhattan any longer: “*That expression should be taken out of the newspapers ... the Kop van Zuid has nothing to do with Manhattan*”<sup>143</sup>. Unsurprisingly, progressists were truly flabbergasted by this statement. But most newspaper journalists – apart from making fun of it a bit – agreed that it was a wise decision and the best thing to do – in particular since Amsterdam was in the same boat with its *IJ-oevers*<sup>144</sup>.

Still, in Rotterdam, it was nothing more and nothing less than a change of attitude; none of the levels of the urban ideal image had undergone any changes. So in 1991, the first concrete pile was driven into the Kop van Zuid's soil. In the same year, a contract was signed for the first building on the Kop van Zuid: the *Hof van Zuid*, an office building with 110,000 m<sup>2</sup> of floor space and the Court as one of its tenants<sup>145</sup>. 1992 saw

the demolition of quite a few historic buildings – as sad pictures of the *Wilhelminapier* show us. As a result of the social-return project, four long-term unemployed construction workers got a job – which was a pretty disappointing number. In 1993, the *Erasmusbrug* – the linchpin of urban planning in Rotterdam – started to bridge the Maas. Soon, the Kop van Zuid became a very popular residential area for the affluent – most of them from outside the city, including expatriates and former suburbanites<sup>146</sup>. Alderman Jan van der Ploeg, the culturalists’ hero, did not live to see the Kop van Zuid. He died in 1986.

**Table 24 Urban ideal images of city planners, Rotterdam periods 1, 2 & 3**

		<b>Elements of urban ideal images</b>	<i>Period 1</i>	<i>1965-1973</i>	<i>1974-1985</i>	<i>1988-1995</i>
<b>Level 1</b>			Flourishing city	Flourishing city	Flourishing city	Flourishing city
<b>Level 2</b>		<b>Position of inner city</b>	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy
		<b>Orientalion</b>	Towards the future	Towards the future	Towards the future	Towards the future
		<b>Focus of planning</b>	Trade & industry	Trade & industry	Trade & industry	Trade & industry
<b>Level 3</b>	<b>Generational</b>	<b>Basis of planning</b>	Survey & desires	Survey & desires	Survey & desires	Survey & desires
			Flexible city plan, not detailed	Flexible city plan, not detailed	Flexible city plan, not detailed	Flexible city plan, not detailed
			City as part of a larger whole: the region			City as part of a larger whole: the region and the rest of the world
			Public support	Public support	Public participation	Public support or public participation
		<b>Architecture</b>	Contemporary			Contemporary



<b>Level 3</b>	<b>General</b>	<b>Main planning actor</b>	Government	Government	Government	Private parties & government
		<b>City extension</b>	Satellite cities	Radial belts along arterial roads surrounded by nature	Compact city	Compact city
		<b>Border between city and country side</b>	Sharp	Sharp	Sharp	Sharp
		<b>Accent on city or country side</b>	City	City	City	City
		<b>City size</b>	Limited	Limited	Limited	Limited
		<b>City functions</b>	Zoned	Zoned, with a little mix	Mixed if possible (no nuisance)	Mixed
		<b>History</b>	Keep the past in mind, but focus on the future	Keep the past in mind, but focus on the future	If possible, preserve urban quarters & monuments by alternative plans	If possible, preserve monuments by alternative plans, but focus on the future
		<b>Density</b>	Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city's edge	Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city's edge	Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city's edge	Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city's edge
		<b>Image</b>				Attractive international competitive image

<b>Level 3</b>	<b>Dwellings</b>	<b>Structure</b>	Airy, light, decentrilized housing quarters	Airy, light, urban housing quarters	Liveable urban quarters with a high building density	Liveable 19 <sup>th</sup> -century quarters with a high building density
		<b>Housing types</b>	Mix high- & low-rise	High- / medium- rise		Mix high- and low-rise
					Identifiable houses	Identifiable houses
		<b>Stratification</b>		Focus: upmarket	Mixed social strata inside neighbour hoods	Mixed social strata: public housing in 19 <sup>th</sup> -century neighbour hoods, luxurious housing in redevelopment area inner city (Kop van Zuid)
		<b>Renewal of residential quarters</b>	Comprehensive redevelopment	Comprehensive redevelopment	Rehabilitation	Rehabilitation
	<b>Leisure</b>	<b>Green elements</b>	Parks	City parks	City parks, flower-tubs, shrubs	Luxurious public parks
		<b>Nature</b>	Nature subordinate to commercial development & located only outside the city	Nature subordinate to commercial development & located only outside the city	Nature subordinate to commercial development & located only outside the city	

<b>Level 3</b>	<b>Leisure</b>	<b>Buffers around built-up areas</b>		Buffers around build-up areas		
		<b>Use of water fronts</b>	Commercial	Commercial		Commercial
		<b>Location of recreational areas</b>	Outside the city	Outside the city	Outside the city	
	<b>Work</b>	<b>Location</b>	Separated	Separated, with a little mix	Mixed if possible (no nuisance)	Mixed
		<b>Industries</b>	Decentralized to accessible industrial areas at city's edge	Decentralized to accessible industrial areas at city's edge		
	<b>Transportation</b>	<b>Focus</b>	Fast & efficient transport system	Fast & efficient transport system	Fast transport system	Fast & efficient transport system
		<b>Mobility</b>	Meet mobility needs	Meet mobility needs by constructing roads & limit mobility by localizing life	Limit mobility by localizing life	Limit mobility by localizing life
		<b>Design</b>	Rational, radial	Rational, radial	Rational, radial, no roads that stimulate suburbanization	Rational, radial
		<b>Traffic types</b>	Separated		Separated	Separated

<b>Level 3</b>	<b>Inner city</b>	<b>Main function</b>	Economic	Economic	Economic	Economic
		<b>Inner city functions</b>	Zoned	Mainly zoned	Mixed	Mixed
		<b>Location of offices</b>	Inside inner city	Inside inner city	Inside inner city, partly decentralized to many small sub-centres	Inside inner city
		<b>Accessibility</b>	High	High	High	High
		<b>Car traffic</b>	Unlimited	Limited	Limited	Unlimited but discouraged
		<b>Public transport</b>		Metro	Metro, buses, trams	Metro, buses, trams
		<b>Residential function</b>	Limited	Limited	Moderate	Moderate
		<b>Traffic priority</b>	Motorists	Motorists	Motorists, but attention needed for pedestrians & cyclists	Motorists, but attention needed for pedestrians & cyclists
		<b>Public space</b>		Liveable, lively (shops, kiosks, terraces, cafes)	Liveable (kiosks, benches)	Luxurious, well-designed and well-maintained
		<b>Design</b>	Homogeneous, contemporary	Contemporary		Contemporary, international

<sup>1</sup> Alderman Laan, NRC Handelsblad 30-8-1988; Rotterdamse Kunststichting, Architecture International Rotterdam (AIR) 1982; Maarten Kloos (Architect), Unknown newspaper 26-11-1982; Journalist about Architecture International Rotterdam (AIR), NRC Handelsblad 13-12-1982; Hans van Dijk (Reader's letter), NRC Handelsblad 17-12-1982; AIR, Het Vrije Volk 27-11-1982

<sup>2</sup> transl.: 'Rotterdam under the microscope'

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<sup>3</sup> S.V. Ward, *Planning the twentieth-century city: the advanced capitalist world*, John Wiley & Sons, LTD, Chichester 2002, pp. 360-361; H. Meyer, *City and Port. Urban Planning as a Cultural Venture in London, Barcelona, New York, and Rotterdam: changing relations between public urban space and large-scale infrastructure*, International Books, Utrecht 1999; Dutch national government, NRC Handelsblad 7-7-1989

<sup>4</sup> Rotterdamse Kunststichting, *Architecture International Rotterdam (AIR)* 1982; Maarten Kloos (Architect), *Unknown newspaper* 26-11-1982; AIR, *Het Vrije Volk* 27-11-1982; *Unknown journalist*, *Het Vrije Volk* 27-11-1982; *Journalist about Architecture International Rotterdam (AIR)*, NRC Handelsblad 13-12-1982; Hans van Dijk (Reader's letter), NRC Handelsblad 17-12-1982; Hans van Dijk, *Wonen TA/BK*, 1982 (No. 24); Moscoviter (Journalist) & Peter de Regt (Architect), *Het Vrije Volk* 13-12-1982; Moscoviter (Journalist), *Het Vrije Volk* 13-12-1982; *Unknown journalist*, *Het Vrije Volk* 25-12-1987

<sup>5</sup> Various participants, *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* 21-3-1989; Rotterdams instituut voor bewonersondersteuning (RIO) & Bewonersorganisatie Feijenoord/Noordereiland (BOF), *De plaats van het bewonersbelang in de organisatie van de kop van zuid*, Den Haag 22-3-1989; Moscoviter (Journalist), *Rotterdams Dagblad* 9-9-1992; Moscoviter (Journalist), *Het Vrije Volk* 4-6-1987; F. Hoogenes (Student Urban Development Technical University Delft), *Algemeen Dagblad* 29-12-1992; Various participants, *Het Vrije Volk* 25-12-1987; BOF, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 25-11-1991; Commission for Monuments, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 4-12-1991; Architectural firm & Monumentenzorg (governmental council for conservation of monuments and historic buildings), *Rotterdams Dagblad* 10-12-1992

<sup>6</sup> Various councillors CDA, *Het Vrije Volk* 11-4-1989

<sup>7</sup> Various participants, *Het Vrije Volk* 25-12-1987

<sup>8</sup> Various participants, *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* 21-3-1989; Local council Rotterdam & Inhabitants Feijenoord, *Het Zuiden* 31-7-1990; Rotterdams instituut voor bewonersondersteuning (RIO) & Bewonersorganisatie Feijenoord/Noordereiland (BOF), *De plaats van het bewonersbelang in de organisatie van de kop van zuid*, Den Haag 22-3-1989

<sup>9</sup> Local council Rotterdam, Stichting Wijkbelangen Scheepvaartkwartier (Foundation community interests), *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* 25-4-1990; Herman Moscoviter (Journalist), *Het Vrije Volk* 28-8-1990; Moscoviter (Journalist), *Het Vrije Volk* 1-9-1990; Moscoviter (Journalist), *Rotterdams Dagblad* 9-9-1992; Moscoviter, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 8-12-1992; F. Hoogenes (Student Urban Development Technical University Delft), *Algemeen Dagblad* 29-12-1992; Moscoviter, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 2-6-1993; John Bunte (Journalist), Ravestein (Chairman D66), Meijer (Councillor Groen Links), Aubert (Councillor PvdA) & Alderman Linthorst (Urban planning & Economic development, PvdA), *Rotterdams Dagblad* 5-12-1991; Moscoviter (Journalist), *Het Vrije Volk* 13-12-1982; Various participants, *Het Vrije Volk* 25-12-1987; Mayor, councillors and aldermen & inhabitants Rotterdam, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 30-8-1991; Ravestein (Chairman D66) & Journalist, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 19-10-1991; Moscoviter, *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* 29-10-1991; Moscoviter, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 10-12-1991; Various councillors CDA, *Het Vrije Volk* 11-4-1989; Community worker, *Het Vrije Volk* 25-12-1987; Various councillors CDA, *Het Vrije Volk* 11-4-1989; Ravestein & Linthorst, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 13-9-1991; Moscoviter, *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* 29-10-1991;

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Ravestein, International Quality Team (to supervise the Kop van Zuid) & Linthorst, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 25-3-1992; Ravestein & Local council Rotterdam, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 28-4-1992; Moscoviter, *Het Vrije Volk* 8-9-1990; Kees Jonker (Journalist), *Rotterdams Dagblad* 31-7-1992; J. Nycolaas (District manager South) & Moscoviter, *Het Vrije Volk* 3-11-1983; Moscoviter, *Het Vrije Volk* 18-12-1986; Various participants, *Het Vrije Volk* 25-12-1987; Commission for Monuments, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 4-12-1991; Architectural firm & Monumentenzorg (council for conservation of monuments and historic buildings), *Rotterdams Dagblad* 10-12-1992

<sup>10</sup> F. Hoogenes (Student Urban Development Technical University Delft), *Algemeen Dagblad* 29-12-1992

<sup>11</sup> F. Hoogenes (Student Urban Development Technical University Delft), *Algemeen Dagblad* 29-12-1992; Moscoviter, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 8-12-1992; Meijer (Councillor Groen Links), *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* 23-11-1990; Rotterdams instituut voor bewonersondersteuning (RIO) & Bewonersorganisatie Feijenoord/Noordereiland (BOF), De plaats van het bewonersbelang in de organisatie van de kop van zuid, *Den Haag* 22-3-1989; Joke van der Lee (Reader's letter), *Het Vrije Volk* 22-4-1988; Councillor Aupert & BOF, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 24-9-1991; BOF, *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* 10-4-1989; Various participants, *Het Vrije Volk* 25-12-1987; Inhabitants Afrikaanderwijk (BOA), *Het Vrije Volk* 23-3-1990; Various participants, *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* 21-3-1989; Moscoviter (Journalist), *Rotterdams Dagblad* 9-9-1992; Moscoviter, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 2-6-1993; Moscoviter (Journalist), *Het Vrije Volk* 13-12-1982; BOF, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 21-4-1993; Kor Kegel (Journalist) & BOF, *Het Vrije Volk* 15-3-1991; BOF, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 25-11-1991; Moscoviter, *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* 29-10-1991; Moscoviter (Journalist), *Het Vrije Volk* 1-9-1990; Kor Kegel (Journalist), Linthorst & Saris, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 3-7-1992; Commission for Monuments, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 4-12-1991; Architectural firm & Monumentenzorg (council for conservation of monuments and historic buildings), *Rotterdams Dagblad* 10-12-1992; Ravestein & Local council Rotterdam, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 28-4-1992; Groen Links & D66 versus VVD & PvdA, *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* 13-3-1991; Governmental committee for Monuments & Van Ravesteyn, *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* 31-8-1990. Van Ravesteyn was son of the architect S. van Ravesteyn, who designed 'Het Fluitje van Ravestyn' in 1927. His son stated that the Fluitje had to be preserved, but it was nevertheless demolished in 1992.

<sup>12</sup> Unknown journalist, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 31-8-1991; Prof. Van der Knaap (Economist, Economic Geographical Institute, Erasmus University Rotterdam), *Rotterdams Dagblad* 11-9-1991; Walker & Weeber, Architecture International Rotterdam (AIR), *NRC Handelsblad* 13-12-1982; Economists working for NIB (Nederlandse Investerings Bank, Dutch Investment Bank), *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* 3-6-1987; Prof. an der Knaap (Economist, Economic Geographical Institute, Erasmus University Rotterdam), Rotterdam en de Kop van Zuid. Een studie naar Internationalisering en Modernisering, Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam January 1989

<sup>13</sup> De Graaf (Director property developer MABON bv, but speaking in a personal capacity), *Het Vrije Volk* 13-10-1988; EDC (American property developer Enterprise Development Company), *Trouw* 21-3-1989; Van der Knaap & Local council Rotterdam, *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* 22-3-1989; NIB (Dutch Investment

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Bank), Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 3-6-1987; Van der Knaap (Economist, Economic Geographical Institute, Erasmus University Rotterdam), Rotterdam en de Kop van Zuid. Een studie naar Internationalisering en Modernisering, Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam January 1989; George van Gent (Councillor VVD), Rotterdams Dagblad 8-8-1992

<sup>14</sup> Thewessen (ING), Het Vrije Volk 3-3-1989; Unknown journalist, Het Vrije Volk 27-11-1982; Koos de Gast (Journalist), Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 3-6-1987; Van der Knaap (Economist, Economic Geographical Institute, Erasmus University Rotterdam), Rotterdam en de Kop van Zuid. Een studie naar Internationalisering en Modernisering, Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam January 1989; De Graaf (Director property developer MABON bv, but speaking in a personal capacity), Het Vrije Volk 13-10-1988

<sup>15</sup> Various councillors CDA, Het Vrije Volk 11-4-1989

<sup>16</sup> Nauta (Planner, Planning Consultancy) & Mayor Peper, Algemeen Dagblad 27-8-1991; Nauta (Planner, Planning Consultancy), Rotterdams Dagblad 27-8-1991; Unknown journalist, Rotterdams Dagblad 31-8-1991; Several councillors & local residents, Rotterdams Dagblad 30-8-1991; Van der Knaap (Economist, Economic Geographical Institute, Erasmus University Rotterdam), Rotterdams Dagblad 11-9-1991; Several councillors, Rotterdams Dagblad 29-10-1991; Local council Rotterdam & several Investment banks, Rotterdams Dagblad 24-1-1992; Local council Rotterdam & several Investment Banks, Rotterdams Dagblad 31-1-1992; Ravestein, International Quality Team (to supervise the Kop van Zuid) & Linthorst, Rotterdams Dagblad 25-3-1992; R.M. Lubbers, Director Hollandia Industriële Maatschappij (HIM, Dutch Industrial Company), Rotterdams Dagblad 5-6-1992; Unknown journalist, Rotterdams Dagblad 6-6-1992; Kor Kegel (Journalist), Linthorst & Saris, Rotterdams Dagblad 3-7-1992; Kuiper compagnons (Planning consultancy), Het Vrije Volk 20-3-1990; Several councillors, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 11-4-1990; VVD Councillors & alderman Laan, Het Vrije Volk 11-4-1990; Koos de Gast & Chamber of Commerce, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 4-9-1990; Real estate sector, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 25-1-1991; Koos de Gast, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 5-2-1991; Koos de Gast, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 12-3-1991; Groen Links & D66 versus VVD & PvdA, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 13-3-1991; Koos de Gast, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 19-3-1991; Linthorst & Van Oosteren, Het Vrije Volk 15-3-1991; Ad Nauta, Rotterdams Dagblad 17-8-1991; George van Gent (Councillor VVD), Rotterdams Dagblad 8-8-1992; Local council Rotterdam & Nationale Nederlanden, Rotterdams Dagblad 3-2-1993; Local council Rotterdam & Property developers, Rotterdams Dagblad 17-5-1993; Unknown real estate specialists, Unknown newspaper 15-9-1993; Unknown journalist, Het Vrije Volk 27-11-1982; Journalist about Architecture International Rotterdam (AIR), NRC Handelsblad 13-12-1982; Foundation for High-rise buildings (Architect Carel Weeber & Journalist Rutten of journal Bouw), Het Vrije Volk 22-11-1983; Bolmers (State agent Zadelhoff), Het Vrije Volk 24-11-1984; Foundation City Rotterdam, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 10-5-1985; Several participants, Het Vrije Volk 31-5-1988; De Graaf (Director property developer MABON bv, but speaking in a personal capacity), Het Vrije Volk 13-10-1988; Several participants, NRC Handelsblad 3-2-1989; Unknown journalist, Het Vrije Volk 3-2-1989; Several investment banks, Het Vrije Volk 3-3-1989; Thewessen (ING), Het Vrije Volk 3-3-1989; EDC, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 20-3-1989; EDC & Van der Knaap, Algemeen Dagblad 21-3-1989; EDC (American

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property developer Enterprise Development Company), Trouw 21-3-1989; Various participants, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 21-3-1989; Van der Knaap & Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 22-3-1989; Koos de Gast, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 20-12-1986; Various participants, Het Vrije Volk 25-12-1987; NIB & economists, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 3-6-1987; Koos de Gast (Journalist), Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 3-6-1987; Koos de Gast, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 6-6-1987; Unknown journalist, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 6-5-1987; Van der Knaap (Economist, Economic Geographical Institute, Erasmus University Rotterdam), Rotterdam en de Kop van Zuid. Een studie naar Internationalisering en Modernisering, Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam January 1989; Koos de Gast, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 4-9-1990; Koos de Gast, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 3-12-1988; Jan Brouwer (Reader's letter), Het Vrije Volk 16-5-1988; Abe Bonnema (Architect), Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 20-12-1986; Governmental working group feasibility Kop van Zuid, 1988

<sup>17</sup> De Graaf (Director property developer MABON bv, but speaking in a personal capacity), Het Vrije Volk 13-10-1988; Various participants, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 21-3-1989; Unknown journalist, Het Vrije Volk 27-11-1982; Hans van Dijk (Reader's letter), NRC Handelsblad 17-12-1982; Abe Bonnema (Architect), Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 20-12-1986; Unknown journalist, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 6-5-1987; Van der Knaap (Economist, Economic Geographical Institute, Erasmus University Rotterdam), Rotterdam en de Kop van Zuid. Een studie naar Internationalisering en Modernisering, Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam January 1989; Van der Knaap, Rotterdams Dagblad 11-9-1991; Jan Brouwer (Reader's letter), Het Vrije Volk 16-5-1988; EDC & Van der Knaap, Algemeen Dagblad 21-3-1989; Foundation for High-rise buildings (Architect Carel Weeber & Journalist Rutten of journal Bouw), Het Vrije Volk 22-11-1983; Local council Rotterdam & journalist, NRC Handelsblad 23-5-1987

<sup>18</sup> Journalist, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 6-5-1987

<sup>19</sup> Jan Brouwer (Reader's letter), Het Vrije Volk 16-5-1988; Several participants, Het Vrije Volk 31-5-1988; De Graaf (Director property developer MABON bv, but speaking in a personal capacity), Het Vrije Volk 13-10-1988; Foundation for High-rise buildings (Architect Carel Weeber & Journalist Rutten of journal Bouw), Het Vrije Volk 22-11-1983; Van der Knaap (Economist, Economic Geographical Institute, Erasmus University Rotterdam), Rotterdam en de Kop van Zuid. Een studie naar Internationalisering en Modernisering, Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam January 1989; EDC, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 20-3-1989; Abe Bonnema (Architect), Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 20-12-1986;

<sup>20</sup> Foundation for High-rise buildings (Architect Carel Weeber & Journalist Rutten of journal Bouw), Het Vrije Volk 22-11-1983

<sup>21</sup> Flip Spoor (Councillor VVD), Het Vrije Volk 11-4-1990

<sup>22</sup> Ter Kuile (Councillor VVD), Het Vrije Volk 11-4-1990

<sup>23</sup> EDC, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 20-3-1989; Jan Brouwer (Reader's letter), Het Vrije Volk 16-5-1988; Van der Knaap & Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 22-3-1989; Ravestein (Chairman D66) & Journalist, Rotterdams Dagblad 19-10-1991; EDC (American property developer Enterprise Development Company), Trouw 21-3-1989; Koos de Gast, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 6-6-1987

<sup>24</sup> Van der Knaap (Economist, Economic Geographical Institute, Erasmus University Rotterdam), Rotterdams Dagblad 11-9-1991; NIB & economists, Rotterdams



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Nieuwsblad 3-6-1987; Several councillors, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 11-4-1990; Unknown journalist, Het Vrije Volk 3-2-1989; EDC, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 20-3-1989; Foundation City Rotterdam, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 10-5-1985; Van der Knaap (Economist, Economic Geographical Institute, Erasmus University Rotterdam), Rotterdam en de Kop van Zuid. Een studie naar Internationalisering en Modernisering, Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam January 1989; Foundation for High-rise buildings (Architect Carel Weeber & Journalist Rutten of journal Bouw), Het Vrije Volk 22-11-1983; George van Gent (VVD), Rotterdams Dagblad 8-8-1992

<sup>25</sup> Van der Knaap (Economist, Economic Geographical Institute, Erasmus University Rotterdam), Rotterdam en de Kop van Zuid. Een studie naar Internationalisering en Modernisering, Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam January 1989; Foundation for High-rise buildings (Architect Carel Weeber & Journalist Rutten of journal Bouw), Het Vrije Volk 22-11-1983

<sup>26</sup> NIB & economists, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 3-6-1987; Van der Knaap (Economist, Economic Geographical Institute, Erasmus University Rotterdam), Rotterdam en de Kop van Zuid. Een studie naar Internationalisering en Modernisering, Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam January 1989

<sup>27</sup> Jan Brouwer (Reader's letter), Het Vrije Volk 16-5-1988; Several participants, Het Vrije Volk 31-5-1988; EDC, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 20-3-1989; Van der Knaap & Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 22-3-1989; NIB & economists, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 3-6-1987

<sup>28</sup> Foundation for High-rise buildings (Architect Carel Weeber & Journalist Rutten of journal Bouw), Het Vrije Volk 22-11-1983

<sup>29</sup> Nauta (Planner, Planning Consultancy) & Mayor Peper, Algemeen Dagblad 27-8-1991; Van der Knaap (Economist, Economic Geographical Institute, Erasmus University Rotterdam), Rotterdams Dagblad 11-9-1991; R.M. Lubbers, Director Hollandia Industriële Maatschappij (HIM, Dutch Industrial Company), Rotterdams Dagblad 5-6-1992; Kuiper compagnons (Planning consultancy), Het Vrije Volk 20-3-1990; George van Gent (VVD), Rotterdams Dagblad 8-8-1992; Local council Rotterdam & Nationale Nederlanden, Rotterdams Dagblad 3-2-1993; De Graaf (Director property developer MABON bv, but speaking in a personal capacity), Het Vrije Volk 13-10-1988; Several participants, NRC Handelsblad 3-2-1989; EDC, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 20-3-1989; NIB & economists, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 3-6-1987; Van der Knaap (Economist, Economic Geographical Institute, Erasmus University Rotterdam), Rotterdam en de Kop van Zuid. Een studie naar Internationalisering en Modernisering, Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam January 1989

<sup>30</sup> Nauta (Planner, Planning Consultancy) & Mayor Peper, Algemeen Dagblad 27-8-1991; Ad Nauta, Rotterdams Dagblad 17-8-1991; Local council Rotterdam & Nationale Nederlanden, Rotterdams Dagblad 3-2-1993; De Graaf (Director property developer MABON bv, but speaking in a personal capacity), Het Vrije Volk 13-10-1988; Van der Knaap (Economist, Economic Geographical Institute, Erasmus University Rotterdam), Rotterdam en de Kop van Zuid. Een studie naar Internationalisering en Modernisering, Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam January 1989; EDC & Van der Knaap, Algemeen Dagblad 21-3-1989; Kuiper compagnons (Planning consultancy), Het Vrije Volk 20-3-1990

<sup>31</sup> R.M. Lubbers, Director Hollandia Industriële Maatschappij (HIM, Dutch Industrial Company), Rotterdams Dagblad 5-6-1992; Koos de Gast, Rotterdams

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Nieuwsblad 5-2-1991; De Graaf (Director property developer MABON bv, but speaking in a personal capacity), Het Vrije Volk 13-10-1988; Lubbers, Het Vrije Volk 17-6-1989; Van der Knaap (Economist, Economic Geographical Institute, Erasmus University Rotterdam), Rotterdam en de Kop van Zuid. Een studie naar Internationalisering en Modernisering, Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam January 1989; Various participants, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 21-3-1989

<sup>32</sup> Ad Nauta, Rotterdams Dagblad 17-8-1991; Van der Knaap (Economist, Economic Geographical Institute, Erasmus University Rotterdam), Rotterdam en de Kop van Zuid. Een studie naar Internationalisering en Modernisering, Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam January 1989

<sup>33</sup> De Graaf (Director property developer MABON bv, but speaking in a personal capacity), Het Vrije Volk 13-10-1988; EDC, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 20-3-1989; EDC & Van der Knaap, Algemeen Dagblad 21-3-1989; EDC (American property developer Enterprise Development Company), Trouw 21-3-1989; Various participants, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 21-3-1989; Van der Knaap & Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 22-3-1989; Koos de Gast (Journalist), Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 3-6-1987; Van der Knaap (Economist, Economic Geographical Institute, Erasmus University Rotterdam), Rotterdam en de Kop van Zuid. Een studie naar Internationalisering en Modernisering, Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam January 1989

<sup>34</sup> Moscoviter, Rotterdams Dagblad 8-12-1992

<sup>35</sup> City planners, Het Vrije Volk 9-3-1989; City planners, Het Vrije Volk 19-5-1989; City planners, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 3-6-1987; Local planning department Rotterdam, Binnenstadsplan Rotterdam 1985 Concept; Local council Rotterdam, NRC Handelsblad 31-1-1992; Mayor and aldermen, Het Vrije Volk 22-4-1988; Mayor Peper, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 31-8-1988; Alderman Laan, NRC Handelsblad 2-2-1989; Mayor and aldermen, Het Vrije Volk 21-3-1989

<sup>36</sup> Riek Bakker (Supervisor Kop van Zuid as Director Stadsontwikkeling (Urban Development) 1986-1991 and Director Department Urban Development and Public Housing until 1993), Rotterdams Dagblad 8-11-1991; Mayor and aldermen, Trouw 11-11-1991; Local council Rotterdam & several Investment banks, Rotterdams Dagblad 24-1-1992; Bakker, Het Vrije Volk 29-6-1988; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 31-8-1988; City planners, Het Vrije Volk 9-3-1989; Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 16-4-1988; Alderman Linthorst, Rotterdams Dagblad 30-9-1991; Rodenberg (Project manager development Kop van Zuid), NRC Handelsblad 15-11-1991; Bakker, Rotterdams Dagblad 26-5-1993; Bakker, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 3-6-1987; Local planning department Rotterdam, Binnenstadsplan Rotterdam 1985 Concept; Local Planning Department Rotterdam, Bestemmingsplan Kop van Zuid 1991; Teun Koolhaas by order of the local council Rotterdam, De Kop van Zuid. Een stedenbouwkundig ontwerp, Teun Koolhaas Associates

<sup>37</sup> Alderman Laan, NRC Handelsblad 2-2-1989; City planners, Het Vrije Volk 9-3-1989; Bakker, Het Vrije Volk 29-6-1988; Governmental working group feasibility Kop van Zuid, 1988, p. 36; Mayor and aldermen, Kop van Zuid. Kop en Schouwers, Rotterdam March 1991; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 15-3-1990; Ir. R.A. Daniels (Urban Development Department), Het Vrije Volk 5-9-1990; Alderman Laan, NRC Handelsblad 30-8-1988; Mayor Peper, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 31-8-1988; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 31-8-1988; EDC

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(American property developer Enterprise Development Company), Trouw 21-3-1989; Various participants, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 21-3-1989; City planners, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 3-6-1987; Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 16-4-1988

<sup>38</sup> Het Vrije Volk 17-5-1989

<sup>39</sup> Councillor Aupert & BOF, Rotterdams Dagblad 24-9-1991; Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Dagblad 16-10-1992; Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Dagblad 11-12-1992; VVD Councillors & alderman Laan, Het Vrije Volk 11-4-1990; Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 6-7-1989; Mayor and aldermen, Het Zuiden 2-3-1993; Het Zuiden 31-5-1990; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 19-5-1987; Local Planning Department Rotterdam, Structuurschets Kop van Zuid en discussienota Kop van Zuid 1985 Concept

<sup>40</sup> Linthorst, Rotterdams Dagblad 25-3-1992; Kor Kegel (Journalist), Linthorst & Saris, Rotterdams Dagblad 3-7-1992; Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 19-5-1989; Bakker, Rotterdams Dagblad 23-8-1991

<sup>41</sup> VVD Councillors & alderman Laan, Het Vrije Volk 11-4-1990; Local council Rotterdam, Algemeen Dagblad 9-11-1990; Bakker, Rotterdams Dagblad 26-5-1993; Alderman Laan, NRC Handelsblad 2-2-1989; Several participants, NRC Handelsblad 3-2-1989; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 15-10-1983; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 6-1-1984; Local council Rotterdam, NRC Handelsblad 13-11-1984; City planners, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 3-6-1987; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 3-6-1987; Local Planning Department Rotterdam, Structuurschets Kop van Zuid en discussienota Kop van Zuid 1985 Concept; Governmental working group feasibility Kop van Zuid, 1988; Local Planning Department Rotterdam, Bestemmingsplan Kop van Zuid 1991; Bakker, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 15-10-1986

<sup>42</sup> Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 15-10-1983; Local council Rotterdam, Algemeen Dagblad 9-11-1990; Bakker, Rotterdams Dagblad 26-5-1993; Alderman Laan, NRC Handelsblad 2-2-1989; Several participants, NRC Handelsblad 3-2-1989; City planners, Het Vrije Volk 9-3-1989; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 6-1-1984; City planners, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 3-6-1987; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 3-6-1987; Local Planning Department Rotterdam, Structuurschets Kop van Zuid en discussienota Kop van Zuid 1985 Concept; Governmental working group feasibility Kop van Zuid, 1988; Local Planning Department Rotterdam, Bestemmingsplan Kop van Zuid 1991; Bakker, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 15-10-1986

<sup>43</sup> Riek Bakker, Rotterdams Dagblad 8-11-1991; Bakker, Rotterdams Dagblad 26-5-1993; Alderman Laan, NRC Handelsblad 30-8-1988

<sup>44</sup> Mayor and aldermen, Trouw 11-11-1991

<sup>45</sup> Ravestein & Linthorst, Rotterdams Dagblad 13-9-1991; Ravestein (Chairman D66) & Journalist, Rotterdams Dagblad 19-10-1991; Several councillors, Rotterdams Dagblad 29-10-1991; Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Dagblad 4-12-1991; Bunte, Ravestein, Meijer, Aubert & Linthorst, Rotterdams Dagblad 5-12-1991; Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Dagblad 6-6-1992; VVD Councillors & alderman Laan, Het Vrije Volk 11-4-1990; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 20-3-1991; Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Dagblad 21-7-1992; Local council Rotterdam, Het Zuiden 28-7-1992; Local council Rotterdam, Het Zuiden 18-8-1992; Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Dagblad 6-10-1992; Local council Rotterdam,

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Rotterdams Dagblad 16-10-1992; Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Dagblad 6-12-1992; Linthorst, Rotterdams Dagblad 16-12-1992; Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Dagblad 15-5-1993; Bakker, Rotterdams Dagblad 26-5-1993; Local council Rotterdam, Trop 87, De Rotterdamse Binnenstad en het waterfront, 1986; City planners, Het Vrije Volk 19-5-1989; Mayor and aldermen, Het Zuiden 2-3-1993; City planners, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 3-6-1987; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 3-6-1987; Local Planning Department Rotterdam, Structuurschets Kop van Zuid en discussienota Kop van Zuid 1985 Concept; Governmental working group feasibility Kop van Zuid, 1988; Local Planning Department Rotterdam, De Kop van Zuid: daar zit muziek in. Uitgangspunten voor de ontwikkeling van nieuwe stedelijke functies in de kop van zuid, 1986; Local Planning Department Rotterdam, Bestemmingsplan Kop van Zuid 1991; Bakker, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 15-10-1986<sup>46</sup> F. Hoogenes (Student Urban Development Technical University Delft), Algemeen Dagblad 29-12-1992

<sup>47</sup> Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 23-11-1990; Alderman Laan, NRC Handelsblad 30-8-1988; City planners, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 3-6-1987; Local Planning Department Rotterdam, Structuurschets Kop van Zuid en discussienota Kop van Zuid 1985 Concept; Governmental working group feasibility Kop van Zuid, 1988; Local Planning Department Rotterdam, Bestemmingsplan Kop van Zuid 1991; Bakker, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 15-10-1986; City planners, Het Vrije Volk 9-3-1989; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 3-6-1987; Local council Rotterdam, NRC Handelsblad 13-11-1984; Local council Rotterdam, Trouw 4-5-1984; Bakker, Rotterdams Dagblad 26-5-1993; Several participants, Het Vrije Volk 31-5-1988

<sup>48</sup> Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 23-11-1990; Alderman Laan, NRC Handelsblad 30-8-1988; Local Planning Department Rotterdam, Bestemmingsplan Kop van Zuid 1991; Bakker, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 15-10-1986; Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Dagblad 13-9-1991; Various participants, Het Vrije Volk 25-12-1987; City planners, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 3-6-1987; Governmental working group feasibility Kop van Zuid, 1988; Alderman Laan, NRC Handelsblad 2-2-1989; City planners, Het Vrije Volk 19-5-1989; Dutch National Government, NRC Handelsblad 7-7-1989; Dutch National Government, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 7-7-1989

<sup>49</sup> City planners, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 3-6-1987; Laan, Algemeen Dagblad 24-8-1985; City planners, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 3-6-1987; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 3-6-1987; Local Planning Department Rotterdam, Structuurschets Kop van Zuid en discussienota Kop van Zuid 1985 Concept; Governmental working group feasibility Kop van Zuid, 1988; Local planning department Rotterdam, Binnenstadsplan Rotterdam 1985 Concept; Local Planning Department Rotterdam, De Kop van Zuid: daar zit muziek in. Uitgangspunten voor de ontwikkeling van nieuwe stedelijke functies in de kop van zuid, 1986; Local Planning Department Rotterdam, Bestemmingsplan Kop van Zuid 1991; Bakker, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 15-10-1986; Riek Bakker, Rotterdams Dagblad 8-11-1991; Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Dagblad 22-1-1993; Bakker, Rotterdams Dagblad 26-5-1993; Alderman Laan, NRC Handelsblad 30-8-1988; Alderman Laan, NRC Handelsblad 2-2-1989; Unknown journalist, Het Vrije Volk 3-2-1989; City planners, Het Vrije Volk 19-5-1989; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 6-1-1984;

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Mayor and aldermen, Kop van Zuid. Kop en Schouwers, Rotterdam March 1991; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 3-6-1987

<sup>50</sup> Local Planning Department Rotterdam, De Kop van Zuid: daar zit muziek in. Uitgangspunten voor de ontwikkeling van nieuwe stedelijke functies in de kop van zuid, 1986; Van der Knaap (Economist, Economic Geographical Institute, Erasmus University Rotterdam), Rotterdam en de Kop van Zuid. Een studie naar Internationalisering en Modernisering, Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam January 1989; Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 23-11-1990

<sup>51</sup> Riek Bakker, Rotterdams Dagblad 8-11-1991; Linthorst, Rotterdams Dagblad 23-10-1992; F. Hoogenes (Student Urban Development Technical University Delft), Algemeen Dagblad 29-12-1992; Local council Rotterdam, Trop 87, De Rotterdamse Binnenstad en het waterfront, 1986; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 31-8-1988; Several participants, NRC Handelsblad 3-2-1989; Unknown journalist, Het Vrije Volk 3-2-1989; City planners, Het Vrije Volk 9-3-1989; City planners, Het Vrije Volk 19-5-1989; Local council Rotterdam & Inhabitants Feijenoord, Het Zuiden 31-7-1990; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 6-1-1984; Local council Rotterdam, Trouw 4-5-1984; Local council Rotterdam, NRC Handelsblad 13-11-1984; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 18-12-1986; Laan, Algemeen Dagblad 24-8-1985; City planners, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 3-6-1987; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 3-6-1987; Prof. Dr. L.H. Klaassen (Local governmental advisor), Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 26-9-1987; Local Planning Department Rotterdam, Structuurschets Kop van Zuid en discussienota Kop van Zuid 1985 Concept; Local planning department Rotterdam, Binnenstadsplan Rotterdam 1985 Concept; Mayor and aldermen, Kop van Zuid. Kop en Schouwers, Rotterdam March 1991; Local Planning Department Rotterdam, Bestemmingsplan Kop van Zuid 1991; Teun Koolhaas by order of the local council Rotterdam, De Kop van Zuid. Een stedenbouwkundig ontwerp, Teun Koolhaas Associates

<sup>52</sup> Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Dagblad 27-8-1991; Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Dagblad 4-12-1991; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 31-5-1988; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 31-8-1988; City planners, Het Vrije Volk 19-5-1989; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 22-6-1989; Dutch National Government, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 7-7-1989; Local council Rotterdam, NRC Handelsblad 13-11-1984; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 18-12-1986; City planners, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 3-6-1987; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 3-6-1987; Local Planning Department Rotterdam, Structuurschets Kop van Zuid en discussienota Kop van Zuid 1985 Concept; Governmental working group feasibility Kop van Zuid, 1988; Local Planning Department Rotterdam, De Kop van Zuid: daar zit muziek in. Uitgangspunten voor de ontwikkeling van nieuwe stedelijke functies in de kop van zuid, 1986; Local Planning Department Rotterdam, Bestemmingsplan Kop van Zuid 1991; Local planning department Rotterdam, Binnenstadsplan Rotterdam 1985 Concept; City planners, Het Vrije Volk 9-3-1989; Alderman Linthorst, Rotterdams Dagblad 30-9-1991; Dutch National Government, NRC Handelsblad 7-7-1989

<sup>53</sup> Local council Rotterdam & Nationale Nederlanden, Rotterdams Dagblad 3-2-1993; Local planning department Rotterdam, Binnenstadsplan Rotterdam 1985 Concept; Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Dagblad 27-8-1991; VVD Councillors & alderman Laan, Het Vrije Volk 11-4-1990; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 31-8-1988; City planners, Het Vrije Volk 9-3-1989; City planners,

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Het Vrije Volk 19-5-1989; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 22-6-1989; Local council Rotterdam, NRC Handelsblad 13-11-1984; City planners, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 3-6-1987; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 3-6-1987; Local Planning Department Rotterdam, Bestemmingsplan Kop van Zuid 1991

<sup>54</sup> City planners, Het Vrije Volk 19-5-1989; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 22-6-1989; Local planning department Rotterdam, Binnenstadsplan Rotterdam 1985 Concept, p. 23; Local Planning Department Rotterdam, Bestemmingsplan Kop van Zuid 1991, p. 15

<sup>55</sup> Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 1-2-1991

<sup>56</sup> Local planning department Rotterdam, Binnenstadsplan Rotterdam 1985 Concept; Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Dagblad 27-8-1991; VVD Councillors & alderman Laan, Het Vrije Volk 11-4-1990; City planners, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 3-6-1987; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 3-6-1987; Governmental working group feasibility Kop van Zuid, 1988; Local Planning Department Rotterdam, Bestemmingsplan Kop van Zuid 1991; Kuiper compagnons (Planning consultancy), Het Vrije Volk 20-3-1990; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 22-6-1989; City planners, Het Vrije Volk 19-5-1989; Laan, Algemeen Dagblad 24-8-1985; Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 10-3-1990; Local council Rotterdam, Algemeen Dagblad 1-6-1990; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 29-11-1990; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 1-2-1991; Several participants, NRC Handelsblad 3-2-1989; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 18-12-1986; Bakker, Rotterdams Dagblad 26-5-1993; Mayor and aldermen, Kop van Zuid. Kop en Schouders, Rotterdam March 1991; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 31-5-1988; City planners, Het Vrije Volk 9-3-1989

<sup>57</sup> Local Planning Department Rotterdam, Bestemmingsplan Kop van Zuid 1991; EDC & Van der Knaap, Algemeen Dagblad 21-3-1989; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 23-12-1982; DRO, Het Vrije Volk 10-12-1982; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 6-1-1984; Local planning department Rotterdam, Binnenstadsplan Rotterdam 1985 Concept; Local Planning Department Rotterdam, De Kop van Zuid: daar zit muziek in. Uitgangspunten voor de ontwikkeling van nieuwe stedelijke functies in de kop van zuid, 1986; Governmental working group feasibility Kop van Zuid, 1988; Linthorst, Rotterdams Dagblad 23-10-1992

<sup>58</sup> Het Vrije Volk 23-12-1982

<sup>59</sup> Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Dagblad 22-1-1993; R.M. Lubbers, Director Hollandia Industriële Maatschappij (HIM, Dutch Industrial Company), Rotterdams Dagblad 5-6-1992; Bakker, Rotterdams Dagblad 26-5-1993; Mayor and aldermen, Het Vrije Volk 21-3-1989; City planners, Het Vrije Volk 19-5-1989; Governmental working group feasibility Kop van Zuid, 1988; Local Planning Department Rotterdam, Bestemmingsplan Kop van Zuid 1991; Mayor and aldermen, Kop van Zuid. Kop en Schouders, Rotterdam March 1991; Mayor Peper, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 31-8-1988; City planners, Het Vrije Volk 9-3-1989; Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 2-1-1988; Bakker, Rotterdams Dagblad 8-11-1991

<sup>60</sup> Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 2-1-1988

<sup>61</sup> Alderman Linthorst, Rotterdams Dagblad 30-9-1991; Several councillors, Rotterdams Dagblad 29-10-1991; Riek Bakker, Rotterdams Dagblad 8-11-1991; Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Dagblad 15-11-1991; Linthorst & Bakker, Rotterdams Dagblad 16-11-1991

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<sup>62</sup> Moscoviter (Journalist), *Het Vrije Volk* 1-9-1990; Moscoviter (Journalist), *Het Vrije Volk* 28-8-1990; Moscoviter, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 2-6-1993; Moscoviter, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 10-12-1991; Governmental committee for Monuments & Van Ravesteyn, *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* 31-8-1990

<sup>63</sup> Moscoviter (Journalist), *Het Vrije Volk* 1-9-1990

<sup>64</sup> Moscoviter, *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* 29-10-1991; Bunte, Ravestein, Meijer, Aubert & Linthorst, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 5-12-1991; Governmental committee for Monuments & Van Ravesteyn, *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* 31-8-1990; F. Hoogenes (Student Urban Development Technical University Delft), *Algemeen Dagblad* 29-12-1992

<sup>65</sup> Moscoviter (Journalist), *Het Vrije Volk* 1-9-1990; also in: Moscoviter, *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* 29-10-1991; Moscoviter, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 8-12-1992; BOF, *Het Vrije Volk* 15-10-1986

<sup>66</sup> F. Hoogenes (Student Urban Development Technical University Delft), *Algemeen Dagblad* 29-12-1992

<sup>67</sup> Various participants, *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* 21-3-1989; Local council Rotterdam & Inhabitants Feijenoord, *Het Zuiden* 31-7-1990; Moscoviter, *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* 29-10-1991; Moscoviter, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 8-12-1992; F. Hoogenes (Student Urban Development Technical University Delft), *Algemeen Dagblad* 29-12-1992; Various participants, *Het Vrije Volk* 25-12-1987; Inhabitants Afrikaanderwijk (BOA), *Het Vrije Volk* 23-3-1990; Various participants, *Het Vrije Volk* 17-5-1989; Moscoviter, *Het Vrije Volk* 8-9-1990

<sup>68</sup> Moscoviter, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 10-12-1991; Several councillors, *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* 11-4-1990; Several councillors & alderman Laan, *Het Vrije Volk* 11-4-1990; Moscoviter (Journalist), *Het Vrije Volk* 28-8-1990; BOA, *Het Zuiden* 31-5-1990; BOF, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 25-11-1991

<sup>69</sup> Various participants, *Het Vrije Volk* 17-5-1989; Moscoviter, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 2-6-1993

<sup>70</sup> Moscoviter (Journalist), *Rotterdams Dagblad* 9-9-1992

<sup>71</sup> Moscoviter, *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* 29-10-1991; Moscoviter, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 10-12-1991

<sup>72</sup> Moscoviter, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 10-12-1991

<sup>73</sup> Bunte, Ravestein, Meijer, Aubert & Linthorst, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 5-12-1991; Moscoviter (Journalist), *Het Vrije Volk* 1-9-1990; Moscoviter, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 2-6-1993; BOF, *Het Vrije Volk* 15-10-1986; Moscoviter (Journalist), *Het Vrije Volk* 4-6-1987

<sup>74</sup> Moscoviter (Journalist), *Het Vrije Volk* 4-6-1987

<sup>75</sup> Moscoviter, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 10-12-1991; Moscoviter, *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* 29-10-1991

<sup>76</sup> Moscoviter, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 10-12-1991

<sup>77</sup> Various participants, *Het Vrije Volk* 25-12-1987

<sup>78</sup> Councillor Aupert & BOF, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 24-9-1991; Various participants, *Het Vrije Volk* 17-5-1989

<sup>79</sup> F. Hoogenes (Student Urban Development Technical University Delft), *Algemeen Dagblad* 29-12-1992

<sup>80</sup> BOF, *Het Vrije Volk* 15-10-1986

<sup>81</sup> Ravestein (Chairman D66) & Journalist, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 19-10-1991; Bunte, Ravestein, Meijer, Aubert & Linthorst, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 5-12-1991; Local

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council Rotterdam & several Investment Banks, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 31-1-1992; Kuiper compagnons (Planning consultancy), *Het Vrije Volk* 20-3-1990; EDC, *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* 20-3-1989; Van der Knaap (Economist, Economic Geographical Institute, Erasmus University Rotterdam), Rotterdam en de Kop van Zuid. Een studie naar Internationalisering en Modernisering, Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam January 1989; Various participants, *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* 21-3-1989; Koos de Gast (Journalist), *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* 3-6-1987

<sup>82</sup> Kuiper compagnons (Planning consultancy), *Het Vrije Volk* 20-3-1990; Koos de Gast, *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* 20-12-1986

<sup>83</sup> Van der Knaap (Economist, Economic Geographical Institute, Erasmus University Rotterdam), *Rotterdams Dagblad* 11-9-1991; Ad Nauta, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 17-8-1991; Local council Rotterdam & Lodged objections, *Algemeen Dagblad* 28-8-1991

<sup>84</sup> *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* 21-3-1989

<sup>85</sup> EDC, *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* 20-3-1989; Koos de Gast (Journalist), *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* 3-6-1987

<sup>86</sup> Van der Knaap (Economist, Economic Geographical Institute, Erasmus University Rotterdam), Rotterdam en de Kop van Zuid. Een studie naar Internationalisering en Modernisering, Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam January 1989

<sup>87</sup> Various participants, *Het Vrije Volk* 17-5-1989

<sup>88</sup> Unknown journalist, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 31-8-1991

<sup>89</sup> Unknown journalist, *Het Vrije Volk* 3-2-1989

<sup>90</sup> Koos de Gast, *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* 5-2-1991; Kor Kegel (Journalist), Linthorst & Saris, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 3-7-1992

<sup>91</sup> Kor Kegel (Journalist), Linthorst & Saris, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 3-7-1992

<sup>92</sup> Local Planning Department Rotterdam, *De Kop van Zuid: daar zit muziek in. Uitgangspunten voor de ontwikkeling van nieuwe stedelijke functies in de kop van zuid*, 1986, p. 11; Governmental working group feasibility *Kop van Zuid*, 1988; Mayor and aldermen, *Kop van Zuid. Kop en Schouders*, Rotterdam March 1991; Riek Bakker, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 8-11-1991; (To a lesser degree also in: Local planning department Rotterdam, *Binnenstadsplan Rotterdam 1985 Concept*)

<sup>93</sup> Local council Rotterdam, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 27-8-1991; Local council Rotterdam, *Algemeen Dagblad* 4-9-1991; Local council Rotterdam, *Algemeen Dagblad* 9-11-1990; and also: Dutch National Government, *NRC Handelsblad* 7-7-1989

<sup>94</sup> Local Planning Department Rotterdam, *Bestemmingsplan Kop van Zuid 1991*; Local planning department Rotterdam, *Binnenstadsplan Rotterdam 1985 Concept*; Governmental working group feasibility *Kop van Zuid*, 1988; Nauta (Planner, Planning Consultancy) & Mayor Peper, *Algemeen Dagblad* 27-8-1991; Ir. R.A. Daniels (Urban Development Department), *Het Vrije Volk* 5-9-1990

<sup>95</sup> Local Planning Department Rotterdam, *De Kop van Zuid: daar zit muziek in. Uitgangspunten voor de ontwikkeling van nieuwe stedelijke functies in de kop van zuid*, 1986, p. 4

<sup>96</sup> Local Planning Department Rotterdam, *De Kop van Zuid: daar zit muziek in. Uitgangspunten voor de ontwikkeling van nieuwe stedelijke functies in de kop van zuid*, 1986, p. 4

<sup>97</sup> Local council Rotterdam, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 15-11-1991

<sup>98</sup> Local council Rotterdam, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 15-11-1991

<sup>99</sup> Riek Bakker, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 8-11-1991



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<sup>100</sup> Mayor Peper, Trouw 25-5-1987

<sup>101</sup> Several participants, NRC Handelsblad 3-2-1989; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 22-11-1984; Linthorst, Rotterdams Dagblad 3-2-1993

<sup>102</sup> Local Planning Department Rotterdam, Bestemmingsplan Kop van Zuid 1991; Local planning department Rotterdam, Binnenstadsplan Rotterdam 1985 Concept

<sup>103</sup> Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 18-12-1986; Several councillors, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 11-4-1990

<sup>104</sup> Mayor, councillors and aldermen & inhabitants Rotterdam, Rotterdams Dagblad 30-8-1991; Mayor, aldermen & councillors, Het Vrije Volk 11-4-1989

<sup>105</sup> Local council Rotterdam, NRC Handelsblad 23-5-1987; Local planning department Rotterdam, Binnenstadsplan Rotterdam 1985 Concept; Local council Rotterdam, NRC Handelsblad 13-11-1984; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 22-11-1984; Local Planning Department Rotterdam, Bestemmingsplan Kop van Zuid 1991.

<sup>106</sup> Bakker, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 3-6-1987; Mayor and aldermen, Kop van Zuid. Kop en Schouder, Rotterdam March 1991; Local council Rotterdam & Inhabitants Feijenoord, Het Zuiden 31-7-1990; Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Dagblad 15-11-1991

<sup>107</sup> Rodenberg (Project manager development Kop van Zuid), NRC Handelsblad 15-11-1991; Local council Rotterdam, Algemeen Dagblad 4-9-1991

<sup>108</sup> Ir. R.A. Daniels (Urban Development Department), Het Vrije Volk 5-9-1990; Rodenberg (Project manager development Kop van Zuid), NRC Handelsblad 15-11-1991; Local council Rotterdam & Lodged objections, Algemeen Dagblad 28-8-1991; Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 16-4-1988; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 31-8-1988; Local planning department Rotterdam, Binnenstadsplan Rotterdam 1985 Concept; Local Planning Department Rotterdam, De Kop van Zuid: daar zit muziek in. Uitgangspunten voor de ontwikkeling van nieuwe stedelijke functies in de kop van zuid, 1986; Governmental working group feasibility Kop van Zuid, 1988; Local council Rotterdam, NRC Handelsblad 13-11-1984; Laan, Algemeen Dagblad 24-8-1985; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 18-12-1986

<sup>109</sup> Governmental working group feasibility Kop van Zuid, 1988; Mayor and aldermen, Kop van Zuid. Kop en Schouder, Rotterdam March 1991; Local Planning Department Rotterdam, De Kop van Zuid: daar zit muziek in. Uitgangspunten voor de ontwikkeling van nieuwe stedelijke functies in de kop van zuid, 1986, p. 5; Rodenberg (Project manager development Kop van Zuid), NRC Handelsblad 15-11-1991; City planners, Het Vrije Volk 19-5-1989

<sup>110</sup> Local Planning Department Rotterdam, Bestemmingsplan Kop van Zuid 1991; Local planning department Rotterdam, Binnenstadsplan Rotterdam 1985 Concept; Local council Rotterdam & Lodged objections, Algemeen Dagblad 28-8-1991; Ravestein & Linthorst, Rotterdams Dagblad 13-9-1991; Ravestein & Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Dagblad 28-4-1992; Bakker, Het Vrije Volk 29-6-1988; City planners, Het Vrije Volk 9-3-1989; Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Dagblad 13-9-1991

<sup>111</sup> Riek Bakker, Rotterdams Dagblad 8-11-1991; Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 16-4-1988; Mayor and aldermen, Kop van Zuid. Kop en Schouder, Rotterdam March 1991; Koos de Gast, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 12-3-1991; Local council Rotterdam, Algemeen Dagblad 4-7-1992; Local council

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Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 1-2-1991; Koos de Gast, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 5-2-1991; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 9-3-1991; Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Dagblad 6-4-1991; Local council Rotterdam, Het Zuiden 15-9-1992

<sup>112</sup> Koos de Gast, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 12-3-1991; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 9-3-1991; Local council Rotterdam, Algemeen Dagblad 9-3-1991

<sup>113</sup> Q-team & Linthorst, Rotterdams Dagblad 25-3-1992; Ravestein & Linthorst, Rotterdams Dagblad 13-9-1991; Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Dagblad 4-12-1991; Ravestein, International Quality Team (to supervise the Kop van Zuid, also called Q-team) & Linthorst, Rotterdams Dagblad 25-3-1992; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 25-4-1990; Linthorst, Rotterdams Dagblad 16-12-1992; Local Planning Department Rotterdam, Structuurschets Kop van Zuid en discussienota Kop van Zuid 1985 Concept

<sup>114</sup> Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Dagblad 6-12-1992

<sup>115</sup> Moscoviter, Rotterdams Dagblad 8-12-1992

<sup>116</sup> Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Dagblad 16-10-1992; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 22-6-1989; Governmental working group feasibility Kop van Zuid, 1988, p. 44; Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Dagblad 15-11-1991; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 31-8-1988; Several participants, NRC Handelsblad 3-2-1989; City planners, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 3-6-1987

<sup>117</sup> Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Dagblad 15-11-1991

<sup>118</sup> Governmental working group feasibility Kop van Zuid, 1988; Local Planning Department Rotterdam, Bestemmingsplan Kop van Zuid 1991; Several councillors, Rotterdams Dagblad 29-10-1991; Riek Bakker, Rotterdams Dagblad 8-11-1991; Linthorst & Bakker, Rotterdams Dagblad 16-11-1991

<sup>119</sup> Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Dagblad 15-11-1991

<sup>120</sup> Several councillors, Rotterdams Dagblad 29-10-1991

<sup>121</sup> Riek Bakker, Rotterdams Dagblad 8-11-1991; Unknown journalist, Het Vrije Volk 21-3-1990; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 20-3-1991; Local council Rotterdam, NRC Handelsblad 19-5-1989; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 25-4-1990; Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Dagblad 17-5-1991; Bakker, Rotterdams Dagblad 26-5-1993; Local council Rotterdam, Rotterdams Dagblad 9-8-1994; Local planning department, Het Vrije Volk 5-4-1989; City planners, Het Vrije Volk 19-5-1989

<sup>122</sup> Moscoviter, Het Vrije Volk 8-9-1990; also in: Monsieur Jacques (Columnist), Het Vrije Volk 16-3-1989

<sup>123</sup> Laan, Algemeen Dagblad 24-8-1985

<sup>124</sup> Rodenberg (Project manager development Kop van Zuid), NRC Handelsblad 15-11-1991

<sup>125</sup> Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 23-3-1989; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 22-6-1989; Bakker, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 3-6-1987; Klaassen (Local governmental advisor), Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 26-9-1987; Mayor and aldermen, Kop van Zuid. Kop en Schouwers, Rotterdam March 1991; Riek Bakker, Rotterdams Dagblad 8-11-1991; Mayor and aldermen, Trouw 11-11-1991; Local council Rotterdam & Property developers, Rotterdams Dagblad 17-5-1993; Teun Koolhaas by order of the local council Rotterdam, De Kop van Zuid. Een stedenbouwkundig ontwerp, Teun Koolhaas Associates

<sup>126</sup> Councillor Aupert & BOF, Rotterdams Dagblad 24-9-1991

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<sup>127</sup> Local council Rotterdam, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 24-9-1991; Local council Rotterdam, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 17-10-1991; Local council Rotterdam, *Trouw* 18-10-1991; Local council Rotterdam, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 4-12-1991; *Moscoviter*, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 10-12-1991; Local council Rotterdam, *Rotterdams Dagblad* (?) 13-12-1991

<sup>128</sup> Local council Rotterdam, *NRC Handelsblad* 19-5-1989

<sup>129</sup> Mayor, councillors and aldermen & inhabitants Rotterdam, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 30-8-1991; Nauta (Planner, Planning Conculancy) & Mayor Peper, *Algemeen Dagblad* 27-8-1991; Linthorst & Bakker, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 16-11-1991; Linthorst, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 21-11-1991; Linthorst, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 3-2-1993; Local council Rotterdam & Nationale Nederlanden, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 3-2-1993; Local council Rotterdam & Flierman (Senior official Rotterdam), *Het Vrije Volk* 14-3-1989; Lubbers, *Het Vrije Volk* 17-6-1989; Local council Rotterdam, *Het Vrije Volk* 22-6-1989

<sup>130</sup> Linthorst, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 3-2-1993

<sup>131</sup> Local council Rotterdam, *Het Vrije Volk* 14-3-1989; Flierman (Senior official Rotterdam), *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* 14-3-1989; Flierman (Senior official Rotterdam), *Het Vrije Volk* 14-3-1989

<sup>132</sup> VVD Councillors & Alderman Laan, *Het Vrije Volk* 11-4-1990

<sup>133</sup> Local council Rotterdam, *Het Vrije Volk* 19-5-1987; *Het Vrije Volk* 23-5-1987; Various participants, *Het Vrije Volk* 25-12-1987

<sup>134</sup> Mayor and aldermen, *Kop van Zuid. Kop en Schouders*, Rotterdam March 1991; Local council Rotterdam, *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* 6-7-1989; Local council Rotterdam & Journalist, *NRC Handelsblad* 23-5-1987

<sup>135</sup> e.g. *Rotterdams Dagblad* 5-3-1992

<sup>136</sup> Local council Rotterdam, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 24-8-1991; Bakker, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 23-8-1991; Local council Rotterdam, *Algemeen Dagblad* 4-9-1991; Various participants, *Het Vrije Volk* 25-12-1987

<sup>137</sup> Various brochures distributed by the local council of Rotterdam (Municipal Archives of Rotterdam, request number IA41)

<sup>138</sup> Local planning department Rotterdam, *Binnenstadsplan Rotterdam 1985 Concept*; Local council Rotterdam, *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* 23-7-1987; Several participants, *Het Vrije Volk* 31-5-1988; City planners, *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* 3-6-1987; Local council Rotterdam, *Het Vrije Volk* 30-3-1989; Bakker, *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* 3-6-1987; Local council Rotterdam, *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* 2-1-1988; Koos de Gast, *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* 6-6-1987, about an exhibition at the Maritiem Museum; Local Planning Department Rotterdam, *Bestemmingsplan Kop van Zuid 1991*; Local council Rotterdam, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 22-1-1993; Governmental working group feasibility *Kop van Zuid*, 1988; Linthorst & Bakker, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 16-11-1991; Mayor and aldermen, *Kop van Zuid. Kop en Schouders*, Rotterdam March 1991; Local council Rotterdam, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 11-12-1992; Local council Rotterdam, *Het Vrije Volk* 22-11-1984

<sup>139</sup> Bakker, *Rotterdams Dagblad* 26-5-1993

<sup>140</sup> Laan, *Algemeen Dagblad* 24-8-1985; *Vereniging van Nederlandse Gemeenten, Steden vergeleken*, VNG studies, Den Haag 1986, p. 9; Local council Rotterdam, *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad* 3-12-1988; H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, *Ruimtelijke ordening. Van grachtengordel tot Vinex-wijk*, *Het Spectrum*, Utrecht 2003

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<sup>141</sup> Zijlstra (CDA), Handelingen van de gemeenteraad Rotterdam 1989 18-5-1989, p. 160

<sup>142</sup> De Rijk (PvdA Councillor), Handelingen van de gemeenteraad 1986 20-2-1986, pp. 76-78; Ter kuile-Van der Hoeven (VVD Councillor), Handelingen van de gemeenteraad 1986 20-2-1986, p. 78; Müller (D66 Councillor), Handelingen van de gemeenteraad 1986 20-2-1986, pp. 80-81; Alderman Laan (PvdA), Handelingen van de gemeenteraad 1986 20-2-1986, pp. 82-84; Van Dam (VVD), Handelingen van de gemeenteraad 1987, p. 518; Alderman Den Dunnen (PvdA), Handelingen van de gemeenteraad 1987, p. 518; Laan, Handelingen van de gemeenteraad 1987, pp. 524-525; Zijlstra (CDA), Handelingen van de gemeenteraad 1989 18-5-1989, pp. 151, 160; Van der Vos (Links Rotterdam), Handelingen van de gemeenteraad 1989 18-5-1989, pp. 152-153; De Rijk (PvdA), Handelingen van de gemeenteraad 1989 18-5-1989, pp. 153-154; Ter Kuile-Van der Hoeven, Handelingen van de gemeenteraad 1989 18-5-1989, pp. 155-156; Ravestein (D66), Handelingen van de gemeenteraad 1989 18-5-1989, pp. 156-157; Laan, Handelingen van de gemeenteraad 1989 18-5-1989, pp. 157-159; Laan, Handelingen van de gemeenteraad 1990 29-3-1990, p. 110; Meijer (Groen Links), Handelingen van de gemeenteraad 1991 11-4-1991, pp. 104-105; Westra (D66), Handelingen van de gemeenteraad 1991 11-4-1991, p. 110; Buijs-Van Riet (CDA), Handelingen van de gemeenteraad 1991 11-4-1991, pp. 233-249; Ter Kuile-Van der Hoeven, Handelingen van de gemeenteraad 1991 11-4-1991, pp. 234-235; Aubert (PvdA), Handelingen van de gemeenteraad 1991 11-4-1991, p. 236; Ravestein, Handelingen van de gemeenteraad 1991 11-4-1991, pp. 238-239; Meijer, Handelingen van de gemeenteraad 1991 11-4-1991, p. 239; Alderman Linthorst, Handelingen van de gemeenteraad 1991 11-4-1991, pp. 241-245; Meijer, Handelingen van de gemeenteraad 1992 24-9-1992, p. 311; Ter Kuile-Van der Hoeve, Handelingen van de gemeenteraad 1992 24-9-1992, pp. 314-315; Linthorst, Handelingen van de gemeenteraad 1992 24-9-1992, pp. 317-320; Smit (CDA), Handelingen van de gemeenteraad 1992 24-9-1992, p. 316; Woudenberg (VVD), Handelingen van de gemeenteraad 1993 8-4-1993, p. 148; De Bok-Van der Borg (CDA), Handelingen van de gemeenteraad 1993 8-4-1993, p. 149; Bakker, Het Vrije Volk 29-6-1988; Local council Rotterdam, Het Vrije Volk 31-8-1988

<sup>143</sup> Linthorst, Trouw 15-3-1991, also in: Trouw 19-4-1991 & Rotterdams Dagblad 3-7-1992

<sup>144</sup> Koos de Gast, Rotterdams Nieuwsblad 19-3-1991; Kor Kegel, Linthorst & Saris, Rotterdams Dagblad 3-7-1992; Ophuis, Trouw 19-4-1991; Linthorst, Trouw 15-3-1991

<sup>145</sup> Het Zuiden 8-3-1990; NRC Handelsblad 6-5-1991; NRC Handelsblad 7-5-1991; Rotterdams Dagblad 3-12-1991

<sup>146</sup> Rotterdams Dagblad 21-7-1992; Het Zuiden 28-7-1992; Het Zuiden 18-8-1992; Rotterdams Dagblad 9-9-1992; Rotterdams Dagblad 28-1-1993; Rotterdams Dagblad (?) 21-10-1993; Rotterdams Dagblad 18-11-1992; Rotterdams Dagblad (?) 19-2-1994; Het Zuiden 15-2-1994



## Chapter 8 IJ-oevers

*One could write a PhD thesis about the IJ-oever story*<sup>1</sup>

### **Provocation**

Between 1874 and 1927, artificial peninsulas were built to the east of Amsterdam to shape new quays for shipping companies by filling in part of the IJ river. Due to the increasing size of ships and their deeper draughts, and the decreased accessibility after the construction of Centraal Station, Amsterdam's harbour was relocated from the docks on Kattenburg and Wittenburg to these new peninsulas. These were the heydays of the Dutch colonies, and steamship companies operated regular services to Indonesia, Surinam, the United States and South America. As a result of the construction of the *Oranjesluizen* (the locks closing off the IJ from the Zuiderzee) on the 'wrong' side of the city, together with the construction of the North Sea Canal (1876), the Eastern Docklands were not well located. In the 1960s, a new harbour was constructed to the west of the city, specially designed for container and bulk transport. It heralded the death of the eastern docklands. In 1979, the last large shipping company (KNSM)<sup>2</sup> left KNSM island, leaving it to artists, squatters, prostitutes, anarchists, ex-KNSM workers, and boat and caravan dwellers<sup>3</sup>.

As early as 1967, Professor David A. Jokinen – one of the initiators of the second debate in Amsterdam – proposed an urban regeneration plan for the *IJ-oevers* (banks of the IJ river). "*If one revives this IJ boulevard with restaurants, sidewalk cafés, etc., then Amsterdam will get back the harbour facade it lost due to the construction of Centraal Station*"<sup>4</sup>. But the full proposal to redevelop the eastern docklands came from its unofficial inhabitants, some 200-500 people, who had settled there since 1980<sup>5</sup>. It had taken architects Arne van Herk and Sabiene Kleyn, landscape architect Ton Kruvers and urban developer Gert Urhahn three years to design a plan. It was subsidized by the national government, the Ministry of Culture, Recreation and Social Services, and was aimed at creating homes for about 30,000 people – more than half of the then current number of registered persons seeking housing in Amsterdam. The plan was presented at the conference and exhibition *Eastern Harbour area: City on the IJ*. The conference was seen as an ideal vehicle for increased interest in the debate about this 'forgotten area'<sup>6</sup>.

The idea of building so many houses was music to the ears of city planners, as it perfectly fit the compact-city concept, namely to build as many houses as possible in existing cities. In these years, hidden treasures were discovered, that is numerous locations where houses could be built: in

the Kinkerbuurt, Entrepotdock, in green parks in the western areas of the city, on top of the east metro line, and even on new land created by filling in part of the IJmeer (part of the former Zuiderzee). ‘High density’ became the new slogan for urban planning and design. “*One of the main points of the policy of this council is to strive with might and main to get as many people to live in Amsterdam as possible*”<sup>7</sup>. Thus, in 1980, the first guidelines were drawn to regenerate the eastern docklands. And after a prize contest, conferences and the foundation of advisory boards – all in 1983 – the idea to enlarge the inner city and reconnect it to the river IJ by regenerating the eastern docklands (*IJ-oevers*<sup>8</sup> or *IJ-as*<sup>9</sup> – both terms were in use) was born<sup>10</sup>.

So how necessary was Almere really?<sup>11</sup>

Still, until about 1985, there had been only brainstorming sessions, nice little chitchats about the future; the controversial debate had not yet been born. But things started to change around 1985, when plans became more clear-cut – and as a result of a real planning turn. Immediately, Amsterdammers jumped to their feet, ready to rumble, and what Amsterdammers believed flew out of their word processors like hot slugs from a blunderbuss. “*Amsterdam would not be Amsterdam anymore if there were not at least one group taking up arms*”<sup>12</sup>. The tricky problem was, again, the proposal to fill in water, this time in between the peninsulas and at the rear of Centraal Station in the IJ. “*Don’t touch the Amsterdammers’ water, because they’d make your life hell*”<sup>13</sup>. More than that, it was the city planners’ desire to create an internationally competitive waterfront with allure, to get the downtown heart beating faster with international businesses and inhabited by the rich and fortunate – and that made people bristle<sup>14</sup>. And compared to Rotterdam, this third debate in Amsterdam was, again, quite uproarious.

## ***Urban ideal images***

All the contributions exhibit a fervent desire to make the future Amsterdam flourish. Again, there was not a single person who proposed to let Amsterdam decline, not a single person who would accept facts that indicated the suburbanization of the affluent, economic decline or the deterioration of neighbourhoods. On the contrary, regardless of whether they were city planners, progressist urban intellectuals or culturalist urban intellectuals, their aim was the same: a flourishing city. And for that, different levels 2 and 3 of the urban ideal images were articulated.

## The urban ideal image of culturalists

The city of the past was still the culturalists' passion in period 3. They aimed at a future city that looked like Amsterdam as it had, or should have been in the past. Moreover, the inner city should be a cultural, historic heart. In addition, the planning should focus on community and history. Again, level 2 of their urban ideal image had not changed. And again, all other elements which belonged to level 3 of their urban ideal image, were meant to realize level 2 of their urban ideal image, and, of course, in the end, level 1. Thereby, level 3 had undergone some changes, because it was thought that these changed elements would increase the chances of realizing level 2 of their urban ideal image.

Culturalists nourished the past, idealizing a city riddled with history. They supported the idea of regenerating the IJ-oever, because it could counteract the 19<sup>th</sup>-century blunder of closing off the city from the IJ by building Centraal Station – to 'give the city back the IJ'<sup>15</sup>. But it all had to fit the historic characteristics of Amsterdam<sup>16</sup>.

*Amsterdam should not try to become like other cities but instead should preserve its own character and boost it. It is not about maximum building capacity. What we need is modesty and cautiousness with the remaining historic townscape – and not too energetic individuals<sup>17</sup>.*

And since city planners and progressists happened to act like too energetic individuals, culturalists screamed in protest.

For decades, culturalists had desired an inner city with modest economic activities, and since the inner city's economy had always been so dominating, culturalists had focussed on trying to weaken it. But now, in period 3, the inner city's economy had weakened so much that a couple of culturalists started to worry, and even proposed measures to prohibit further weakening. For centuries, the inner city had been known for economic activities, and thus that should be preserved; in addition, they knew that money was needed to preserve the expensive monuments. As a result, a few of them started to support the city planner's plans – but tried to reach a compromise<sup>18</sup>. However, most culturalists just desired a historic inner city, telling city planners that they should focus instead on stimulating the business centre in the south of the city shooting up: the *Zuid-as* ('South-axis')<sup>19</sup>.

Culturalists articulated flexible plans for the future city, based on both surveys and desires<sup>20</sup>. Unlike city planners and progressists and contrary former years, culturalists were in particular fond of surveys. But desires were not wiped out either, and one culturalist said it was ridiculous to ask a scientist at the University of Eindhoven to predict what kind of



inhabitants would settle in the eastern harbour area, because: “*You have to take political decisions about that sort of things: for whom do you want to build? Whose city is it going to be?*”<sup>21</sup> Culturalists thought that the government should be the main planning actor, and private parties could participate if desired or needed. Moreover, plans should be designed in association with the public – which was more than city planners had in mind<sup>22</sup>. “*In Amsterdam we have a strong social democratic tradition, and we should keep it that way*”<sup>23</sup>.

Culturalists wanted Amsterdam to stay a *wereldorp* (‘world-village’) and hated the idea of becoming a world city like Toronto, New York or Milan<sup>24</sup>. Amsterdam should be compact, of limited size, and clearly separated from the green countryside that surrounded it<sup>25</sup>. Moreover, the increasing building density towards Amsterdam’s centre should be preserved too<sup>26</sup>. Still, culturalists did not manage to agree on one and the same city shape<sup>27</sup>, and one newcomer to the culturalist clan even desired clustered deconcentration with heart and soul: Roel de Wit, who had been alderman (PvdA) during the era of clustered deconcentration<sup>28</sup>.

In the ideal future city, urban functions would be mixed<sup>29</sup>. Thus, it was very alarming that for financial reasons, the IJ-oeverers would not accommodate weak functions – which endangered the desired mix<sup>30</sup>. The existing mix of industries, traffic, housing and green on the peninsulas had localized life in pretty autonomous communities, and culturalists thought that should be preserved. In addition, some sandy beaches, a children’s farm, a bird centre, a sport field and gardens could be laid out. Additional homes should be built of sustainable materials and designed by different architects, so that each home would get a genuine form and identity<sup>31</sup>. And for the needed electricity, alternative power sources like windmills could be built<sup>32</sup>. In addition, the eastern docklands had to keep their harbour identity, and for that they wanted to preserve all still existing cranes, bollards, cobblestones, memorial stones, buildings, wharfs, the statues of Amphrite and – not unimportant – the canals in between the peninsulas<sup>33</sup>. Thus, they vigorously protested against the plans for the IJ-oeverers<sup>34</sup>.

It takes all sorts to make the world, culturalist must have thought, and thus, in their ideal future city, the rich would live next to the poor, the autochthonous next to foreigners, and academics next to artists. Therefore, more attention should be paid to upscale housing<sup>35</sup>. But the number of owner-occupied houses city planners had scheduled disturbed that desired balanced mix<sup>36</sup>. “*The IJ-oeverers will become a yuppie enclave*”<sup>3738</sup>. Worse, the most beautiful spots were earmarked for the most expensive housing. But culturalists thought that Amsterdammers should be able to wander along the banks, or fish, or swim or do whatever they wanted to do there, and development along the banks should never impede free access to a panoramic view of the river<sup>39</sup>.

The design of new buildings should fit the historic city; culturalists disliked the contemporary architecture in Hong Kong, Singapore, London, New York, Chicago, Los Angeles and San Francisco<sup>40</sup>. Moreover, Amsterdam should not build high, particularly near the inner city, because tall buildings would destroy the historic skyline, overshadow the historic inner city and pollute the skyline of the green areas surrounding the city<sup>41</sup>. Thereby, low-, medium- and high-rise buildings should be mixed, whereby their definition of ‘high-rise’ would be extremely amusing to New Yorkers or Taipei-ers: some argued that depending on the location, buildings taller than 15 metres should be called high-rise. Others mentioned heights ‘as high as *Centraal Station*’ or ‘as high as the church towers’<sup>42</sup>.

The focus has to be on improving radial transport patterns. That would optimize the accessibility of the inner city from all directions, which would strengthen the inner city (city planners)<sup>43</sup>

If it was up to culturalists, the inner city would be no more accessible than other urban quarters. Their ideal future city had few cars, and lots of people travelling by metro, buses, trams, bicycles and foot. Therefore, the width of roads should be kept limited – pitting them against the highway city planners wanted to construct along the IJ boulevard. Instead, they pleaded for a two-lane road. Moreover, traffic types should be mixed, and they condemned zoned traffic as was applied in the horrible Bijlmermeer<sup>44</sup>.

The Rotterdam architect Carel Weeber was one of the initiators of AIR, initiator of the Foundation for High-rise Blocks, and designer of the famous Peperklip building in Rotterdam and the Venserpolder quarter in Amsterdam. Weeber appeared to be the only one in my entire research I could not put into one category, but had to include in two. Weeber articulated a progressist urban ideal image in Rotterdam, but a culturalist one in Amsterdam; as a result, he is grouped with the progressists in Rotterdam and with culturalists in Amsterdam.

Some culturalists, including Carel Weeber and Maarten Hajer, wanted to restore the inner city as it had been in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, without cars and without a *Centraal Station*. Others had in mind a slightly more recent point in history: “*Hands off the CS!*”, Henk Hofland said, praising the decision of our 19<sup>th</sup>-century forefathers to build the station exactly on that spot – in the middle of the concentric ring of canals<sup>45</sup>. But most important, culturalists did not want that perfect, international inner city with allure. They did not want daring, well-cleaned glass offices, immaculate streets or neat public spaces being secured by cameras. Instead, as some culturalists stated, they desired a historic city with all the inconveniences that implied. The city should be a place of beauty and filth, spreading sickening smells and aromatic odours, flowery perfumes and musty sweat. It should contain pieces of silence drilled by the noise of streets and squares. People would receive help and

unprecedented rudeness, solidarity and egocentricity. Only in a true city are there museums and cafes next to murder, whoring and theft<sup>46</sup>. And although many culturalists seemed to have a slightly more perfect future city in mind – with fewer noises, whores, and crimes – they all agreed that it should become something like that, and never ever like city planners had proposed. Amsterdam was a mixture of blue-bloods and tramps, dotcom millionaires and ageing hippies, gays and drag queens – and it should stay that way.

**Table 25 Urban ideal images of culturalists, Amsterdam periods 1, 2 & 3**

		<b>Elements of urban ideal image</b>	<i>Period 1</i>	<i>Period 2</i>	<i>Period 3</i>
L e v e l 1			Flourishing city	Flourishing city	Flourishing city
	L e v e l 2	<b>Position of inner city</b>	Cultural historic centre	Cultural historic centre	Cultural historic centre
		<b>Orientation</b>	Towards the past	Towards the past	Towards the past
		<b>Focus of planning</b>	History & community	History & community	History & community
L e v e l 3	G e n e r a l	<b>Basis of planning</b>	Survey & desires	Survey & desires	Survey & desires
				Public participation / the public draws up city plans	Public participation / the public draws up city plans
					Flexible city plan, not detailed
				City as part of a larger whole: the region	
		<b>Architecture</b>	Contemporary	Anti-contemporary	Anti-contemporary
		<b>Main planning actor</b>	Government	Government	Government
		<b>City extension</b>		Compact city	Compact city
		<b>Border between city and countryside</b>		Sharp	Sharp

L e v e l 3	G e n e r a l	<b>Accent on city or countryside</b>	City	City	City
		<b>City size</b>	Limited	Limited	Limited
		<b>Height</b>		Limited	Limited
		<b>City functions</b>	Zoned	Mixed	Mixed
		<b>History</b>	Pattern of living riddled with history versus comprehensive redevelopment	Pattern of living riddled with history	Pattern of living riddled with history
		<b>Density</b>	Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city's edge	Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city's edge	Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city's edge
		D w e l l i n g	<b>Structure</b>	Dwelling inside the inner city	Decentralized, autonomous urban neighbourhoods (garden cities inside city)
	<b>Housing types</b>			Identifiable houses	Identifiable houses
					Mix "high", middle, and low-rise houses
	<b>Stratification</b>			Houses for the wealthy on nice locations (canals). Socially mixed population on an urban scale	Prohibit houses for the wealthy on nice locations along the waterfront. Mix of income, education & origin inside neighbourhoods
				Full attention to public/social housing	Focus: both public and upscale houses
	<b>Renewal of residential quarters</b>		Comprehensive redevelopment of 19 <sup>th</sup> -century neighbourhoods	Rehabilitation	Rehabilitation

L e v e l 3	L e e i s e	<b>Green elements</b>	Parks	Parks	Parks
		<b>Nature</b>		Inside city	Inside city
		<b>Use of waterfronts</b>		Commercial. Luxurious houses along canals	Non-commercial. Preserve waterfront along IJ: a true public space, prohibit luxurious houses
		<b>Location of recreational areas</b>			Inside city
	W o r k	<b>Location</b>	Separated	Mixed	Mixed
		<b>Industries</b>	Decentralized to accessible industrial areas at city's edge	Inside neighbourhoods, not decentralized to industrial areas	Inside neighbourhoods, not decentralized to industrial areas
	T r a n s p o r t a t i o n	<b>Focus</b>	Accessible urban areas	Anti-rational, fast road system, limit width of roads, transform roads into playgrounds	Anti-rational, fast road system, limit width of roads
		<b>Mobility</b>		Limit mobility by localizing life	Limit mobility by localizing life
		<b>Design</b>	Preserved old structure inside city centre. Outside the inner city: rational, non-radial	Preserved structure, non-radial, ring-road	Preserved structure, non-radial, ring-road
		<b>Traffic types</b>		Separated	Mixed
	I n n e r c i t y	<b>Main function</b>	Cultural historic: dwelling	Cultural historic: dwelling	Cultural historic: dwelling
		<b>Inner city functions</b>		Mixed	Mixed
		<b>Location offices</b>	Outside the inner city	Equally distributed over the whole city	Equally distributed over the whole city
		<b>Accessibility</b>	Low	Low / car-free inner city	Low
		<b>Car traffic</b>	Very limited	Very limited	Very limited
		<b>Residential function</b>	Large	Large	Large

L i v e e l r 3 c i t y	<b>Traffic priority</b>	Pedestrians	Pedestrians & cyclists	Pedestrians & cyclists
	<b>Public transport</b>	Trams, transport on water	Small scaled: trams, transport on water, buses	Small & large scaled
	<b>Public space</b>		Squares	True urban public places
	<b>Design</b>	Heterogeneous, preserved	Heterogeneous, preserved	Heterogeneous, preserved, fit to existing architecture

*Who were these culturalist urban intellectuals?*

Human geographers, architects, sociologists and historians – including professors – articulated a culturalist urban ideal image, as did people working for the Netherlands Department for Conservation and Monuments, people working for the Amsterdam Town planning Advisory Council (ARS), Amsterdam Monuments Advisory Council (ARM) and various historical associations, namely *Ons Amsterdam*, *Het Genootschap Amstelodamum*, *Het Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap*, *Hendrick de Keyser*, *Vereniging Vrienden van de Amsterdamse Binnenstad*, and *Bond Heemschut* (Geurt Brinkgreve, well in years now, was still participating in the debate, though no longer as an individual). In addition, writers of books about the history of Amsterdam – such as Geert Mak and Richter Roegholt – supported the culturalist ideal, as did the intellectuals Johannes van Dam and Henk Hofland. Moreover, council members of leftist and conservative political parties (Links Akkoord, De Groenen, Groen Amsterdam, PPR, PSP, CDA) tended to hold the culturalist urban ideal image, as did Groen Links, which was in a difficult position to do so because it would provide an alderman concerned with the IJ-oever (Jeroen Saris)<sup>47</sup>. Finally, ex-alderman Roel de Wit, fireman Jan Wolf, a few squatters, a couple of inhabitants living in the eastern docklands and a few urban intellectuals who had also participated in the metro debate (e.g. Tjebbe van Tijen and Auke Bijlsma) were in this category.

De Groenen (since 1983), left-wing social ecological green party. Renamed the ‘Europese Groenen’ in 1984, ‘Federatieve Groenen’ in 1985, and ‘De Groenen’ again in 1988, when they merged with the left-wing green party Groen Amsterdam (1986-1988).

Links Akkoord (1986-1990), Amsterdam precursor of the left-wing green party Groen Links (composed of CPN, PSP, PPR and EVP).<sup>48</sup>

## The urban ideal image of progressists

A city, and certainly Amsterdam, cannot live without progress<sup>49</sup>.

In period 3, progressists in Amsterdam still said they idealized the future, still thought that city planning should focus on trade and industry, and still desired a CBD inside the inner city on top of the urban hierarchy. Thus, level 2 of their ideal image had not changed since period 1. However, level 3 of their urban ideal image – which consisted of all other elements of their urban ideal image – had been changed a bit during time.

To realize level 2 of their urban ideal image, the IJ-oeverers had to be regenerated. Strong sub-centres threatened that ideal, and had to be eradicated root and branch<sup>50</sup>. A case in point were the protests against a proposal to locate a decentralized section of the local council in the inner city, as had already been done in all other urban quarters. According to progressists, the inner city was not just another quarter, and therefore should be governed by a centralized council<sup>51</sup>. Still, in the 1990s, two maverick individuals dared to speak the forbidden words: that they no longer believed in the idea of a CBD in the inner city and that the Zuid-as should be developed instead. But among their peers, that fell on deaf ears<sup>52</sup>.

As the future city would be part of a larger, unpredictable world, progressists thought that city plans should be kept flexible and based not only on surveys but also – and even more, it seemed – on desires<sup>53</sup>. To win the international competition between cities for economic prosperity, private parties should play the leading role, although the supporting role of the local government was quite important too. The public got the tiniest supporting part possible; progressists simply did not care whether the public would or would not support their plans<sup>54</sup>. And Amsterdam progressists seemed quite confident about the outsider's image of the city – since it was never discussed.

Progressists were not passionately interested in public housing. So they were neither tearful nor sad when the local government announced that it would allow more private homes to be built on the IJ-oeverers at the expense of public homes. Moreover, they even thought of policies of keeping the poor out, proposing to hamper the attempts of people with a low income to get a home in Amsterdam, or prohibiting mixing the poor with the affluent in one building. For their precious luxurious homes, they had sorted out the most beautiful spots along the waterfront. In addition, part of the quays could be used for yacht landings<sup>55</sup>. Thus indeed, the culturalists' phantom was the progressists' sweetheart.

The IJ oeverers will become a yuppie enclave (culturalist)<sup>56</sup>

Fine feathers make fine birds, progressists must have thought. To create an international, luxurious, attractive atmosphere, the IJ-oevers should have luxurious public spaces with great allure and grandeur. It should become an exclusive sanctuary for international, contemporary architecture. Soaring skyscrapers belonged in this desired picture too, and some progressists proposed to build the world’s highest skyscraper (over 450 meters) along the IJ<sup>57</sup>. And to create a true lively atmosphere, urban functions had to be mixed<sup>58</sup>.

Without a fast, rational, radial and efficient city-wide transport system linking the CBD with its environs, the IJ-oevers was doomed to failure. *“Without excellent accessibility, the inner city as the economic heart of the region is an illusion”*<sup>59</sup>. Cars were given priority, and as they needed to drive right into the enlarged inner city, a lot of new roads were required as well as road widening, including a four-lane IJ-boulevard. In addition, to keep the roads fast, it was absolutely necessary to build a large-scale, city-wide public transport network to tempt car drivers to get out of their vehicles. Moreover, lots of car parks were needed, while the ring-road could use some improvements too. Trams, buses, cyclists and pedestrians were considered hardly important: they were tolerated, but were no solution to traffic congestion, and should be separated from more serious forms of transport<sup>60</sup>.

History was the last thing progressists cared about, it seemed. True, the IJ should be kept open, but only because it increased the location’s value; in other words, because money could be made out of it. Parts of the IJ could be filled in to gain a bit more land, and all the old harbour buildings could be demolished. Historic buildings should be razed to make room for new ones<sup>61</sup>.

**Table 26 Urban ideal images of progressists, Amsterdam periods 1, 2 & 3**

	<b>Elements of urban ideal image</b>	<i>Period 1</i>	<i>Period 2</i>	<i>Period 3</i>
<b>L</b>		Flourishing city	Flourishing city	Flourishing city
<b>e</b>				
<b>v</b>				
<b>e</b>				
<b>l</b>				
<b>1</b>				
<b>L</b>	<b>Position of inner city</b>	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy
	<b>Orientation</b>	Towards the future	Towards the future	Towards the future
	<b>Focus of planning</b>	Trade & Industry	Trade & Industry	Trade & Industry
<b>e</b>				
<b>v</b>				
<b>e</b>				
<b>l</b>				
<b>2</b>				



L e v e l 3	G e n e r a l	<b>Basis of planning</b>	Survey & desires	Surveys & desires	Desires & surveys
				Public participation	Public support/no public support
				City as part of a larger whole: the region and the rest of the world	City as part of a larger whole: the region and the rest of the world
		<b>Architecture</b>	Contemporary, harmonious	Contemporary	Contemporary
		<b>Main planning actor</b>	Government	Government & private actors	Private actors & government
		<b>City extension</b>		Satellite city/Compact city	
		<b>Accent on city or countryside</b>	City	City	City
		<b>City size</b>		Limited	
		<b>Height</b>			Unlimited
		<b>City functions</b>			Mixed
		<b>History</b>	Keep the past in mind, but focus on the future	Keep the past in mind, but focus on the future	Keep the past in mind, but focus on the future
	<b>Density</b>		Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city's edge		
	D w e l l i n g	<b>Renewal residential quarters</b>		Comprehensive redevelopment	
L e i s u r e		<b>Green elements</b>		Luxurious public parks with grandeur	
	<b>Use of waterfronts</b>			Commercial	

L e v e l 3	<b>W</b>	<b>Industries</b>		Decentralized to accessible industrial areas on outskirts	
	<b>T</b> <b>r</b> <b>a</b> <b>n</b> <b>s</b> <b>p</b> <b>o</b> <b>r</b> <b>t</b> <b>a</b> <b>t</b> <b>i</b> <b>o</b> <b>n</b>	<b>Focus</b>	Fast & efficient transport system	Fast & efficient transport system	Fast & efficient transport system
		<b>Mobility</b>		Meet mobility needs by constructing new roads	Meet mobility needs by constructing new roads
		<b>Design</b>	Rational, radial	Rational, radial, ring-road	Rational, radial, ring-road
		<b>Traffic types</b>	Separated to some extent	Separated	Separated
	<b>I</b> <b>n</b> <b>n</b> <b>e</b> <b>r</b> <b>c</b> <b>i</b> <b>t</b> <b>y</b>	<b>Main function</b>	Economic	Economic	Economic
		<b>Inner city functions</b>			Mixed
		<b>Location of offices</b>	Inside inner city	Inside inner city	Inside inner city
		<b>Accessibility</b>	High	High	High
		<b>Car traffic</b>	Unlimited or discouraged	Unlimited, but discouraged	Unlimited, but discouraged
		<b>Residential function</b>	Limited	Limited	Limited
		<b>Traffic priority</b>	Motorists	Motorists	Motorists
		<b>Public transport</b>	Trams, trolleybuses, metro	Large scaled: metro or AMTRO	Large scaled: metro
<b>Public space</b>		Squares, fountains		Luxurious public space with international allure	
<b>Design</b>	Contemporary		Meeting international standards		

### *Who were these progressist urban intellectuals?*

The Chamber of Commerce, the Association Amsterdam City, shop-owners, directors of warehouses, private enterprises, and entrepreneurs articulated the progressist urban ideal image. Moreover, the liberal-right political party VVD expressed the progressist ideal too, as did professors of Urban and Rural Planning and Regional Economy, city planners working for the Dutch organization for Applied Scientific Research (TNO), and city planners and architects in general, including Teun Koolhaas, who had designed a plan for Rotterdam's Kop van Zuid. Furthermore, investment banks, property developers, the Dutch State Employees' Pension Scheme (ABP), estate agents – namely all those who had planned to participate in regenerating the IJ-oeveren as partners in the PPP for which the AFW was erected<sup>62</sup> – articulated the progressist urban ideal image too.

### **The urban ideal image of city planners**

In period 3, city planners still emphasized that they desired a forward-looking city, with a CBD heart located in the inner city, and on top of the urban hierarchy. Moreover, they still thought that planning should focus on trade and industry. So again, level 2 had not changed. What had altered since period 1 was level 3 of their urban ideal image, but only a little bit, and only because it was thought that these differences would better serve level 2 and level 1 of their urban ideal image. *“The municipality being a preservationist instead of a stimulator of the city would change the city into a world village – a tourist attraction between the IJsselmeer and the North Sea”*<sup>63</sup>, and to city planners, this seemed a complete disaster.

Amsterdam is not a world city. We would like to introduce the term 'world village' (culturalist) <sup>64</sup>
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In order to preserve level 2 of their urban ideal image, the CBD had to grow, for which they wanted to regenerate the IJ-oeveren<sup>65</sup>. Strong sub-centres – let alone sub-centres stronger than the inner city – were part of their worst nightmares, and thus they had to be eradicated. Therefore, they earmarked the most dangerous of all – the Zuid-as – as a peripheral urban territory<sup>66</sup>. And thus they were also against a decentralized section of the local council in the inner city, as since the inner city was of city-wide importance, it needed city-wide governing<sup>67</sup>. A strong economic heart would keep Amsterdam flourishing so that it would stay the strongest urban region of the Randstad, ready to win the international battle for success<sup>68</sup>.

The Canadian urban developer Ken Greenberg had been appointed chairman of the advisory board for the IJ-oevers. In 1968, he had done teaching practice with Herman Herzberger – the architect who had been so actively involved in the second debate in Amsterdam. Greenberg had contributed to the regeneration of the waterfront in Toronto. Berlage was one of his heroes, for making one of the most brilliant urban extension plans he knew<sup>69</sup>. “*The city has to progress, cannot stand still*”, was one of Greenberg’s statements<sup>70</sup>.

Desires, more than surveys, should be the basis of future city plans – for which they were criticized by, for example, by Ken Greenberg and Tjeerd Dijkstra (supervisor of the IJ-oevers project)<sup>71</sup>. But city planners did not want to base their plans on facts, but to fight them: they wanted to ‘counteract’ decreasing numbers of inhabitants, declining employment, and the polarization of city and countryside into poor and rich<sup>72</sup>; to ‘stop’ the Zuid-as becoming a business centre more important than the inner city<sup>73</sup>; to ‘reduce’ mobility<sup>74</sup>, and so on. In addition, future city plans should be flexible, whereby private partners should take care of most of the job; they even agreed to having only 25% control in the AWF– although they were a bit hesitant about privatization in the beginning, speaking of a *hocus-pocus formula*<sup>75</sup>. Moreover, public support would be nice but was not necessary<sup>76</sup>. “*Amsterdammers have a good share of common scepticism. Not everyone has to agree with the plans for the IJ-oevers. Differences of opinion are allowed to continue*”<sup>77</sup>.

In the end, we have to look at the green heart, and build houses there .... It will be unavoidable<sup>78</sup>

In the future city, urban functions would be mixed, except for large industries, which had to be located in industrial areas on the city’s outskirts<sup>79</sup>. Therefore, residential quarters built during the modern era – like the *Bijlmermeer* – were partly earmarked for offices<sup>80</sup>. The future city would be compact, limited in size and clearly separated from the green countryside – the Green Heart. A city needs to be urban, city planners thought, and the countryside green, and therefore the eastern docklands would be regenerated and earmarked for lots of houses and an extremely high density<sup>81</sup>. Necessity is the mother of invention, and thus city planners had made up the rule ‘Water is Green’, so they could build many more houses instead of parks on the peninsulas<sup>82</sup>. The eastern docklands, including the new neighbourhood in the *IJmeer*, would become the fifth finger, so that Amsterdam’s current hand-shape form would be preserved<sup>83</sup>.

What we need is modesty and cautiousness with the remaining historic townscape, and what we do not need are too energetic individuals (culturalist)<sup>84</sup>

The future inner city should be able to meet international standards. Thus, internationally famous architects should design buildings<sup>85</sup> – quite different from 1984, when not a single word was spent on architecture<sup>86</sup>. In addition, luxurious public spaces with international allure – the visiting card of the city – would be created along the piers and wharfs, including yacht landings<sup>87</sup>. Their precious heart would contain the highest mix of urban functions, the highest building density and the highest buildings – although they should not build too high (the exact height was highly disputed) and high-rise buildings right next to Centraal Station were prohibited, in order not to disturb the historic character of the inner city<sup>88</sup>.

In the future city, valuable structures would be preserved, and so the initial plan to fill in the water in between the peninsulas was abolished – although that was also for economic reasons: houses along waterfronts overlooking the water generated much more money. For the same reason, old neighbourhoods would be rehabilitated and the IJ-oeverers earmarked for large-scale offices – to spare the historic inner city. However, several historic buildings, including truly unique ones like the *Graansilo* (‘Grain silo’) – a symbol of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century industrial bloom of Amsterdam and the first large silo to be mechanically driven – had to be destroyed and some of the IJ filled in, because lots were necessary to make dreams come true<sup>89</sup>. Remarkably, unlike city planners in Rotterdam, Amsterdam city planners were quite confident about the outsider’s image of their city – and hardly discussed it<sup>90</sup>.

Until 1987, full scope was given to the poor, the handicapped, the old and foreigners – namely those living in public housing<sup>91</sup> – adding that: *“There is no need for owner-occupied property ... They are too expensive for the people. It means that we cannot offer substitute, newly built houses to some of the people who have to move because of the demolitions”*<sup>92</sup>. But times change, and after the second planning turn, under the guidance of alderman Van der Vlis (PvdA)<sup>93</sup>, full scope was given to private homes, which was expressed in the rather cryptic statement: *“Instead of building for the neighbourhoods, we should build for all Amsterdammers”*<sup>94</sup>. Thus, public housing would comprise only 30% rather than over 80% of the total, and the eastern docklands would accommodate expensive, luxurious apartments, although the ideal of mixing people with different incomes, ethnicity and education was maintained in order to ensure that the newly chic downtown area would not turn into a yuppie ghetto<sup>95</sup>. Moreover, having learned from the Bijlmermeer, new houses would become identifiable and building heights would be mixed, in closed building blocks<sup>96</sup>. Furthermore, the most beautiful spots along the waterfront were earmarked for the most expensive and luxurious homes<sup>97</sup>.

Since a heart needs blood, the inner city required a radial, fast, efficient, city-wide transport network, as well as car parks. A case in point was the 1986 report, where on page 10 it was said that people nowadays

moved criss-cross and on page 15 that radial transport movements should be strengthened<sup>98</sup>. Still, city planners did not want a very wide IJ-boulevard and keep it limited to 2+2 lanes, and to 1+1 lanes at the rear of Centraal Station<sup>99</sup>. To discourage car drivers from driving through the inner city, the IJ boulevard would be connected with the ring road<sup>100</sup>. To guarantee fast traffic on the new boulevard, people should be encouraged to walk or take their bicycle, and these traffic forms should be separated from cars<sup>101</sup>. In addition, by localizing life – part of the compact-city concept – people should work close to their homes again, which would decrease traffic congestion<sup>102</sup>.

Regarding public transport, city planners in Amsterdam made things very difficult. In 1988, city planners stated that the tram was perfectly capable of doing the job: “*Amsterdam really has an excellent tram network*’, *Van Hattum says with a brazen face*”<sup>103</sup>. City planners soon changed that opinion, but the problem was that the metro debates had given Amsterdam city planners such a trauma that *the word metro* was still taboo. And thus the quite hilarious situation arose whereby city planners used the term *underground express tram* to conceal what they really meant: a metro<sup>104</sup>.

**Table 27 Urban ideal images of culturalists, progressists and city planners, Amsterdam period 3<sup>105</sup>**

		<b>Elements urban of ideal image</b>	<i>Culturalists</i>	<i>Progressists</i>	<i>City planners (1978-1988)</i>
<b>L</b>			Flourishing city	Flourishing city	Flourishing city
<b>e</b>					
<b>v</b>					
<b>e</b>		<b>Position of inner city</b>	Cultural historic centre	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy
<b>l</b>		<b>Orienta tion</b>	Towards the past	Towards the future	Towards the future
<b>2</b>		<b>Focus of planning</b>	History & community	Trade & Industry	Trade & Industry
<b>L</b>	<b>G</b>	<b>Basis of planning</b>	Survey & desires	Desires & surveys	Surveys & desires
<b>e</b>			Public participation / the public draws up city plans	Public support / no public support	Public participation
<b>v</b>					
<b>e</b>					
<b>l</b>					
<b>3</b>	<b>a</b>		Flexible city plan, not detailed		Flexible city plan, not detailed
<b>l</b>					

L e v e l 3	G e n e r a l	<b>Basis of Planning</b>		City as part of a larger whole: the region and the rest of the world	City as part of a larger whole: the region and the rest of the world
		<b>Architecture</b>	Anti-contemporary	Contemporary	
		<b>Main planning actor</b>	Government	Private actors & government	Government
		<b>City extension</b>	Compact city		Radial belts along arterial roads surrounded by green belts & satellite cities
		<b>Border between city and country side</b>	Sharp		Sharp
		<b>Accent on city or country side</b>	City	City	City
		<b>City size</b>	Limited		Limited
		<b>Height</b>	Limited	Unlimited	
		<b>City functions</b>	Mixed	Mixed	Mixed
		<b>History</b>	Pattern of living riddled with history	Keep the past in mind, but focus on the future	If not hampering the economy and good alternatives available: preserve urban quarters and monuments
	<b>Density</b>	Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city's edge			
	D w e l l i n g	<b>Structure</b>	Decentralized autonomous urban neighbourhoods (garden cities inside city)		
		<b>Housing types</b>	Identifiable houses		

<b>L e v e l 3</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>Housing types</b>	Mix 'high-', medium- and low-rise houses		
	<b>l</b>	<b>Stratification</b>	Prohibit houses for the wealthy on nice locations along the waterfront. Mix of income, education & origin inside neighbourhoods		Socially mixed, with large and small families. Houses for the wealthy on nice locations (canal belt)
	<b>i</b>		Focus: both public and upscale houses		Attention to both upscale and public housing.
	<b>n</b>	<b>Renewal residential quarters</b>	Rehabilitation		Rehabilitation
<b>g</b>	<b>L</b>	<b>Green elements</b>	Parks	Luxurious public parks with grandeur	City parks
	<b>e</b>	<b>Nature</b>	Inside city		Outside city
	<b>is</b>	<b>Use of water fronts</b>	Non-commercial. Preserve waterfront along IJ: a true public space, prohibit luxurious houses	Commercial	
	<b>u</b>	<b>Location of recreational areas</b>	Inside city		
<b>r</b>	<b>W</b>	<b>Location</b>	Mixed		Mixed
	<b>o</b>	<b>Industries</b>	Inside neighbourhoods, not decentralized to industrial areas		Decentralized to accessible industrial areas at city's edge
<b>3</b>	<b>T</b>	<b>Focus</b>	Anti-rational, fast road system, limit width of roads	Fast & efficient transport system	Fast & efficient transport system
	<b>r</b>	<b>Mobility</b>	Limit mobility by localizing life	Meet mobility needs by constructing new roads	Limit mobility by localizing life
	<b>a</b>	<b>Design</b>	Preserved structure, non-radial, ring-road	Rational, radial, ring road	Rational, radial, ring road



L e v e l 3 e r c i t y	<b>T</b>	<b>Traffic types</b>	Mixed	Separated	Separated
	<b>I</b>	<b>Main function</b>	Cultural historic: dwelling	Economic	Economic
	<b>n</b>	<b>Inner city functions</b>	Mixed	Mixed	Mixed
	<b>r</b>	<b>Location of offices</b>	Equally distributed over the whole city	Inside inner city	Inside inner city
	<b>c</b>	<b>Accessibility</b>	Low	High	High
	<b>i</b>	<b>Car traffic</b>	Very limited	Unlimited, but discouraged	Discouraged
	<b>t</b>	<b>Residential function</b>	Large	Limited	Moderate
	<b>y</b>	<b>Traffic priority</b>	Pedestrians, cyclists	Motorists	Motorists & public transport
		<b>Public transport</b>	Small scaled & large scaled	Large scaled: metro	Small scaled: trams & busses
		<b>Public space</b>	True urban public places	Luxurious public space with international allure	
	<b>Design</b>	Heterogeneous, preserved, fit to existing architecture	Meeting international standards		

## ***Strategies***

### **The strategies of culturalists**

Amsterdam was distressed by tremendous numbers of road signs, billboards with vulgar neon letters written in foreign languages, a morbid number of houseboats, parking chaos, neglected monuments and polluted streets and parks. The inner city had lost economic importance to the Zuid-as, and changed from a specialized centre for shopping housewives into a paradise for stoned and drunken youngsters; an amusement park where snacks, souvenirs, sex and drugs were the main attractions, and which older people hardly dared to visit. Moreover, by building Centraal Station in 1889 – the biggest mistake in history – the city had turned its back on the IJ, making the IJ-oever a shaggy urban rim. In addition, lots of the most horrible buildings one could imagine were scattered over the historic city, for example, the Maupoleum on Waterlooplein, the Bank of the Netherlands at Fredericksplein, and pretty much every single building along Weesperstraat

and Wibautstraat – all relics of the modernistic era. But still, Amsterdam, with all its monuments, canals and art collections, was truly unique. And exactly this image of reality was used as a motive for the culturalists' urban ideal image<sup>106</sup>.

Culturalists hated the future city that planners and innovators described with an overwhelming passion, and thus developed many more strategies to fight their enemies. The city planners desire to create 'Manhattan on the IJ' was absolutely ridiculous, culturalists stated. "*Amsterdam is not a world city and the IJ-oervers not a top location*"<sup>107</sup>. Amsterdam should be compared with Venice, Florence or Centre Pompidou in Paris – not with New York or London. Amsterdam must not copy the London Docklands, South Street Seaport in New York, de Quincy Market in Boston, the Harbour Palace in Baltimore or the Kop van Zuid in Rotterdam, but keep its genuine Amsterdam identity<sup>108</sup>. In addition, city planners had planned so many giant office buildings for the banks of the IJ that the aim to create an attractive waterfront would not be achieved, nor would the area ever become a unity with the historic inner city<sup>109</sup>. Worse, it would become a bastion the size of 80 football fields, creating a chilly skyline polluting the view on the IJ for ever. Instead of grass and mud, the IJ-oervers would become a concrete wonderland, making the historic buildings look like the miniatures in Madurodam, a shiny palace for rich outsiders, and shooing away artists, youngsters and drifters<sup>110</sup>. City planners valued strong over weak urban elements– which was wrong<sup>111</sup>.

Besides, the common Amsterdammer did not need these kinds of IJ-oervers; the project was to please aldermen, who were dreaming of a 'gold coast'<sup>112</sup>. In fact, the whole idea of a strong economic heart at the centre of a city lacked any scientific basis, and was thoroughly outdated. The facts supported culturalists – and thus it was not that strange that they said, more than progressists and city planners did, that city plans should be based on surveys. Culturalists said it was because of efficiency that they wanted to develop the Zuid-as, as it had been shown that entrepreneurs were interested not in the IJ-oervers but in the Zuid-as. "*Is it not more useful to face the facts and to transform the unstructured office parks in the south near WTC into a true urban centre?*"<sup>113</sup> And since the decline of the inner city was inevitable, was it not '*sheer madness and thoroughly antiquated*' to focus on the inner city while the Zuid-as was booming?<sup>114</sup> Moreover, as increasing waiting lists showed, the inner city was gaining popularity as a residential area, attracting many singles, unmarried couples, students and older people<sup>115</sup>.

Culturalists remained unconvinced that wider roads were necessary. They argued that for reasons of liveability and efficiency, the width of the IJ-boulevard should be kept limited; creating more space would simply encourage more drivers and thus increase the traffic congestion. One should keep in mind what a gloomy future we would face if the IJ-boulevard were be wide – a boulevard crammed with giddy, overenthusiastic drivers, the

incessant sound of blaring horns, speed maniacs, oil-dripping cars blocking pavements and making noise, traffic victims scattered all over the place, and all this wrapped in a heavy mist of exhaust fumes<sup>116</sup>.

One should not measure environmental effects in the immediate surroundings of the IJ-boulevard but examine them at the borders of the region (progressist)<sup>117</sup>

The 19<sup>th</sup>-century character of the eastern docklands had to be preserved because it told us a story about the flourishing, industrial steam era in Amsterdam. Moreover, the cranes should be preserved not only to impart cultural historic awareness, but also for reasons of efficiency: cranes were excellent spots for measuring wind<sup>118</sup>. Besides, culturalists had put so much time and effort into their proposals to preserve the isles that they deserved them to be executed<sup>119</sup>. The former eastern docklands could become the most beautiful urban quarter, connecting the city with the IJ again<sup>120</sup>. The stunning views of the river would return, if only the *epidemic virus* could be killed; it was our very last chance to '*force the train, which is gaining speed, to make an emergency stop*'<sup>121</sup>.

Culturalists made many enemies by denigrating city planners. They hated the city planners' vocabulary. "*Allure is the slogan. The scheme has to have 'allure'.... I am starting to get acid indigestion from it*"<sup>122</sup>. City planners should stop using terms "*like the 'IJ-as' and that kind of bullshit*"<sup>123</sup>. City planners were also denigrated for getting swept away by the current privatization fashion<sup>124</sup>, for their artificial optimism<sup>125</sup>, for having failed to influence or direct society<sup>126</sup>, and for letting monuments deteriorate and their desire to destroy them – like the unique though not that beautiful fire station<sup>127</sup> "*You don't understand anything of Amsterdam. It turns my stomach*"<sup>128</sup>. City planners acted so hallucinatorily, so much like megalomaniacs and boyish street fighters, knocking the living daylights out of their fellow city planners. They were just like little children fighting in a sandpit, instead of being mature, wise adults like their colleagues in Rotterdam<sup>129</sup>. Van der Vlis, Koolhaas, Van Hattum and the docile lackey alderman Saris who had sold his soul to the devil (i.e. private developers) were their scapegoats, just like all other boys fighting in the sandpit<sup>130</sup>:

*They were sitting on the beach building large sandcastles. Little Japie van Rijs ... had built Central Station and decorated it with a large shopping centre. 'So lovely', little Japie sighed .... Meanwhile, little Appie van Hattum added some sand on top of one of the hotel towers on the sly. 'We would not do that!' Little Abje Oskam said furiously, stamping his little feet .... And oh dear, they were playing so intently that they did not notice a group of children standing a bit further crying heartbreakingly: 'Mum! They are destroying our city!'*<sup>131</sup>

One culturalist even sighed: “*It almost makes you long for Han Lammers, the scapegoat of the 1960s*”<sup>132</sup>.

Culturalists conspired with Vera Laing and Eddie Corbett – two British social workers involved with the London Docklands<sup>133</sup> – and with each other, writing several reports and protest letters together to try to stop the city planners<sup>134</sup>. In addition, culturalists curried favour with city planners when they said that, just like them, they wanted to stimulate economic growth, and that they knew it would be hard to let go of the dream of a CBD heart, but that it was now the time to prove their capacity, to prove that they were true urban master city planners, like the world-famous Amsterdam property developer and physician Samuel Sarphati and the influential former alderman Florentinus Marinus Wibaut (SDAP) had been, and to decide to develop the Zuid-as instead – as a true act of heroism<sup>135</sup>. In addition, culturalists said they had lots of support<sup>136</sup>

*For a long time, numerous writings have evidenced the high appreciation of monumental buildings and of historic cities and villages. The sociologist Harry Ganzeboom has shown that this is not the opinion of a limited number of specialists, but that many sections of the community sympathize with this appreciation*<sup>137</sup>.

But at the same time, culturalists tried to rouse people – something you think would not be necessary if you indeed had lots of support<sup>138</sup>. “*The Amsterdam public has to be roused before something hideous rises along the IJ!*”<sup>139</sup>.

Culturalists had to gain support, and so they talked and wrote about their image as much as they could. This applied in particular to Professor Heinemeijer, who was one of the first to propose the regeneration of the IJ-oevers, but now saw the project being turned into the most horrible project one could possibly imagine<sup>140</sup>. In addition, culturalists printed lots of photos from regenerated waterfronts abroad – taken from the most unflattering positions possible. Moreover, they distributed brochures addressed to the inhabitants (‘*Dear City Dweller, ...*’), published cartoons, exhibited scale models at conferences and exhibitions, wrote reports printed on recycled paper, sang songs, and reprinted poems from Vondel and T.S. Eliot<sup>141</sup>.

*unreal city  
under the brown fog of a winter dawn  
A crowd flowed over London Bridge, so many,  
I had not thought death had undone so many*

(T.S. Eliot 1888-1865)

*Aen d'Amstel en aen 't Y, daer doet sích heerlÿck ope  
sy díe, als Keyserín, de kroon draeght van Europe*

*(Joost van den Vondel 1587-1679)*

In an attempt to gain power, culturalists emphasized inaccuracies in city plans and told ‘secret’ stories, about the underground express tram being a metro, about the ‘tricks’ city planners were said to have pulled, about the ‘secret’ influence of private partners, and about scale models with sugar cubes hiding a gloomy future<sup>142</sup>. Moreover, they established a political party with only one plank in its platform, namely the IJ-oevers<sup>143</sup>, and asked for referenda to be held<sup>144</sup>. In addition, culturalists emphasized their own importance, saying that in the past, it had been the Amsterdam people who had got city planners back on the right track, and that because of them, the city planners had decided not to fill in the harbour basins<sup>145</sup> – and thus city planners had to listen to them, culturalists. Furthermore, ex-alderman Roel de Wit, Royal Commissioner for the province of Noord Holland, threatened to use his provincial power to bring the skyscraper-along-the-ij dream to an end<sup>146</sup>. However, some culturalists also tried to reach a compromise with city planners<sup>147</sup>, and one group (part of d’Oude Stadt) even managed to do so, after which they supported the plans<sup>148</sup> – to the city planners’ and progressists’ satisfaction: “*In the past, you’d think: ‘Oh dear, wijkcentrum d’Oude Stadt, those are anarchists’. Now you just call them and ask for their opinion*”<sup>149</sup>. But others said that the door must be shut or open: we could either build an anonymous international project, or a true Amsterdam environment<sup>150</sup>. In addition, culturalists encouraged Amsterdammers to lodge as many appeals as possible, ‘*if only to delay things*’<sup>151</sup>, and held demonstrations and actions<sup>152</sup> – although they were only a shadow of the ones organized in the 1970s. “*In the year 1991, holding a demonstration is not accompanied by fierce emotions and yelling participants anymore, but with professional arguments and well organized discussions*”<sup>153</sup>. Moreover, they refused to talk to private developers. Once, they also refused to speak to alderman Saris at a discussion meeting: they did not let him use a microphone and then threw hard-boiled eggs at him when he dared to question their ideals; in hindsight, this was about the only violent action in the 1990s<sup>154</sup>.

## The strategies of progressists

Sure, Amsterdam had some problems, but many more strengths, and in fact was about to start its second youth. Being the pivotal city in the region, it was time to change things in Amsterdam, to focus on the city's strong points, and to resuscitate the heart, so that the international battle for success could be won at the expense of London, Paris, Brussels and Frankfurt – the most perfect future one could desire<sup>155</sup>. But at the same time, it was said that the present situation was so critical that something had to be done *now*, before it was too late<sup>156</sup>. And thus, the regeneration of the *IJ-as* was inevitable<sup>157</sup>. But progressists had more strings to their bow.

The *IJ-oEVERS* had to be regenerated, too, progressists explained, because facts had shown that several suburban and new district centres (Amstelveen, Diemen-Zuid, Buitenveldert, Sloterdijk, Bijlmermeer and – of course – the Zuid-as), had gained importance at the expense of the inner city. Moreover, similar regeneration projects in Baltimore, Los Angeles, Denver and Boston had worked out very well<sup>158</sup>. From these foreign cities, it could be learnt that a landmark or trade mark – like the the Centre Pompidou and the glass pyramid at the Louvre – to identify the city, was essential for success<sup>159</sup>. Thereby, lots of business and investors had shown interest in settling along the *IJ-oEVERS*<sup>160</sup>. And last but not least, it would generate tens of thousands of jobs and billions of guilders and become the driving force behind the Dutch economy; oh, what a perfect city that would be!<sup>161</sup>

Entrepreneurs are not interested in settling along the <i>IJ-as</i> , but want offices in the Zuid-as (culturalists)
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If the *IJ* boulevard got only two lanes, traffic chaos would be rampant, and city planners should realize they would be building a time bomb that would force them to say goodbye to their flourishing *IJ-oEVERS*. Besides, there was lots of public support for a wide boulevard. As for the height of buildings, there were only two options: build high-rise buildings, or build as high as the current buildings in the historic inner city. The choice was simple. In the latter case, Amsterdam would face the gloomiest possible future: a meaningless, small city. In addition, since an upper-class population was necessary for the city to survive, and since there was a lack of private homes, lots of private, luxurious homes needed to be built on the *IJ-oEVERS*<sup>162</sup>. Too many shops were not desired, and to build a shopping mall next to Centraal Station would be truly ridiculous, because research showed that it would pull all life out of the old inner city, and that was not what city planners had in mind – was it?<sup>163</sup> Thus, a couple of progressists conspired and wrote letters to mayor and aldermen, saying that they understood the city planners' aims and supported them, and that just because of that, city

planners should realize that it would be disastrous, a deathblow, *taking the last vital juices out of the inner city*, and would reduce profits by at least 20%<sup>164</sup>.

As we have seen, progressists emphasized their forwardness, but their vocabulary let the cat out of the bag: they spoke of making the inner city an attractive place for businesses ‘again’, of ‘*stemming the rising tide of the inner city losing importance*’, of tempting people to move ‘back’ to the city ‘again’, et cetera<sup>165</sup>. Still, as we have seen, some progressists were indeed more forward and acknowledged the fact that the idea of a CBD inside the inner city on top of the urban hierarchy was in fact no longer that forward. Accordingly, they used a vocabulary that lacked words like ‘again’, ‘stemming the tide’, etc.

Progressists said that it was not necessary to preserve 19<sup>th</sup>-century structures. For centuries, Amsterdammers had used space rationally and efficiently: they had built city walls when they were needed, and demolished them when they had become useless. Thus, in order to maintain that true Amsterdam mentality, for the sake of cultural history, one should not be afraid to wipe out the eastern docklands’ past<sup>166</sup>. In the meantime, it did not prevent them from pretending that they wanted to preserve history – presumably in order to curry favour with culturalists. And thus, it was almost hilarious how Koolhaas seemed to have dressed up as a culturalist, using the culturalists’ vocabulary, when saying that he had meant to give the city back to the IJ, to design a plan for Amsterdam that would fit the historic inner city – and at the same time proposed to demolish every single building in the eastern docklands except for Centraal Station<sup>167</sup>. However, progressists were not always up to making friends. Sometimes, they denigrated city planners, questioning their capability to execute the plans for the IJ-oevers, or emphasized inaccuracies – particularly when they did not agree with plans<sup>168</sup>.

And that was about it. As in Rotterdam, progressists in Amsterdam spent far fewer words and made far less effort to gain support than culturalists and city planners did. However, some of them had one very important additional weapon: money to invest – which I shall discuss in the last section of this chapter.

## **The strategies of city planners**

Culturalists may not have been silent, but city planners were the true kings of words – being the most active participants of all. True, Amsterdam had its less alluring characteristics, like an increased gap of income between the city and the suburbs and a decreasing number of jobs, which had harmed amenities, increased traffic congestion, disturbed family relations and had eroded the Green Heart.

But there was nothing to worry about. To stop suburbs luring people and businesses away from cities, the policy of compact cities would be implemented. City planners gave many motives for that, such as too much effort and money had already spent on urban infrastructures and amenities, for reasons of liveability, because it was inevitable, because the future would be gloomy if they did not do so, because no-one either needed or wanted the concept of clustered deconcentration (“*actually, nobody adheres to the concept of clustered deconcentrated anymore*”<sup>169</sup>), because quite suddenly they had found lots of empty lots inside cities, and for reasons of efficiency: city planners had found ways to calculate things such that contrary to period 2, infill development was cheaper than clustered deconcentration. Moreover, the city had lots, really lots, of strong points – things we should focus on now<sup>170</sup>. However, time was pressing<sup>171</sup>.

Some speak of 're-urbanization. But Dr R. van Engelsdorp Gastelaars, Professor of Human Geography at the University of Amsterdam, thinks that is generously premature. 'Basically, it is just hope for such a development – not reality'<sup>172</sup>

Facts had shown that the inner city had lost jobs to other centres – mainly to the Zuid-as – and had gained population. If Amsterdam's inner city should lose its position on top on the urban hierarchy, we would face the gloomiest future. But luckily, the inner city was still the most important job location of the region, and a small growth of offices as well as an increasing number of inhabitants marked a re-urbanization, a true second youth. Thus, everything should be done to strengthen the inner city, and the only way to do so was by regenerating the IJ-oevers<sup>173</sup>.

City planners had many more motives for this *injection into the inner city*, as they called the IJ-oevers. A vibrant waterfront would restore the historic relationship between Amsterdam and its river, it would strengthen the historic character of the inner city, investors and inhabitants wanted it to be developed, it was most efficient, and urban regeneration plans in New York and London had shown that it was a very effective way of boosting a city's economy<sup>174</sup>. Moreover, it would create such a perfect city, city planners said, counting creatively by stating that every 100 new office jobs would generate 20 jobs in the supply sector (cleaning, security, catering, accountants, advocates, bankers) and 20 jobs in the consumer sector (catering, retail trade, health service, schools), and assuming investments of 7 billion in 15-20 years would lead to an extra 30,000-50,000 man-years, an annual growth of more than 3000 jobs a year!<sup>175</sup> Moreover, it would prevent the inner city Amsterdam from becoming the '*Venice of the North*' – an open-air museum<sup>176</sup>. If you have a great river flowing past your town, it seems only sensible to make something of it.

The IJ boulevard should be kept narrow for reasons of liveability and because a wide road would not diminish traffic congestion, as



progressists had stated incorrectly. Moreover, although in 1988 it was said that the tram and bus transport system was excellent and far more efficient than a metro, soon after they said that an ‘underground express tram’ – the word ‘metro’ was taboo – from south to north had to be constructed, for reasons of efficiency<sup>177</sup>.

From their vocabulary it appeared that the forwardness of a particular element of level 2 of their urban ideal image was perhaps not longer that forward. The only exception was alderman Jonker (PvdA), for which he had to suffer, as we shall soon see. City planners said that they wanted to make the inner city attractive ‘again’ for investors, offices, and wealthy inhabitants; to ‘bring life back’ to the inner city; to ‘preserve’ the economic heart, to ‘prohibit’ the Zuid-as from becoming a business centre more important than the inner city, and so on<sup>178</sup>. But as we have seen, at the same time city planners *said* they idealized a forward city, emphasized that they idealized the future<sup>179</sup>. But a few years later, things started to change. I shall return to this point in Chapter 9.

Lots of private homes would be built, city planners said, because the IJ-oevers was a difficult and thus expensive location, and because many affluent people wanted to live there<sup>180</sup>. Worries about the risks of a poisoned cloud escaping from the nearby AKZO chemical factory were brushed aside with some truly creative calculations: the chance that a police helicopter would crash is greater than the chance that a chemical cloud would escape<sup>181</sup> – which, of course, said more about the city planner’s desire to build houses in the eastern docklands than about the exact risk.

To spread the message, brochures were distributed, written in several languages and peppered with nice photos and drawings. By means of personally addressed letters, people had to be roused, but only to support the city planners’ ideal. To bring the future closer and thus less debatable, the present tense was often used. Moreover, they used their renewed vocabulary, saying things like *reinforcing* and *taking advantage of strengths*, by developing *international top locations* with an *enriched status and ambiance* with *high-quality, representative, well-designed public spaces in order to be able to compete successfully with international adversaries*. It was though the world could be changed. At exhibitions, they showed scale models, laser beams and a device that was called an *enteroscoop*. They were meant to increase imaginative powers and were *scaring the hell out* of Heinemeijer, he said, because suddenly he was aware what city planners had in mind. In addition, they organized prize contests, hearings, congresses, public discussions, live debates on television enabling the public to contribute by phone, and free boat trips along the entire eastern docklands<sup>182</sup>.

City planners were very keen to make friends. They curried favour with culturalists, said they were impressed by the work they had done on alternative plans, and emphasized that their ideals were the same – even after rejecting a scheme from culturalist inhabitants<sup>183</sup>. Moreover, they really

seemed to try not to snarl at their Rotterdam ‘colleagues’<sup>184</sup>, but when Rotterdammers dared to say that the IJ-oervers in Amsterdam were lagging behind that of the Kop van Zuid – which was shown by the national government acknowledging their PPP earlier – some Amsterdam city planners nearly exploded and sneered: “*Believe me, Amsterdam walks up front. I cannot tell you exactly why, but believe me, it is true*”<sup>185</sup> – which indeed was not the strongest argument ever heard. Moreover, private investors were denigrated once in a while, and even called to order by being told that they should redo their homework – when they made proposals city planners did not fancy – and that they should realize that they, city planners, still had the final word<sup>186</sup>. But most victims fell inside the own community, in spite of the warning issued by an anonymous Rotterdammer (anonymous because “... *the last thing I want to do is starting a fight with Amsterdam*”):

*Of course there are controversies in Rotterdam. But there is no infighting and we give nothing away. In the end, we always close ranks, because our goal is more important than our differences of opinion*<sup>187</sup>.

‘One does not wash one’s dirty linen in public’, the proverb goes, but that could not be applied to Amsterdam city planners.

Over and over and over again, the strategy ‘Order!’ had to be used. They let public meetings end in chaos, making private parties and aldermen leave before the scheduled end, and talked for hours about procedures instead of content, making people talk through their hats, and concluding afterwards that *‘this would probably not do much good to the image Amsterdam needs in order to execute such a master plan*’<sup>188</sup>. To name just a few of the numerous conflicts: Mayor van Thijn (PvdA) called alderman Jonker (PvdA) to order for daring to say that one might think of paying attention to the Zuid-as *too*; Van der Vlis was called to order for having said things which, according to the council members, had not been discussed first in the local council; and Saris thought Van Hattum had truly lost it: he was not called to order but fired – by which he became not only unemployed but also a scapegoat – after which Saris was called to order by the local council for having fired Van Hattum<sup>189</sup>. As a result, the appeal to their fellow city planners to stop the fight and devote themselves to the IJ-oervers sounded very desperate, if not hilarious. In fact, urban intellectuals were just so rattled by city planners’ fights that they stopped talking; an unplanned, but effective strategy indeed<sup>190</sup>.

To gain power, sometimes, city planners managed to suppress antipodal and thus threatening views quite quickly<sup>191</sup>. Thus, a few days after the Dutch Trades Union Congress (FNV) had stated that a regenerated IJ-as would not reduce unemployment, city planners responded that the FNV *‘should not look so sour*’ and that their complaints were probably the result

of the problems they had inside their own organization<sup>192</sup>. Moreover, city planners installed an advisory board – comprised, of course, of people who supported their urban ideal image – but did not always follow their advice and even called them to order, in public, if they deviated too much from the city planner’s ideas<sup>193</sup>. Thus, after Dijkstra had written a letter in which he threatened to resign if city planners allowed buildings more than 100 metres high, Van der Vlis responded: *‘I always throw those kinds of letters in the dustbin’*<sup>194</sup>. In addition, sometimes, city planners kept the enquiry period short, because *‘we have been talking about this for years, so all those concerned know what we are talking about’*<sup>195</sup>. Moreover, at times, city planners refused to talk, for example about the rising importance of the Zuid-as as a CBD: *“If we were to start to talk about that, nobody would invest in the IJ-as anymore”*<sup>196</sup>. What you don’t know, can’t hurt you, they must have thought.

*‘A historic day’*, many councillors sighed beatifically when the IJ-oervers plan passed the council in 1990<sup>197</sup>. *‘Historic damage done to the city’*, responded culturalists Roel van Duijn (De Groenen)<sup>198</sup>. And at first, when the first rumours started about a possible failure of the plan, Van der Vlis and Saris said that nothing, absolutely nothing, was the matter<sup>199</sup>. But they were a portent of things to come and soon after, they had to retract that statement.

**Table 28 Strategies of culturalists, progressists and city planners, Amsterdam period 3**

	<i>Culturalists</i>	<i>Progressists</i>	<i>City planners</i>
<b>Motives</b>	Image of the present city	Image of the present city	Image of the present city
	Liveability/environment	Liveability/environment	Liveability/environment
	Efficiency	Efficiency	Efficiency
	Cultural history	Cultural history	Cultural history
	Valuation	Valuation	Valuation
	Research methods	Research methods	Research methods
	Facts	Facts	Facts
	Goal will not be reached	Goal will not be reached	Goal will not be reached
	Goal cannot be reached		
	Gloomy future	Gloomy future	Gloomy future
	Perfect future	Perfect future	Perfect future
	Inevitability	Inevitability	Inevitability
	Last chance/emergency		Last chance/emergency
	International / national examples	International / national examples	International / national examples

<b>Motives</b>	Spent so much time/effort/money		Spent so much time/effort/money
	Irreversible		
	People want it	People want it	People want it
	People need it		People need it
	Short public enquiry procedure		
<b>Creative expression</b>	Brochures		Brochures
	Photos		Photos
	Songs		
	Poems		
	Cartoons		
	Creative accounting	Creative accounting	Creative accounting
			Drawings & sketches
	Scale models		Scale models
	Lay out reports		Lay out reports
Exhibitions		Exhibitions	
<b>Linguistic expression</b>	Talking & writing	Talking & writing	Talking & writing
			Present tense
	Vocabulary	Vocabulary	Vocabulary
<b>Friends &amp; enemies</b>	Denigrating	Denigrating	Denigrating
	Rousing		Rousing
	Heroes		
	Scapegoats		Scapegoats
	Lots of us	Lots of us	Lots of us
	Curry favour	Curry favour	Curry favour
	Just like you	Just like you	Just like you
			We can change the world!
			Order! Order! Order! Order!
	Conspiring	Conspiring	Conspiring
		Nothing the matter	
<b>Gaining power</b>	Choice reduction	Choice reduction	
			Advisory councils
	Emphasizing own power	Emphasizing own power	Emphasizing own importance
	Compromise		
	Writing letters/petitions	Writing letters/petitions	Writing letters/petitions
	Inaccuracies	Inaccuracies	
	Revealing secrets		
Refuse to talk		Refuse to talk	
Suppress opponents immediately		Suppress opponents immediately	

<b>Gaining power</b>	Lodge appeals		
	Establish political party		
	Ask for referendum		
<b>Physical expression</b>	Actions		Actions
	Demonstrations		
	Congress		Congress

## ***The influence of urban ideal images in the public debate on final city plans***

In the 1985 city plan, there were no birds in last year's nest. City planners remarked that their turn towards neighbourhoods and rehabilitation had been too drastic, that they had paid insufficient attention to the economy and the inner city, and that it was time to change things back again<sup>200</sup>. And this was what the second planning turn basically was about: to focus on the city's strong functions again, just like in Rotterdam. For that, new measures were taken, like a focus on luxurious apartments, public spaces with grandeur and contemporary buildings designed by internationally famous architects. Oddly, it was only after the second planning turn that the debate grew to full maturity.

As revealed by newspapers and local council reports (1982-1993), councillors, mayor and aldermen were, again, very aware of what was said in the public city debate about the IJ-oever. Mayor and alderman praised culturalist intellectuals for their efforts, and said they were glad that so many people cared about the city. They mentioned Carel Weeber, Geert Mak, Anton Zijderveld, Willem Heinemeijer, Roel de Wit, Henk Hofland and all the others, but hardly agreed with them, and more than that, there was no chance that they would let them influence their city plans. No, these days, city planners in Amsterdam, just like those in Rotterdam, had turned their ears towards the progressist urban intellectuals— in particular towards their private partners; those with investment powers<sup>201</sup>.

From council reports, it appears that level 3 of their urban ideal image – such as the number of public housing units and the height of buildings – were influenced by the things investors, who often articulated the progressist urban ideal image, had said. But hardly any contribution came from progressists before the planning turn and, moreover, culturalist urban intellectuals had no influence either: they were a bit more active in debates before the planning turn, but city planners were not interested in their views. So indeed, in period 3, just like in Rotterdam, urban intellectuals in the city debate in Amsterdam did not influence final city plans.

In 1990, local elections caused the resignation of alderman Walter Etty (PvdA, Finance) and alderman Van der Vlis (PvdA, Physical Planning). In 1991, alderman Saris announced that the prestigious plans had to be injected with a better sense of reality. “*No Manhattan along the IJ but building on a modest, Amsterdam scale*”, Saris said, adding that interested parties were still lining up (but with such great emphasis that one starts to doubt the correctness of that statement)<sup>202</sup>. Since no fierce public debate had marked this change – the public had been roundly defeated by city planners – urban intellectuals assumed that investors had lost faith, forcing city planners to tighten their belt<sup>203</sup>. Worse, that was not the whole story.

At first, denial was the order of the day, accompanied by Van Rijs shouting louder and louder that there were no problems, and that they had lots, yes lots, of support – and they were joined by Minister Nijpels<sup>204</sup>. Then, when the major investment bank ING left the AWF, city planners still pretended nothing was the matter, as there were enough candidates left who were willing to invest in the IJ-oEVERS. You see, since city planners had scheduled a visit to the national government to get more money out of them, it was truly unpleasant that the city was buzzing with these rumour. And then, when the claim was untenable, they had to admit that their private partners had walked away from them, but added, dry-eyed, that it was *a relief*, since now they could focus on improving the infrastructure. In fact, improving the infrastructure was far more important than regenerating the IJ-oEVERS. True, it was a pity, but not a disaster, oh dear no!<sup>205</sup>.

As soon as the Amsterdam culturalist hunters smelled the blood of the wounded city planners, the debate revived. They were gobsmacked by the city planners’ reaction, and when the prey was down, Amsterdammers being Amsterdammers, they could not help rubbing it in. ‘*Castles in the air collapsed*’, ran newspaper headlines. And of course, they were amazed about the silly reaction of city planners, as if nothing was the matter, as if they would believe that. Moreover, ‘one should make hay while the sun shines’, both progressists and culturalists must have thought, both launching new plans immediately<sup>206</sup>. But when the prey was eaten, the predators laid down. The debate had ended.

Despite fleeing investors, the eastern docklands are being regenerated. Despite a referendum, and despite objections from former mayor Polak<sup>207</sup>, part of the IJmeer has been filled in, and the first happy families have already moved into the first houses in the first streets on the quarter called *IJburg*. Along the IJ-oEVERS, increasing numbers of offices are being built and the peninsulas are already covered with buildings. And despite the initial horror stories of criminals, robbers and whores scourging the isles, and despite the fact that investors walked away at an early stage, this area has become one of the city’s most desirable residential quarters. But lots of its cultural heritage, its industrial identity, has been destroyed, and not

even the trendiest neighbourhood in the world can ever compensate for that<sup>208</sup>.

**Table 29 Urban ideal image of city planners, Amsterdam periods 1, 2 & 3**

		<b>Elements of urban ideal image</b>	<i>Period 1</i>	<i>1965-1974</i>	<i>1978-1988</i>	<i>1988-1995</i>	
<b>L</b>			Flourishing city	Flourishing city	Flourishing city	Flourishing city	
<b>e</b>							
<b>v</b>							
<b>e</b>							
<b>l</b>							
<b>1</b>							
<b>L</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>Position of inner city</b>	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy	
		<b>Orienta tion</b>	Towards the future	Towards the future	Towards the future	Towards the future	
		<b>Focus of planning</b>	Trade & Industry	Trade & Industry	Trade & Industry	Trade & Industry	
<b>L</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>G</b>	<b>Basis of planning</b>	Survey & desires	Surveys & desires	Surveys & desires	Desires & surveys
					Flexible city plan, not detailed	Flexible city plan, not detailed	Flexible city plan, not detailed
				City as part of a larger whole: the region and the world	City as part of a larger whole: the region & the rest of the world	City as part of a larger whole: the region and the rest of the world	City as part of a larger whole: the region and the rest of the world
					Public support	Public participation	Public support
			<b>Architec ture</b>	Contem porary			International, contem porary
			<b>Main planning actor</b>	Government	Government	Government	Private parties & government

L e v e l 3	G e n e r a l	<b>City extension</b>		Radial belts along arterial roads surrounded by green belts & satellite cities	Radial belts along arterial roads surrounded by green belts & satellite cities	Compact city, along arterial roads
		<b>Border between city and country side</b>		Sharp	Sharp	Sharp
		<b>Accent on city or countryside</b>	City	City	City	City
		<b>City size</b>		Limited	Limited	Limited
		<b>Height</b>		Limited		Limited
		<b>City functions</b>	Zoned	Zoned, and a little mix	Mixed	Mixed
		<b>History</b>	Keep the past in mind but focus on the future	Keep the past in mind but focus on the future	If not hampering the economy and good alternatives available: preserve urban quarters & monuments	If not hampering the economy and good alternatives available: preserve urban quarters & monuments
		<b>Density</b>		Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city's edge		Declining density towards city's edges & increasing towards city centre
	D w e l l i n g	<b>Structure</b>		Green, airy, residential urban quarters		Urban quarters build in very high density
		<b>Housing types</b>		Attention to both upscale & public housing	Attention to both upscale & public housing	Identifiable houses



<b>L e v e l 3</b>	<b>D w e l l i n g</b>	<b>Housing types</b>				Mix of high- and low-rise. Closed building blocks. Anti open building blocks.
		<b>Stratification</b>		Socially mixed. Houses for the wealthy on nice locations (canal belt)	Socially mixed, with large & small families. Houses for the wealthy on nice locations (canal belt)	Mixed social strata. Houses for the wealthy on nice locations (canal belt & waterfront).
		<b>Renewal of residential quarters</b>	Comprehensive redevelopment	Comprehensive redevelopment	Rehabilitation	Rehabilitation
<b>L e i s u r e</b>	<b>Green elements</b>	Parks	City parks	City parks	Luxurious public parks with grandeur	
	<b>Nature</b>		Outside city	Outside city		
	<b>Use of water fronts</b>				Commercial	
<b>W o r k</b>	<b>Location</b>	Zoned	Zoned	Mixed	Mixed	
	<b>Industries</b>	Decentralized to accessible industrial areas at city's edge	Decentralized to accessible industrial areas at city's edge	Decentralized to accessible industrial areas at city's edge	Decentralized to accessible industrial areas at city's edge	
<b>T r a n s p o r t</b>	<b>Focus</b>	Fast & efficient transport system	Fast & efficient transport system	Fast & efficient transport system	Fast & efficient transport system	
	<b>Mobility</b>		Meet mobility needs by constructing roads	Limit mobility by localizing life	Limit mobility by localizing life	

L e r v a n 3 I n n e r c i t y	<b>Design</b>	Rational, radial	Rational, radial, ring- road	Rational, radial, ring- road	Rational, radial, ring- road
	<b>Traffic types</b>		Separated	Separated	Separated
	<b>Main function</b>	Economic	Economic	Economic	Economic
	<b>Inner city functions</b>		Zoned, and a little mix	Mixed	Mixed
	<b>Location of offices</b>	Inside inner city	Inside inner city	Inside inner city	Inside inner city
	<b>Accessibility</b>	High	High	High	High
	<b>Car traffic</b>	Unlimited, but discouraged	Unlimited, but discouraged	Discouraged	Discouraged
	<b>Residential function</b>	Limited	Limited	Moderate	Moderate
	<b>Traffic priority</b>	Motorists	Motorists	Motorists & public transport	Motorists, public transport & cyclists
	<b>Public transport</b>	Trams, metro	Large scaled: metro	Small scaled: trams & busses	Large scaled: metro
	<b>Public space</b>	Squares, fountains, flower decorations, festivals			Luxurious public space with allure & grandeur
	<b>Design</b>	Contempo rary fitting into existing structure			Contempo rary, international, luxurious, attractive

<sup>1</sup> Van der Laan (PvdA), Gemeentebld 1993 (afdeling 2, deel I), 17-4-1993, p. 403

<sup>2</sup> Abbrev. for: Koninklijke Nederlandsche Stoomboot Maatschappij, transl.: Royal Dutch Steamship company)

<sup>3</sup> E. Koster, Oostelijk Havengebied Amsterdam, Architectura & Natura, Amsterdam 1995; Geert Mak, Ite Rümke, W.F. Heinemeijer, Chamber of Commerce, Links Akkoord, Michael van der Vlis (Michael van der Vlis was designated in 1988 as Alderman project IJ-oever, NRC Handelsblad 16-5-1988), Het Parool 31-10-1989;

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G. Mak, *De Engel van Amsterdam*, Uitgeverij Atlas, Amsterdam/Antwerpen, 2002 [1992]

<sup>4</sup> D.A. Jokinen, *Geef de stad een kans*, Stichting Weg, Amsterdam 1967, p. 54

<sup>5</sup> NRC Handelsblad 2-6-1985; *De Tijd* 26-8-1988

<sup>6</sup> *De Volkskrant* 5-2-1980

<sup>7</sup> Alderman Van der Vlis, *De Echo* 23-7-1980

<sup>8</sup> litt. transl.: IJ-banks

<sup>9</sup> litt. transl.: IJ-axis

<sup>10</sup> *Het Parool* 9-2-1980; *De Volkskrant* 21-3-1980; *Wieringer Courant*, 5-3-1980; *De Volkskrant*, 21-3-1980; Alderman Heerma (Economic Matters), *Nieuws van de Dag* 14-5-1980; Alderman Van der Vlis, *De Echo* 23-7-1980; Stuurgroep Aanvullende Woningbouwlokaties (STAW), *Haarlems Dagblad* 7-11-1980; Local council, *Het Parool* 7-11-1980; Local council Amsterdam, *Het Parool* 13-11-1980; Local council Amsterdam, *De Volkskrant* 22-5-1981; Local council Amsterdam, *Nieuws van de Dag* 23-6-1981; Unknown journalist, *Nieuws van de Dag* 27-6-1981; Unknown journalist, NRC Handelsblad 10-7-1981; Local council Amsterdam, *Nieuwe Noord Hollandse Courant* 17-7-1981; *Nieuws van de Dag* 26-8-1981; Local council Amsterdam, *Haarlems Dagblad* 9-9-1981; Local council Amsterdam, Unknown newspaper 29-9-1981; Mayor and aldermen, *Trouw* 13-11-1981; Alderman Van der Vlis, *Het Financieel Dagblad* 28-5-1982; Unknown journalist & Local council Amsterdam, NRC Handelsblad 9-8-1982; Reinout Koperdraad (Journalist), *De Waarheid* 22-6-1983; Local council Amsterdam, *Het Parool* 28-10-1983; Unknown journalist, *Het Parool* 17-12-1983; Adviesgroep IJ-oever, *Promenade langs het IJ*, 1984 (members of this advisory board were: Prof. Dr. W.F. Heinemeijer (Chairman), S. Austen (Director Dutch Theater Institute), A. Barel (Werkcommissie Binnenvaartbelangen), Ir. G. Bruggink (Werkgroep Amsterdam van het Koninklijke Nederlandse Watersport Verbond), Drs. H. Boenk (Director Confectiecentrum), G.R. van Dijk (Werkcommissie Binnenvaartbelangen), Ir. T. Hazewinkel (Chairman Comité Structuur van de Amsterdamse Raad voor Stedebouw), A. Van Herk (Architect), Ir. L. v.d. Hoeven (Planoloog), Dutch Railway Company N.S., Ir. W. Looise (medewerker Wijkopbouworgaan Midden Noord), J. Roth (inhabitant Oostelijke Eilanden), L. Schimmelpennink, Ir. L.P. v.d. Steen (Director Stork Amsterdam), H. Takens (Inhabitant Gouden Reaal), P.F. Tichelaar (Director Hotel Krasnapolsky)); Jose van Campen, Ad Hereijgers, Dick Schuiling (Eds.), *Financiering en maatschappij langs het IJ*, Universiteit van Amsterdam Planologisch en Demografisch instituut, Amsterdam 1990; *Dutch State*, *Trouw* 19-4-1990; Alderman Van der Vlis, *De Echo* 23-7-1980; Mayor and aldermen, *Haarlems Dagblad* 7-11-1980; Alderman Van der Vlis, *Het Parool* 5-11-1981

<sup>11</sup> Unknown journalist, NRC Handelsblad 10-7-1981. Almere was one of the 'clustered deconcentration'-areas.

<sup>12</sup> A. Zuiderveld (Spokeswoman Oostelijk Havengebied), *De Volkskrant* 14-5-1985

<sup>13</sup> Van der Kok, Fireworker Jan Wolf, Auke Bijlsma, Tjebbe van Tijen, Frans Amende, Albert van Hattum & Jeroen Verhulst, *Het Parool* 26-11-1986

<sup>14</sup> Alice Roegholt (Inhabitant Oostelijk Havengebied), *Nieuws van de Dag* 21-1-1989; Genet (Alderman Public Housing, PvdA), *Het Parool* 11-2-1988

<sup>15</sup> L. Brunt, L. Deben, I. Drontman, A. Reijndorp & D. van der Vaart, *Flaneren langs het IJ*, een opstel over problemen en pretenties van het IJ oeverproject, Universiteit van Amsterdam, Centrum voor Grootstedelijk onderzoek, 1990 p. 17

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<sup>16</sup> d'Oude Stadt, Het Parool 2-10-1992; G. Mak, NRC Handelsblad 19-10-1992; Rudy Strunk, Echo 9-12-1992; Initiatiefgroep Open Stad, Het Parool 15-2-1993; Amsterdamse Raad voor de Stedebouw (ARS), Advies naar aanleiding van de haalbaarheidsstudie voor de IJ-oever, 1986, pp. 3, 4; Johannes van Dam (Reader's letter), Het Parool 3-10-1990; ARS, Unknown newspaper 6-4-1991; Gerrit Bogaard (Reader's letter), Het Parool 25-4-1990; Saris (Alderman Town Planning, Groen Links), Zijderveld (sociologist), Hajer (sociologist), Van der Laan & Heinemeijer (human geographer), Het Parool 26-5-1990; Initiatiefgroep Open Stad, Unknown newspaper 3-6-1991; d'Oude Stadt, Nieuws van de Dag 6-9-1987; Yellie Alkema (Former chairman d'Oude Stadt), Trouw 24-3-1988; d'Oude Stadt, Nieuws van de Dag 29-5-1993; d'Oude Stadt, Nieuws van de Dag 10-10-1993; Local council, inhabitants & Chamber of Commerce, Ons Amsterdam, February 1987; d'Oude Stadt, Hoe houden we Amsterdam staande, 1991; A. Zuiderveld (Spokeswoman Oostelijk Havengebied), De Volkskrant 14-5-1985; Ton Heydra & Alice Roegholt (Inhabitants Oostelijk Havengebied), Nieuws van de Dag 31-5-1986; Various inhabitants Oostelijk Havengebied & Local council Amsterdam, NRC Handelsblad 25-11-1987; Various inhabitants IJ eiland & Local council Amsterdam, Nieuws van de Dag 3-5-1988; L. Brunt, L. Deben, I. Drontman, A. Reijndorp & D. van der Vaart, Flaneren langs het IJ, een opstel over problemen en pretenties van het IJ oeverproject, Universiteit van Amsterdam, Centrum voor Grootstedelijk onderzoek, 1990, pp. 17, 32; Dr. M.C. Kuipers, Drs. L. Prins & Ir. Tj. Visser, Een nieuwe oever voor een oude havenstad, Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg, 1992, pp. 26, 27; Bewonersgroep Oostelijk Havengebied & Wijkopbouworgaan De Gouden Reael, Nota van Uitgangspunten IJ-eiland, 1986, p. 6; Various inhabitants Amsterdam, Van Tijen (former protestor against metro) & private investors, NRC Handelsblad 26-11-1986; Van der Kok, Fireworker Jan Wolf, Auke Bijlsma, Tjebbe van Tijen, Frans Amende, Albert van Hattum & Jeroen Verhulst, Het Parool 26-11-1986; Raad voor de Monumentenzorg, Nieuws van de Dag 19-12-1986; Izak Salomons (Reader's letter), Het Parool 4-6-1987; Genootschap Amstelodamum, Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap, Hendrick de Keyser & Bond Heemschut, Het Parool 2-9-1987; Inhabitants IJ-eiland, Trouw 24-9-1987; Alice Roegholt, NRC Handelsblad 29-9-1987; Dick Schuiling (ARS), De Volkskrant 3-10-1987; Vereniging Bewonersgroepen Rond het IJ, Nieuws van de Dag 5-11-1987; Vereniging Bewonersgroepen Rond het IJ, De Telegraaf 6-11-1987; Local council & Inhabitants IJ-eiland, Vrij Nederland 21-11-1987; Richter Roegholt (Writer books history of Amsterdam), Het Parool 8-3-1988; Maarten Hajer (Sociologist), Het Parool 14-12-1988; Genootschap Amstelodamum, Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap, Hendrick de Keyser, Bond Heemschut & Vereniging Vrienden van de Amsterdamse Binnenstad, Trouw 13-4-1989; Richter Roegholt, Het Parool 3-6-1989; Margriet Tichelaar (Spokeswoman inhabitants dwelling block along the IJ), Het Parool 19-6-1989; Legdeur, inhabitants Spaarndammer & Zeeheldenbuurt Amsterdam, Het Parool 4-7-1989; Jobse (Foundation Stenen Hoofd), Het Parool 31-7-1989; ARS, De Volkskrant 20-10-1989; Carel Weeber (Architect), Het Parool 30-10-1989; Wijkopbouworgaan Gouden Reael & various inhabitants, Het Parool 31-10-1989; Koninklijke Nederlandse Oudheidkundige Bond (KNOB), Nieuws van de Dag 23-7-1990; d'Oude Stadt, Cobouw 19-4-1991; Wijnand Duyvendak, De Volkskrant 6-6-1991; Wijnand Duyvendak, Frits Roest & Henk Hofland, De Volkskrant 13-6-1991; Comite Open Stad & Hajer, Het Parool 11-4-1992;

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Rijksdienst Monumentenzorg, Nieuws van de Dag 7-8-1992; Prof. D. de Jonge, Financieel Dagblad 6-1-1990; Various inhabitants Amsterdam, Van Tijen (former protestor against metro) & private investors, NRC Handelsblad 26-11-1986; Ernst Dienaar (Amsterdamse Raad Monumentenzorg & Heemschut), NRC Handelsblad 5-10-1987; Richter Roegholt, NRC Handelsblad 22-10-1992; ARS, NRC Handelsblad 8-4-1991; Wijnand Duyvendak, Het Parool 28-11-1992; Roel van Duijn, Het Parool 9-1-1989; Heinemeijer, Het Parool 4-6-1991; Richter Roegholt (Writer books history of Amsterdam), Het Parool 8-3-1988; Unknown journalist, Holvast & various inhabitants, Het Parool 22-6-1989; Initiatiefgroep Stop het IJ-oeverproject, Het Parool 4-6-1991; Larissa de Jong (Reader's letter), Het Parool 9-8-1992; Groen Links, Het Parool 16-10-1991; Roel de Wit (Former alderman), Het Parool 4-1-1989; Roel de Wit (Former alderman) & others, Het Parool 14-9-1990

<sup>17</sup> Izak Salomons (Reader's letter), Het Parool 4-6-1987

<sup>18</sup> d'Oude Stadt, Hoe houden we Amsterdam staande, 1991, pp. 14, 15; Dick Schuiling (ARS), De Volkskrant 3-10-1987; d'Oude Stadt, Nieuws van de Dag 12-4-1991; d'Oude Stadt, Cobouw 19-4-1991; d'Oude Stadt, Het Parool 2-10-1992; Richter Roegholt, NRC Handelsblad 22-10-1992; Zijderveld (Sociologist), Financieel Dagblad 2-6-1990; d'Oude Stadt, Nieuws van de Dag 6-9-1987; d'Oude Stadt, Nieuws van de Dag 29-5-1993; d'Oude Stadt, Nieuws van de Dag 10-10-1993; Councillor Holvast (Groen Links), Het Parool 3-5-1988; Bewonersgroep Oostelijk Havengebied & Wijkopbouworgaan De Gouden Reael, Nota van Uitgangspunten IJ-eiland, 1986; Heinemeijer, NRC Handelsblad 21-1-1985; ARS, Nieuws van de Dag 19-12-1986; Maarten Hajer (Sociologist), Het Parool 14-12-1988; d'Oude Stadt, Nieuws van de Dag 29-5-1993; Comite Open Stad & Hajer, Het Parool 11-4-1992; Groen Links, Het Parool 22-2-1993; ARS, Nieuws van de Dag 24-4-1985

<sup>19</sup> G. Mak, NRC Handelsblad 19-10-1992; Rudy Strunk, Echo 9-12-1992; Initiatiefgroep Open Stad, Het Parool 15-2-1993; Amsterdamse Raad voor de Stedebouw (ARS), Advies naar aanleiding van de haalbaarheidsstudie voor de IJ-oevers, 1986, p. 4; ARS, NRC Handelsblad 8-4-1991; Johannes van Dam (Reader's letter), Het Parool 3-10-1990; ARS, Unknown newspaper 6-4-1991; Jan Dijkstra & Jeroen Verhulst, Alternatief structuurplan. Amsterdam Oost tussen Amstel en IJ, Projectgroep Alternatief Structuurplan Amsterdam, Amsterdam 1982; Prof. D. de Jonge, Financieel Dagblad 6-1-1990; Roel van Duijn, Het Parool 9-1-1989; Harmen Bos (Reader's letter), Unknown newspaper 26-1-1990; Gerrit Bogaard (Reader's letter), Het Parool 25-4-1990; Zijderveld (Sociologist), Financieel Dagblad 2-6-1990; Initiatiefgroep Open Stad, Unknown newspaper 3-6-1991; Hajer, NRC Handelsblad 10-7-1981; De Stad aan het IJ (Arne van Herk, Sabien de Klein, Ton Kruvers & Gert Urhahn), Wieringer Courant 5-3-1980; d'Oude Stadt, Bijnen & van Aerschot, De Waarheid 19-1-1983; d'Oude Stadt, Hoe houden we Amsterdam staande, 1991; A. Zuiderveld (Spokeswoman Oostelijk Havengebied), De Volkskrant 14-5-1985; Ton Heydra & Alice Roegholt (Inhabitants Oostelijk Havengebied), Nieuws van de Dag 31-5-1986; Van Hattum & Zuiderveld, NRC Handelsblad 2-6-1985; Various inhabitants Oostelijk Havengebied & Local council Amsterdam, NRC Handelsblad 25-11-1987; Various inhabitants IJ eiland & Local council Amsterdam, Nieuws van de Dag 3-5-1988; L. Brunt, L. Deben, I. Drontman, A. Reijndorp & D. van der Vaart, Flaneren langs het IJ, een opstel over problemen en pretenties van het IJ oeverproject, Universiteit van Amsterdam, Centrum voor

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<sup>20</sup> Report Symposium IJ-oeveren, 6-6-1982; Bewonersgroep Oostelijk Havengebied & Wijkopbouworgaan De Gouden Reael, Nota van Uitgangspunten IJ-eiland, 1986; ARS, Het Parool 4-3-1989; Geert Mak & Ite Rümke, NRC Handelsblad 22-3-1991;

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Ernst Denaar (Amsterdamse Raad Monumentenzorg & Heemschut), NRC Handelsblad 5-10-1987; d'Oude Stadt, Hoe houden we Amsterdam staande, 1991; L. Brunt, L. Deben, I. Drontman, A. Reijndorp & D. van der Vaart, Flaneren langs het IJ, een opstel over problemen en pretenties van het IJ oeverproject, Universiteit van Amsterdam, Centrum voor Grootstedelijk onderzoek, 1990; Heinemeijer, Het Parool 7-6-1985; d'Oude Stadt, Cobouw 19-4-1991

<sup>21</sup> Local council & Inhabitants IJ-eiland, Vrij Nederland 21-11-1987

<sup>22</sup> Unknown journalist, De Waarheid 2-5-1988; Initiatiefgroep Open Stad, Unknown newspaper 3-6-1991; Izak Salomons (Reader's letter), Het Parool 4-6-1987; Zijdeveld, Het Parool 26-5-1990; d'Oude Stadt, Hoe houden we Amsterdam staande, 1991; L. Brunt, L. Deben, I. Drontman, A. Reijndorp & D. van der Vaart, Flaneren langs het IJ, een opstel over problemen en pretenties van het IJ oeverproject, Universiteit van Amsterdam, Centrum voor Grootstedelijk onderzoek, 1990, pp. 33, 61-62; Bewonersgroep Oostelijk Havengebied & Wijkopbouworgaan De Gouden Reael, Nota van Uitgangspunten IJ-eiland, 1986, pp. 1, 7; Ernst Denaar (Amsterdamse Raad Monumentenzorg & Heemschut), NRC Handelsblad 5-10-1987; Vereniging Bewonersgroepen Rond het IJ, Nieuws van de Dag 5-11-1987; Vereniging Bewonersgroepen Rond het IJ, De Telegraaf 6-11-1987; ARS, Het Parool 4-3-1989; d'Oude Stadt & Van der Vlis, Algemeen Dagblad 17-6-1989; Unknown journalist, Holvast & various inhabitants, Het Parool 22-6-1989; Maarten Hajer (Sociologist), Het Parool 14-12-1988; Unknown journalist, Het Parool 25-10-1989; Genootschap Amstelodamum, Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap, Hendrick de Keyser, Bond Heemschut & Vereniging Vrienden van de Amsterdamse Binnenstad, Trouw 13-4-1989; Chamber of Commerce, d'Oude Stadt & Schuiling (ARS), De Volkskrant 8-11-1989; Soeters (Architect) & Heinemeijer, Elsevier 19-1-1991; Geert Mak & Ite Rümke, NRC Handelsblad 22-3-1991; Duyvendak, Roest & Saris, Trouw 5-6-1991; Heinemeijer, Het Parool 6-6-1991; d'Oude Stadt, Nieuws van de Dag 29-5-1993; Inhabitants IJ-eiland, Trouw 24-9-1987; Inhabitants IJ-eiland, Nieuws van de Dag 26-9-1967; Richter Roegholt, NRC Handelsblad 22-10-1992; Rudy Strunk, Echo 9-12-1992; Wijnand Duyvendak, Het Parool 28-11-1992; Zijdeveld (Sociologist), Financieel Dagblad 2-6-1990; Hajer, De Volkskrant 29-10-1989; Van Eesteren & Dick Schuiling (ARS), De Volkskrant 3-10-1987; Local council & Inhabitants IJ-eiland, Vrij Nederland 21-11-1987; Councillor Bert Holvast (Links Akkoord), Het Parool 5-3-1988; Geert Mak, NRC Handelsblad 7-4-1989; Bert Holvast (Links Akkoord), Nieuws van de Dag 24-6-1989; Initiatiefgroep Stop het IJ-oeverproject, Het Parool 4-6-1991; Maatschappelijk Overleg (Chamber of Commerce, ARS, Wijkopbouworganen, amongst others), Typhoon 30-1-1992; Heddemma (Journalist), Het Parool 5-6-1992; Prof. D. de Jonge, Financieel Dagblad 6-1-1990; Van der Kok, Fireworker Jan Wolf, Auke Bijlsma, Tjebbe van Tijen, Frans Amende, Albert van Hattum & Jeroen Verhulst, Het Parool 26-11-1986

<sup>23</sup> Soeters (Architect) & Heinemeijer, Elsevier 19-1-1991

<sup>24</sup> Soeters (Architect) & Heinemeijer, Elsevier 19-1-1991; Duyvendak, Roest & Saris, Trouw 5-6-1991; Initiatiefgroep Amsterdam Open Stad (Action group), NRC Handelsblad 6-6-1991; Wijnand Duyvendak, De Volkskrant 6-6-1991; Comite Open Stad & Hajer, Het Parool 11-4-1992; Peter Droege (Architect & Planner), Het Parool 20-6-1992

<sup>25</sup> Jan Dijkstra & Jeroen Verhulst, Alternatief structuurplan. Amsterdam Oost tussen Amstel en IJ, Projectgroep Alternatief Structuurplan Amsterdam, Amsterdam 1982,

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p. 59; d'Oude Stadt, Hoe houden we Amsterdam staande, 1991; Bewonersgroep Oostelijk Havengebied & Wijkopbouworgaan De Gouden Reael, Nota van Uitgangspunten IJ-eiland, 1986, p. 4; Carel Weeber (Architect), Het Parool 30-10-1989; ARS, Unknown newspaper 6-4-1991; d'Oude Stadt, Het Parool 2-10-1992; ARS, NRC Handelsblad 8-4-1991; Wijnand Duyvendak, Het Parool 28-11-1992; Prof. D. de Jonge, Financieel Dagblad 6-1-1990; Gerrit Bogaard (Reader's letter), Het Parool 25-4-1990; Zijderveld (Sociologist), Financieel Dagblad 2-6-1990; d'Oude Stadt, Nieuws van de Dag 29-5-1993; d'Oude Stadt, Bijnen & van Aerschot, De Waarheid 19-1-1983; Dr. M.C. Kuipers, Drs. L. Prins & Ir. Tj. Visser, Een nieuwe oever voor een oude havenstad, Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg, 1992; Van der Kok, Fireworker Jan Wolf, Auke Bijlsma, Tjebbe van Tijen, Frans Amende, Albert van Hattum & Jeroen Verhulst, Het Parool 26-11-1986; Soeters (Architect) & Heinemeijer, Elsevier 19-1-1991; Duyvendak, Roest & Saris, Trouw 5-6-1991; Heinemeijer, Het Parool 6-6-1991; Initiatiefgroep Amsterdam Open Stad (Action group), NRC Handelsblad 6-6-1991; Wijnand Duyvendak, De Volkskrant 6-6-1991; Comite Open Stad & Hajer, Het Parool 11-4-1992; Peter Droege (Architect & Planner), Het Parool 20-6-1992

<sup>26</sup> Bewonersgroep Oostelijk Havengebied, Nota van Uitgangspunten IJ-eiland, 1986, p. 15

<sup>27</sup> concentric city: Jan Dijkstra & Jeroen Verhulst, Alternatief structuurplan. Amsterdam Oost tussen Amstel en IJ, Projectgroep Alternatief Structuurplan Amsterdam, Amsterdam 1982, p. 107 ("Long fingers do not fit in our idea of a compact city")

<sup>28</sup> De Wit (Provincial Governor Noord-Holland), Nieuws van de Dag 16-1-1987; De Wit (Provincial Governor Noord-Holland), Het Parool 16-1-1987. Geert Mak said he wanted the city not to become too compact in order to preserve space for unforeseen developments in the future (NRC Handelsblad 19-10-1992)

<sup>29</sup> d'Oude Stadt, Hoe houden we Amsterdam staande, 1991, p. 5; Geert Mak, NRC Handelsblad 19-10-1992; Initiatiefgroep Open Stad, Het Parool 15-2-1993; Amsterdamse Raad voor de Stedebouw (ARS), Advies naar aanleiding van de haalbaarheidsstudie voor de IJ-oever, 1986, p. 3; Jan Dijkstra & Jeroen Verhulst, Alternatief structuurplan. Amsterdam Oost tussen Amstel en IJ, Projectgroep Alternatief Structuurplan Amsterdam, Amsterdam 1982; Wijnand Duyvendak, Het Parool 28-11-1992; Prof. D. de Jonge, Financieel Dagblad 6-1-1990; Zijderveld (Sociologist), Financieel Dagblad 2-6-1990; Initiatiefgroep Open Stad, Unknown newspaper 3-6-1991; d'Oude Stadt, Nieuws van de Dag 29-5-1993; d'Oude Stadt, Bijnen & van Aerschot, De Waarheid 19-1-1983; d'Oude Stadt, Hoe houden we Amsterdam staande, 1991; Ton Heydra & Alice Roegholt (Inhabitants Oostelijk Havengebied), Nieuws van de Dag 31-5-1986; Van Hattum & Zuiderveld, NRC Handelsblad 2-6-1985; Various inhabitants IJ eiland & Local council Amsterdam, Nieuws van de Dag 3-5-1988; Bewonersgroep Oostelijk Havengebied, Nota van Uitgangspunten IJ-eiland, 1986, p. 14; Bewonersgroep Oostelijk Havengebied & Wijkopbouworgaan De Gouden Reael, Nota van Uitgangspunten IJ-eiland, 1986; Van der Kok, Fireworker Jan Wolf, Auke Bijlsma, Tjebbe van Tijen, Frans Amende, Albert van Hattum & Jeroen Verhulst, Het Parool 26-11-1986; Richter Roegholt (Writer books history of Amsterdam), Het Parool 8-3-1988; Maarten Hajer (Sociologist), Het Parool 14-12-1988; Richter Roegholt, Het Parool 3-6-1989; Jobse (Foundation Stenen Hoofd), Het Parool 31-7-1989; L. Brunt, L. Deben, I. Drontman,



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<sup>30</sup> PvdA, Groen Links & AWF, *De Volkskrant* 13-6-1992

<sup>31</sup> Report Member's meeting Groen Links, *Het Parool* 16-10-1991; Bewonersgroep Oostelijk Havengebied & Wijkopbouworgaan De Gouden Reael, *Nota van Uitgangspunten IJ-eiland, 1986*

<sup>32</sup> Jan Dijkstra & Jeroen Verhulst, *Alternatief structuurplan. Amsterdam Oost tussen Amstel en IJ, Projectgroep Alternatief Structuurplan Amsterdam, Amsterdam 1982*, pp. 59, 107; Van Hattum & Zuiderveld, *NRC Handelsblad* 2-6-1985; Various inhabitants IJ eiland & Local council Amsterdam, *Nieuws van de Dag* 3-5-1988; Bewonersgroep Oostelijk Havengebied, *Nota van Uitgangspunten IJ-eiland, 1986*, pp. 7, 16; Van der Kok, Fireworker Jan Wolf, Auke Bijlsma, Tjebbe van Tijen, Frans Amende, Albert van Hattum & Jeroen Verhulst, *Het Parool* 26-11-1986; d'Oude Stadt, *Hoe houden we Amsterdam staande, 1991*, p. 10; Carel Weeber (Architect), *Het Parool* 30-10-1989

<sup>33</sup> A. Zuiderveld (Spokeswoman Oostelijk Havengebied), *De Volkskrant* 14-5-1985; Inhabitants IJ-eiland, *De Waarheid* 2-5-1988; Alice Roegholt, *Nieuws van de Dag* 21-1-1989; Bewonersgroep Oostelijk Havengebied, *Nota van Uitgangspunten IJ-eiland, 1986* p. 6; Raad voor de Monumentenzorg, *Nieuws van de Dag* 19-12-1986; Vereniging Bewonersgroepen Rond het IJ, *Nieuws van de Dag* 5-11-1987; Richter Roegholt (Writer books history of Amsterdam), *Het Parool* 8-3-1988; Legdeur, inhabitants Spaarndammer & Zeeheldenbuurt Amsterdam, *Het Parool* 4-7-1989

<sup>34</sup> Rudy Strunk, *Echo* 9-12-1992; Initiatiefgroep Open Stad, *Het Parool* 15-2-1993; Local council, inhabitants & Chamber of Commerce, *Ons Amsterdam*, February 1987; Ton Heydra & Alice Roegholt (Inhabitants Oostelijk Havengebied), *Nieuws van de Dag* 31-5-1986; Van Hattum & Zuiderveld, *NRC Handelsblad* 2-6-1985; L. Brunt, L. Deben, I. Drontman, A. Reijndorp & D. van der Vaart, *Flaneren langs het IJ, een opstel over problemen en pretenties van het IJ oeverproject, Universiteit van Amsterdam, Centrum voor Grootstedelijk onderzoek, 1990*, pp. 32, 34, 35; Dick Dooijes (Former councillor PvdA), *Het Parool* 15-11-1986; Van der Kok, Fireworker Jan Wolf, Auke Bijlsma, Tjebbe van Tijen, Frans Amende, Albert van Hattum & Jeroen Verhulst, *Het Parool* 26-11-1986; Genootschap Amstelodamum, Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap, Hendrick de Keyser & Bond Heemschut, *Het Parool* 2-9-1987; Ernst Dienaar (Amsterdamse Raad Monumentenzorg & Heemschut), *NRC Handelsblad* 5-10-1987; Jobse (Foundation Stenen Hoofd), *Het Parool* 31-7-1989

<sup>35</sup> d'Oude Stadt, *Hoe houden we Amsterdam staande, 1991*, pp. 10, 14; ARS, *Nieuws van de Dag* 24-4-1985; Arne Bongenaar (Employee TNO), *Het Parool* 13-4-1987; d'Oude Stadt, *Nieuws van de Dag* 12-4-1991; d'Oude Stadt, *Cobouw* 19-4-1991; Zijderveld (Sociologist), *Financieel Dagblad* 2-6-1990; Councillor Bert Holvast (Links Akkoord), *Het Parool* 5-3-1988; Duyvendak, Roest & Saris, *Trouw* 5-6-1991; G. Mak, *NRC Handelsblad* 19-10-1992; L. Brunt, L. Deben, I. Drontman, A. Reijndorp & D. van der Vaart, *Flaneren langs het IJ, een opstel over problemen en pretenties van het IJ oeverproject, Universiteit van Amsterdam, Centrum voor*

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<sup>36</sup> Various inhabitants IJ eiland & Local council Amsterdam, *Nieuws van de Dag* 3-5-1988; Bewonersgroep Oostelijk Havengebied, *Nota van Uitgangspunten IJ-eiland*, 1986, p. 15; Inhabitants IJ-eiland, *Trouw* 24-9-1987; Alice Roegholt, *NRC Handelsblad* 29-9-1987; Local council & Inhabitants IJ-eiland, *Vrij Nederland* 21-11-1987; Rudy Strunk, *Echo* 9-12-1992; Wijnand Duyvendak, *Het Parool* 28-11-1992; Initiatiefgroep Open Stad, *Unknown newspaper* 3-6-1991

<sup>37</sup> Wijnand Duyvendak, *Het Parool* 28-11-1992

<sup>38</sup> Groen Links, *Nieuws van de Dag* 11-1-1990; AWF, Saris & councillors Groen Links, *Trouw* 18-6-1992

<sup>39</sup> Rudy Strunk, *Echo* 9-12-1992; Wijnand Duyvendak, *Het Parool* 28-11-1992; Initiatiefgroep Open Stad, *Unknown newspaper* 3-6-1991; Inhabitants IJ-eiland, *De Waarheid* 2-5-1988; Various inhabitants IJ eiland & Local council Amsterdam, *Nieuws van de Dag* 3-5-1988; L. Brunt, L. Deben, I. Drontman, A. Reijndorp & D. van der Vaart, *Flaneren langs het IJ*, een opstel over problemen en pretenties van het IJ oeverproject, Universiteit van Amsterdam, Centrum voor Grootstedelijk onderzoek, 1990, pp. 17, 18, 20, 30; Bewonersgroep Oostelijk Havengebied, *Nota van Uitgangspunten IJ-eiland*, 1986; Bewonersgroep Oostelijk Havengebied & Wijkopbouworgaan De Gouden Reael, *Nota van Uitgangspunten IJ-eiland*, 1986, pp. 2-5; Van der Kok, Fireworker Jan Wolf, Auke Bijlsma, Tjebbe van Tijen, Frans Amende, Albert van Hattum & Jeroen Verhulst, *Het Parool* 26-11-1986; Inhabitants IJ-eiland, *Trouw* 24-9-1987; Alice Roegholt, *NRC Handelsblad* 29-9-1987; Councillor Bert Holvast (Links Akkoord), *Het Parool* 5-3-1988; Duyvendak, Roest & Saris, *Trouw* 5-6-1991; d'Oude Stadt, *Hoe houden we Amsterdam staande*, 1991; Adviesgroep IJ-oever, *Promenade langs het IJ*, 1984; Initiatiefgroep Open Stad, *Het Parool* 15-2-1993; Amsterdamse Raad voor de Stedebouw (ARS), *Advies naar aanleiding van de haalbaarheidsstudie voor de IJ-oever*, 1986, p. 3; Van Hattum & Zuiderveld, *NRC Handelsblad* 2-6-1985; Various inhabitants Oostelijk Havengebied & Local council Amsterdam, *NRC Handelsblad* 25-11-1987; Alice Roegholt, *Nieuws van de Dag* 21-1-1989; Dr. M.C. Kuipers, Drs. L. Prins & Ir. Tj. Visser, *Een nieuwe oever voor een oude havenstad*, Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg, 1992; Heinemeijer, *NRC Handelsblad* 21-1-1985; Izak Salomons (Reader's letter), *Het Parool* 4-6-1987; Ernst Dienaar (Amsterdamse Raad Monumentenzorg & Heemschut), *NRC Handelsblad* 5-10-1987; Local council & Inhabitants IJ-eiland, *Vrij Nederland* 21-11-1987; Richter Roegholt (Writer books history of Amsterdam), *Het Parool* 8-3-1988; ARS, *De Volkskrant* 20-10-1989; Heinemeijer, *Het Parool* 6-6-1991; Zijderveld (Sociologist), *Financieel Dagblad* 2-6-1990; Saris, Zijderveld, Van der Laan & Heinemeijer, *Het Parool* 26-5-1990

<sup>40</sup> Prof. D. de Jonge, *Financieel Dagblad* 6-1-1990; Izak Salomons (Reader's letter), *Het Parool* 4-6-1987; Roel de Wit (Former alderman) & others, *Het Parool* 14-9-1990

<sup>41</sup> Amsterdamse Raad voor de Stedebouw (ARS), *Advies naar aanleiding van de haalbaarheidsstudie voor de IJ-oever*, 1986, p. 8; ARS, *NRC Handelsblad* 8-4-1991; ARS, *Unknown newspaper* 6-4-1991; Roel van Duijn, *Het Parool* 9-1-1989; Izak Salomons (Reader's letter), *Het Parool* 4-6-1987; Richter Roegholt (Writer books history of Amsterdam), *Het Parool* 8-3-1988; ARS, *Het Parool* 4-3-1989; Genootschap Amstelodamum, Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap, Hendrick

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<sup>42</sup> ARS, Het Parool 4-3-1989; Genootschap Amstelodamum, Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap, Hendrick de Keyser, Bond Heemschut & Vereniging Vrienden van de Amsterdamse Binnenstad, Trouw 13-4-1989; Richter Roegholt, Het Parool 3-6-1989; Bewonersgroep Oostelijk Havengebied, Nota van Uitgangspunten IJ-eiland, 1986, p. 14; Local council Amsterdam & Inhabitants IJ-eiland, Het Parool 17-11-1987; ARS, Unknown newspaper 6-4-1991; Rudy Strunk, Echo 9-12-1992; Prof. D. de Jonge, Financieel Dagblad 6-1-1990; Saris, Zijderveld, Van der Laan & Heinemeijer, Het Parool 26-5-1990; d'Oude Stadt, Nieuws van de Dag 6-9-1987; Dr. M.C. Kuipers, Drs. L. Prins & Ir. Tj. Visser, Een nieuwe oever voor een oude havenstad, Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg, 1992, p. 28; Van der Kok, Fireworker Jan Wolf, Auke Bijlsma, Tjebbe van Tijen, Frans Amende, Albert van Hattum & Jeroen Verhulst, Het Parool 26-11-1986; Izak Salomons (Reader's letter), Het Parool 4-6-1987; Genootschap Amstelodamum, Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap, Hendrick de Keyser & Bond Heemschut, Het Parool 2-9-1987; Ernst Dienaar (Amsterdamse Raad Monumentenzorg & Heemschut), NRC Handelsblad 5-10-1987; Koninklijke Nederlandse Oudheidkundige Bond (KNOB), Nieuws van de Dag 23-7-1990; Amsterdamse Raad voor de Stedebouw (ARS), Advies naar aanleiding van de haalbaarheidsstudie voor de IJ-oevers, 1986, p. 8; Ernst Dienaar (Amsterdamse Raad Monumentenzorg & Heemschut), NRC Handelsblad 5-10-1987; Richter Roegholt (Writer books history of Amsterdam), Het Parool 8-3-1988

<sup>43</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, De stad Centraal 1986, p. 133

<sup>44</sup> Report Member's meeting Groen Links, Het Parool 16-10-1991; Jan Dijkstra & Jeroen Verhulst, Alternatief structuurplan. Amsterdam Oost tussen Amstel en IJ, Projectgroep Alternatief Structuurplan Amsterdam, Amsterdam 1982, pp. 43, 45, 47, 49, 97, 101; Maatschappelijk overleg, Weekblad Schuttevaer 14-11-1992; Zijderveld (Sociologist), Financieel Dagblad 2-6-1990; Vereniging Bewonersgroepen Rond het IJ, Nieuws van de Dag 5-11-1987; Richter Roegholt (Writer books history of Amsterdam), Het Parool 8-3-1988; Bert Holvast (Links Akkoord), Nieuws van de Dag 24-6-1989; Wijnand Duyvendak, Het Parool 28-11-1992; Roel van Duijn & Local council Amsterdam, NRC Handelsblad 9-1-1990; Bewonersgroep Oostelijk Havengebied, Nota van Uitgangspunten IJ-eiland, 1986, pp. 21, 23; Bewonersgroep Oostelijk Havengebied & Wijkopbouworgaan De Gouden Reael, Nota van Uitgangspunten IJ-eiland, 1986, p. 4; d'Oude Stadt, Bijnen & van Aerschot, De Waarheid 19-1-1983; Rudy Strunk, Echo 9-12-1992; Initiatiefgroep Open Stad, Unknown newspaper 3-6-1991; d'Oude Stadt, Hoe houden we Amsterdam staande, 1991, p. 5; Councillors Groen Links, NRC Handelsblad 28-11-1989; Initiatiefgroep Open Stad, Unknown newspaper 3-6-1991; Various inhabitants IJ eiland & Local council Amsterdam, Nieuws van de Dag 3-5-1988; ARS, De Telegraaf 5-11-1986;

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<sup>45</sup> Rudy Strunk, *Echo* 9-12-1992; Initiatiefgroep Open Stad, Unknown newspaper 3-6-1991; Wijnand Duyvendak, Frits Roest & Henk Hofland, *De Volkskrant* 13-6-1991

<sup>46</sup> i.e. Zijdeveld (Sociologist), *Financieel Dagblad* 2-6-1990; Carel Weeber (Architect), *Het Parool* 30-10-1989; Hajer, Saris, Zijdeveld, Van der Laan & Heinemeijer, *Het Parool* 26-5-1990; Wijnand Duyvendak, Frits Roest & Henk Hofland, *De Volkskrant* 13-6-1991

<sup>47</sup> Jaap van Rijs, AWF, Saris, Trouw 18-6-1992; PvdA, CDA, PSP, PPR & designers Oostelijk Havengebied, *Het Parool* 29-5-1985

<sup>48</sup> [www.parlement.com](http://www.parlement.com); <http://utopia.knoware.nl/users/oterhaar/groenen/dnpp/dnpp1996.htm>; <http://www.degroenen.nl/partij/historie.htm>; [http://www.google.nl/search?q=cache:iQ1sTYba\\_jAJ:www.groenlinksamsterdam.nl/linker/pdf/linker-jan-01.pdf+%22links+akkoord%22+raadslid&hl=nl](http://www.google.nl/search?q=cache:iQ1sTYba_jAJ:www.groenlinksamsterdam.nl/linker/pdf/linker-jan-01.pdf+%22links+akkoord%22+raadslid&hl=nl) (accessed 5-10-2004)

<sup>49</sup> Adri Duivesteijn (Former alderman PvdA Den Haag), *Het Parool* 9-1-1990

<sup>50</sup> Chamber of Commerce, Trouw 3-1-1990; Chamber of Commerce, *Het Parool* 6-7-1994; Chamber of Commerce, Ons Amsterdam, February 1987; Chamber of Commerce & Vereniging Amsterdam City, *Het Parool* 21-3-1989; Vereniging Amsterdam City, Alderman Van Duijn (Economic matters) & Van Aken (Vendex), *Het Parool* 28-10-1989; Vendex, Bijenkorf, *Het Parool* 3-11-1989; Van Ierschot (Vereniging Amsterdam City & Bijenkorf) & Chamber of Commerce, *Het Parool* 23-11-1987; Van der Kolk (Chamber of Commerce, but written as a private person), *Het Parool* 22-3-1988; Unknown journalist, *Het Parool* 22-3-1988; Van der Kok, Fireworker Jan Wolf, Auke Bijlsma, Tjebbe van Tijen, Frans Amende, Albert van Hattum & Jeroen Verhulst, *Het Parool* 26-11-1986; Joseph Elburg (Real estate agent), *De Telegraaf* 24-2-1987; M. Martens (Reader's letter), *Het Parool* 20-7-1987; De Vilder (Chamber of Commerce), Local council Amsterdam, Local council Rotterdam, Dutch State & Regenboog, *Het Parool* 17-9-1988; Commerce & industry Amsterdam, *Het Parool* 24-5-1989; H.J. Jansen Maneschijn (Reader's letter), *Het Parool* 10-10-1989; Wouter van der Kolk (Chamber of Commerce), *Het Parool* 24-6-1991; Prof. L. Bak (Planning), *Het Parool* 4-11-1988; Prof. Bak, De Graaf (Chairman Foundation for Dutch Private developers), Gerard Bakker, Jacobus Recourt & Zadelhoff (Real estate agents), *De Tijd* 25-11-1988; Teun Koolhaas (Architect), Plan Nieuw Amsterdam, Stad aan het IJ, Ontwerpbureau Teun Koolhaas Associates, Almere 1992; Teun Koolhaas (Architect), Trouw 1-9-1992; Teun Koolhaas (Architect) & Jaap van Rijs (AWF), *De Volkskrant* 1-9-1992

<sup>51</sup> Unknown journalist, *Het Parool* 22-3-1988; Van der Kolk (Chamber of Commerce, but written as a private person), *Het Parool* 22-3-1988; Inhabitants & entrepreneurs inner city Amsterdam, *Het Parool* 5-10-1991; TNO & AWF, *Het Parool* 25-11-1992; AWF, *Het Volkskrant* 13-6-1992

<sup>52</sup> Hooijmaijers (VVD Spokesman) & Saris, *Het Parool* 22-2-1993; VVD Councillors, *Nieuws van de Dag* 9-3-1993; Rompelman, Chamber of Commerce, NRC Handelsblad 20-3-1991; Rompelman (Chamber of Commerce & General journalist Journal Vastgoedmarkt), NRC Handelsblad 20-3-1991

<sup>53</sup> Chamber of Commerce, *Het Parool* 6-7-1994; Van der Kolk (Chamber of Commerce, but written as a private person), *Het Parool* 22-3-1988; Unknown journalist, *Het Parool* 22-3-1988; A. Blok (VVD), *De Volkskrant* 1-4-1989

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<sup>54</sup> Unknown journalist, *Het Parool* 22-3-1988; Chamber of Commerce, *Het Parool* 6-7-1994; Van der Kolk (Chamber of Commerce, but written as a private person), *Het Parool* 22-3-1988; Vereniging Amsterdam City, Alderman Van Duijn (Economic matters) & Van Aken (Vendex), *Het Parool* 28-10-1989; Hooijmaijers (VVD Spokesman) & Saris, *Het Parool* 22-2-1993; Chamber of Commerce, *Trouw* 3-1-1990; Chamber of Commerce, *Het Parool* 6-7-1994; Chamber of Commerce, *Ons Amsterdam*, February 1987; Prof. L. Bak (Planning), *Het Parool* 4-11-1988; Chamber of Commerce & Vereniging Amsterdam City, *Het Parool* 21-3-1989; Vereniging Amsterdam City, Alderman Van Duijn (Economic matters) & Van Aken (Vendex), *Het Parool* 28-10-1989; Vendex, *Bijenkorf*, *Het Parool* 3-11-1989; Van Ierschoot (Vereniging Amsterdam City & *Bijenkorf*) & Chamber of Commerce, *Het Parool* 23-11-1987; Prof. Bak, De Graaf (Chairman Foundation for Dutch Private developers), Gerard Bakker, Hompes, Jacobus Recourt & Zadelhoff (Real estate agents & real estate developers), *De Tijd* 25-11-1988; Van der Kolk (Chamber of Commerce, but written as a private person), *Het Parool* 22-3-1988; Joseph Elburg (Real estate agent), *De Telegraaf* 24-2-1987; M. Martens (Reader's letter), *Het Parool* 20-7-1987; De Vilder (Chamber of Commerce), Local council Amsterdam, Local council Rotterdam, Dutch State & Regenboog, *Het Parool* 17-9-1988; Chamber of Commerce, *Financieel Dagblad* 27-1-1989; Commerce & industry Amsterdam, *Het Parool* 24-5-1989; H.J. Jansen Maneschijn (Reader's letter), *Het Parool* 10-10-1989; Results survey among 185 persons (Local council, environmental organizations, universities, neighborhood communities, and architects), *Nieuws van de Dag* 25-2-1991; Doets (MBO), *Het Parool* 4-5-1991; Wouter van der Kolk (Chamber of Commerce), *Het Parool* 24-6-1991; AWF, Saris, *Het Parool* 29-5-1992; Peter Droege (Architect & Planner), *Het Parool* 20-6-1992; Jaap van Rijs (AWF), *NRC Handelsblad* 1-9-1992; Van Rijs, Dijkstra, Saris, *Het Parool* 7-1-1992; Van Rijs & Saris, *Trouw* 8-1-1992; Investors, *Het Parool* 22-10-1992; V.P. Kouwenhoven (Bureau Bunt), *NRC Handelsblad* 17-6-1991; AWF, *Het Parool* 3-2-1992

<sup>55</sup> Van Rijs, *NRC Handelsblad* 30-9-1992; Ronteltap (VVD), *Het Parool* 12-1-1988; Ronteltap (VVD), *Het Parool* 15-1-1988; ABP, *De Volkskrant* 28-2-1991; Van Rijs (AWF), *Het Parool* 3-2-1992; Van Rijs (AWF), *De Volkskrant* 4-2-1992; Van Rijs (AWF), Saris, *Het Parool* 29-5-1992; PvdA, Groen Links & AWF, *De Volkskrant* 13-6-1992; Van Rijs & Wim Hartman (Commissioner Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordening), *Nieuwe Noord Hollandse Krant* 18-6-1992; Van Rijs, AWF, Saris, *Trouw* 18-6-1992; VVD, *Het Financieel Dagblad* 19-12-1985; Local council Amsterdam, Van Hattum, Chamber of Commerce & Inhabitants, *Intermediair* 3-4-1987; Van Rijs, Dijkstra, Saris, *Het Parool* 7-1-1992; De Vilder (Chamber of Commerce), Local council Amsterdam, Local council Rotterdam, Dutch State & Regenboog, *Het Parool* 17-9-1988; Local council Amsterdam & Inhabitants, *De Waarheid* 3-5-1988; Soetekouw (Member Board NMB Postbank Groep), *Financieel Dagblad* 12-1-1990; Teun Koolhaas (Architect), Plan Nieuw Amsterdam, Stad aan het IJ, Ontwerpbureau Teun Koolhaas Associates, Almere 1992

<sup>56</sup> Wijnand Duyvendak, *Het Parool* 28-11-1992

<sup>57</sup> Ir. D. Lambert, *Het Parool* 26-5-1990; Teun Koolhaas (Architect), Plan Nieuw Amsterdam, Stad aan het IJ, Ontwerpbureau Teun Koolhaas Associates, Almere 1992; H.J. Jansen Maneschijn (Reader's letter), *Het Parool* 10-10-1989; Van Rijs (AWF), *NRC Handelsblad* 1-9-1992

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<sup>58</sup> Ir. D. Lambert, Het Parool 26-5-1990

<sup>59</sup> Chamber of Commerce, Het Parool 6-7-1994

<sup>60</sup> Local council Amsterdam, Lambooy (economist), Timmerman (real estate agent), Nieuws van de Dag 10-3-1986; Joseph Elburg (Real estate agent), De Telegraaf 24-2-1987; Joseph Elburg (Real estate agent), De Telegraaf 24-2-1987; Unknown journalist, Het Parool 22-3-1988; Wouter van der Kolk (Chamber of Commerce), Het Parool 24-6-1991; Prof. L. Bak (Planning), Het Parool 4-11-1988; Van Ierschot (Vereniging Amsterdam City & Bijenkorf) & Chamber of Commerce, Het Parool 23-11-1987; De Vilder (Chamber of Commerce), Local council Amsterdam, Local council Rotterdam, Dutch State & Regenboog, Het Parool 17-9-1988; ING investors, Het Parool 6-2-1993; Chamber of Commerce, Het Parool 6-7-1994; Boer den Hartog Hooft (Real estate agent), Nieuws van de Dag 25-1-1990; Prof. Bak, De Graaf (Chairman Foundation for Dutch Private developers), Gerard Bakker, Jacobus Recourt & Zadelhoff (Real estate agents), De Tijd 25-11-1988; Teun Koolhaas (Architect), Plan Nieuw Amsterdam, Stad aan het IJ, Ontwerpbureau Teun Koolhaas Associates, Almere 1992; Joseph Elburg (Real estate agent), De Telegraaf 24-2-1987; Chamber of Commerce, Financieel Dagblad 27-1-1989; Ronteltap (VVD), Het Parool 12-1-1988; Ronteltap (VVD), Het Parool 15-1-1988; Chamber of Commerce, Het Parool 6-7-1994; Chamber of Commerce, Financieel Dagblad 27-1-1989; Koolhaas & Van Rijs, Financieel Dagblad 12-9-1992; Holvast (Groen Links) & Investors, Het Parool 22-10-1992; Greenberg (International supervisor), AWF & Saris, Het Parool 9-9-1992; Van Rijs & Koolhaas, De Volkskrant 1-9-1992

<sup>61</sup> Teun Koolhaas (Architect), De Groene Amsterdammers 25-11-1992; Teun Koolhaas (Architect), Plan Nieuw Amsterdam, Stad aan het IJ, Ontwerpbureau Teun Koolhaas Associates, Almere 1992; Teun Koolhaas (Architect), Het Parool 31-3-1992; Local council Amsterdam, Lambooy (economist), Timmerman (real estate agent), Nieuws van de Dag 10-3-1986; Joseph Elburg (Real estate agent), De Telegraaf 24-2-1987; Joseph Elburg (Real estate agent), De Telegraaf 24-2-1987; Unknown journalist, Het Parool 22-3-1988; Wouter van der Kolk (Chamber of Commerce), Het Parool 24-6-1991; Prof. L. Bak (Planning), Het Parool 4-11-1988; Van Ierschot (Vereniging Amsterdam City & Bijenkorf) & Chamber of Commerce, Het Parool 23-11-1987; De Vilder (Chamber of Commerce), Local council Amsterdam, Local council Rotterdam, Dutch State & Regenboog, Het Parool 17-9-1988; ING investors, Het Parool 6-2-1993; Chamber of Commerce, Het Parool 6-7-1994; Boer den Hartog Hooft (Real estate agent), Nieuws van de Dag 25-1-1990; Prof. Bak, De Graaf (Chairman Foundation for Dutch Private developers), Gerard Bakker, Jacobus Recourt & Zadelhoff (Real estate agents), De Tijd 25-11-1988; Chamber of Commerce, Financieel Dagblad 27-1-1989; Ronteltap (VVD), Het Parool 12-1-1988; Ronteltap (VVD), Het Parool 15-1-1988; Chamber of Commerce, Het Parool 6-7-1994; Chamber of Commerce, Financieel Dagblad 27-1-1989; Koolhaas & Van Rijs, Financieel Dagblad 12-9-1992; Holvast (Groen Links) & Investors, Het Parool 22-10-1992; Greenberg (International supervisor), AWF & Saris, Het Parool 9-9-1992

<sup>62</sup> For that, city planners entered into an agreement with private parties united in the partnership firm 'Amsterdam Waterfront Finance Company' (AWF), wich included the large insurance and pension institutes ABP, NMB and Nationale Nederlanden (NRC Handelsblad 15-11-1991; Het Parool 26-6-1990)

<sup>63</sup> Saris, De Volksrant 13-6-1991

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<sup>64</sup> d'Oude Stadt, NRC Handelsblad 6-6-1991

<sup>65</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, De stad Centraal 1986; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 28-10-1983; Walter Etty in: Jose van Campen, Ad Hereijgers, Dick Schuiling (Eds.), Financiering en maatschappij langs het IJ, Universiteit van Amsterdam Planologisch en Demografisch instituut, Amsterdam 1990, p. 25; Governmental project group, Het Parool 19-3-1993; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam naar het IJ, Nota van Uitgangspunten voor de IJ-oever 1991, 27-6-1991; Local council Amsterdam, NRC Handelsblad 9-1-1990; Saris, Zijderveld, Van der Laan & Heinemeijer, Het Parool 26-5-1990; Local council, Van der Vlis, NRC Handelsblad 6-3-1989; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Ontwerp structuurplan 1994 Amsterdam Open Stad, pp. 12, 64, 98; Van Thijn, Report conference Spring t IJ, suggesties en ideeën voor de verdere ontwikkeling van de IJ-oever, 14-6-1991, Stichting Noordzij Amsterdam, p. 13; Local council Amsterdam, Lambooy (economist), Timmerman (real estate agent), Nieuws van de Dag 10-3-1986; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 30-3-1988; F. van Beek (Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordening Amsterdam), Nieuws van de Dag 30-1-1993; Local planning department, Werk in uitvoering July/August 1986; Mayor & aldermen, Het Parool 3-5-1985; Local council Amsterdam, Van Hattum, Chamber of Commerce & Inhabitants, Intermediair 3-4-1987; Local council Amsterdam & Minister of public housing, NRC Handelsblad 14-12-1988; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Ontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, De Stad Centraal 1984; Local council Amsterdam, Structuurplan 1991; Local council Amsterdam, De Telegraaf 22-2-1985; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 19-2-1986; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 11-11-1986; Wim Hartman (Commissioner Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordening) & Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 15-11-1986; Local council Amsterdam & ARS, Het Parool 9-6-1987; Local council Amsterdam, De Volkskrant 12-6-1987; Local council Amsterdam, NRC Handelsblad 17-6-1987; Van der Vlis, Van Duijn (Groen Amsterdam), De Volkskrant 1-10-1987; Van der Vlis, Het Parool 1-10-1987; Van der Vlis, Het Parool 9-11-1987; Local council & Inhabitants IJ-eiland, Vrij Nederland 21-11-1987; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 30-5-1988; Oskam, Het Parool 14-12-1988; Van der Vlis, Dijkstra, Dick Schuiling (ARS), Het Parool 18-5-1989; Saris, Nieuws van de Dag 30-10-1990; Local council Amsterdam, NRC Handelsblad 9-1-1990; Saris, Trouw 10-1-1990; P. Jonker (PvdA), Het Parool 30-10-1991; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam presenteert IJ-oever plan, 9-2-1993; Local council Amsterdam, Nieuws van de Dag 14-3-1990; Mayor and aldermen, Het Parool 24-11-1990; Van der Vlis, Nieuws van de Dag 6-10-1987; Aldermen 4 biggest cities in the Netherlands, Economisch Dagblad 20-12-1982; DRO, Het Parool 16-10-1989; Stichting Noordzij, Buurtontwikkelingsmaatschappij Spaarndammer & Zeeheldenbuurt, Wijkcentrum Oost Havengebied, Councillors & various inhabitants Oostelijk Havengebied, Het Parool 15-6-1991; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 18-6-1991; Saris, Greenberg, Het Parool 26-6-1992

<sup>66</sup> P. Jonker (PvdA), Het Parool 30-10-1991; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Ontwerp structuurplan 1994 Amsterdam Open Stad, p. 13

<sup>67</sup> Mayor van Thijn, Het Parool 30-5-1988; Mayor and aldermen, Het Parool 24-11-1990

<sup>68</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Ontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, De Stad Centraal 1984, p. 24; Local council Amsterdam, Structuurplan 1991, pp. 26,

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51; Saris, Het Parool 13-4-1991; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam naar het IJ, Nota van Uitgangspunten voor de IJ-oever 1991, 27-6-1991; Local council, Van der Vlis, NRC Handelsblad 6-3-1989; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, De stad Centraal 1986; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam presenteert IJ-oever plan, 9-2-1993; Van der Vlis, Het Parool 9-11-1987

<sup>69</sup> Het Parool 2-3-1992; Het Parool 18-5-1990

<sup>70</sup> Greenberg, Unknown newspaper 26-5-1990

<sup>71</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam naar het IJ, Nota van Uitgangspunten voor de IJ-oever 1991, 27-6-1991, pp. 35, 95; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam presenteert IJ-oever plan, 9-2-1993; Dijkstra (Supervisor IJ-oever), Het Parool 6-11-1991; Dijkstra (Supervisor IJ-oever), Het Parool 14-4-1991; Greenberg, Het Parool 2-3-1992; Greenberg, Het Parool 18-5-1990

<sup>72</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Ontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, De Stad Centraal 1984, pp. 11, 15; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Ontwerp structuurplan 1994 Amsterdam Open Stad, pp. 25, 93, 101, 123; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, De stad Centraal 1986, p. 29; F. van Beek (Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordening Amsterdam), Nieuws van de Dag 30-1-1993

<sup>73</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Ontwerp structuurplan 1994 Amsterdam Open Stad, pp. 101, 123

<sup>74</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Ontwerp structuurplan 1994 Amsterdam Open Stad, p. 119

<sup>75</sup> Walter Etty (Alderman Finance) & Minister Nijpels (Public housing, Physical planning & Environmental affairs), De Volkskrant 5-5-1988; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam naar het IJ, Nota van Uitgangspunten voor de IJ-oever 1991, 27-6-1991; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam presenteert IJ-oever plan, 9-2-1993; Local council Amsterdam, Algemeen Dagblad 29-1-1990; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 13-5-1988; Local council Amsterdam, Structuurplan 1991; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 19-2-1986; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 11-11-1986; PvdA, local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 13-6-1990; Local council Amsterdam, NRC Handelsblad 15-11-1991; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam presenteert IJ-oever plan, 9-2-1993; Local council Amsterdam & Minister of public housing, NRC Handelsblad 14-12-1988; Van der Vlis, Algemeen Dagblad 17-6-1989

<sup>76</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam naar het IJ, Nota van Uitgangspunten voor de IJ-oever 1991, 27-6-1991, p. 105; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Ontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, De Stad Centraal 1984, pp. 68, 87, 111; Local council Amsterdam, De Telegraaf 22-2-1985; Local council & Inhabitants IJ-eiland, Vrij Nederland 21-11-1987; Saris, De Volkskrant 18-9-1992; Saris, Zijderveld, Van der Laan & Heinemeijer, Het Parool 26-5-1990; Local council Amsterdam, NRC Handelsblad 26-11-1986

<sup>77</sup> Saris, Het Parool 26-5-1990

<sup>78</sup> Rob van Engelsdorp Gastelaars (Professor Human Geography, University of Amsterdam), Het Parool 8-7-1989

<sup>79</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Ontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, De Stad Centraal 1984, p. 87



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<sup>80</sup> Saris, Holvast (Groen Links) & Investors, Het Parool 22-10-1992; Saris, De Volkskrant 24-2-1993; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam naar het IJ, Nota van Uitgangspunten voor de IJ-oeveren 1991, 27-6-1991; Local council Amsterdam, NRC Handelsblad 9-1-1990; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, De stad Centraal 1986, pp. 15, 36, etc; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam presenteert IJ-oever plan, 9-2-1993; Local council Amsterdam, Lambooy (economist), Timmerman (real estate agent), Nieuws van de Dag 10-3-1986; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 30-3-1988; F. van Beek (Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordening Amsterdam), Nieuws van de Dag 30-1-1993; Local planning department, Werk in uitvoering July/August 1986; Mayor & aldermen, Het Parool 3-5-1985; Local council Amsterdam & Minister of public housing, NRC Handelsblad 14-12-1988; Local council Amsterdam, De Volkskrant 8-4-1989; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 17-1-1987; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Ontwerp structuurplan 1994 Amsterdam Open Stad, p. 28; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Ontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, De Stad Centraal 1984; Local council Amsterdam, Structuurplan 1991; Local council Amsterdam, De Telegraaf 22-2-1985; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 19-2-1986; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 11-11-1986; Local council Amsterdam & ARS, Het Parool 9-6-1987; Local council Amsterdam, De Volkskrant 12-6-1987; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 14-6-1989; Saris, Het Parool 22-10-1992; Unknown journalist, De Telegraaf 5-11-1986; Unknown journalist, De Volkskrant 29-11-1986; Unknown journalist, Het Parool 17-1-1987

<sup>81</sup> Councillor Holvast (Groen Links) & Local Council Amsterdam, Het Parool 3-5-1988; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Ontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, De Stad Centraal 1984, p. 22; Local council Amsterdam, Nieuws van de Dag 21-10-1991; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 25-5-1988; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, De stad Centraal 1986, pp. 10, 12; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam presenteert IJ-oever plan, 9-2-1993; PvdA, CDA, PSP, PPR & designers Oostelijk Havengebied, Het Parool 29-5-1985; Local council Amsterdam, De Volkskrant 8-4-1989; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Ontwerp structuurplan 1994 Amsterdam Open Stad; Local council Amsterdam, Structuurplan 1991, p. 13; Duyvendak, Roest & Saris, Trouw 5-6-1991

<sup>82</sup> Local council Amsterdam, Nieuws van de Dag 21-10-1991; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 25-5-1988; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, De stad Centraal 1986, pp. 9, 15; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam presenteert IJ-oever plan, 9-2-1993; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Ontwerp structuurplan 1994 Amsterdam Open Stad, p. 28; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Ontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, De Stad Centraal 1984; Local council Amsterdam, Structuurplan 1991; Local council Amsterdam, Van Hattum, Chamber of Commerce & Inhabitants, Intermediair 3-4-1987; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 11-2-1988; also yet in Report Symposium IJ-oeveren, 6-6-1982, p. 23

<sup>83</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, De stad Centraal 1986, pp. 11, 15; Alderman Genet (PvdA), Het Parool 17-11-1989; Unknown journalist & Local council Amsterdam, NRC Handelsblad 9-8-1982; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Ontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, De Stad Centraal 1984, p. 19; Local council Amsterdam, Structuurplan 1991, p. 14

<sup>84</sup> Izak Salomons (Reader's letter), Het Parool 4-6-1987

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<sup>85</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam naar het IJ, Nota van Uitgangspunten voor de IJ-oeveren 1991, 27-6-1991; Alderman Genet (PvdA), Het Parool 17-11-1989; Alderman Genet (PvdA), Stadsnieuws April 1989; Local council Amsterdam, Structuurplan 1991, p. 39

<sup>86</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Ontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, De Stad Centraal 1984

<sup>87</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam naar het IJ, Nota van Uitgangspunten voor de IJ-oeveren 1991, 27-6-1991, p. 8; Local council Amsterdam, NRC Handelsblad 9-1-1990; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam presenteert IJ-oever plan, 9-2-1993; Local planning department, Werk in uitvoering July/August 1986; Van der Vlis, Nieuws van de Dag 6-10-1987; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 19-2-1986; Greenberg (International supervisor), AWF & Saris, Het Parool 9-9-1992; Alderman Genet (PvdA), Het Parool 17-11-1989; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam presenteert IJ-oever plan, 9-2-1993; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 11-2-1988; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Ontwerp structuurplan 1994 Amsterdam Open Stad, p. 152; Local council Amsterdam, Structuurplan 1991, p. 43; Report Symposium IJ-oeveren, 6-6-1982, p. 23

<sup>88</sup> Local council Amsterdam, NRC Handelsblad 28-11-1989; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam naar het IJ, Nota van Uitgangspunten voor de IJ-oeveren 1991, 27-6-1991, p. 57 (At Stationseiland building to a height of 35 metres, on both sides of Stationseiland towers min. 60 and max. 75 metres, head of the Oostelijke Handelskade and Barentzplein 85-100 metres, north of Graansilo 60-70 metres & on both sides of Central Station max. 55 metres); Local council Amsterdam, NRC Handelsblad 9-1-1990 (Max. 100 meters); Saris, Zijderveld, Van der Laan & Heinemeijer, Het Parool 26-5-1990 (Van der Laan: The height of buildings should be as high as the those in the old city); Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam presenteert IJ-oever plan, 9-2-1993; Van der Vlis, Nieuws van de Dag 6-10-1987; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 19-2-1986; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 11-11-1986; Local council Amsterdam, De Volkskrant 12-6-1987; Local council Amsterdam & ARS, Het Parool 9-6-1987; Local council Amsterdam, NRC Handelsblad 17-6-1987; Van der Vlis, NRC Handelsblad 14-6-1989 (Between 75-100 meters); Mayor & aldermen, Dijkstra, Het Parool 24-12-1988; Mayor van Thijn, NRC Handelsblad 2-1-1989; Van der Vlis, DRO, Dijkstra & Genet, NRC Handelsblad 30-12-1988; Saris, Het Parool 8-1-1991; Saris, Reformatorisch Dagblad 25-6-1992

<sup>89</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, De stad Centraal 1986, p. 10; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Ontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, De Stad Centraal 1984, p. 104; Varma (councillor Groen Links) & Saris, Het Parool 7-11-1991; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam naar het IJ, Nota van Uitgangspunten voor de IJ-oeveren 1991, 27-6-1991, p. 11; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam presenteert IJ-oever plan, 9-2-1993; Mayor & aldermen, Het Parool 3-5-1985; Alderman Genet (PvdA), Stadsnieuws April 1989; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Ontwerp structuurplan 1994 Amsterdam Open Stad, p. 127; Local council Amsterdam, Structuurplan 1991, p. 16; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 11-11-1986; Local council Amsterdam & ARS, Het Parool 9-6-1987; Unknown journalist, Holvast & various inhabitants, Het Parool 22-6-1989

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<sup>90</sup> Local council Amsterdam, Structuurplan 1991, pp. 17, 43; Mayor van Thijn, Het Parool 30-5-1988

<sup>91</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Ontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, De Stad Centraal 1984; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, De stad Centraal 1986; Aldermen 4 biggest cities in the Netherlands, Economisch Dagblad 20-12-1982

<sup>92</sup> Saris, Het Parool 23-6-1983

<sup>93</sup> Michael van der Vlis was designated in 1988 as alderman project IJ-oevers (NRC Handelsblad 16-5-1988)

<sup>94</sup> Alderman L. Genet (PvdA), Het Parool 8-6-1988

<sup>95</sup> Local council Amsterdam, Van Hattum, Chamber of Commerce & Inhabitants, Intermediair 3-4-1987; Saris, De Volkskrant 24-2-1993; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam naar het IJ, Nota van Uitgangspunten voor de IJ-oevers 1991, 27-6-1991; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 11-3-1987; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 25-5-1988; Genet, Het Parool 8-6-1988; Local council, Van der Vlis, NRC Handelsblad 6-3-1989; Local council Amsterdam, De Volkskrant 5-8-1988; Alderman Genet (PvdA), Het Parool 17-11-1989; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 30-3-1988; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 23-6-1983; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 11-2-1988; Inhabitants IJ-eiland & Van der Vlis, De Waarheid 2-5-1988; Genet, Het Parool 11-2-1988; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Ontwerp structuurplan 1994 Amsterdam Open Stad, pp. 11, 24, 94, etc; Local council Amsterdam, Structuurplan 1991, pp. 14, 26, 53; Van der Vlis, Het Parool 19-2-1986; Van der Vlis, Het Parool 11-11-1986; Local council & Inhabitants IJ-eiland, Vrij Nederland 21-11-1987; Van Thijn, Nieuws van de Dag 22-3-1989

<sup>96</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam naar het IJ, Nota van Uitgangspunten voor de IJ-oevers 1991, 27-6-1991, p. 57; Local council Amsterdam & Inhabitants IJ-eiland, Het Parool 17-11-1987; Local council Amsterdam, De Telegraaf 22-2-1985; Van Hattum & Zuiderveld, NRC Handelsblad 2-6-1985; PvdA, Groen Links & AWF, De Volkskrant 13-6-1992; Local council Amsterdam & Inhabitants IJ-eiland, Het Parool 17-11-1987; Local council Amsterdam & various inhabitants IJ-eiland, Het Parool 25-11-1987; Local council Amsterdam & Inhabitants, De Waarheid 3-5-1988; Various inhabitants IJ eiland & Local council Amsterdam, Nieuws van de Dag 3-5-1988

<sup>97</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam naar het IJ, Nota van Uitgangspunten voor de IJ-oevers 1991, 27-6-1991, p. 14; Van der Vlis, Het Parool 19-2-1986; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 11-11-1986; Local council & Inhabitants IJ-eiland, Vrij Nederland 21-11-1987; Mayor van Thijn, Het Parool 30-5-1988; Inhabitants IJ-eiland & Van der Vlis, De Waarheid 2-5-1988

<sup>98</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, De stad Centraal 1986, pp. 10, 15, 40, 133; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam naar het IJ, Nota van Uitgangspunten voor de IJ-oevers 1991, 27-6-1991, pp. 7, 11; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Ontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, De Stad Centraal 1984, p. 72; Local council Amsterdam, Structuurplan 1991, p. 16; Saris, Zijderveld, Van der Laan & Heinemeijer, Het Parool 26-5-1990; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam presenteert IJ-oever plan, 9-2-1993; Local planning department, Werk in uitvoering July/August 1986; DRO, Het Parool 16-10-1989; Walter Etty, in: Jose van Campen, Ad Hereijgers, Dick Schuiling (Eds.), Financiering en maatschappij langs het IJ, Universiteit van Amsterdam Planologisch

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en Demografisch instituut, Amsterdam 1990, p. 25; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Ontwerp structuurplan 1994 Amsterdam Open Stad, pp. 49-50; Local council Amsterdam, De Telegraaf 22-2-1985; Frans Heddemma (Journalist) & Van der Vlis, Het Parool 19-2-1988; Mayor van Thijn, Het Parool 30-5-1988; Van der Vlis & Dijkstra, Het Parool 18-5-1989; Saris, Het Parool 8-1-1991; Greenberg, Het Parool 2-3-1992; Tjeerd Dijkstra, Het Parool 27-1-1990

<sup>99</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam naar het IJ, Nota van Uitgangspunten voor de IJ-oever 1991, 27-6-1991, p. 35; Saris (Alderman Town Planning, Groen Links), Genet (Alderman Public Housing, PvdA), Ten Have (Alderman Traffic and Transport, D66) & Houterman (Councillor VVD), Het Parool 18-4-1990; Alderman Ten Have (D66), Het Parool 26-9-1989; Local council Amsterdam, NRC Handelsblad 28-11-1989

<sup>100</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam naar het IJ, Nota van Uitgangspunten voor de IJ-oever 1991, 27-6-1991, pp. 24, 35; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, De stad Centraal 1986, Deel 2 Toelichting, pp. 31, 40, 29; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 30-3-1988; Alderman Walter Etty, in: Jose van Campen, Ad Hereijgers, Dick Schuiling (Eds.), Financiering en maatschappij langs het IJ, Universiteit van Amsterdam Planologisch en Demografisch instituut, Amsterdam 1990, p. 25; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Ontwerp structuurplan 1994 Amsterdam Open Stad, pp. 62, 120, 181; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Ontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, De Stad Centraal 1984, pp. 49-50; Local council Amsterdam, Structuurplan 1991, pp. 27, 139; Mayor van Thijn, Het Parool 30-5-1988

<sup>101</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam naar het IJ, Nota van Uitgangspunten voor de IJ-oever 1991, 27-6-1991, p. 32; Van der Vlis, Het Parool 19-2-1986

<sup>102</sup> Local council Amsterdam, Nieuws van de Dag 21-10-1991; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam naar het IJ, Nota van Uitgangspunten voor de IJ-oever 1991, 27-6-1991, p. 95; Dutch State, Trouw 19-4-1990; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 25-5-1988; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, De stad Centraal 1986 pp. 11, 26; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam presenteert IJ-oever plan, 9-2-1993; Local council Amsterdam, Van Hattum, Chamber of Commerce & Inhabitants, Intermediair 3-4-1987; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Ontwerp structuurplan 1994 Amsterdam Open Stad, pp. 28, 97, 118, 176; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Ontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, De Stad Centraal 1984; Local council Amsterdam, Structuurplan 1991, pp. 14, 26, 27, 79, 151; Duyvendak, Roest & Saris, Trouw 5-6-1991

<sup>103</sup> De Vilder (Chamber of Commerce), Local council Amsterdam, Local council Rotterdam, Dutch State & Regenboog, Het Parool 17-9-1988. As we have seen, Albert van Hattum had been the first project manager in the rehabilitation neighborhoods in Rotterdam, and had now ended up in Amsterdam.

<sup>104</sup> Saris & Ten Have, Nieuws van de Dag 9-2-1993; Local council Amsterdam, Financieel Dagblad 10-2-1993; Van Rijs, Saris, NRC Handelsblad 10-2-1993; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam naar het IJ, Nota van Uitgangspunten voor de IJ-oever 1991, 27-6-1991, pp. 7, 24, 32, 47, etc; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, De stad Centraal 1986; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam presenteert IJ-oever plan, 9-2-1993; Walter Etty, in: Jose van Campen, Ad Hereijgers, Dick Schuiling (Eds.), Financiering en maatschappij

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langs het IJ, Universiteit van Amsterdam Planologisch en Demografisch instituut, Amsterdam 1990, p. 25; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Ontwerp structuurplan 1994 Amsterdam Open Stad, pp. 94, 120, 196; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Ontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, De Stad Centraal 1984, p. 72; Local council Amsterdam, Structuurplan 1991, p. 27; Van der Vlis, ARS & Dijkstra, Het Parool 18-5-1989; Van der Vlis, Het Parool 16-6-1989; AWF & Saris, Het Parool 9-9-1992; Mayor van Thijn, Het Parool 30-5-1988; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 30-3-1988; De Vilder (Chamber of Commerce), Local council Amsterdam, Local council Rotterdam, Dutch State & Regenboog, Het Parool 17-9-1988; DRO, Het Parool 16-10-1989; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Ontwerp structuurplan 1994 Amsterdam Open Stad, pp. 112, 191; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 14-6-1989; Local council Amsterdam, NRC Handelsblad 28-11-1989

<sup>105</sup> empty compartments in this table mean that nothing was written about this particular element

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<sup>109</sup> Amsterdamse Raad voor de Stedebouw (ARS), Advies naar aanleiding van de haalbaarheidsstudie voor de IJ-oever, 1986, p. 8; Van der Kok, Fireworker Jan Wolf, Auke Bijlsma, Tjebbe van Tijen, Frans Amende, Albert van Hattum & Jeroen Verhulst, Het Parool 26-11-1986; Dr. M.C. Kuipers, Drs. L. Prins & Ir. Tj. Visser, Een nieuwe oever voor een oude havenstad, Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg, 1992, p. 26; G. Mak, NRC Handelsblad 19-10-1992; Hajer, Saris, Zijderveld, Van der Laan & Heinemeijer, Het Parool 26-5-1990; Local council Amsterdam & various inhabitants, Het Parool 19-10-1989; Teun Koolhaas (Architect), De Groene Amsterdammers 25-11-1992; Wijnand Duyvendak, Het Parool 28-11-1992

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<sup>118</sup> Zuiderveld, NRC Handelsblad 2-6-1985; Dr. M.C. Kuipers, Drs. L. Prins & Ir. Tj. Visser, Een nieuwe oever voor een oude havenstad, Rijksdienst voor de

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<sup>142</sup> d'Oude Stadt, Bijnen & van Aerschot, De Waarheid 19-1-1983; Wijnand Duyvendak, Het Parool 28-11-1992; d'Oude Stadt & Van der Vlis, Algemeen Dagblad 17-6-1989; Saris, Trouw 10-1-1990; Heddema (Journalist), Het Parool 5-6-1992; Wijnand Duyvendak, Het Parool 28-11-1992; ARS, De Volkskrant 20-10-1989; Heinemeijer, Het Parool 6-6-1991; Alice Roegholt, De Waarheid 2-5-1988; d'Oude Stadt, De Volkskrant 1-4-1989

<sup>143</sup> Rudy Strunk, Echo 9-12-1992

<sup>144</sup> d'Oude Stadt, Nieuws van de Dag 10-10-1993

<sup>145</sup> Alice Roegholt, Nieuws van de Dag 21-1-1989; Izak Salomons (Reader's letter), Het Parool 4-6-1987

<sup>146</sup> Roel de Wit (Former alderman), Het Parool 4-1-1989

<sup>147</sup> Van Hattum, Hermine Buyse & Zuiderveld, NRC Handelsblad 2-6-1985

<sup>148</sup> d'Oude Stadt, Nieuws van de Dag 12-4-1991; d'Oude Stadt, NRC Handelsblad 6-6-1991; d'Oude Stadt, Het Parool 2-10-1992. A minority within d'Oude Stadt was against the IJ-oeverplannen and thought it was of a too large scale, describing the plans as "Bijlmer along the IJ"

<sup>149</sup> Dijkstra & Van Rijs, Trouw 10-2-1990

<sup>150</sup> Maarten Hajer (Sociologist), Het Parool 14-12-1988

<sup>151</sup> Initiatiefgroep Open Stad (Wijnand Duyvendak), Typhoon 4-6-1991; Initiatiefgroep Stop het IJ-oeverproject, Het Parool 4-6-1991; Duyvendak, Roest & Saris, Trouw 5-6-1991; Initiatiefgroep Amsterdam Open Stad (Action group), NRC Handelsblad 6-6-1991

<sup>152</sup> Various inhabitants IJ eiland & Local council Amsterdam, Nieuws van de Dag 3-5-1988; Unknown journalist, Holvast & various inhabitants, Het Parool 22-6-1989; Legdeur, inhabitants Spaarndammer & Zeeheldenbuurt Amsterdam, Het Parool 4-7-1989; Vereniging Bewonersgroepen Rond het IJ, Nieuws van de Dag 5-11-1987; Vereniging Bewonersgroepen Rond het IJ, De Telegraaf 6-11-1987; Jobse (Foundation Stenen Hoofd), Het Parool 31-7-1989; Jasper Grootveld, Het Parool 16-12-1989; Initiatiefgroep Open Stad (Wijnand Duyvendak), Typhoon 4-6-1991; Initiatiefgroep Stop het IJ-oeverproject, Het Parool 4-6-1991; Initiatiefgroep Amsterdam Open Stad (Action group), NRC Handelsblad 6-6-1991; Various unknown squatters, Het Parool 6-6-1991

<sup>153</sup> Unknown journalist, Het Parool 4-5-1991

<sup>154</sup> Duyvendak, Roest & Saris, Trouw 5-6-1991; Initiatiefgroep Open Stad (Wijnand Duyvendak), Typhoon 4-6-1991; Unknown journalist, Het Parool 4-5-1991; Local council & Inhabitants IJ-eiland, Vrij Nederland 21-11-1987

<sup>155</sup> Prof. L. Bak (Planning), Het Parool 4-11-1988; Wouter van der Kolk (Chamber of Commerce), Het Parool 24-6-1991; Van Vlijmen (CDA), Nieuws van de Dag 4-

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10-1991; Van Vlijmen (CDA), De Volkskrant 7-10-1991; Organisatie Open Stad & Ir. Brand (Regio commissaris Afdeling Noord West van Bond Nederlandse Stedebouwkundigen, Scagher Courant 12-6-1991; Unknown journalist, Het Parool 22-3-1988; Chamber of Commerce, Trouw 3-1-1990; Chamber of Commerce, Het Parool 6-7-1994; Chamber of Commerce, Ons Amsterdam, February 1987; Chamber of Commerce & Vereniging Amsterdam City, Het Parool 21-3-1989; Vereniging Amsterdam City, Alderman Van Duijn (Economic matters) & Van Aken (Vendex), Het Parool 28-10-1989; Vendex, Bijenkorf, Het Parool 3-11-1989; Van Ierschoot (Vereniging Amsterdam City & Bijenkorf) & Chamber of Commerce, Het Parool 23-11-1987; Van der Kolk (Chamber of Commerce, but written as a private person), Het Parool 22-3-1988; Van der Kok, Fireworker Jan Wolf, Auke Bijlsma, Tjebbe van Tijen, Frans Amende, Albert van Hattum & Jeroen Verhulst, Het Parool 26-11-1986; Joseph Elburg (Real estate agent), De Telegraaf 24-2-1987; M. Martens (Reader's letter), Het Parool 20-7-1987; De Vilder (Chamber of Commerce), Local council Amsterdam, Local council Rotterdam, Dutch State & Regenboog, Het Parool 17-9-1988; Commerce & industry Amsterdam, Het Parool 24-5-1989; H.J. Jansen Maneschijn (Reader's letter), Het Parool 10-10-1989; Prof. L. Bak (Planning), Het Parool 4-11-1988; Prof. Bak, De Graaf (Chairman Foundation for Dutch Private developers), Gerard Bakker, Jacobus Recourt & Zadelhoff (Real estate agents), De Tijd 25-11-1988; Teun Koolhaas (Architect), Plan Nieuw Amsterdam, Stad aan het IJ, Ontwerpbureau Teun Koolhaas Associates, Almere 1992; Teun Koolhaas (Architect), Trouw 1-9-1992; Teun Koolhaas (Architect) & Van Rijs (AWF), De Volkskrant 1-9-1992; Ir. D. Lambert, Het Parool 26-5-1990; Adri Duivesteijn (Former alderman PvdA Den Haag), Het Parool 9-1-1990

<sup>156</sup> Wouter van der Kolk (Chamber of Commerce), Het Parool 24-6-1991

<sup>157</sup> Unknown journalist, Het Parool 22-3-1988

<sup>158</sup> Unknown journalist, Het Parool 22-3-1988

<sup>159</sup> H.J. Jansen Maneschijn (Reader's letter), Het Parool 10-10-1989

<sup>160</sup> Van der Kolk (Chamber of Commerce, but written as a private person), Het Parool 22-3-1988; Unknown journalist, Het Parool 22-3-1988

<sup>161</sup> Teun Koolhaas (Architect) & Van Rijs (AWF), Het Parool 1-9-1992; Teun Koolhaas (Architect) & Van Rijs (AWF), Trouw 1-9-1992; Van Rijs & Koolhaas, De Volkskrant 1-9-1992

<sup>162</sup> Wouter van der Kolk (Chamber of Commerce), Het Parool 24-6-1991; Saris, Genet, Ten Have & Houterman, Het Parool 18-4-1990; De Vilder (Chamber of Commerce), Local council Amsterdam, Local council Rotterdam, Dutch State & Regenboog, Het Parool 17-9-1988; H.J. Jansen Maneschijn (Reader's letter), Het Parool 10-10-1989

<sup>163</sup> Vereniging Amsterdam City, Alderman Van Duijn (Economic matters) & Van Aken (Vendex), Het Parool 28-10-1989; Vendex, Bijenkorf, Het Parool 3-11-1989; Chamber of Commerce & Vereniging Amsterdam City, Het Parool 21-3-1989

<sup>164</sup> Van Ierschoot (Vereniging Amsterdam City & Bijenkorf) & Chamber of Commerce, Het Parool 23-11-1987; Vereniging Amsterdam City, Alderman Van Duijn (Economic matters) & Van Aken (Vendex), Het Parool 28-10-1989; Chamber of Commerce & Vereniging Amsterdam City, Het Parool 21-3-1989; Several economists, Nieuws van de Dag 2-11-1989; Vendex, Bijenkorf, Het Parool 3-11-1989; Shop owners, Reformatorisch Dagblad 3-1-1990

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<sup>165</sup> Unknown journalist, *Het Parool* 22-3-1988; Prof. Nijkamp (Regional Economy, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam), *Intermediair* 6-11-1987; Ir. D. Lambert, *Het Parool* 26-5-1990; Chamber of Commerce, *Het Parool* 6-7-1994; Vereniging Amsterdam City, Alderman Van Duijn (Economic matters) & Van Aken (Vendex), *Het Parool* 28-10-1989; Chamber of Commerce, *Financieel Dagblad* 27-1-1989; VVD, *Het Financieel Dagblad* 19-12-1985

<sup>166</sup> Ir. D. Lambert, *Het Parool* 26-5-1990

<sup>167</sup> Teun Koolhaas (Architect), *Plan Nieuw Amsterdam, Stad aan het IJ*, Ontwerpbureau Teun Koolhaas Associates, Almere 1992

<sup>168</sup> Vereniging Amsterdam City, Alderman Van Duijn (Economic matters) & Van Aken (Vendex), *Het Parool* 28-10-1989; Marja Baak (Councillor D66) & Luijten (Councillor VVD), *Het Parool* 13-12-1989; Van Ierschot (Vereniging Amsterdam City & Bijenkorf) & Chamber of Commerce, *Het Parool* 23-11-1987; Chamber of Commerce, *Financieel Dagblad* 27-1-1989; Chamber of Commerce, *d'Oude Stadt & Schuiling (ARS)*, *De Volkskrant* 8-11-1989; Unknown journalist, *Het Parool* 22-3-1988; Ronteltap (VVD), *Het Parool* 12-1-1988; Ronteltap (VVD), *Het Parool* 15-1-1988; Unknown journalist, *De Volkskrant* 5-8-1988

<sup>169</sup> Mayor and aldermen, *Haarlems Dagblad* 7-11-1980, also in: Alderman Van der Vlis, *Het Parool* 5-11-1981

<sup>170</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, *Ontwerp structuurplan 1994 Amsterdam Open Stad*, pp. 25, 28-30, 77; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, *Ontwerp structuurplan 1994 Amsterdam Open Stad, Toelichting*, p. 62; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, *Ontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, De Stad Centraal 1984*, pp. 11, 18, 46; Local council Amsterdam, *Structuurplan 1991*, pp. 15, 26, 79; Councillor Bert Holvast (Links Akkoord), *Het Parool* 5-3-1988; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, *Amsterdam presenteert IJ-oever plan, 9-2-1993*; Mayor and aldermen, *Trouw* 13-11-1981; Ronteltap (VVD), *Het Parool* 12-1-1988; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, *De stad Centraal 1986*, pp. 13-15, 22; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, *De stad Centraal 1986 Deel 2 Toelichting*, pp. 9-13, 15, 22, 53; Alderman Van der Vlis, *Het Parool* 5-11-1981; Van der Vlis & Dutch State, *NRC Handelsblad* 15-9-1983; Aldermen 4 biggest cities in the Netherlands, *Economisch Dagblad* 20-12-1982; Local council Amsterdam, *Trouw* 24-12-1986

<sup>171</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, *Amsterdam presenteert IJ-oever plan, 9-2-1993*; Local council Amsterdam, *Het Parool* 11-11-1986; Van der Kok, Fireworker Jan Wolf, Auke Bijlsma, Tjebbe van Tijen, Frans Amende, Albert van Hattum & Jeroen Verhulst, *Het Parool* 26-11-1986; Local council Amsterdam & Inhabitants IJ-eiland, *Nieuws van de Dag* 25-11-1987; De Vilder (Chamber of Commerce), Local council Amsterdam, Local council Rotterdam, Dutch State & Regenboog, *Het Parool* 17-9-1988; Van Thijn & Van Rijs, *Het Parool* 24-9-1990; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, *De stad Centraal 1986*, p. 11

<sup>172</sup> Van Engelsdorp Gastelaars, *Intermediair* 6-11-1987

<sup>173</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, *Amsterdam naar het IJ, Nota van Uitgangspunten voor de IJ-oevers 1991*, 27-6-1991, pp. 7, 11; Van der Vlis, ARS & Dijkstra, *Het Parool* 18-5-1989; Deel 2: de toelichting p. 164; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, *Ontwerp structuurplan 1994 Amsterdam Open Stad*, pp. 25-26, 63, 64; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, *Ontwerp structuurplan 1994 Amsterdam Open Stad, Toelichting*, pp. 123, 125; Local council Amsterdam, *Structuurplan 1991*, pp. 49, 53, 83, 86, 156; Van der Vlis, *Het Parool* 9-11-1987;

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Mayor van Thijn, Het Parool 30-5-1988; Local planning department, Werk in uitvoering July/August 1986; Local council, Van der Vliis, NRC Handelsblad 6-3-1989; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, De stad Centraal 1986, p. 9; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam presenteert IJ-oever plan, 9-2-1993; Wijnand Duyvendak, Frits Roest & Henk Hofland, De Volkskrant 13-6-1991; Van Thijn, Het Parool 9-1-1989; Mayor and aldermen, Het Parool 24-11-1990; Walter Etty in: Jose van Campen, Ad Hereijgers, Dick Schuiling (Eds.), Financiering en maatschappij langs het IJ, Universiteit van Amsterdam Planologisch en Demografisch instituut, Amsterdam 1990, pp. 24, 25; Saris, Nieuws van de Dag 30-10-1990

<sup>174</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam naar het IJ, Nota van Uitgangspunten voor de IJ-oever 1991, 27-6-1991, pp. 9, 15; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Ontwerp structuurplan 1994 Amsterdam Open Stad, p. 12; Van der Vliis, Het Parool 19-2-1986; Vereniging Amsterdam City, Alderman Van Duijn (Economic matters) & Van Aken (Vendex), Het Parool 28-10-1989; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 11-11-1986; Local council Amsterdam & ARS, Het Parool 9-6-1987; De Vilder (Chamber of Commerce), Local council Amsterdam, Local council Rotterdam, Dutch State & Regenboog, Het Parool 17-9-1988; Saris, Het Parool 14-10-1992; Saris, De Volkskrant 18-9-1992; Local council Amsterdam, De Volkskrant 22-5-1981; Local council Amsterdam, Nieuws van de Dag 23-6-1981; Local council Amsterdam, De Telegraaf 22-2-1985; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 14-4-1986; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 31-10-1989; Saris & Dutch State, Het Parool 4-9-1990; Doets (MBO), Het Parool 4-5-1991; P. Jonker (PvdA), Het Parool 30-10-1991; Local council Amsterdam, Typhoon 2-11-1990; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 7-11-1990; Saris, Het Parool 13-4-1991; Local planning department, Werk in uitvoering July/August 1986; D.A. Rompelman (Chief journalist journal VastgoedMarkt), Trouw 19-4-1990; Van Hattum, NRC Handelsblad 26-11-1986; Local council Amsterdam, Typhoon 30-1-1992

<sup>175</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam naar het IJ, Nota van Uitgangspunten voor de IJ-oever 1991, 27-6-1991, pp. 24, 99; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam presenteert IJ-oever plan, 9-2-1993

<sup>176</sup> De Vilder (Chamber of Commerce), Local council Amsterdam, Local council Rotterdam, Dutch State & Regenboog, Het Parool 17-9-1988

<sup>177</sup> De Vilder (Chamber of Commerce), Local council Amsterdam, Local council Rotterdam, Dutch State & Regenboog, Het Parool 17-9-1988; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Ontwerp structuurplan 1994 Amsterdam Open Stad, Toelichting, p. 191; Saris, Genet, Ten Have & Houterman, Het Parool 18-4-1990

<sup>178</sup> Local council Amsterdam, Nieuws van de Dag 10-3-1986; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Ontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, De Stad Centraal 1984, p. 11; F. van Beek (Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordening Amsterdam), Nieuws van de Dag 30-1-1993; Local council Amsterdam, De Volkskrant 13-6-1991; Van der Vliis, Het Parool 9-11-1987; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, De stad Centraal 1986, pp. 15, 22, 45; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam presenteert IJ-oever plan, 9-2-1993; Local council Amsterdam, Structuurplan 1991; Van Thijn, Report conference Spring t IJ, suggesties en ideeën voor de verdere ontwikkeling van de IJ-oever, 14-6-1991, Stichting Noordzij Amsterdam, p. 13; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam naar het IJ, Nota van

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Uitgangspunten voor de IJ-oeveren 1991, 27-6-1991; Local council Amsterdam, NRC Handelsblad 9-1-1990; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 25-5-1988; Local council, Van der Vlis, NRC Handelsblad 6-3-1989; Local council Amsterdam, Lambooy (economist), Timmerman (real estate agent), Nieuws van de Dag 10-3-1986; Walter Ety, in: Jose van Campen, Ad Hereijgers, Dick Schuiling (Eds.), Financiering en maatschappij langs het IJ, Universiteit van Amsterdam Planologisch en Demografisch instituut, Amsterdam 1990, p. 25; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Ontwerp structuurplan 1994 Amsterdam Open Stad, pp. 11, 13, 24-26, 98, 103, 123; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 19-2-1986; Van der Vlis, Het Parool 9-11-1987; Van der Vlis, ARS & Dijkstra, Het Parool 18-5-1989; Saris, Trouw 10-1-1990; P. Jonker (PvdA), Het Parool 30-10-1991; Wijnand Duyvendak, Het Parool 28-11-1992; VVD, Het Financieel Dagblad 19-12-1985; Inhabitants Oostelijke Eilanden, Nieuws van de Dag 13-2-1992; Van de Bunt consultancy & Van Thijn, Nieuws van de Dag 11-3-1991; Van de Bunt consultancy & Van Thijn, De Volkskrant 11-3-1991; Van de Bunt consultancy & Van Thijn, Typhoon 12-3-1991; Van de Bunt consultancy & Van Thijn, NRC Handelsblad 14-3-1991

<sup>179</sup> Saris, De Volkskrant 13-6-1991; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Ontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, De Stad Centraal 1984, pp. 11, 15; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Ontwerp structuurplan 1994 Amsterdam Open Stad, pp. 25, 93, 101, 119, 123; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, De stad Centraal 1986, p. 29; F. van Beek (Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordening Amsterdam), Nieuws van de Dag 30-1-1993

<sup>180</sup> Mayor and aldermen, Nieuws van de Dag 22-3-1989; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam naar het IJ, Nota van Uitgangspunten voor de IJ-oeveren 1991, 27-6-1991, p. 15; Local council, Het Parool 7-11-1980

<sup>181</sup> Local council Amsterdam, Unknown newspaper 16-11-1991; Local council Amsterdam, Trouw 24-10-1991

<sup>182</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam naar het IJ, Nota van Uitgangspunten voor de IJ-oeveren 1991, 27-6-1991, pp. 5, 7, 15, 57; Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam presenteert IJ-oever plan, 9-2-1993; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 5-4-1989; Geert Mak, Ite Rümke, W.F. Heinemeijer, Chamber of Commerce, Links Akkoord, Michael van der Vlis, Het Parool 31-10-1989; Local council Amsterdam, Nieuws van de Dag 23-9-1989; Local council Amsterdam, Nieuws van de Dag 24-10-1987; Local council Amsterdam & Inhabitants IJ-eiland, Het Parool 17-11-1987; Van der Kok, Fireworker Jan Wolf, Auke Bijlsma, Tjebbe van Tijen, Frans Amende, Albert van Hattum & Jeroen Verhulst, Het Parool 26-11-1986; Local council Amsterdam, Nieuws van de Dag 19-2-1986; Heinemeijer, Het Parool 6-6-1991; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 2-8-1990; Alderman Genet (PvdA), Stadsnieuws April 1989; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 31-5-1991; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 28-10-1983; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 13-8-1990; Local council Amsterdam, Stadsnieuws April 1989; Local council Amsterdam, Nieuws van de Dag 12-5-1989; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 12-5-1989; Van Ierschot (Vereniging Amsterdam City & Bijenkorf) & Chamber of Commerce, Het Parool 23-11-1987; Schuiling, Van Hattum & Urhahn, Nieuws van de Dag 20-11-1986; Various inhabitants Amsterdam, Van Tijen (former protestor against metro) & private investors, NRC Handelsblad 26-11-1986; Local council Amsterdam & ARS, Het Parool 9-6-1987; Van der Vlis, ARS & Dijkstra, Het Parool 18-5-1989; Commerce

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& industry Amsterdam, Het Parool 24-5-1989; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 25-6-1991; Local council Amsterdam, Nieuws van de Dag 25-6-1991; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 26-6-1991; Els Agtsteribbe (Councillor PvdA), Nieuws van de Dag 26-5-1989; Heinemeijer, NRC Handelsblad 21-1-1985; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 11-11-1986; Local council Amsterdam, NRC Handelsblad 9-1-1990; Local planning department, Werk in uitvoering July/August 1986

<sup>183</sup> Van Hattum & Zuiderveld, NRC Handelsblad 2-6-1985; Local council Amsterdam & Inhabitants, De Waarheid 3-5-1988; Various inhabitants IJ eiland & Local council Amsterdam, Nieuws van de Dag 3-5-1988; Wijnand Duyvendak, Frits Roest & Henk Hofland, De Volkskrant 13-6-1991

<sup>184</sup> Van der Vlis, Algemeen Dagblad 17-6-1989; Van der Vlis, Algemeen Handelsblad 17-6-1989

<sup>185</sup> Local council Amsterdam, local council Rotterdam & Dutch State, Het Parool 17-9-1988

<sup>186</sup> Saris & Greenberg, Het Parool 26-6-1992; Saris & van Rijs, Het Parool 4-2-1992; Saris & van Rijs, Het Parool 17-6-1992

<sup>187</sup> Unknown participant, Het Parool 17-9-1988. He wanted to stay anonymous because the least he wanted was a fight with Amsterdam, he said.

<sup>188</sup> Local council Amsterdam, NRC Handelsblad 20-10-1989; Geert Mak, Ite Rümke, W.F. Heinemeijer, Chamber of Commerce, Links Akkoord, Michael van der Vlis, Het Parool 31-10-1989; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 16-12-1989; Prof. Dijkstra (Supervisor IJ-oever), Het Parool 14-1-1989; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 2-12-1988; Van der Laan, Het Parool 23-3-1993

<sup>189</sup> Councillors & various inhabitants Oostelijk Havengebied, Het Parool 15-6-1991; PvdA, local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 13-6-1990; Unknown journalist about city planners IJ-oever, Het Parool 17-9-1992; Mayor & aldermen, Dijkstra, Het Parool 24-12-1988; Mayor van Thijn, NRC Handelsblad 2-1-1989; Van der Vlis, DRO, Dijkstra & Genet, NRC Handelsblad 30-12-1988; Van Rijs & Saris, Trouw 8-1-1992; Unknown journalist about city planners IJ-oever, De Volkskrant 14-3-1991; Dutch State, De Volkskrant 15-11-1990; Local council Amsterdam, Nieuws van de Dag 4-12-1990; Local council Amsterdam, De Volkskrant 5-12-1990; Local council Amsterdam, Trouw 5-12-1990; Local council Amsterdam, Reformatorisch Dagblad 5-12-1990; Local council Amsterdam, Nieuws van de Dag 4-12-1990; Local council Amsterdam, NRC Handelsblad 5-12-1990; Local council Amsterdam, De Volkskrant 11-12-1990; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 12-12-1990; P. Jonker (PvdA), Het Parool 30-10-1991; Van Thijn, Alderman Jonker & Councillor Bruins Slot (CDA), Het Parool 17-9-1992; Van Thijn, Nieuws van de Dag 17-9-1992; Unknown journalist, Het Parool 18-9-1992; Unknown journalist, Nieuws van de Dag 18-9-1992; Saris, Jonker, Het Parool 9-1-1992; Jonker, Het Parool 19-9-1992; Saris & Dijkstra, Het Parool 14-5-1991; Van Rijs & Saris, Het Parool 17-6-1992; Van Rijs & Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 17-6-1992; Van Rijs & Wim Hartman; (Commissioner Dienst Ruimtelijke Ordening), Nieuwe Noord Hollandse Krant 18-6-1992; Van Rijs (AWF), NRC Handelsblad 1-9-1992; Koolhaas & Van Rijs, Financieel Dagblad 12-9-1992; Various participants, Algemeen Dagblad 4-2-1992; Various participants, Typhoon 4-2-1992; Varma (councillor Groen Links) & Saris, Het Parool 7-11-1991; Van der Laan, Het Parool 23-3-1993; Van Thijn, Report conference Spring t IJ, suggesties en ideeën voor de



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verdere ontwikkeling van de IJ-oever, 14-6-1991, Stichting Noordzij Amsterdam; Stichting Noordzij, buurtontwikkelingsmaatschappij Spaarndammer & Zeeheldenbuurt, Wijkcentrum Oost Havengebied

<sup>190</sup> Something which was also noticed for example by Frans Heddeema (journalist), Het Parool 12-2-1993

<sup>191</sup> Local council Amsterdam & Inhabitants IJ-eiland, Het Parool 17-11-1987; Local council Amsterdam & various inhabitants IJ-eiland, Het Parool 25-11-1987; Van der Vlis, Van Duijn (Groen Amsterdam), De Volkskrant 1-10-1987; d'Oude Stadt & Van der Vlis, Algemeen Dagblad 17-6-1989; Maarten Mentzel (Town and country planner), Het Parool 28-10-1981 and Van der Vlis' response in: Het Parool 5-11-1981; Local council Amsterdam, De Waarheid 3-1-1990; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 3-1-1990

<sup>192</sup> FNV (Dutch Trades Union Congress), Het Parool 14-1-1993; Het Parool 14-1-1993; Nieuws van de Dag 22-1-1993

<sup>193</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Amsterdam naar het IJ, Nota van Uitgangspunten voor de IJ-oever 1991, 27-6-1991, p. 35; Saris, Genet, Ten Have & Houterman, Het Parool 18-4-1990; Alderman Ten Have (D66), Het Parool 26-9-1989; Local council Amsterdam, NRC Handelsblad 28-11-1989; Wijnand Duyvendak, Frits Roest & Henk Hofland, De Volkskrant 13-6-1991; Greenberg (International supervisor), AWF & Saris, Het Parool 9-9-1992; Van der Vlis & Dijkstra, NRC Handelsblad 14-6-1989; Tjeerd Dijkstra, Het Parool 27-1-1990; Greenberg, Unknown newspaper 26-5-1990; Greenber, Het Parool 24-10-1992; Van der Vlis, ARS & Dijkstra, Het Parool 18-5-1989; Koolhaas & Greenberg, Financieel Dagblad 12-9-1992; Dijkstra, Het Parool 8-1-1990; Dijkstra & Van Rijs, Trouw 10-2-1990; Greenberg, NRC Handelsblad 26-6-1992; Saris & Greenberg, Nieuws van de Dag 26-6-1992; Koolhaas & Greenberg, Financieel Dagblad 12-9-1992; Saris, Het Parool 8-1-1991; Saris, Reformatorisch Dagblad 25-6-1992; Greenberg, Het Parool 18-5-1990; Dijkstra, Algemeen Dagblad 10-1-1990; Dijkstra, Het Parool 6-11-1991; Dijkstra, Het Parool 14-4-1991; Aldermen 4 biggest cities in the Netherlands, Economisch Dagblad 20-12-1982; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 23-6-1983; Van der Vlis & Dutch State, NRC Handelsblad 15-9-1983; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 11-4-1991; Van Rijs, Dijkstra, Saris, Het Parool 7-1-1992; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 11-1-1992; Local council Amsterdam, Dijkstra & Saris, Het Parool 13-1-1992; Saris, Het Parool 4-2-1992

<sup>194</sup> Van der Vlis, DRO, Dijkstra & Genet, NRC Handelsblad 30-12-1988

<sup>195</sup> Saris, De Volkskrant 18-9-1992

<sup>196</sup> Van Dalen, planner working for the local government, Het Parool 30-5-1988

<sup>197</sup> Local council Amsterdam in: Nieuwe Noordhollandse Krant, 11-1-1990; De Telegraaf 11-1-1990; De Volkskrant 11-1-1990; Het Parool 11-1-1990; Trouw 11-1-1990; Algemeen Dagblad 11-1-1990; NRC Handelsblad 11-1-1990; De Waarheid 11-1-1990; Reformatorisch Dagblad 11-1-1990; De Volkskrant 11-1-1990; Financieel Dagblad 11-1-1990

<sup>198</sup> Van Duijn, Het Parool 11-1-1990

<sup>199</sup> Saris, Trouw 16-1-1991; d'Oude Stadt & Van der Vlis, Algemeen Dagblad 17-6-1989

<sup>200</sup> Local Planning Department Amsterdam, Ontwerp Structuurplan Amsterdam, De Stad Centraal 1984; and emphasized again in: Local council Amsterdam, Structuurplan 1991, p. 24

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<sup>201</sup> Walter Etty in: Jose van Campen, Ad Hereijgers, Dick Schuiling (Eds.), *Financiering en maatschappij langs het IJ*, Universiteit van Amsterdam Planologisch en Demografisch instituut, Amsterdam 1990, p. 25; Saris, *Het Parool* 26-5-1990; Saris, *Gemeentebblad* 1989 (afdeling 2, deel I), 19-4-1989, pp. 980, 1004; *Het Parool* 26-5-1990; Van Duijn (Groen Amsterdam), *Gemeentebblad* 1989 (afdeling 2, deel I), 19-4-1989, p. 1006; Tammens (LA), *Gemeentebblad* 1989 (afdeling 2, deel II), 20-9-1989, p. 1574; Van Duijn (Groen Amsterdam), *Gemeentebblad* 1989 (afdeling 2, deel II), 20-9-1989, p. 1575; Genet, *Gemeentebblad* 1989 (afdeling 2, deel II), 20-9-1989, pp. 1575-1576; Blok (VVD), *Gemeentebblad* 1989 (afdeling 2, deel II), 15-11-1989, p. 1830; Van Duijn (Groen Amsterdam), *Gemeentebblad* 1989 (afdeling 2, deel II), 15-11-1989, p. 1832; Van der Vlis, *Gemeentebblad* 1989 (afdeling 2, deel II), 15-11-1989, pp. 1832-1833; Agtsteribbe (PvdA), *Gemeentebblad* 1989 (afdeling 2, deel II), 15-11-1989, p. 1834; Papineau Salm (PvdA), *Gemeentebblad* 1990 (afdeling 2, deel I), 10-1-1990, pp. 15-19; Blok (VVD), *Gemeentebblad* 1990 (afdeling 2, deel I), 10-1-1990, p. 23; Saris, *Gemeentebblad* 1990 (afdeling 2, deel I), 10-1-1990, pp. 28-30; Tammens (Groen Links), *Gemeentebblad* 1990 (afdeling 2, deel I), 10-1-1990, p. 30; Baak (D66), *Gemeentebblad* 1990 (afdeling 2, deel I), 10-1-1990, p. 36; Van Duijn (Groen Amsterdam), *Gemeentebblad* 1990 (afdeling 2, deel I), 10-1-1990, pp. 40-41; Van der Vlis, *Gemeentebblad* 1990 (afdeling 2, deel I), 10-1-1990, pp. 42-57; Blok (VVD), *Gemeentebblad* 1990 (afdeling 2, deel I), 10-1-1990, p. 63; Van der Vlis, *Gemeentebblad* 1990 (afdeling 2, deel I), 10-1-1990, p. 68; Tammens (Groen Links), *Gemeentebblad* 1990 (afdeling 2, deel I), 10-1-1990, p. 69; Baak (D66), *Gemeentebblad* 1990 (afdeling 2, deel I), 10-1-1990, p. 71; Van Duijn (Groen Amsterdam), *Gemeentebblad* 1990 (afdeling 2, deel I), 10-1-1990, p. 72; Van der Vlis, *Gemeentebblad* 1990 (afdeling 2, deel I), 10-1-1990, pp. 77-78; Saris, *Gemeentebblad* 1990 (afdeling 2, deel I), 10-1-1990, p. p. 78; Van der Vlis, *Gemeentebblad* 1990 (afdeling 2, deel I), 10-1-1990, p. 78; Van Hoeve (PvdA), *Gemeentebblad* 1990 (afdeling 2, deel II), 27-6-1990, p. 1238; J. van Duijn (CDA), *Gemeentebblad* 1990 (afdeling 2, deel II), 19-12-1990, p. 2061; Van Hattum, *Gemeentebblad* 1990 (afdeling 2, deel II), 19-12-1990, p. 2064; Van der Laan (PvdA), *Gemeentebblad* 1990 (afdeling 2, deel II), 19-12-1990, p. 2066; Robbers (D66), *Gemeentebblad* 1990 (afdeling 2, deel II), 19-12-1990, p. 2068; Hooijmaijers (VVD), *Gemeentebblad* 1990 (afdeling 2, deel II), 19-12-1990, p. 2069; J. Van Duijn (CDA), *Gemeentebblad* 1990 (afdeling 2, deel II), 19-12-1990, p. 2069; Van der Laan, *Gemeentebblad* 1990 (afdeling 2, deel II), 19-12-1990, pp. 1112-1113; Hooijmaijers (VVD), *Gemeentebblad* 1990 (afdeling 2, deel II), 19-12-1990, pp. 1133-1135; Witte-Buijserd (Groen Amsterdam), *Gemeentebblad* 1990 (afdeling 2, deel II), 19-12-1990, p. 1141; J. Van Duijn (CDA), *Gemeentebblad* 1990 (afdeling 2, deel II), 19-12-1990, p. 1141; Witte-Buijserd (Groen Amsterdam), *Gemeentebblad* 1990 (afdeling 2, deel II), 19-12-1990, p. 1143; Bruyn (Onafhankelijk), *Gemeentebblad* 1990 (afdeling 2, deel II), 19-12-1990, pp. 1145-1146; Saris, *Gemeentebblad* 1990 (afdeling 2, deel II), 19-12-1990, p. 1148; Bruins Slot (CDA), *Gemeentebblad* 1993 (afdeling 2, deel I), 17-4-1993, pp. 345-346; Van Thijn, *Gemeentebblad* 1993 (afdeling 2, deel I), 17-4-1993, pp. 347-349; Platvoet, *Gemeentebblad* 1993 (afdeling 2, deel I), 17-4-1993, p. 355; Bruins Slot, *Gemeentebblad* 1993 (afdeling 2, deel I), 21-4-1993, pp. 400-402; Van der Laan, *Gemeentebblad* 1993 (afdeling 2, deel I), 21-4-1993, p. 403; Hofman (Centrum Democraten), *Gemeentebblad* 1993 (afdeling 2, deel I), 21-4-1993, p. 409; Holvast,

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Gemeenteblad 1993 (afdeling 2, deel I), 21-4-1993, p. 410; Hooijmaijers, Gemeenteblad 1993 (afdeling 2, deel I), 21-4-1993, pp. 411-412; Saris, Gemeenteblad 1993 (afdeling 2, deel I), 21-4-1993, p. 413

<sup>202</sup> Saris, Trouw 16-1-1991; Saris, De Volksrant 13-6-1991; Saris, Het Parool 8-1-1991; Local council Amsterdam, NRC Handelsblad 9-1-1990; Various aldermen & investment companies, NRC Handelsblad 20-3-1991

<sup>203</sup> Saris, Trouw 10-1-1990

<sup>204</sup> Local planning council, Teun Koolhaas & Van Rijs, De Volkskrant 1-9-1992; Local planning council, Teun Koolhaas & Van Rijs, Het Parool 1-9-1992; Local planning council, Teun Koolhaas & Van Rijs, Reformatorisch Dagblad 1-9-1992; Local planning council, Teun Koolhaas & Van Rijs, Gooi en Eemlander 1-9-1992; Local planning council, Teun Koolhaas & Van Rijs, Het Parool 1-9-1992; Local planning council, Teun Koolhaas & Van Rijs, Haarlems Dagblad 1-9-1992; Local planning council, Teun Koolhaas & Van Rijs, Alkmaarse Courant 1-9-1992; Local planning council, Koolhaas & Van Rijs, Financieel Dagblad 12-9-1992; Nijpels, Het Parool 17-2-1989; Groenhof (Investor), Trouw 19-4-1990

<sup>205</sup> Local council Amsterdam, Financieel Dagblad 10-2-1993; Van Rijs, Saris, NRC Handelsblad 10-2-1993; Local Council Amsterdam, Reformatorisch Dagblad 10-2-1993; Local Council Amsterdam, Nieuws van de Dag 10-2-1993; Local Council Amsterdam, Algemeen Dagblad 11-2-1993; Local Council Amsterdam, Nieuws van de Dag 13-2-1993; ING, Nieuws van de Dag 6-2-1993; ING & Saris, Het Parool 8-2-1993; ING, Het Parool 6-2-1993; Saris, De Volkskrant 24-2-1993; Van Thijn & Van Rijs, Het Parool 24-9-1990; Saris & Ten Have, Nieuws van de Dag 9-2-1993; Local council Amsterdam, NRC Handelsblad 9-2-1993; Van der Laan, Saris & Robbers (D66), NRC Handelsblad 17-2-1993; Local council Amsterdam, Het Parool 9-2-1993; ING & Saris, De Volkskrant 10-2-1993

<sup>206</sup> Various participants, Algemeen Dagblad 4-2-1993; Various participants, Typhoon 4-2-1993; Frans Heddema (Journalist), Het Parool 12-2-1993; Initiatiefgroep Open Stad, Het Parool 15-2-1993; Hooijmaijers (VVD Spokesman) & Saris, Het Parool 22-2-1993; Unknown journalist, Algemeen Dagblad 4-2-1992; Unknown journalist, Het Parool 16-12-1989; Unknown journalist, Het Parool 10-2-1993; Van Rijs, NRC Handelsblad 10-2-1993

<sup>207</sup> Polak, De Waarheid 22-6-1983

<sup>208</sup> C. Rooijendijk, The narrow-mindedness of contemporary devotees of cultural heritage. Cultural urban heritage in images of Amsterdam in the fifties and nineties, In: L. Deben, W. Salet & M. van Thoor (eds), The future of the historic inner city of Amsterdam, Aksant, Amsterdam 2004; Nieuws van de Dag 14-2-1987; De Volkskrant 28-2-1991; NRC Handelsblad 28-3-1991; Amsterdams Stadsblad 11-9-1991; Alkmaarse Courant 12-3-1992; Het Parool 14-2-1996; Het Parool 7-10-1996; Het Parool 11-1-1996

## Conclusions Part 3

Despite evidence of urban decline, of the suburbanization of people and businesses, of increasing social and economic differences between a poor city and rich suburbs and villages, of historic buildings being swept away, traffic congestion, air pollution, some segregation of immigrants from autochthons, etc., culturalists, city planners and progressists managed to find a few needles in the haystack, a few positive facts out of the quite large pool of soberness, and it had not occurred to anyone to accept urban decline. In period 3, from all contributions, again, a torrid story can be read of love and passion for their future, flourishing city. And despite the differences, all level's 2 of the urban ideal images were meant to realize that one thing: a flourishing future city; level 1 of their urban ideal images.

On level 2 of the urban ideal images, the same dichotomy as identified in periods 1 and 2 was identified. While progressists and city planners emphasized the importance of idealizing a future city, of a CBD heart located in the inner city and on top of the urban hierarchy, and of city planning focussing on trade and industry; culturalists idealized the past, wanted to create a cultural historic inner city, and wanted planning to focus on community and history. The gap between culturalists on the one hand and progressists and city planners on the other, which had been there since 1946, had proved itself as stubborn as a mule and perhaps even insurmountable.

Once more, culturalists emphasized the backwardness of the idea of a CBD located in the inner city and being on top of the urban hierarchy – part of level 2 of the urban ideal images of city planners and progressists. And although the culturalist ideal was not forward-looking either, and although this statement was only used only as a strategy, the fact remained that in period 3, culturalists had at their disposal all the facts to support that statement. Regarding their vocabulary, city planners and progressists were aware of that. They increasingly used terms like 'again', 'back' and '*stemming the rising tide*', as though they wanted to restore a former situation instead of creating a new, forward-looking city. In addition, as we have seen too, some progressists and some city planners indeed tried to get support for a different and indeed more progressive element regarding the CBD. They were called to order by their category members, but it still seemed a portent of things to come. I shall return to this in Chapter 9.

Again, there was a correlation between occupation and ideology, and level 2 of the urban ideal images. And again, the identity of culturalist urban intellectuals in period 3 was quite similar to that in periods 1 and 2. The dominance of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhood action groups in period 2 had almost disappeared in period 3. Just a few lost souls had survived until

the third period – a few inhabitants living in neighbourhoods directly involved and a few ex-members of 19<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhood action groups – but the rest had been absorbed by the grey herds. In addition, human geographers, architects, sociologists, and historians – including professors – described a culturalist ideal urban image, as did people working for several monumental organizations – private as well as public ones – and were writers interested in urban history. Moreover, a few intellectuals normally concerned with subjects of nation-wide importance fell into this category too, as did council members with leftist and conservative ideologies (Links Akkoord, De Groenen, Groen Amsterdam, Groen Links, D'66, PPR, PSP and CDA).

Since periods 1 and 2, the identity of progressist urban intellectuals had not changed much either. In period 3, the Chamber of Commerce, foundations for the promotion of high-rise buildings, foundations for promoting CBD developments, shop-owners, warehouse directors, private enterprises and entrepreneurs described the progressist ideal urban image, as did political parties with liberal-right ideologies (VVD). In addition, professors of Urban & Rural Planning and Regional Economy, planners working for the Dutch organization for Applied Scientific Research (TNO), scientists working for the Economic Geographic Institute, economists, planners and architects also fell into this category. Furthermore, investment banks, property developers, the Dutch State Employees' Pension Scheme, state agents, real estate developers and insurance institutes – that is, including all those who had planned to participate or were potential investors in the waterfront development – described the progressist ideal urban image too, whereby one has to keep in mind two possible scenarios: (a) these private partners had a progressist urban ideal image *after which* they decided to invest in the IJ-as to realize their ideal; or (b) these private partners decided they would invest in the IJ-as *and because of that* they described the progressist ideal urban image. Indeed, particularly in period 3, the difference between national intellectuals, as Gabriëls (2001) has described (Chapter 1), and the urban intellectuals I was studying came to light. This led me to give 'my' intellectuals a different name: 'urban intellectuals' seems to be, at least sometimes, less *freischwebend* than 'national intellectuals'. It seems likely that urban intellectuals tend to be more closely associated with the subject they discuss than national intellectuals are, although I should immediately like to add that the extent to which national intellectuals are *freischwebend* is contestable too, as many social scientists think that humans do nothing unless they have at least some self-interest.

Remarkably, despite just a couple of very passionate individuals, there were hardly any newspaper journalists who personally supported one or the other ideal. They described others' ideals, adding no comments, and did not describe their own ideal urban image either – unlike they had done in periods 1 and 2. I shall return to this point in Chapter 9.

To realize level 2, and in the end level 1, elements on level 3 of the urban ideal image were described. Thereby, the initial table 1 based on Choay's dichotomy was adjusted once more, whereby no true new elements were described in the sense that they had not been described before. Therefore, again, level 3 had been changed a bit, whereby there were both similarities and differences between city planners and progressists on the one hand, and culturalists on the other (table 30). For example, all participants described a compact city of limited size, sharply separated from the green countryside, and with an increasing density towards the centre. They also all described a mix of city functions in urban space, rehabilitated urban quarters, and both large- and small-scaled public transport. Indeed, despite the yawning differences on level 2, the differences between the three categories on level 3 seemed to have diminished over time, as had the differences between Amsterdam and Rotterdam (table 30). I shall return to this point in Chapter 9.

**Table 30 Urban ideal images of culturalists, progressists and city planners, Amsterdam and Rotterdam period 3<sup>1</sup>**

		<b>Elements of urban ideal images</b>	<i>Culturalists</i>	<i>Progressists</i>	<i>City planners before second planning turn</i>	<i>City planners after second planning turn</i>
<b>L</b>			Flourishing city	Flourishing city	Flourishing city	Flourishing city
<b>L</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>Position inner of city</b>	Cultural historic centre	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy	CBD on top of the urban hierarchy
		<b>Orienta tion</b>	Towards the past	Towards the future	Towards the future	Towards the future
		<b>Focus of planning</b>	Community & history	Trade & industry	Trade & industry	Trade & industry
<b>L</b>	<b>G</b>	<b>Basis of planning</b>	Surveys & desires	Survey & desires	Survey & desires	Desires & surveys
			Flexible city plan, not detailed (Adm)	Flexible city plan, not detailed	Flexible city plan, not detailed	Flexible city plan, not detailed

<b>L e v e l 3</b>	<b>G e n e r a l</b>		City as part of a larger whole: the region and the world (Rdm)	City as part of a larger whole: the region and the world	City as part of a larger whole: the region and the world (Adm)	City as part of a larger whole: the region and the world
			Public participation (Adm, Rdm) & public draws up city plans (Adm)	Plans supported by the public	Public participation	Public support or public participation
		<b>Architec ture</b>	Not contempo rary	Contempo rary		Contemporary
		<b>Main planning actor</b>	Government	Private parties	Government	Private parties & government
		<b>City extension</b>	Compact city	Compact city (Rdm)	Compact city (Rdm) / compact city along arterial roads (Adm)	Compact city (Adm, Rdm), along arterial roads (Adm)
		<b>Border between city and country side</b>	Sharp (Rdm)		Sharp	Sharp
		<b>Accent on city or country side</b>	City	City	City	City
		<b>City size</b>	Limited	Limited (Rdm)	Limited	Limited
		<b>Height</b>	Limited	High, unlimited		
		<b>City functions</b>	Mixed	Mixed	Mixed if possible (no nuisance)	Mixed

<b>L e v e l 3</b>	<b>G e n e r a l</b>	<b>History</b>	Pattern of living riddled with history	Keep the past in mind past but focus on future (preserve a few real monuments if not hampering economic growth)	If possible, preserve urban quarters & monuments by alternative plans	If possible, preserve monuments by alternative plans, but focus on the future
		<b>Density</b>	Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city's edge (Adm)	Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city's edge	Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city's edge (Rdm)	Increasing towards the centre, declining towards the city's edge
		<b>Image</b>	Industrial image (Rdm)	Attractive, modern, high tech, international city image (Rdm)	Attractive, modern, high tech, international image (Rdm)	Attractive international competitive image (Rdm)
	<b>D w e l l i n g</b>	<b>Structure</b>	Preserved autonomous urban neighbourhoods (garden cities inside city)		Liveable urban quarters with a high building density	Liveable 19 <sup>th</sup> -century quarters with a high building density
		<b>Housing types</b>	No high-rise buildings			Closed building blocks (Adm). Mix of high- and low-rise
			Identifiable houses	Identifiable houses (Rdm)	Identifiable houses (Rdm)	Identifiable houses



<b>L e v e l 3</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>Stratification</b>	Focus: public housing	Luxurious housing along water fronts	Mixed social strata inside neighbour hoods	Mixed social strata: public housing in 19 <sup>th</sup> -century neighbour hoods, luxurious housing in redevelopment area inner city (Kop van Zuid)
			Mixed social strata	Focus on upscale housing		
		<b>Renewal of residential quarters</b>	Rehabilitation	Rehabilitation (Rdm)	Rehabilitation	Rehabilitation
<b>L e i s u r e</b>	<b>Green elements</b>	Parks, gardens	Luxurious parks with grandeur	City parks, flower-tubs, shrubs	Luxurious public parks	
	<b>Nature</b>	Inside city (Adm)		Nature subordinate to commercial development & located only outside the city		
	<b>Buffers around built-up areas</b>					
	<b>Use of water fronts</b>	Non-commercial	Commercial		Commercial	
	<b>Location of recreational areas</b>	Inside the city (Adm)			Outside the city	
	<b>Work</b>	<b>Location</b>	Mixed with other functions	Separated with a little mix (Rdm)	Mixed if possible (no nuisance)	Mixed

L e v e l 3	<b>W o r k</b>	<b>Indus tries</b>	Inside neighbour hoods		Decentra lized to accessible industrial areas at city's edge (Adm)	Decentralized to accessible industrial areas at city's edge (Adm)
	<b>T r a n s p o r t a t i o n</b>	<b>Focus</b>	Accessible urban areas	Fast & efficient transport system	Fast transport system	Fast & efficient transport system
		<b>Mobility</b>	Based on old structure, radial	Meet mobility needs by construc ting roads	Limit mobility by localizing life	Limit mobility by localizing life
		<b>Design</b>	Limit mobility	Rational, radial/non -radial	No roads that stimulate suburbaniza tion (Rdm). Rational, radial, ring- road	Rational, radial
		<b>Traffic types</b>	Mixed		Separated	Separated
	<b>I n n e r c i t y</b>	<b>Main function</b>	Cultural	Economic	Economic	Economic
		<b>Inner city functions</b>	Mixed	Mixed	Mixed	Mixed
		<b>Location of offices</b>	Mainly outside inner city, mixed inside neighbour hoods	Inside inner city	Inside inner city, partly decentre lized to many small sub-centres	Inside inner city
		<b>Accessibi lity</b>	Moderate	High	High	High
		<b>Car traffic</b>	Limited	Unlimited	Limited	Unlimited but discouraged
		<b>Residen tial function</b>	Large	Limited	Moderate	Metro, busses, trams
		<b>Public transport</b>	Small scaled: trams & buses	Metro & trams	Metro (Rdm), buses, trams (Adm, Rdm)	Moderate

L e v e l 3	I n c i t y	<b>Traffic priority</b>	Public transport	Motorists	Motorists, but attention needed for pedestrians & cyclists	Motorists, but attention needed for pedestrians & cyclists
		<b>Public space</b>	True urban public spaces (Adm)	Luxurious squares and promenades with allure	Liveable (kiosks, benches) (Rdm)	Luxurious, well-designed & well-maintained public space
		<b>Design</b>	Historic – as much as possible	Contemporary, international		Contemporary, international

Culturalists were the kings of creative strategies, which again can be related to the fact that many culturalists have a creative occupation. Moreover, again, culturalists used the most physical expressions, as though words were not effective enough. In addition, culturalists described by far the gloomiest inner city, with its lost economic importance – not so surprisingly because it suited their ideal: they desired an inner city knocked off the top of the urban hierarchy. On the contrary, city planners and progressists described an extremely positive image of the current inner city, and used the motive ‘perfect city’ again, and very frequently. Both appear to be related to the phenomenon city marketing that was very popular in 19<sup>th</sup>-century England for promoting suburbs and seaside resorts, and which regained popularity in the 1980s in particular for reviving former industrial cities in Great Britain (Glasgow, Edinburgh)<sup>2</sup>. Again, city planners had their own, unique strategies, while progressists had not one single strategy that only they used. However, as we have seen, some progressists had one important additional strategy which was highly desired by planners: the money to invest in the waterfront regeneration plans. Once more, despite these differences between culturalists, city planners and progressists, they used many similar strategies. As a result, sometimes, conflicting strategies were used by which they contradicted fellow category members – or themselves (table 31).

If we compare these strategies to those used in periods 1 and 2, three notable things can be identified. First, the motive 'liveability' had lost a bit of its dominance to the motive 'cultural history' – it was just mentioned less than before, and less than the latter motive – which aligns with existing research about this period in the Netherlands<sup>3</sup>. Second, the strategy ‘editorial power’ had almost disappeared, to which I shall return in Chapter 9. But apart from that, most of the strategies that were used in period 1 were used in period 3, which again led to quite painful situations. To recall just a few:

while Amsterdam city planners stated in 1988 that the existing tram network was highly efficient and that it would be very inefficient to construct an additional metro line, shortly after it was said that an additional metro line from north to east should be constructed for reasons of efficiency – although the word ‘metro’ remained taboo for a while. Moreover, the image of the city’s present state could change dramatically: while in the early 1980s, city planners said there was no need for private homes, just a few years later, they observed a huge lack of private homes. Of course, in Chapters 3-8, many similar stories were told about culturalists and progressists. Third, while in period 1, Amsterdammers referred to Rotterdam as a national example of how to plan parts of the city and vice versa, in period 3, quite the opposite occurred: the waterfront projects were competing with each other, and both cities tried to emphasize the forwardness of their own project in order to get supplementary investment subsidies from central government.

Table 31 presents the strategies of both Amsterdammers and Rotterdammers, along with their differences. Again, Amsterdammers made more creative and physical expressions, and again it appeared that Amsterdammers are simply not as quiet, polite, or well-behaved in public as their Rotterdam colleagues are. Amsterdammers behaved like predators, and interfered with everyone's business, and whenever they had even the slightest disagreement with another person, they spoke that out loud and with a high level of indignation. That difference had its consequences for their strategies, as for example the strategy ‘act as one person’ beautifully illustrated. While Rotterdam planners used this strategy successfully, Amsterdam planners fought in public with each other over every single difference of opinion (at least, it seemed they were, and I do not want to think about the possibility that there could be *even more* differences of opinion than I have read about in the endless number of newspaper articles) – and even that much that it shut the mouths of the endlessly nagging Amsterdam intellectuals, which was in itself quite an achievement. However, it truly diminished the faith of outsiders in the ability of Amsterdam city planners to execute such a gigantic project.

In period 3, the changes on level 3 of the urban ideal images were caused neither by the strategies executed in the public debates nor by significant others. A second planning turn took place in the 1980s, which again concerned level 3 of the urban ideal image of city planners. After the first planning turn, city planners had assumed that the attractiveness of the inner city for offices was large and would continue to exist by itself – but that turned out to be a fallacy. In period 3, to safeguard part of level 2 of their urban ideal image – namely a CBD in the inner city – businesses should be encouraged to settle inside the inner city. Moreover, to strengthen the CBD, city planners proposed constructing luxurious apartments, attractive offices and public spaces with allure. And although the second planning turn may have been influenced by investors describing the progressist urban ideal

image, this second planning turn was not preceded by a city debate of any significance, and thus there is no possibility that the strategies applied in city debates influenced or brought about this second planning turn.

In the early 1990s, the second planning turn was counteracted by adjustments to more moderate city plans. In Amsterdam, this was preceded by a change of guard. Van der Vlis and Genet were replaced by alderman Saris, after which city plans were adjusted. This may have made Saris look like a significant other, but he was not. Instead, it was investors walking away that had forced city planners to adjust their plans. Similar adjustments of city plans occurred in Rotterdam, which were not preceded by a change of guard. In that sense, and contrary to period 2, I am inclined to say that *if* there were any significant others in period 3, they were the investors.

While the influence of culturalist urban intellectuals on the urban ideal image of city planners seemed very small or non-existent in period 3, city planners seemed to have had some influence on level 3 of the urban ideal image of culturalist urban intellectuals. Both in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, planners or their advisers described the good the regeneration of the waterfront would do to the unique cultural heritage of the inner city (Amsterdam) or to the regeneration of 19<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhoods (Rotterdam). In both cities, this resulted in some culturalists deciding to support the waterfront regeneration plans, but as we have seen in Chapters 7 and 8, as part of level 3, that served level 2 of their urban ideal image.

**Table 31 Strategies of culturalists, progressists and city planners Rotterdam and Amsterdam period 3<sup>4</sup>**

	<i>Culturalists</i>	<i>Progressists</i>	<i>City planners</i>
<b>Motives</b>	Image of the present city	Image of the present city	Image of the present city
	Liveability/environment	Liveability/environment (Adm)	Liveability/environment (Adm)
	Efficiency (Adm)	Efficiency	Efficiency
	Cultural history	Cultural history (Adm)	Cultural history (Adm)
	Valuation	Valuation (Adm)	Valuation
	Research methods	Research methods	Research methods
	Facts	Facts	Facts
	Goal will not be reached	Goal will not be reached	Goal will not be reached (Adm)
	Goal cannot be reached		
	Gloomy future	Gloomy future	Gloomy future (Adm)
	Perfect future (Adm)	Perfect future	Perfect future
	Inevitability (Adm)	Inevitably	Inevitability
	Last chance/emergency (Adm)		Last chance/emergency
	International / national examples	International / national examples	International / national examples

<b>Motives</b>	Spent so much time/effort/money (Adm)		Spent so much time/effort/money
	Irreversible		
	People want it	People want it	People want it
	People need it		People need it
	Short public enquiry procedure		
<b>Creative expression</b>	Brochures (Adm)		Brochures
	Photos		Photos
	Songs (Adm)		
	Poems (Adm)		
	Cartoons (Adm)		
	Creative accounting (Adm)	Creative accounting (Adm)	Creative accounting
			Drawings & sketches
	Scale models (Adm)		Scale models
	Lay out reports (Adm)		Lay out reports
Exhibitions (Adm)		Exhibitions	
<b>Linguistic expression</b>	Talking & writing	Talking & writing	Talking & writing
			Present tense
	Vocabulary	Vocabulary	Vocabulary
<b>Friends &amp; enemies</b>	Denigrating	Denigrating (Adm)	Denigrating (Adm)
	Rousing	Rousing (Rdm)	Rousing
	Heroes		
	Scapegoats		Scapegoats
	Lots of us	Lots of us (Adm)	Lots of us
	Curry favour (Adm)	Curry favour	Curry favour
	Just like you (Adm)	Just like you (Adm)	Just like you
		We can change the world! (Rdm)	We can change the world!
			Order! (Mainly Adm)
	Conspiring	Conspiring	Conspiring
			Nothing the matter (Adm)
			Admit failure (Rdm)
<b>Gaining power</b>	Choice reduction	Choice reduction (Adm)	
			Advisory councils
	Emphasizing own power (Adm)	Emphasizing own power	Emphasizing own importance
	Compromise		
	Writing letters/petitions (Adm)	Writing letters/petitions (Adm)	

<b><i>Gaining power</i></b>	Inaccuracies	Inaccuracies (Adm)	
	Revealing secrets (Adm)		
	Refuse to talk		Refuse to talk
			Public enquiry procedure during holidays (Rdm)
	Suppress opponents immediately		Suppress opponents immediately
	Lodge appeals		
			Inform possible opponents intensively and extensively (Rdm)
			Hiding differences of opinion – act as one person (Rdm)
	Establishing political party		
	Ask for referendum		
<b><i>Physical expression</i></b>	Actions (Adm)		Actions (Adm)
	Demonstrations (Adm)		
	Congress		Congress

<sup>1</sup> Empty compartments in this table mean that nothing was said about this particular element. ‘Rdm’ refers to Rotterdam, which means that this particular element was only described in Rotterdam. ‘Adm’ refers to Amsterdam.

<sup>2</sup> S.V. Ward, *Selling places: the marketing and promotion of towns and cities, 1850-2000*, Routledge/ E & FN Spon, London/New York 1998

<sup>3</sup> H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, *Ruimtelijke ordening. Van plannen komen plannen*, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 1996; R. van Engelsdorp Gastelaars & W.G.M. Salet, *Strategische keuzen voor ruimtelijke ontwikkeling*, Amsterdam Study Centre for the metropolitan environment (AME), Amsterdam 1996

<sup>4</sup> Empty compartments in this table mean that this particular strategy was not used. ‘Rdm’ refers to Rotterdam, which means that this strategy was used only in Rotterdam. ‘Adm’ refers to Amsterdam.

Figure 10 Cartoon Mayor Van Thijn (©Joep Bertrams, Het Parool 8-6-1991)







## Chapter 9 Dedicated to the City's Future

*What similarities and what differences between urban ideal images in Rotterdam and Amsterdam 1945-1995 can be identified?*

*What urban ideal images did urban intellectuals and planners articulate? What similarities and what differences can be found between these urban ideal images, and what levels can be identified? To what extent did occupation, nationality and ideology influence similarities and differences between urban ideal images?*

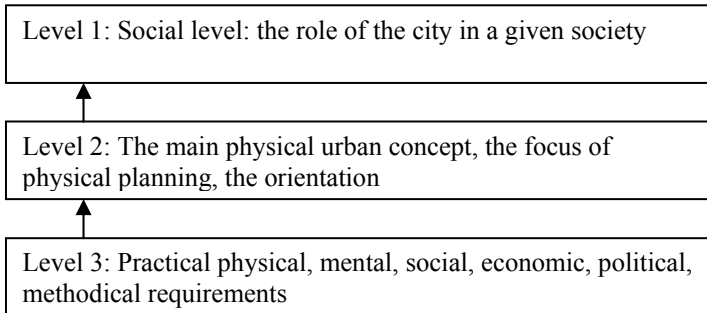
*To what extent and on what level did urban ideal images change? To what extent did these changes occur as a result of (a) the passage of time, (b) the arrival and departure of significant others, and (c) strategies?*

Some dreams do come true. *Brasilia*, which was built in the very centre of nothingness; *Las Vegas*, which arose from the desert sands; the Czech industrial town of *Zlin*; the Dutch town of *Emmeloord*, which was built on land reclaimed from the sea; and *Celebration*, which is based on Disney's ideals: all are examples of dream cities that became reality. Urban ideal images are compasses guiding urban intellectuals and city planners; guides for those who dedicate themselves to the city's future. Thus, it is highly necessary to study the cities of tomorrow, particularly those in the Netherlands – the playground of the world's civic dreamers.

The elements of urban ideal images could be divided into three levels, which have a causal connection (figure 11). The first level concerns the social sphere; it is about the role of the city in a particular society. The second level involves (a) the main physical urban concept (the physical core characteristics of a city), (b) the focus of physical planning, and (c) the orientation. This second level is considered a necessary condition for realizing or maintaining level 1. The third level concerns all practical requirements for level 2, which can be subdivided into several categories, such as physical, mental, social, economic, political and methodical requirements, which sometimes overlap each other. Examples of physical requirements are a rational and efficient street pattern, a compact city or

zoned city functions. Mental requirements concern all elements of a positive city image (to be realized by, for example, city marketing campaigns). Social requirements refer to, for example, mixed social strata or a mix of small and large families. Methodical requirements refer to the characteristics of city plans: the role of surveys as a basis for city plans, the city plan being given a flexible character, etc. The third level is the most dynamic and the most chaotic of the three.

**Figure 11 Levels of urban ideal images**



## **Level 1: A Flourishing City**

*Unfortunately, the sclerosis apparent in our cities also reigns in our heads. No one believes any more that we can build that city on a hill, that gleaming edifice that has fascinated every Utopian thinker since Plato and St Augustine. Utopian visions have too often turned sour for that sort of thinking to go far. Gloom and pessimism are more common – are Beirut, Sarajevo or even Los Angeles, with its riots and smogs, the only future we can envisage?<sup>1</sup>*

It was not the suburb that was preferred by our Dutch urban intellectuals and city planners. It was not the place where rhythms of lives are slow that they adored. The city debates did not reveal gloom and pessimism about the city. Instead, in their 2122 contributions, urban intellectuals and city planners spoke words of unprecedented optimism, of flourishing cities.

Whether culturalist, progressist or city planner, and whether in 1945 or in 1995, the undertone of all contributions was the ideal of making the city flourish. More specifically, Amsterdam and Rotterdam should stay the way Dutch cities had been for centuries: compact, of limited size, well-bordered and incredibly strong – and in a way it is a pity that the old city walls were destroyed, as a more perfect physical border to their ideal, urban

intellectuals and city planners could not have desired. As a result, nationality indeed seems to matter, which corresponds with Lees' conclusion (1985)<sup>2</sup>. This research is a first indication that the undertone of Dutch urban ideal images is different from that in America or Britain, and although, because of the limited scope of this research, I cannot state that this undertone is applicable to all or most of the urban intellectuals and city planners in the Netherlands, I am able to present some explanations for this phenomenon.

The Netherlands became a monarchy very late, in 1815, just as much of Europe was sending its crowned heads into exile or to the guillotine. Before that, the Netherlands had enjoyed two centuries of splendid middle-class rule, when prosperous merchants in tall black hats had sent out ships to the far ends of Asia. These civic, industrious money-men ruled the country from their cities, without king or court. They did so without foppery or extravagant manners; the Netherlands was a country of the embarrassment of riches, as Schama (1987) has described it so beautifully, where no man should make himself grander or greater than another. Because of these political and social characteristics – namely a lack of centralist powers and strong urban administrations, as well as a culture in which extravagance was a disgrace – the Netherlands consisted of small, strong cities, and the development of a monumental megalopolis like Paris was unthinkable<sup>3</sup>. This picture of small, strong cities seems to have caked the brains of the Dutch, like mud on boots. The Dutchmen have never got rid of it, and three factors may explain why.

First, psychologists have shown that perceptions in general tend to be as stubborn as a mule because people are apt to look for symptoms that confirm their existing ideas (Chapter 1). Moreover, as they have also shown, perceptions will be changed only if they differ too much from facts (Chapter 1), something which seems not to have happened yet in the Netherlands. Dutch cities do not have ghettos, the distribution of incomes is relatively equal and although Dutch cities have their problems, these are minor compared to those in American cities. Furthermore, on the basis of dissonance theory (Chapter 1), one would expect that since level 1 of the urban ideal images has existed for so long, and since so much time, money and effort has been invested on this basis, it may become less likely for level 1 to be changed.

Second, as sociologists have taught us, nostalgia (i.e. keeping our heads fixated on a certain point in time) is a sign of being unrooted. Humans have a need to recognize their environment; they love a predictable, explainable world. According to Marx, in times of revolution – the ultimate stage of unpredictability and chaos, when all established institutions are lost – people show a tendency to fall back on the past. Then, the current situation needs to be transformed and precisely then, new leaders wrap themselves in old costumes – which will not be stowed away until a new society has been formed<sup>4</sup>. Of course, the Netherlands was not in the middle of a revolution

during my research period, but it did suffer the loss of socio-political groupings, the *zuiden* (Introduction to Part 1), and did become a part of a large, unknown world full of strangers and terrorism. Thus, Dutch society has lost some of its predictability and feeling of security. Precisely that feeling of insecurity, of not having the outer world under control, may stimulate people to keep their heads fixated on the familiar urban past. But there is more.

A mix of cultural and political characteristics of the Netherlands may be a third reason why the Dutch still hold the ideal of flourishing cities. Great Britain and the United States are saturated with capitalist liberalism, with decline as a necessary condition of growth (Chapter 1). But the Netherlands, on the contrary, is a corporatist welfare state with features of a social-democratic welfare state, where decline is not accepted at all. The Dutch do not accept decline, anywhere in the country. Moreover, for centuries now, the Dutch have been confident that they can fight facts, can fight the water and can create their own land. At least partly because the land is scarce and expensive, the Dutch have learned to plan space carefully, which has resulted in an incredible longing for order, for an orderly country. Plans are considered the solution to every problem, and to this very day, incredible amounts of money and time are spent on them<sup>5</sup>. Fighting facts with planning is so very typically Dutch, so very much a part of Dutch culture, so ingrained in their genes, and there just seems no reason for them to think that they cannot preserve their flourishing cities. Unlike the citation at the beginning of this section, or unlike Jacoby (1999) stating that the utopian spirit has vanished<sup>6</sup>, the Dutch have not lost theirs, at least not their ideals regarding their cities. The picture of flourishing cities as part of their orderly country has never left the heads of the Dutch, and there seems no reason to change that. Moreover, as a result, compared to foreign cities, the Dutch have managed to keep their cities flourishing. According to Ward (2002), no other western European country has been as successful in resisting American-style outward movements as the Netherlands has, which has kept the ‘edge city’ a very underdeveloped phenomenon. As a result, American city planners now visit the Netherlands to see if they can copy that policy and create better civic worlds at home<sup>7</sup>. And as declining cities exist in the United States because Americans have made them so (Chapter 1), in the Netherlands, I am inclined to say, flourishing cities exist because the Dutch have made them so.

Having stated this, it has to be added that that level 1 remains a bit difficult. The problem with trying to identify the dominant urban perception in a given society is that there are always voices that counteract the dominant view, as Bearegard (1993) has shown too, and the psychological phenomenon confirmation bias does not help here either. The confirmation bias theory tells that people tend to look for and explain facts that fit their pre-existing views. And the fact is – as Bearegard (2003) has shown too –

that in recent years, in cities, quite some positive voices can be heard. As a result, some scientists seem to conclude that the Voices of Decline are no longer in the US<sup>8</sup>.

But are they? Should the cries of joy over urban projects of urban regeneration be explained as counteracting the former voices of decline? Or does it concern voices of minorities only, while the dominant quite dark urban perception of cities continues to exist? To my point of view, part of the problem lies in the fact that Beauregard remains very vague over his methodology, that the reader does not know how to consider those optimistic voices, does not know whether they do or do not shout down the voices of decline, does not know when the pair of scales will tip. Moreover, because Beauregard has not subdivided the perceptions into different levels, we do not know whether this revitalization projects concern 'only' level 3, whether it is 'only' about some new offices and fancy restaurants; or if these changes truly take place on level 1. Of course, considering the fact that this level concerns ideals about cities of all members of a particular society, it is hard to identify this level. But with a clear methodology, with distinguishing different levels of urban ideal images, and on the basis of enough empirical data, it should be possible – and has to be done.

Thus, identifying level 1 is of incredible importance. Having identified level 1 of the contributions in our six debates, it seems easier to understand why the Dutch have invested so much money in their cities, why they have drawn up so many plans to try to keep their cities flourishing. But for the differences between urban ideal images and the conflicts in city debates that arise from them, we have to move to lower levels.

## ***Level 2: A Forward-looking CBD or a Backward Centre***

Participants in the six city debates (i.e. urban intellectuals and city planners), elucidated either (a) a CBD at the heart of the city, on top of the urban hierarchy, whereby focussing on trade and industry and idealizing the future, or (b) the ideal of a centre, focussing on community and history, and idealizing the past. The elements regarding the inner city were new, that is, they are not included in Choay's model (Chapter 2). Both progressist and culturalist elements on level 2 were meant to reach the ultimate goal of a flourishing city.

City planners also elucidated the progressist urban ideal image. This category was split from the other two because of methodological reasons, and I expected the urban ideal image of planners to be more like the progressist one (Chapter 2). City planners are responsible for the city, for generating enough money, and therefore it is not too surprising that planners elucidated the same level 2 that progressist urban intellectuals did.

For urban intellectuals, it turned out that there was a correlation between both occupation and ideology, and level 2 of the urban ideal image they elucidated. First of all, to fulfil the role of urban intellectual, it seems necessary to be educated, at least to some extent. Butchers, haircutters and greengrocers hardly if ever played the role of urban intellectuals. Even in the second period, with all the neighbourhood action groups involved, the culturalist ideal was elucidated by educated inhabitants – students, scientist, etc. Moreover, the character of the occupation mattered.

Throughout the research period, the urban intellectuals who tended to elucidate a culturalist urban ideal image were historians, members of historical associations, people working for organizations concerned with monuments, architects, architectural experts, artists, painters, poets, writers, graphic artists, squatters, sociologists, biologists, members of 19<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhood action groups, social movements concerned with the 19<sup>th</sup>-century neighbourhoods, ex-aldermen formerly involved with urban planning, urban developers, human geographers, intellectuals, students of sociology and pedagogy, and professors of human geography, sociology or cultural heritage. On the other hand, urban intellectuals who were inclined to elucidate a progressist urban ideal image were engineers, mathematic, economists, traffic economists, tradesmen, entrepreneurs, hotel directors, warehouse directors, directors of airports and conference centres, the Chamber of Commerce, the tourist board, architects, members of architectural organizations, foundations for the promotion of high-rise buildings, foundations for promoting CBD developments, city planners, economic and technological research institutions (HES, TNO, NEI), sales representatives, real estate developers, investors, investment banks, property developers, the Dutch State Employees' Pension Scheme, state agents, real estate developers, insurance companies, shop-owners, shopkeeper's associations for businesses and industry, industrial insurance boards, professors of planning or economy, passenger transport companies (GVB, NS), chief commissioners of police, ex-aldermen formerly involved with finance or businesses, and youngsters studying traffic science, architecture or economics. There were some exceptions to this dichotomy, such as Dr J. Ph. Backx in the Basisplan debate – who was a bit of a stranger in the midst of culturalists because he was a harbour baron – or the architecture profession, which appeared in both categories. But other than that, it seems that to a very large extent this dichotomy regarding occupations could be applied. So indeed, occupation did matter, as Lees (1985) has shown (Chapter 2)<sup>9</sup>, and in my research I identified a correlation between occupation and the whole level 2 of the urban ideal image elucidated by urban intellectuals.

Furthermore, I identified a correlation between ideology and level 2 of the urban ideal images of urban intellectuals. In general, conservative and/or left-wing political parties tended to elucidate the culturalist level 2, and liberal, right or communist parties the progressist one. More specifically,

members of the PvdA, VVD, and CPN often elucidated the progressist level 2, while members of Groen Links, PSP, KVP, PPR, De Groenen, Groen Amsterdam, Links Akkoord, PROVO, D'66, and CDA were inclined to elucidate the culturalist level 2 of the urban ideal image. In addition, newspapers based on liberal or communistic ideologies tend to print more voices of progressist urban intellectuals than of culturalists; and newspapers based on socialistic or conservative ideologies are inclined to allow more culturalist than progressist urban intellectuals to speak. Moreover, some journalists of these newspapers themselves supported the progressist or the culturalist ideal, particularly during the first and the second period. Thus, like Lees (1985), I have found that ideology matters: research showed a correlation between ideology and all three elements of level 2 of the urban ideal images elucidated<sup>10</sup>.

With city planners, too, there seemed to be a correlation between occupation and level 2 of their urban ideal image elucidated. In fact, the correlation was so strong that urban intellectuals who became a city planner abandoned their own ideals and adopted level 2 of the city planners' urban ideal image – regardless of whether they were former progressists or culturalists. And, conversely, as we saw with ex-mayor d'Ailly in period 2, ex-city planners could shake off the city planner's urban ideal image very well, and adopt the culturalist ideal. But the correlation between ideology and level 2 of the urban ideal image was a bit weaker with city planners. As independent of the political parties that were in power, city planners kept describing the same progressist elements on level 2: a CBD at the heart of the city, together with a focus on trade and industry, while idealizing the future.

Like level 1, level 2 did not change between 1945 and 1995. Time passed by, society changed, image carriers died and others were born, but level 2 remained the same. Of course, the psychological and sociological explanations for the unchanged level 1 are also applicable to level 2. Thus, the fact that people tend to look for symptoms that confirm their existing ideas may explain why this level 2 did not change, and as perceptions are only adjusted when facts differ too much from perceptions, I expect that these facts simply did not diverge enough from level 2 during my research period. Moreover, living in an insecure environment makes people tend to cling on old ideas, and thus made it less likely that level 2 would be changed.

With that, the name 'progressist' seems to be overdoing it a bit. Initially, in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, their ideal of a CBD at the heart of the city was indeed quite forward. But as the future became the past, social reality showed that it was the past they idealized: a CBD on top of the urban hierarchy had become outdated. I think that in a way, progressists and city planners were aware of that. Their vocabularies increasingly included such words as 'restoring' and 'repairing', and they increasingly tried to 'change' facts rather than predict future ones. Just like culturalists, progressists and



city planners came to idealize parts of past cities, the only difference being that theirs was a bit more recent: not 17<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> century, but 19<sup>th</sup>/early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Culturalists saw it, too, and took advantage of it, emphasizing over and over again the backwardness of progressists, referring with verve to facts showing the economic decline of the old inner city, but as a motive; a motive for their own, precious, backward city – the pot calling the kettle black.

Eventually, it seems that facts indeed became too divergent from the ideal of a CBD at the heart of the city centre and on top of the urban hierarchy. At the end of the 1990s, Dutch city planners started to alter part of level 2 of their urban ideal image a bit, and started to design plans for CBD developments at centres other than the inner city, such as the Zuid-as in Amsterdam<sup>11</sup>. But still, all kinds of measures were proposed to strengthen the inner city; degrading the inner city to just a simple urban quarter was and still is unthinkable. In both cities, plans are to be executed to redevelop the area around Centraal Station, in order to provide a more attractive entry to the inner city. In both cities, too, the waterfronts are still being developed, whereby all kinds of luxurious offices are being built close to the inner cities. Time will tell whether this will stand firm.

### ***Level 3: Straight or Bendy, Feet or Wheels, Nuisance or Boredom...***

The differences between urban ideal images on level 3 were not as sharp as they were on level 2. Sometimes, similar elements were mentioned by different categories. Moreover, differences between progressist urban intellectuals and city planners came to light on level 3, the most important one being that city planners were more concerned about cultural history than were progressist urban intellectuals – which can be attributed to the fact that city planners, as administrators of the city, are responsible for the whole urban fabric, including its cultural history. Regarding level 3, urban intellectuals and city planners sometimes allowed themselves to cross the border between the two polar types described by Choay. Moreover, contrary to levels 1 and 2, elements of the urban ideal images described concerning level 3 changed over time.

On level 3, I was able to add elements to the initial table of the two polar types of Choay. First of all, quite a few elements regarding the fabric of the inner city were added, which I had expected (Chapter 2). Some more elements were added, but those hardly differed from those already mentioned in the initial figure regarding the body of knowledge in 1945. A truly new element seemed the element of ‘public participation’, which was particularly dominant in the second period. In the third period, this element was pushed into the background, partly as a result of public participation becoming institutionalized in the Netherlands<sup>12</sup>. But all the other elements

were already in the initial table and figure, and in fact, that is not too surprising. As various studies have concluded, history tends to repeat itself<sup>13</sup>, or as Peter Hall said: “*After 100 years of debate on how to plan the city after repeated attempts however mistaken or distorted to put ideas into practice we find we are almost back where we started*”<sup>14</sup>.

Almost, indeed, but not fully, and moreover, over time, level 3 of urban ideal images changed, albeit mostly not from pre-existing elements into new elements, but into other pre-existing elements. In fact, the well-known planning turns between periods 1 and 2 and between periods 2 and 3 (Chapter 2) were nothing more or less than changes of the level 3 of the urban ideal image of city planners. And what influenced changes of urban ideal images regarding level 3 were time, significant others, and strategies.

First, time seems to have influenced the changes of level 3 of urban ideal images. For example, the focus on public housing in the second period and the suburbanization of affluent inhabitants, made all the participants in period 3 focus more on expensive housing, although this applies more to progressists and city planners than to culturalists. Moreover, the oil crises and environmental problems in period 2 caused many participants to focus more on pedestrians and cyclists than on cars, while the explosive growth of privately owned cars in the first period made many people elucidate a future city with wide roads and lots of car parks. And when, in the third period, facts started to diverge more and more from urban ideal images, the balance between the aim to base future city plans on both surveys and desires was tilted more and more towards desires, that is, towards the desire to bend the facts rather than letting facts be the basis of city plans. Thus, offices were built along the waterfronts, embedded in a well-designed environment and dotted with luxurious apartments – not because there was a large demand for them, but because city planners and urban intellectuals wanted to drag the rich and affluent back into the inner cities.

Closely related to the passage of time are trends. It applies to urban ideal images, too, that some elements come into fashion, while others go out of vogue. This is closely related to international trends, and during my research period, modernism was losing ground to post-modernism. And although post-modernism is a vague concept, it seemed to be generally agreed that, for example, the desire to mix urban functions is an element that belongs to post-modernism. However, since this element was not new (and was already captured in my initial figure), I have difficulties with the term *post-modernism*, as in fact it was more *pre* than *post*. But still, post-modernism including the mix of urban functions became popular during my research period, and as a result, in the end, all three categories mentioned this particular element as part of level 3 of their urban ideal image.

Second, the arrival and departure of significant others appeared to have influenced levels 3 of urban ideal images and allowed, but not caused them to change. Hereby, I recall the fact that I was only able to identify

significant others in the category of city planners (Chapter 2). In period 2, in Rotterdam, city planners did not elucidate a revised edition of level 3 of their urban ideal images until new aldermen had replaced the old guard, because one group of significant others had left the scene and was replaced by another group of significant others. In Amsterdam, the first planning turn took place more gradually, spread out over four years, and more or less ended by a change of political guard. In period 3, in Amsterdam, after a change of guard, the ambitious city plans for the IJ-oeverers were made more simple. But although the new city planners were very keen to emphasize their own influence on that, it was also an open secret that Amsterdam had to adjust its plans because investors would invest less than was expected. And finally, in Rotterdam, in period 3, plans were adjusted too, but apparently without changing guard. Thus, the arrival and departure of significant others allowed levels three to be changed, but to a limited extent, and was definitely not the cause. It was strategies that caused changes, at least to some extent.

On the basis of my empirical research, I was able to add a significant number of strategies to the original five mentioned by Zijdeveld, namely discussing, actions, labelling opponents negatively while adoring heroes or saints, making disparaging remarks or jokes about opponents, and bringing in new members, Chapter 1). Here I should emphasize that I found all the strategies that were used in the selected city debates, and not all the strategies that were used in a certain period of time. As a result, for example, I did not find any Rotterdam urban intellectual using squatting as a strategy, but that of course does not mean that there were not squatters in Rotterdam; I simply did not find any urban intellectuals in Rotterdam *using squatting as a strategy* during any of the three debates I investigated.

Some strategies were influenced by the passage of time. While the motive ‘efficiency’ dominated period 1, that of ‘liveability/lively/environment’ dominated period 2, and the motive ‘cultural history’ was mostly heard in period 3, which corresponds with existing literature describing this trend for Dutch city planners only<sup>15</sup>. The motive ‘perfect future’ disappeared only temporarily, in period 2, after which it returned in period 3. Moreover, time brought new, modern means of communication, which had their influence on strategies, whereby in particular city planners truly beat the lot. Laser beams illuminating scale models, three-dimensional computer models and movies, and digitally edited pictures of the future city in glossy city plans; all were meant so seduce their viewers into supporting their future ideals. But time has erased strategies, too, like the strategy ‘editorial support’. In the first and second periods, journalists working for newspapers with a certain kind of ideology participated in the debate, as individuals supporting one or the other urban ideal image. But after the merging of many newspapers – which are dependent on a large, varied public – that phenomenon almost fully

disappeared in period 3. It remains to be seen whether the Internet will be able to compensate for that loss.

Many strategies survived the passage of time. They crossed from one period to another, sometimes leading to quite hilarious moments for those following the city debates for a long period. For example, the motive 'efficiency' was used in the 1970s in Amsterdam for constructing a metro, in the 1980s for not wanting to construct a metro, and in the 1990s for constructing one. Moreover, while before the first planning turn, it was said that comprehensive redevelopment was inevitable, it was suddenly no longer inevitable after the first planning turn. In addition, while in period 2 clustered deconcentration policy was motivated by stating that cities lacked space and that because it was cheaper than building inside cities, in period 3 a tremendous number of vacant lots were suddenly found inside cities, and researchers 'proved' that it was cheaper to build homes inside cities than in clustered, deconcentrated settlements. In fact, most of the strategies used in the first period to gain support were still being used in the third period.

There were some differences between the three categories and the strategies they used. Some strategies could be, and thus were used only by city planners, and some strategies were used more by city planners than by others, such as 'We can change the world' and 'Just like you'. Progressists, in their turn, did not have even one strategy that was used only by them. But the culturalists' efforts to gain support for their urban ideal image never ceased to elicit my wonder. Probably at least partly because their level 2 differed so much from that of city planners and that of progressists, culturalists used by far the most, and the most original strategies to gain support. That many of them had a creative occupation had its effects on their strategies: they used more creative expressions than did progressists and city planners. Moreover, culturalists were helped by Old Father Time, as they could attack progressists and city planners for the divergence between their urban ideal of a modern CBD at the heart of the city, and the facts showing otherwise. In addition, culturalists used motives like 'irreversible' and 'goal cannot be reached' more often than city planners and progressists did, while progressists and culturalists used the strategies 'emphasize own importance', 'choice reduction', 'writing letters' and 'inaccuracies' more than planners did – probably the result of being the ones not in power. And, of course, culturalists used many more physical expressions; particularly the second period was very fruitful for that, probably because a lot of youngsters joined in the second debate; older people are just not that inclined to go for a drive in a bath tub or to colour the hair of police officers with pink paint bombs.

Still, many strategies were used by culturalists, city planners and progressists, which weakened them. For example, all three categories stated that facts were motives for their ideals, but all used different and often contradictory facts. Moreover, frequently, they referred to the same foreign cities, but to motivate different statements. Both, of course, are a result of the

human's strong tendency to conform (Chapter 1). In addition, all participants stated that people needed *their* ideal city, that the future would be gloomy if *another* ideal was realized, and that *their* ideal was the most efficient – which was, of course, not only unconvincing but also technically impossible. Thus, by way of closing, it should be noted that the majority of the strategies were, and thus could be used regardless of the urban ideal image they were suppose to serve, and regardless of the identity of its carriers.

It must be a comforting thought for those who participated in the city debates that the strategies were worth the effort. First, the strategies of urban intellectuals paid off. From local council meeting reports, it appears that alderman, mayor and councillors were in general very well informed, and that the strategies of urban intellectuals made councillors, alderman and mayor read, think and discuss the urban ideal images elucidated in the city debates. In periods 1 and 3, this had no effect on level 3 of the urban ideal images. In period 3, city planners did refer to individuals with progressist urban ideal images to motivate their second planning turn, but these ideas never reached the city debates, and thus it did not concern urban intellectuals. But in period 2, it was a different story. And although it may have been the departure and arrival of significant others that made it possible to alter level 3 of the urban ideal image, the trigger to do so came from the city debates, from culturalist urban intellectuals fighting for their ideals.

It is difficult to tell which strategies caused level 3 of the urban ideal image of city planners to change, or whether it was a combination of all of them or of just a few. Certainly, the most violent actions, the noisiest protests and the most impressive creative expressions got the most attention from city planners, and led to the best results regarding influencing city planners' behaviour. That is, short-term results. In Rotterdam, the noisiest neighbourhoods got the most attention, but in the end all neighbourhoods achieved exactly the same goals and were treated similarly; in Amsterdam, demolitions and riots slowed down metro construction works but did not lead to their cancellation, and in period 3, an extra line from north to south was proposed, which is currently under construction. In fact, although the Amsterdammers were much noisier, much more aggressive, etc., in Rotterdam, the planning turn took place in 1974, while Amsterdammers had to wait four more years before their turn was fully completed. As a result, in 1974 in Amsterdam, some of the most violent riots in decades took place while in Rotterdam the first planning turn had already taken place<sup>16</sup>.

At least part of the explanation for the influence of the public debate on city plans in period 2 lies in changes in the Dutch society. As described (Introduction Part 2), following Lijphart (1992), in period 2, the Netherlands changed from a pacification democracy into a cartel democracy. As a result of weakening ideologies and diminishing ideological differences together with increasing secularism; the *zuilen* of political culture disintegrated. At the same time, the political formation of cartels was stimulated by the

organization of the welfare state and because a planned economy increasingly demanded a process of negotiation, of collective bargaining whereby all interested parties (political parties and social-economic interest groups) were involved. This transition was turbulent. Lijphart (1992) gave six explanations for this: (a) the speed of the disintegration of the *zuilen* differed, which resulted in tensions; (b) the cartel democracy was rejected by young people, intellectuals and academics because it was too distant, too remote, too bureaucratic, and too much an instrument of political elites and technicians with whom they felt only slight identification; (c) the insecure attitude of weakened elites who were at the basis of a stable pacification democracy (this insecure attitude was influenced by the fact that powerful leaders withdrew from the political arena around 1960, which were replaced by new, inexperienced elites who were confronted immediately with the transition. Worse, their insecure attitude became very visible to the larger public, due to the advent of the television as a means of mass communication); (d) the system of proportional representation, which made it easier for new and thus small political parties to participate in elections successfully; and (e) the absence of an agreement between politicians and political activists to reach a consensus on how to solve the crisis and to create a more stable and democratic organization<sup>17</sup>. Here, it would be going too far to elaborate on this point any further, and therefore by way of closing, I should like to argue that the political and cultural changes in the second period can be held at least partly responsible for the content of the strategies of urban intellectuals in this period, and for the influence of these urban intellectuals on the final city plans of city planners.

Just a couple of years after the first planning turn, the city planners' level 3 changed again, into something more like the level 3 it had been before the turn, and the same happened after the second planning turn, due to pragmatic and ideological arguments<sup>18</sup>. In the city debates I studied, city planners showed disillusionment, as though they had been pulled off their cloud nine, as though they had come down to earth with a bang, as though they had discovered it had been rose-tinted glasses they had been looking through, and that it was now time to replace those glasses.

Sometimes, the strategies of city planners had clear influence on the urban ideal images of urban intellectuals too. That was noticeable particularly during the fifth debate in Rotterdam, concerning the Kop van Zuid. City planners had progressist urban intellectuals on their side, and managed to get some culturalist urban intellectuals to support them too. Here, some strategies seemed to have helped. As we saw, Rotterdam city planners talked a lot to culturalist urban intellectuals, explained their plans, acted as one voice (as though there were no differences of opinion between city planners), and immediately suppressed the statements made by opponents of their plans. Moreover, what in fact happened too was that city planners explained to culturalist urban intellectuals why their plans for the

Kop van Zuid were so good for level 2 of their urban ideal image; i.e. how the Kop van Zuid would contribute to their focus on community and history, and of an inner city being a centre. As a result, it seems, the neighbourhood committees BOF and BOA supported the city plans for the Kop van Zuid, while 15 years before these committees had strongly rejected any idea of a CBD-associated scheme.

The long list of strategies found in the six debates seems to be applicable, at least to some extent, to other debates in both cities. For example, in Amsterdam a debate has just started, or better, re-started about whether water should once again flow through a filled in canal – *Elandsgracht* or *Westerstraat* (they have not agreed on which one yet). Culturalist urban intellectuals (D'66, historians, historical associations (*Vereniging Vrienden van de Binnenstad*, *Werkgroep Open de Grachten*), Geert Mak, the singer Willeke Alberti, the entertainer Jos Brink and some unidentified local residents) are in favour of the idea, arguing that it should be done because, for example: (a) of cultural history – Amsterdam is a city of canals and restoring canals will restore the character of the city as a whole and thus its identity; (b) it would lead to the most perfect future; and (c) for reasons of efficiency: it will stimulate transport by water and thus reduce traffic congestion, lots of new parking spaces would be built below the new canal, and restoring the canal would contribute to the unique selling point of Amsterdam, which will attract more tourists and thus economic benefits. On the other hand, progressist urban intellectuals (PVDA, VVD, shop-owners, merchants, market vendors, some unidentified local residents, the protest committee *Comité tegen nattigheid in de Westerstraat* and the general editor of *NRC Handelsblad*) are against the proposal because, among other things: (a) it would lead to the most gloomy future because of years of excavations and nuisances, and because it would become an open air museum like Venice, visited only by tourists, with prosperous inhabitants living off their interests in provincial peace and quiet; (b) the goal of a beautiful canal would not be achieved because the canal would be only 8 metres wide and nothing more than a stinky ditch; (c) of cultural history: digging it up would make historic buildings collapse like a house of cards and, moreover, because the original canal was used as a sewer it is therefore ridiculous to speak of 'restoring' a historic canal, because it would displace the oldest market in the Netherlands, and because it would destroy a historic square named after the very popular Amsterdam singer, Johnny Jordaan; (d) of efficiency: it would harm the economy and cause bankruptcy among shops and office owners, which would be very unwise in these times of economic difficulties and high unemployment rates; (e) because of the present situation in the city, which already has too many canals; and (f) because Paris has not decided to demolish its boulevards and restore the small streets, and thus neither should we restore our canals. Moreover, culturalists and progressists use the strategy of denigration. For example, progressists denigrate city

planners because (a) they cannot count properly and as a result, the construction will take much more time than ‘they’ say; and (b) they bear in mind only the desires of inhabitants of the city centre, and have lost the importance of acting in the public interest. In addition, progressists presume that people do not want the canals to be restored: “*In the list of the complaints and needs of inhabitants, nowhere does it say that Amsterdam has too few canals*”, and that they already have lots of support: “*We have contacts everywhere, true, we are gaining ground*”. To which, of course, culturalists responded: “*The opponents yell the loudest, but many Amsterdammers support our plans*”<sup>19</sup>. To what extent these strategies can be found in city debates in other cities, remains to be seen. But what the above example does show is that the results of this PhD research seem to be applicable to other city debates too. In fact, when studying city debates about controversial subjects, it seems you can set your watch by it, that you will identify two antipodal categories, with matching and thus different occupations and ideologies, who elucidate urban ideal images that can be divided into three levels, and that to seduce their viewers into supporting their ideals, they will use lots of the strategies that were mentioned in this research. Further research is required.

Regarding level 3 of urban ideal images, some unexpected differences between Amsterdam and Rotterdam came to light. And although this research was not designed as a comparative research project, the differences seem too interesting to be left unmentioned. To start with, the garden-city concept was a true Rotterdam element, and only Rotterdammers wanted green buffers. In addition, only Rotterdammers thought it was necessary to improve the outsider’s image of the city. Moreover, Amsterdammers kept elucidating a less accessible city than Rotterdammers did – the logical consequence of Amsterdam’s historical structure not being that suitable for cars. In addition, while Rotterdammers were as proud as Lucifer of their metro, the war against the metro was the sole focus of Amsterdam’s second debate. Most shockingly, at least to Amsterdammers, one has to conclude that Rotterdammers turned out to be the leaders and Amsterdammers the followers. The following list shows how convincing Rotterdam’s leading role in fact was.



**Figure 12 Phase difference regarding adopted elements of urban ideal images (level 3) between Amsterdam and Rotterdam**

Elements of urban ideal images	Participants	Period 1	Period 2	Period 3
Public Participation	Rotterdam culturalists, progressists, city planners			
	Amsterdam culturalists, progressists, city planners			
Limited mobility by localizing life	Rotterdam culturalists & city planners			
	Amsterdam culturalists & city planners			
Mixing urban functions	Rotterdam culturalists			
	Amsterdam culturalists			
Industries inside neighbourhoods	Rotterdam culturalists			
	Amsterdam culturalists			
Mixed traffic types	Rotterdam culturalists			
	Amsterdam culturalists			
Unlimited height of buildings	Rotterdam progressists			
	Amsterdam progressists			
Mixed social strata	Rotterdam progressists			
	Amsterdam progressists			
Meeting mobility needs by constructing roads	Rotterdam progressists			
	Amsterdam progressists			

Commercial use of waterfronts	Rotterdam progressists & city planners		
	Amsterdam progressists & city planners		
Limited height of buildings	Rotterdam city planners		
	Amsterdam city planners		
Increased density in urban neighbourhoods	Rotterdam city planners		
	Amsterdam city planners		
Mix of high- & low-rise buildings for dwelling	Rotterdam city planners		
	Amsterdam city planners		
Identifiable dwellings	Rotterdam city planners		
	Amsterdam city planners		
Zoned traffic	Rotterdam city planners		
	Amsterdam city planners		

Amsterdammers were earlier as regards some elements. The compact city concept was elucidated first by Amsterdam culturalists and Amsterdam progressists, and it was only after the first planning turn that Rotterdam city planners adopted that element too, *after which* Amsterdam city planners joined them in period 3. Moreover, Amsterdammers elucidated the non-radial transport pattern first, and Amsterdam city planners elucidated mixed social strata earlier than Rotterdam city planners did. But although Amsterdam culturalists elucidated earlier a sharp border between city and countryside, a city of limited size, and increasing density towards the centre than did Rotterdam culturalists, Rotterdam city planners and Rotterdam progressists elucidated these elements as early as did Amsterdam culturalists, and definitely earlier than did Amsterdam city planners and progressists. And thus, considering figure 12, these are quite cold comfort, and one cannot but conclude that Rotterdammers were the precursors.

As De Klerk (1998) has shown, long before 1940, Rotterdam was more liberal than Amsterdam. In Rotterdam, there was much more opportunity to experiment and for new planning ideas to be put into practice.

This was acknowledged in the 1930s by, for example, B. Merkelbach in “*De 8 en Opbouw*”<sup>20</sup>. The bombardments during WWII swept away the old inner city and further increased these possibilities, as some participants in the first city debate in Rotterdam also emphasized (Chapter 3).

Figure 12 shows that Amsterdam adopted many elements the Rotterdammers had adopted, but later on. As a result, in period 3, there were hardly any differences of opinion left between Amsterdammers and Rotterdammers – that is, between Amsterdam progressists and Rotterdam progressists, between Amsterdam city planners and Rotterdam city planners, and between Amsterdam culturalists and Rotterdam culturalists. Thereby, it is necessary to add that in period 3, some elements were simply no longer mentioned by Rotterdammers or Amsterdammers, which makes it difficult to say whether this implies a similarity or a difference of opinion. Still, in period 3, the differences of opinion between Amsterdammers and Rotterdammers had faded.

Not only were there some differences between the urban ideal images elucidated, but there were some differences between Amsterdammers and Rotterdammers concerning the strategies used. First and foremost, the character of the city debates differed, as a result of Amsterdammers being different from Rotterdammers, and so did the strategies used. Rotterdammers exhibited a feeling of pride, of being almost docile, and seemed willing to accept inconveniences if the goal was to improve their city. Amsterdammers were the absolute queens of loud, deafening yells and seemed not to feel the slightest need to mince their words. They were ruder, noisier and rowdier than their Rotterdam counterparts. And thus, while the first debate in Rotterdam was held partly in handsome books written in civilized language, in the first debate in Amsterdam (though eight years later), some produced contributions even a dog would turn up its nose at. Thus, in the second period, the only time Rotterdam newspapers reported riots was when they had been very violent – in Amsterdam. And thus, in the third period, while Amsterdam washed every single piece of its dirty linen in public, Rotterdam city planners kept theirs inside – if they had any, as not a single lash was made at each other in newspapers.

Regarding motives, a few differences between Rotterdam and Amsterdam became apparent. ‘Liveliness’ was a true Rotterdam motive, while ‘cultural history’, ‘valuation’ and ‘emergency’ were used more by Amsterdammers. The motives ‘goal will not be reached’, ‘people want it’, and ‘irreversibility’ were used only slightly more in Amsterdam. In addition, Amsterdammers used more creative expressions than did Rotterdammers, although in period 2, the difference was small. Furthermore, only in Amsterdam were words actually taboo – the word ‘metro’ being an excellent example. Moreover, denigrating, conspiring, emphasizing one’s own importance, emphasizing planning inaccuracies, calling people to order, and writing letters / signing petitions were done more in Amsterdam, while

Rotterdammers put more efforts into denigrating and rousing (the latter was quite unnecessary in Amsterdam, where some people even discussed how to keep the people *quiet*, for heaven's sake). Other typical Rotterdam strategies were refusing to pay rent, refusing to vote, superficial discussions, writing theoretical plans, informing opponents intensively and extensively, and hiding differences of opinion from the public. Establishing a political party and asking for a referendum were mentioned only by Amsterdammers. In addition, Amsterdammers undertook more physical expressions than Rotterdammers did; the latter mostly used the non-violent versions only. As a result, it seems safe to conclude that Amsterdammers showed themselves as more creative, more active, more violent, more uncontrolled, more arrogant, louder, wilful and more rigid while executing their strategies than Rotterdammers did.

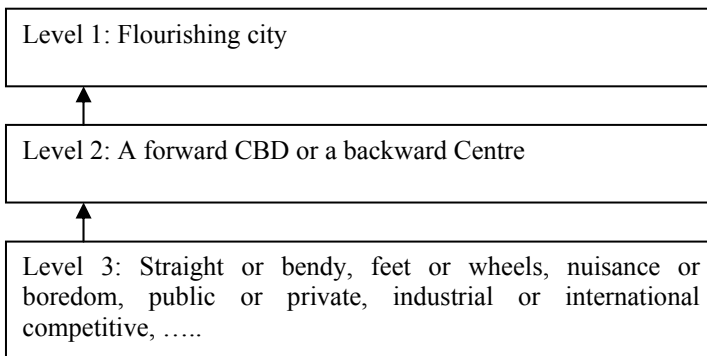
A possible explanation for these differences in urban mentalities has been given by the human geographer Professor Heinemeijer, who fulfilled the role of urban intellectual himself. Heinemeijer explained that in Amsterdam, many inhabitants originally came from West- or East-Friesland. In Friesland, Dutch socialism was born, from people with anarchistic attitudes. But in Rotterdam, a large proportion of the population originally came from Zeeland or Brabant, where people are much more law-abiding<sup>21</sup>. Other urban intellectuals have said that the noise Amsterdammers produced was related to the strong, social-democratic tradition with the PvdA having a monopoly position for years, typified by a political battle behind the scenes determined by facts of friendship, making the local government a closed shop: opaque and impermeable to outside influences. They say that this political culture can be penetrated only by being very loud-mouthed, which is why Amsterdam is replete with niggers and buggers<sup>22</sup>. But whatever the case, Amsterdammers were simply different from Rotterdammers.

The difference between urban mentalities may be partly the cause of the fact that Amsterdammers and Rotterdammers are not sworn friends, something which I noticed while studying the debates. It is something that simmers, something that you almost forget every once in a while, until someone or something arouses that feeling again. Like that one day in May, after I had been doing research for months in the municipal archives of Rotterdam, and walked into the Amsterdam archives again. A new, national archive card had been introduced, which I had applied for in Rotterdam, as was written on the card. And so I showed the card, as one is supposed to do when entering the archive. Then, in a flash, I realized what an unforgivable mistake I had made, as the usually so friendly doorkeeper snorted with rage: "*Why did you apply for a card in Rotterdam? Are we Amsterdammers not good enough for you?*"

From the city debates, it turned out that Rotterdammers and Amsterdammers were not consumed with envy of each other, but did snarl a bit, once in a while. In the first period, positive references were made to both

Amsterdam and Rotterdam: Amsterdammers said that Amsterdam authorities should be as decisive as city planners in Rotterdam, while Rotterdammers wanted to create streets like those in Amsterdam-South. Grumbling started only in the second period, though it must be said that Amsterdammers had more problems with Rotterdammers than the other way round. In the third period, both cities experienced competition from each other's waterfront regeneration plans, whereby, again, Amsterdammers lost their temper more often.

**Figure 13 Levels of urban ideal images, Amsterdam & Rotterdam 1945-1995**



### ***That City is Yours!***

The job was worth the candle. It may be hard to alter levels 1 and 2 of other people's urban ideal images, but on level 3, success is possible. This research makes it clear that it pays off to enter the city debates as an urban intellectual or city planner, and to try to gain support for one's urban ideal image. Moreover, I should like to argue, in a democracy people should feel that it is their civic duty to participate in city debates, to bring up new ideas and viewpoints, and to confront those of others, so that the complexity of matters becomes visible. For that, newspapers are a good platform, as considering their coverage they are still the place to be for starting, entering and maintaining public debates, although other means of mass communication may be interesting too. For those who are interested, I have drawn up a list of hints – not recommendations as that would be too pretentious – which may help them if they participate in city debates about local planning issues.

- (1) Regardless of whether you are a progressist, culturalist or city planner, in principle it is possible to start a city debate. As we saw, in period 1, in Rotterdam, city planners provoked the debate, while in Amsterdam it was a progressist. In period 2, in Rotterdam, a progressist provoked the debate, while in Amsterdam the provoking was done by both progressists and culturalists. And in period 3, both debates were initiated by culturalists and progressists, and provoked by city planners. Seize the opportunity.
- (2) Focussing on similarities instead of differences may help to arrive at an agreement. To do so, it is necessary to bury oneself in opposite urban ideal images, and in particular those concerning level 3 since that is where similarities occur. The reason is obvious: one can only focus on similarities if one knows about each other's urban ideal image. Therefore, not only should this research be read by all those participating in city debates, but more research should be done into urban ideal images. Still, trying to focus on too superficial elements, like the colour of flower-tubs, can cause great annoyance (Chapter 5), and thus one should not overdo it.
- (3) The enemy might seem creepier and more awful than she or he really is. As we saw, in the end, even the most contrary combatants aimed for the same thing: a flourishing Amsterdam / Rotterdam. On level 1, there is an important similarity, but this was not noticed by urban intellectuals or city planners: focussing on level 1 might result in combining forces to create an even more perfect city.
- (4) Using all kinds of strategies may seem effective, but can also have the opposite effect. As we saw, this can result in members of the same category contradicting their fellow combatants, or themselves – which of course does not help their argument. In order to avoid this, knowledge about strategies is necessary; this is something that seems lacking in urban intellectuals and city planners, as well as in the scientific world.
- (5) Showing the cultural-historic significance of a city plan helps city planners and progressists to gain support from culturalists, while showing the economic significance of a planning proposal helps culturalists to gain support from progressists and city planners. This should not be done in vague but clearly expressed terms; Rotterdam seems to have done a good job in period 3 with the Kop van Zuid. But in order to do so, at least progressists and culturalists need to widen their vision, which leads to the next point.

- (6) Both culturalists and progressists have shown themselves to be blinkered to the bone, with their focus fully on either (a) the economy or (b) culture, dwelling and history. City planners, being responsible for the city as a whole, try to mix these two goals, particularly regarding level 3 of their urban ideal image. Thereby, they tend to give priority to the economy over culture, living and history because, to put it simply, the former generates more money, which a city needs. In a way, it would be wise for progressists and culturalists to show a more responsible view on society, and in fact it is not unthinkable that when these two groups learn to show that awareness to city planners, it may lead to a larger influence on final city plans. In turn, it could help city planners if they were able to explain more clearly stimulating the economy will profit all kinds of other urban functions too. Too often, this seemed simply not clear to culturalists, leading to ignorant statements, such as the city should be for the people, and not for the economy or offices. The characteristic weakness of culturalists has been its dismissal of economic growth as simply capital accumulation that benefits only capitalists.
- (7) If city planners want to realize cities based mostly on ideals rather than facts, city planners should go on doing what they have been doing for the last 50 years. That does involve a risk, though. As we saw during the IJ-oevers debate, city planners were so focussed on preserving the inner city as the main economic centre on top of the urban hierarchy, that they mostly ignored the potential of the Zuid-as. As a result, it took years before city plans for that area were designed, leading to a Zuid-as developing autonomously in the meantime. But if city planners want to realize cities based more on facts, it is necessary to keep looking beyond the borders of their own planning community – even if they *think* they know what is going on. Facts only partly trickle through the filter around the planning community, so one has to make an effort to obtain the facts that do not make it through the filter.
- (8) Culturalist urban intellectuals have to do something about their urban ideal image if they truly want to deserve the name that was given to them. Currently, a real tragedy is taking place. Although the motive ‘cultural history’ is flourishing, and despite our culturalist urban intellectuals, nobody seems to care about the more recent historical urban fabric. Currently, residential areas from the 1950s and 1960s are being comprehensively redeveloped in order, it is said, to fight social segregation. As a result, and apart from the fact that social segregation might not

be solvable that way, important cultural history from the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> century is being destroyed. Only a few culturalist urban intellectuals are protesting. Marieke Kuipers, Vincent van Rossum, Len de Klerk, Max van den Berg and some industrial inheritance associations are trying to emphasize the historical value of these areas. But, sadly, the recent popularity of cultural history is limited to the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> century. And while Brandevoort, a newly-built 17<sup>th</sup>-century village, may not be that harmful because it was built on virgin land, the current Java Island is. There, the precious 19<sup>th</sup>-century character – a relict from Amsterdam's industrial revolution – has been polluted with newly dug canals based on the 17<sup>th</sup>-century canals in the inner city of Amsterdam<sup>23</sup>. To deserve their name, culturalist urban intellectuals should widen their scope and focus on *all* structures of historic relevance.

- (9) The participants in city debates should listen carefully to each other and respond to what has been said. In the city debates I studied, too often people simply shouted out their opinions, which did not move the debate along. From a recent newspaper article by Schuyt (2004), it appears that this is a more widespread phenomenon, and moreover, he states that it has become worse recently, leading to poor public debates<sup>24</sup>. Opinions may differ on whether he is right, and we do not know whether this is also applicable to city debates, but an important conclusion drawn from that article and this research is that it is indeed important to read other people's contributions carefully, to describe pros and cons, to include arguments and counter-arguments and to construct them on a solid basis. It is not about expressing opinions, but about exchanging viewpoints, listening to each other's reasoning, and saying on which point one does and does not agree.

Gathering 2122 contributions from the municipal archives was a big job. It has produced a new source of knowledge and is a good start, but definitely not enough to unravel all the secrets about urban ideal images. It would be interesting to execute the same research in other Dutch cities, in foreign cities, and back in time, and this book could be used as a starting point.

Now that I have written and you have read this book, we know that cities are not just there. And while many Americans shared Beauregard's picture of Detroit being a city in decline, many more Dutchmen than just me will perceive flourishing cities when thinking of Amsterdam and Rotterdam. Urban perceptions are there, and have their purpose. People should be dedicated to the urban future, I should like to argue, and – being Dutch – I



think that people should not stop trying to create better cities. Without dreams about perfect cities, there will be no perfect cities. So dream, dream the best you can, and discuss them in city debates. The city is yours.

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<sup>2</sup> A. Lees, *Cities Perceived. Urban Society in European and American thought, 1820-1940*, Manchester University Press, Manchester 1985, p. 311

<sup>3</sup> M. Wagenaar, *Stedebouw en burgerlijke vrijheid*, Toth, Bussum 2001; M. Wagenaar, *Conquest of the center or flight to the suburbs? Divergent metropolitan strategies in Europe, 1850-1914*, *Journal of Urban History*, 1992 (Vol. 19, No. 1), pp. 60-82; *The Economist* 10-4-2004 (Vol. 371, No. 8370), p. 78; S. Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches. An interpretation of Dutch culture in the Golden Age*, Fontana Press, London 1991

<sup>4</sup> L. Nauta, *Traditie en vernieuwing in de geschiedenis van de filosofie*, *Krisis* 24, 1986, pp. 5-25

<sup>5</sup> L. de Klerk, *Ordening tot nut. Over de cultuur van ordening en planning, Stedebouw en Ruimtelijke Ordening* (Vol. 83, No. 4), *Nirov* 2002, pp. 29-33

<sup>6</sup> R. Jacoby, (1999), *The end of Utopia: Politics and Culture in an Age of Apathy*, Basic Books, New York 1999, p. xi

<sup>7</sup> S.V. Ward, *Planning the twentieth-century city: the advanced capitalist world*, John Wiley & Sons, LTD, Chichester 2002, pp. 357-361

<sup>8</sup> e.g. R. Kloosterman, *Review Voices of Decline; The postwar fate of US cities, Stedebouw en Ruimtelijke Ordening* (Vol. 85, No. 4), pp. 65-66; *Lecture of Robert Fishman at Amsterdam study center for the Metropolitan Environment (AME)* 31-1-2003; R.A. Beauregard, *Voices of Decline. The Postwar Fate of US Cities*, Blackwell Publishers, Cambridge MA 1993; R.A. Beauregard, *Voices of Decline. The Postwar Fate of US Cities*, Routledge, New York/London 2003

<sup>9</sup> A. Lees, *Cities Perceived. Urban Society in European and American thought, 1820-1940*, Manchester University Press, Manchester 1985, pp. 308-310

<sup>10</sup> A. Lees, *Cities Perceived. Urban Society in European and American thought, 1820-1940*, Manchester University Press, Manchester 1985, p. 310

<sup>11</sup> *Local planning department Amsterdam, Structuurplan 1996. Amsterdam Open Stad deel 1: Het Plan*, p. 126

<sup>12</sup> H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, *Ruimtelijke ordening. Van grachtengordel tot Vinex-wijk*, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 2003

<sup>13</sup> P. Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*, Blackwell, London 1988; H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, *Ruimtelijke ordening. Van plannen komen plannen*, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 1996

<sup>14</sup> P. Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*, Blackwell, London 1988, p. 11

<sup>15</sup> H. van der Cammen & L.A. de Klerk, *Ruimtelijke ordening. Van plannen komen plannen*, Het Spectrum, Utrecht 1996; R. van Engelsdorp Gastelaars & W.G.M. Salet, *Strategische keuzen voor ruimtelijke ontwikkeling*, Amsterdam Study Centre for the metropolitan environment (AME), Amsterdam 1996

<sup>16</sup> *NRC Handelsblad* 13-12-1974

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# ***Die stad is van mij!***

## **Samenvatting**

Stedelijke percepties zijn allesbepalend voor de staat van de stad, en toch is er nog maar weinig onderzoek naar gedaan. Interessant is bijvoorbeeld het gegeven dat in de afgelopen eeuw Amerikanen weinig positief waren over hun steden. Natuurlijk waren er elementen van groei, van progressie, en natuurlijk waren er enthousiastelingen die jubelden over hun steden, maar wat overheerste in kranten, boeken en rapporten, waren liederen van verval, waren negatieve verhalen over de stad. Deze overheersend negatieve kijk op de stad heeft geleid tot werkelijk vervallen steden als geaccepteerd en gekoesterd onderdeel van de Amerikaanse samenleving. Het is een gevolg van de heersende kapitalistische ideologie, waarin verval een noodzakelijke voorwaarde is voor groei. Amerikanen hebben hun steden dan ook nodig, maar als zondebokken van de maatschappij, als de ongeneesbare beerputten van al wat rot en onaangenaam is in de samenleving. De beste scholen, de mooiste huizen, de snelste wegen, en de groenste parken liggen buiten de steden, in de suburbane gebieden en dorpen, waar de invloedrijken voor zichzelf een paradijs op aarde scheppen. Deze stedelijke perceptie domineert de Amerikaanse maatschappij, maar lijkt beslist niet voor elk land gelijk, en het lijkt dan ook interessant te onderzoeken hoe Nederlanders hun steden bezien.

De bestaande schaarse studies naar stedelijke percepties zijn waardevol omdat ze op zoek gaan naar dat wat de mensen aan ideeën over de stad bindt, naar de grondtoon van denkbeelden die er over de stad bestaan. Echter, het nadeel van deze onderzoeken is dat zij voorbijgaan aan verschillen tussen ideeën. Natuurlijk kan een grondtoon van een vervallen stad verklaren waarom investeerders niet investeren in een stad, en waarom bedrijven en mensen zich bij voorkeur in suburbane gebieden vestigen. Maar het kan niet verklaren waarom men een stad met een zakencentrum wil, of juist een historisch centrum, waarom men rechte brede wegen preferereert of juist kronkelige smalle, waarom men voorrang geeft aan de voetganger, of juist de auto. Juist het combineren van verschillen en overeenkomsten tussen stedelijke percepties in één onderzoek lijkt bijzonder interessant, en is nog niet eerder gedaan.

'Stedelijke percepties' is een overkoepelend begrip dat zowel stedelijke beelden als stedelijke ideaalbeelden omvat. Stedelijke beelden gaan over hoe de huidige stad er uit ziet, en deze zijn gerelateerd aan, doch slechts zijdelings verbonden met, feiten. Mensen handelen op basis van ideaalbeelden, welke alle ideeën omvatten over hoe de stad er uit zou moeten zien. Het ideaalbeeld bepaalt hoe de huidige stad wordt beoordeeld, en in

hoeverre deze dient te worden aangepast. Ideaalbeelden zijn het kompas voor gedrag, de gids die mensen door het leven leidt, en het hoofdonderwerp van deze studie.

Controversiële publieke debatten zijn de ideale plaats om ideaalbeelden te bestuderen. Juist in deze debatten worden mensen verleid hun ideaalbeelden met veel kabaal duidelijk te maken, aan te scherpen, en ze met hartstocht te verdedigen. De deelnemers aan debatten vervullen de rol van woordvoerder van de groepen waarvan zij deel uitmaken, en met het bestuderen van deze participanten worden dan ook automatisch ideeën van nog veel meer mensen meegenomen.

De stadsdebatten waarin stedelijke ideaalbeelden worden beschreven kunnen gaan over zeer uiteenlopende onderwerpen en er participeren altijd twee partijen: stadsintellectuelen en stadsplanners. Een stadsintellectueel is gedefinieerd als iemand die in publieke stadsdebatten iets zegt wat veel mensen aangaat. De stadsplanner is een door ons gekozen verzamelnaam en omvat zowel ambtenaren als politici betrokken bij de planvorming over de stad. In democratieën vervullen deelnemers aan publieke debatten de belangrijke rol planvoorstellen te bediscussiëren, waarna politici besluiten hun plannen al dan niet aan te passen. Het lijkt dat ook interessant te bezien in hoeverre stadsintellectuelen invloed hebben gehad op de ideaalbeelden van stadsplanners en daarmee op de stadsplannen.

De interesse naar de beïnvloedbaarheid van ideaalbeelden roept de belangrijke vraag op in hoeverre ideaalbeelden veranderlijk zijn. Op grond van verschillend psychologisch onderzoek ontstaat het vermoeden dat ideaalbeelden moeilijk veranderen, maar daartoe zeker wel in staat zijn. Allereerst lijken ideaalbeelden veranderbaar door de voortschrijdende tijd. Bovendien lijken zogenaamde 'significante anderen', oftewel invloedrijke personen, ideaalbeelden te kunnen doen veranderen. Uit sociologisch onderzoek blijkt namelijk dat ideaalbeelden slechts kunnen voortbestaan als dragers hen verspreiden, maar tevens dat niet alle dragers even belangrijk zijn. Veel dragers kunnen verdwijnen zonder dat dit enig gevolg heeft voor het ideaalbeeld, maar het vertrek of de komst van sommigen, de significante anderen, leidt wel degelijk tot veranderingen. Ook van invloed op het veranderen van ideaalbeelden lijken, tenslotte, strategieën die worden gebruikt in het publieke debat. In publieke debatten worden ideaalbeelden niet zomaar, als vrijblijvende optie beschreven, nee, participanten zijn ervan overtuigd dat hun eigen ideaalbeeld het enige juiste is, en voelen een absolute noodzaak het eigen ideaal te realiseren, een dwingende urgentie om de toekomst te maken zoals zij alleen die wensen. Strategieën zijn bedoeld om de aanhang voor de eigen idealen te vergroten, en daarmee de kans op realisatie. Vijf van dergelijke strategieën zijn bekend, te weten: het praten over de idealen, het voeren van acties, het zwartmaken van anderen en

vereren van helden, het maken van kleinerende en kwetsende grappen over tegenstanders, en het binnenbrengen van nieuwe leden.

Dit onderzoek gaat over de verschillen en overeenkomsten tussen ideaalbeelden van stadsintellectuelen en stadsplanners in publieke debatten en in de tijd, en de strategieën die door hen worden aangewend om de kans op realisatie van ideaalbeelden te vergroten. Daarvoor is een onderzoeksperiode gekozen die loopt van 1945 tot 1995. Het onderzoek is gedaan in Nederland, wat in tegenstelling tot de Verenigde Staten een verzorgingsstaat is, en waarin op grond daarvan ook een andere grondtoon van ideaalbeelden is te verwachten. Het onderzoek is uitgevoerd in Amsterdam en Rotterdam, en is niet ontworpen als een vergelijkend onderzoek maar als beschrijvend en exploratief, waarbij de twee steden worden beschouwd als leveranciers van controversiële stadsdebatten. Op grond van bestaande literatuur is de onderzoeksperiode verdeeld in drie subperiodes (1945-1960/65, 1960/65-1980/85, 1980/85-1995) waarbij voor elke stad in elke subperiode het meest controversiële debat is geselecteerd. De zes geselecteerde debatten gaan over het Basisplan in Rotterdam ter wederopbouw van de binnenstad, over een voorstel van hoofdcommissaris Kaasjager om een flink aantal historische grachten te dempen in Amsterdam, over sanering en stadsvernieuwing van 19<sup>e</sup>-eeuwse wijken in Rotterdam, over de bouw van de metro in Amsterdam, over de Kop van Zuid in Rotterdam, en over de IJ-oeveren in Amsterdam.

Kranten vormen het belangrijkste bronmateriaal. Meer dan veertig landelijke, regionale en lokale kranten met uiteenlopende ideologische grondslagen zijn bestudeerd. Aanvullend zijn onderzocht alle bronnen die in de reeds geselecteerde kranten werden genoemd (tijdschriften, boeken, buurtkrantjes, pamfletten, et cetera), alsmede alle stadsplannen geproduceerd in de periode dat de geselecteerde debatten werden gevoerd.

Ter identificatie van verschillen en overeenkomsten tussen ideaalbeelden is een stand van zaken 1945 geconstrueerd op basis van ideeën van personen en groepen die algemeen worden beschouwd als grondleggers van naoorlogse planning. Deze ideeën zijn uiteengelegd in elementen en gevangen in een schema, en daarna in een tabel gegroepeerd naar de dichotomie progressieven en culturalisten; de vooruitkijkers en de terugverlangers. Een derde, kunstmatig toegevoegde, categorie vormen in dit onderzoek de stadsplanners. Deze derde groep is nodig om de vraag van beïnvloedbaarheid van ideaalbeelden te kunnen beantwoorden, maar de verwachting was dat zij meer overeenkomsten zou vertonen met de progressieven dan met de culturalisten.

Het wetenschappelijk nut van dit onderzoek is dat het een schat aan empirische gegevens over ideaalbeelden en strategieën van stadsintellectuelen en stadsplanners blootlegt, en dat het bijdraagt aan een eerste theorievorming hierover. Het onderzoek vertelt bovendien wat over de identiteit van de stad, over de betekenis van de stad voor Nederlanders. Er wordt een nieuwe bron van kennis ontgonnen, het publieke stadsdebat over planvoorstellen, en gaat daarmee over mensen die zich met de toekomst van de stad bezighouden maar daar niet voor worden betaald noch er formeel verantwoordelijk voor zijn: de stadsintellectuelen. Zij worden bestudeerd samen met stadsplanners. Dit boek beschrijft het dynamische debat tussen beiden, en de strategieën die zij daarbij aanwenden. Behalve van wetenschappelijk belang is dit ook van maatschappelijke relevantie. In dit onderzoek wordt gezocht naar resultaten van het gepassioneerd streven naar een betere stad, naar de invloed van stadsintellectuelen op de plannen van stadsplanners. Bovendien kan kennis over beelden van stadsintellectuelen, stadsplanners helpen het draagvlak voor hun plannen te vergroten – een wens van veel planners op dit moment. Omgekeerd kan kennis over ideaalbeelden van planners de stadsintellectuelen helpen deze te beïnvloeden, en aanhang te winnen voor hun eigen ideale stad. Ook biedt dit onderzoek zicht op minder en meer succesvolle strategieën, en vormt het daarmee een kleine handreiking voor hen die in de toekomst willen participeren in stadsdebatten. Het primaire doel van dit boek is echter mensen bewust te maken van ideaalbeelden, en hoe deze ons gedrag ten aanzien van steden sturen.

Op basis van het empirische onderzoek naar overeenkomsten en verschillen tussen ideaalbeelden van stadsintellectuelen en stadsplanners zijn drie niveaus in stedelijke ideaalbeelden te onderscheiden. Niveau 1 omvat het maatschappelijk niveau; De rol van het concept stad in de samenleving. Uit alle bijdragen door de tijd heen spreekt een enorm geloof in een rooskleurige toekomst van de stad, de hartstochtelijke wens de stad bloeiend te maken, het hartverscheurend streven naar bloeiende steden. Het aantal empirische gegevens is te klein om te mogen concluderen dat dit niveau in alle ideeën over Nederlandse steden is terug te vinden, maar er is al wel een aantal psychologische, sociologische en politiek-sociale verklaringen voor te geven.

Het tweede niveau omvat (a) het stedelijke ruimtelijke hoofdconcept, (b) de focus van ruimtelijke planning, en (c) het blikveld van ruimtelijke planning. De verschillen in opvattingen over dit niveau tussen enerzijds culturalisten, en anderzijds de progressieven & stadsplanners, zijn levensgroot. De progressieven en stadsplanners zien het hart van de stad als een economisch zakencentrum, gelokaliseerd in de binnenstad en aan de top van de stedelijke hiërarchie. Zij vinden dat stadsplanning zich moet focussen op economie en handel, en idealiseren progressie. Ze hebben een

onmiskbaar geloof in de gedachte dat in de toekomst alles beter wordt, dat enkel vooruitgang ons kan brengen naar de bloeiende stad. Tegenover de progressieven & stadsplanners staan de culturalisten, die het verleden idealiseren, en een toekomstige stad wensen die lijkt op hoe de stad vroeger was of had moeten zijn. Hun ideale stad heeft een binnenstad als cultuurhistorisch hart, en zij menen dat planning zich moet focussen op cultuur, historie, en de gemeenschap. Volgens culturalisten zal alleen de combinatie van deze drie elementen leiden tot de bloeiende toekomstige stad. De verschillen van mening over elementen van ideaalbeelden tussen culturalisten en progressieven & planners op niveau 2 lijkt tenminste ten dele gerelateerd te zijn aan verschillen in beroep en ideologie. Maar hoe verschillend ook, toch hebben de drie categorieën met de niveaus 2 van hun ideaalbeeld eenzelfde doel: het realiseren van niveau 1, het creëren van een bloeiende stad.

Net als niveau 1 verandert ook niveau 2 niet in de tijd, en dat maakt dat de progressieve stadsintellectuelen en stadsplanners de benaming ‘progressief’ als zodanig enigszins ondermijnen. Gezien de feitelijke maatschappelijke ontwikkelingen lijkt het element van een zakencentrum in de binnenstad en aan de top van de stedelijke hiërarchie meer op het verleden dan op de toekomst gericht, waarmee het niet meer spoort met dat andere element op niveau 2: het idealiseren van vooruitkijken, van progressie. Wel zijn er aanwijzingen dat dit element enige aanpassingen ondergaat, en de tijd moet leren of hier inderdaad sprake zal zijn van een verandering.

Het derde niveau is het meest dynamische en meest chaotische van de drie, en omvat vele elementen van ideaalbeelden. Niveau 3 bestaat uit praktische ruimtelijke, mentale, sociale, economische, politieke en methodische vereisten voor niveau 2. Op niveau 3 zijn zowel overeenkomsten als verschillen tussen culturalisten enerzijds en progressieven & stadsplanners anderzijds te vinden. Bovendien, in tegenstelling tot de andere niveaus verandert niveau 3 wel degelijk in de tijd. Opvallend is echter hoe weinig werkelijk nieuwe elementen worden beschreven ten opzichte van ideeën over stadsplanning in 1945 – slechts enige elementen inzake de binnenstad lijken werkelijk nieuw. In periode 2 maakten significante stadsplanners veranderingen van niveau 3 mogelijk – doch hebben deze niet veroorzaakt. De prikkel tot verandering in deze periode kwam daarentegen uit het publieke debat, werd tenminste ten dele veroorzaakt door strategieën van stadsintellectuelen. De verklaring van de effectiviteit van strategieën in periode 2 moet ondermeer worden gezocht in grote politieke en culturele veranderingen in de Nederlandse maatschappij. In dit onderzoek is tevens een lange lijst van strategieën toegevoegd aan de initiële lijst van vijf. Daaruit blijkt dat veel dezelfde strategieën door de tijd heen werden gebruikt, en dat zij vaak door alle drie de categorieën ter hand werden



genomen. Dit kwam de effectiviteit niet altijd ten goede, en leidde soms tot hilarische en pijnlijke situaties. Bovendien blijkt uit dit onderzoek dat de welbekende omslagen in de planning alsmede de tegenreactie die op beide omslagen volgde, niets meer en niets minder was dan een verandering van het ideaalbeeld op niveau 3. Tot slot kwamen tijdens de bestudering van strategieën en niveau 3 van ideaalbeelden, enige mentale en culturele verschillen tussen Rotterdammers en Amsterdammers aan het licht.

Dit onderzoek is te beperkt om de gegevens zondermeer te mogen generaliseren naar andere stadsdebatten, maar desondanks lijken de uitkomsten breder toepasbaar. Bij bestudering van stadsdebatten kun je er bijna van op aan, zo lijkt het, dat je: (a) twee tegenovergestelde categorieën kunt identificeren met bijbehorende en dus verschillende beroepen en ideologieën, die (b) ideaalbeelden beschrijven die op drie niveaus zijn te onderscheiden, en (c) dat een flink aantal strategieën die worden gebruikt in deze debatten reeds in dit boek werden genoemd. Meer onderzoek is noodzakelijk.

Voor toekomstige participanten van stadsdebatten is tenslotte een aantal tips geconstrueerd. Doel daarvan is een ieder te verleiden zich vrijwillig en onbetaald in te zetten voor de toekomst van de stad. Voor bloeiende toekomstige steden is het van levensbelang dat mensen de rol van stadsintellectueel blijven vervullen, dat mensen participeren in stadsdebatten. Mensen moeten blijven dromen over de stad die gaat komen, en een betere toekomst idealiseren. Alleen dan kan die ideale stad worden bereikt, alleen dan kan de stad nog beter worden dan zij al is. De stad is van jou.