

IDEOLOGY AND URBANISM DURING THE EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIOD: TWO MASTER PLANS FOR İZMİR AND SCENARIOS OF MODERNIZATION¹

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'Urbanism', 'that new science of town building', was fighting for its legitimization in Western countries at the beginning of the twentieth century; it would constitute an excellent tool for the young Republic of Turkey for the creation of a physical urban frame, the setting of a network, equipment and symbols, and an urban image that would support the modern society that the Republic aimed to achieve. Different planning models developed in the West would serve that purpose; particularly, the French and German models clashed with each other several times, as in the case of planning competitions for Ankara and İstanbul, in the search for a proper model for the modern Turkish city. While planning of the new capital, Ankara, was confided to a German planner, Hermann Jansen, the French urbanist Henri Prost was finally appointed for the planning of İstanbul.

1. This article is adapted from the Ph. D. thesis entitled 'Cultures et Fonctionnalités: Évolution de la Morphologie Urbaine de la Ville de İzmir aux XIX^e et XX^e siècles', which the author completed in 1996 at the University of Paris X-Nanterre, and from the D. F. A. thesis entitled 'La Restructuration de la Ville de İzmir à la première moitié du XX^e siècle: Trois Projets d'Urbanisme et les Scénarii de Modernisation' which she prepared at the Paris-Belleville School of Architecture in 1993.

Ideological dimensions of urban planning practice in the Early Republican Period have already been studied by different authors who concede that the planning experience of Turkey began in 1927 with the international planning competition for the new capital, Ankara. However, a comprehensive urban plan was developed earlier for the City of İzmir in 1924, soon after the foundation of the Republic, though it could not be implemented before 1930's. Planning experience of the City of İzmir appears, in fact, as interesting as that of Ankara and it reveals the different attitudes adopted by the authorities of the Republic during that period.

The plan prepared for İzmir by René and Raymond Danger, engineer-urbanists, with the collaboration of Henri Prost, architect-urbanist, was conceived as a holistic plan (*plan d'ensemble*) with the objective to define the future development of the City of İzmir and not as a partial reconstruction plan as it is generally known. This *plan d'aménagement*, which is a typical product of the *Beaux-Arts* School, remained in effect throughout 1930's, shaping the morphology of an important portion of the central districts of İzmir. In 1938, however, after the implementation of this classical *Beaux-Arts* plan, the Municipal authority took a completely different direction in the planning of the town by approaching Le Corbusier, a charismatic as well as much debated personality of CIAM, for the preparation of a new plan for İzmir.

In spite of the interruption caused by the Second World War, ten years later Le Corbusier accomplished this task with a planning proposal. The master plan that he proposed is the expression of a radical attitude, if not a utopian approach. Judged impracticable and put immediately aside, Le Corbusier's proposal represents, however, a turning point in the attitude *vis-à-vis* urban space. The change is certainly due to the planning approaches at international level: The functionalist ideology of CIAM began to be influential in town planning in this period. Yet, the question posed here concerns the sudden change in the attitude of the local authority which opted for a more radical model, and withdrew from the implementation of the existing plan.

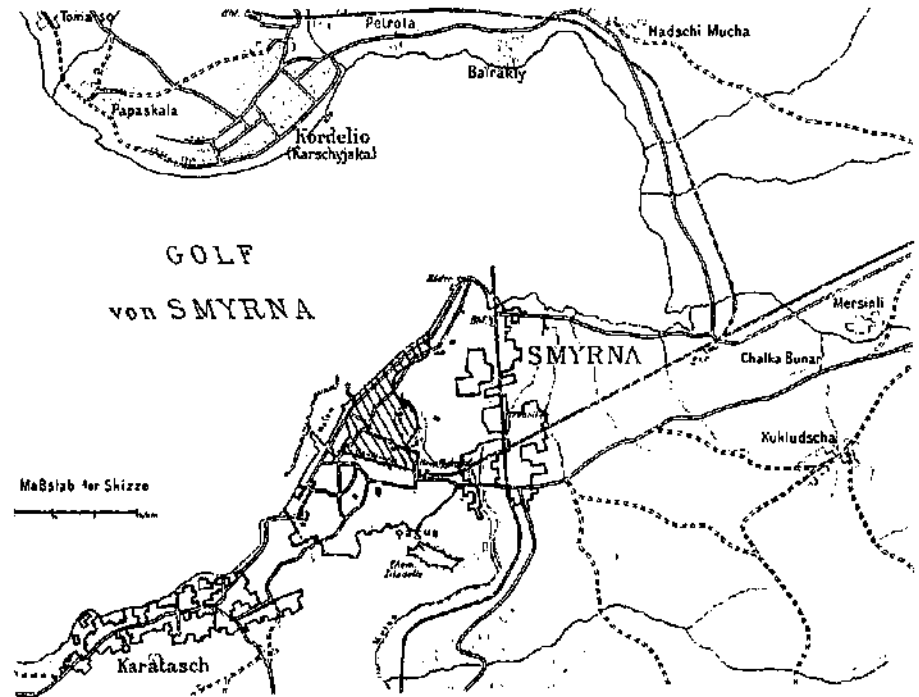
It can easily be supposed that both of the plans proposed by European urbanists were only importation of models and do not represent any conscious ideological orientation of the local authority, or that they were nothing more than a will of conformity with the 'spirit' of the time. At that point, however, the concept of modernity, the correspondence between different urban planning models in their understanding of this concept, and its significance(s) in the modernization ideology of the Turkish Republic appear as essential. The understanding of modernity is inevitably associated with a certain image of urban space.

This image finds expression in the urban project aiming to modify or recreate the existing urban environment. There comes the problem of choice of model and its adaptation, which is a process of reception; a question peculiar to all domains of arts. This process, in which the images generated by the model play an important role, depends essentially on the correspondence between the doctrines on which the model is based and the ideology and expectations of the receptor (Jauss, 1978). In this article, the correspondence between the discourses supporting the models chosen for the planning of İzmir and different directions that the modernization ideology took in the Early Republican Period is questioned.

THE MASTER PLAN OF İZMİR BY R. DANGER AND H. PROST

The Plan by Danger and Prost dating from 1924 was realized in a particular historical and political context. First of all, it was a plan prepared for the reconstruction of the districts destroyed by the fire of 1922 which occurred at a crucial moment in the socio-political history of the region. The problem of reconstruction was perceived by the government of the young Republic as a means for making İzmir a modern urban center. While partial grid-iron plans were implemented by military engineers for the reconstruction of other towns damaged during the war, the government chose to have a French specialist prepare a *plan d'urbanisme* for İzmir. The reconstruction of İzmir constituted an issue of primary political importance for the Turkish Republic.

Figure 1. The city of İzmir in 1924 and the districts destroyed by the fire of 1922 (Klinghardt, 1924).



İzmir, the second most populated city and the most important port of exportation in Turkey, was in ruins at the end of the War of Independence that took place in 1919-1922. The fire of 1922 destroyed an area of 300 hectares at the center of the city including the business district and residential areas. An important part of the Christian population left the city during the fire. The departure of the Greek population continued with the population exchange anticipated by the Treaty of Lausanne (1923). The settlement of Turkish immigrants from Greece and the Aegean Islands, as well as from the Balkans, in the same context, constituted an urgent problem that the government had to solve. With the departure of the Christian population who controlled the economy and essentially the commercial relations at the international level, the economic activity of the city was, in fact, paralyzed. The problem of reconstruction did not only concern rebuilding the burnt districts of the town, but included also the question of revitalizing the economy as well as reconstructing the disrupted social structure.

It is not a coincidence that the First Turkish National Congress of Economy, which aimed at defining the basis of an independent national economy, was held in İzmir in 1923, while discussions were carried on in great difficulty at Lausanne. The City of İzmir, where colonial networks controlling the economy of the whole Western Anatolia were established before the Turkish War of Independence, became an important center of the national economy; the Turkish bourgeoisie of İzmir, having participated in the struggle for independence, had the capacity to reconstruct the economy as well as the City of İzmir. The reconstruction plan of İzmir should be evaluated in the light of this nationalist and anti-imperialist ideology of the Republic. Besides the immediate necessity to rebuild the burnt districts of the city, the demand for a *plan d'urbanisme* represents, particularly, the will of the new government to reconstruct a national economic center, as well as to erect a modern city that would be representative of the image of the young Republic of Turkey.

International financial and engineering enterprises were interested in the reconstruction which could have undoubtedly turned into a benefit oriented task (Klinghardt, 1924, 158-161). Yet, the Government, unsatisfied by the projects proposed by such enterprises, commissioned the Prefect of İzmir to study contemporary trends in

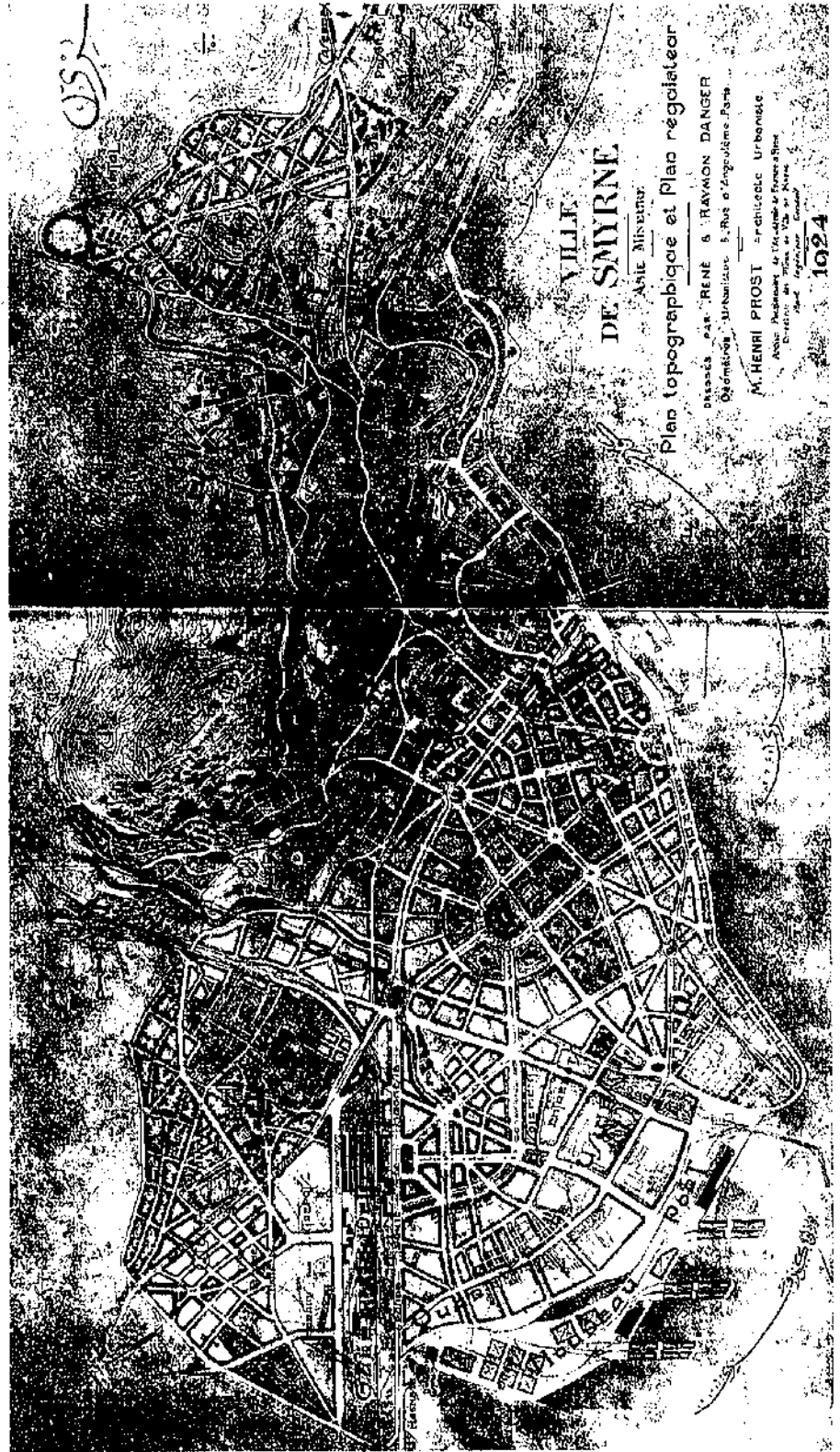


Figure 2. The 'Plan d'Aménagement de la Ville de Smyrne' prepared by René and Raymond Danger in consultation with Henri Prost in 1924 (A. F. 1927).

2. The author of the article entitled 'Le plan d'aménagement de la Ville de Smyrne', published in the Journal 'L'Architecture', used only the initials of his name.

European countries. Soon after that, the 'Society for the Reconstruction of İzmir' approached Henri Prost, who was in charge of preparing plans for North African towns where he worked in close relationship with Maréchal Lyautey, French military governor of Morocco at that time. Lyautey had corresponded with Mustafa Kemal during the Turkish Independence War and had played an active role in the recognition of the Government of Ankara by the French Government with the Ankara Treaty of 1920 (Pekin, 1956). It is quite possible that the Turkish Government did ask for his advice about the reconstruction problem of İzmir.

Henri Prost, to whom the demand was addressed, recommended René Danger to deal with the preparation of a reconstruction plan for İzmir. The Municipality of İzmir made a contract for a *plan d'urbanisme* with René Danger in 1924. Henri Prost would contribute, nevertheless, to the elaboration of the plan as a consultant architect-urbanist. A commission formed of Turkish doctors, architects, and engineers at the Municipality of İzmir studied, with the participation of the urbanist, the main requirements of the city and discussed the goals of the plan (A. F., 1927) (2). Some of the goals defined were:

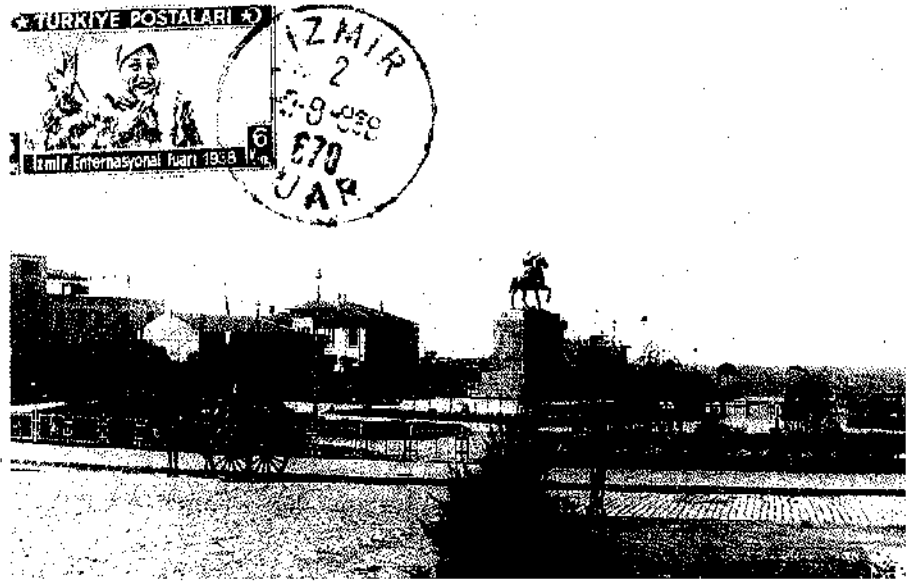
- to combine the two railway stations of the Aydın and Kasaba railway lines;
- to locate the new central station at a distance from the city center;
- to relocate the port complex which had problems of access and caused air pollution in the city center;
- to create a new port in direct relation with the railway connections and the industrial areas;
- to find new areas for residential uses so as to reduce the densities in the existing built-up areas (which was around 345 inhabitants/hectare and according to the statistics there was constant immigration of about 1000 persons per year to the City of İzmir); and
- to improve the means of access to the city.

The question of 'hygiene' was considered to be of primary importance in the location of the port, the industrial areas, and in the setting of residential areas, which were studied with respect to density and other pertinent conditions. The presence of many doctors in the commission explains the particular importance given to this question, which was also shared by the urbanist. However, Danger did not agree on one point with the commission which insisted on the idea of planning the new town on the site of the districts destroyed by fire, while he found these nether areas not suitable for construction. However, the central districts as well as the new residential development in this area were to be planned according to the demands of the commission.

The plan prepared by Danger with the collaboration of Henri Prost treated the urban area as a whole to reorganize it according to the principle of zoning and proposed the creation of an industrial area as well as a new port, and especially new residential areas in the form of 'garden-suburbs' (*cités-jardin*) and residential areas for workers. With its global approach to urbanization, this plan is, in fact, a pioneering example of urban planning practice in Turkey. The Danger-Prost Plan, that brought a modern planning approach with its survey method as well as the principles, such as zoning, low densities, 'hygiene', new functions, equipment and large green spaces that it introduced, also gave priority to urban aesthetics in planning with its classical composition in the *Beaux-Arts* tradition.

Conforming to the demands of the Municipality, Danger proposed on the irregular site of the old districts destroyed by the fire a regular symmetrical 'composition' with a new pattern of diagonal avenues that formed visual axes with perspectives converging either on the sea or on important monuments as

Figure 3. Plaza of the Republic, 'Cumhuriyet Meydanı' (postcard, 1938).



Kadifekale. These avenues intersected at *étoile* plazas that formed focal points of the urban space. The most monumental of all, interpreted as the symbolic entrance to the city by the sea, were the Plaza of the Republic (Cumhuriyet Meydanı) and the famous equestrian statue of Atatürk constructed by the Italian sculptor Canonica. This plaza, emphasized by monumental administrative buildings and on which the most important boulevards were focused, constituted the center of the composition. The entrances to the city were designed with a particular attention. Plazas created in front of the existing train stations of Basmane and Alsancak constituted the two important entrances to the city. A third one was proposed near the new central train station where the important road from Manisa reached the city.

A public park of sixty hectares was proposed in the middle of the reconstruction area, forming a large green axis extending from the Plaza of the Republic towards the central train station. University buildings were proposed inside this public green surrounded by new residential districts. During the implementation of the plan, this green area was enlarged to 360 hectares for the creation of the Kültür Park (Seymen-Baykan, 1992).

Because of the lack of financial means the implementation of the plan could only be possible in 1930s, with the extraordinary performance of the progressist

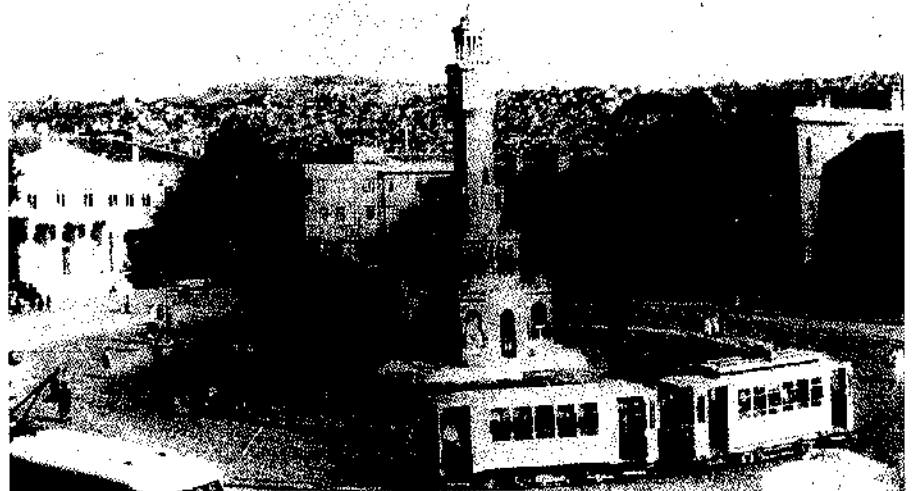
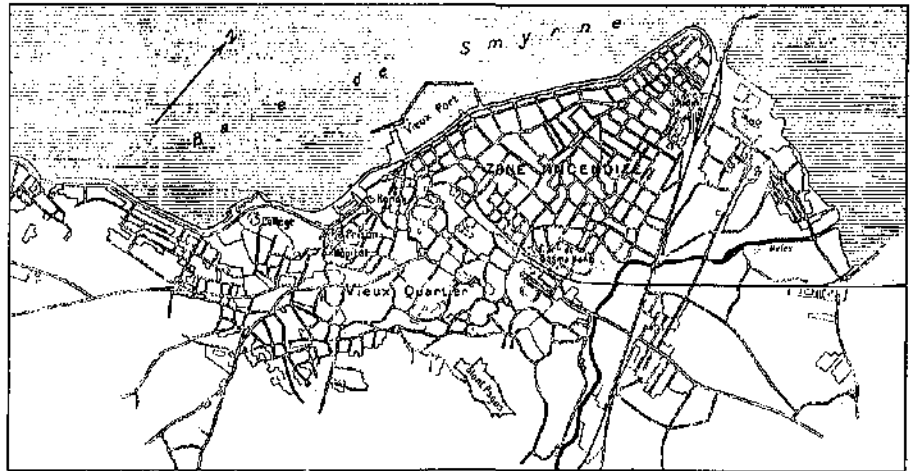


Figure 4. Konak Plaza, 'Konak Meydanı' (postcard circa 1935-1940).

Figure 5. Plan of İzmir before 1922 (Anonymous from 'Illustration', 1933, 270)



Mayor of İzmir, Behçet Uz. He worked for the 'creation of a healthy environment and the modernization of the city as well as that of life styles' (Seymen-Baykan, 1992). Danger's plan, revised in 1933 by the technical staff of the Municipality, was to serve for the setting of residential areas, the new business district, and the creation of large green areas. With its 'boulevards', 'promenades', and public parks, the plan inspired occidental ways of life. This new urban image contrasted, however, with that of the historical town preserved from the fire.

The plan by Danger was finally interpreted as a reconstruction plan and implemented only partially, although it was conceived as a comprehensive plan. Nevertheless, having guided the reconstruction of the central districts of İzmir, this plan had an important impact on the image of the city despite the problem of intensification that the built-up area has continuously been subject to.

The reasons for the non-implementation of the plan except for the reconstruction can also be searched in the attitude of this plan *vis-à-vis* the existing historical quarters of the city. In fact, the plan did not intervene in the historical districts except for some proposals for improvement of circulation. With its 'protectionist' attitude it created, however, an artificial duality of new town/old town which seems to refer to the segregation of indigenous town/European town of the French colonial urban plans. One should not forget, though, that this plan was implemented within the particular ideological context of socio-political reforms in Turkey. Once the reconstruction of the burnt-down districts was accomplished, the Municipal authority felt the need to interfere with the historical quarters of the city with the same logic of modernization. In fact, the protectionist attitude

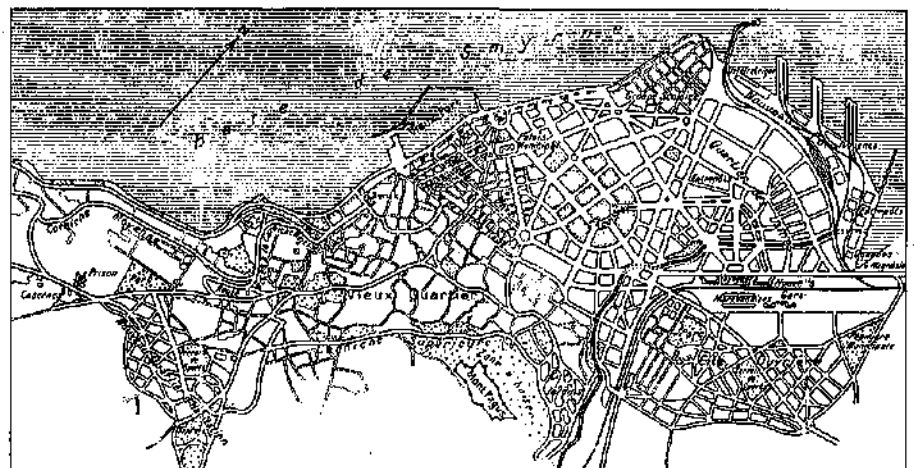


Figure 6. Plan of İzmir according to the proposals of Danger and Prost (Anonymous from 'Illustration', 1933, 271).

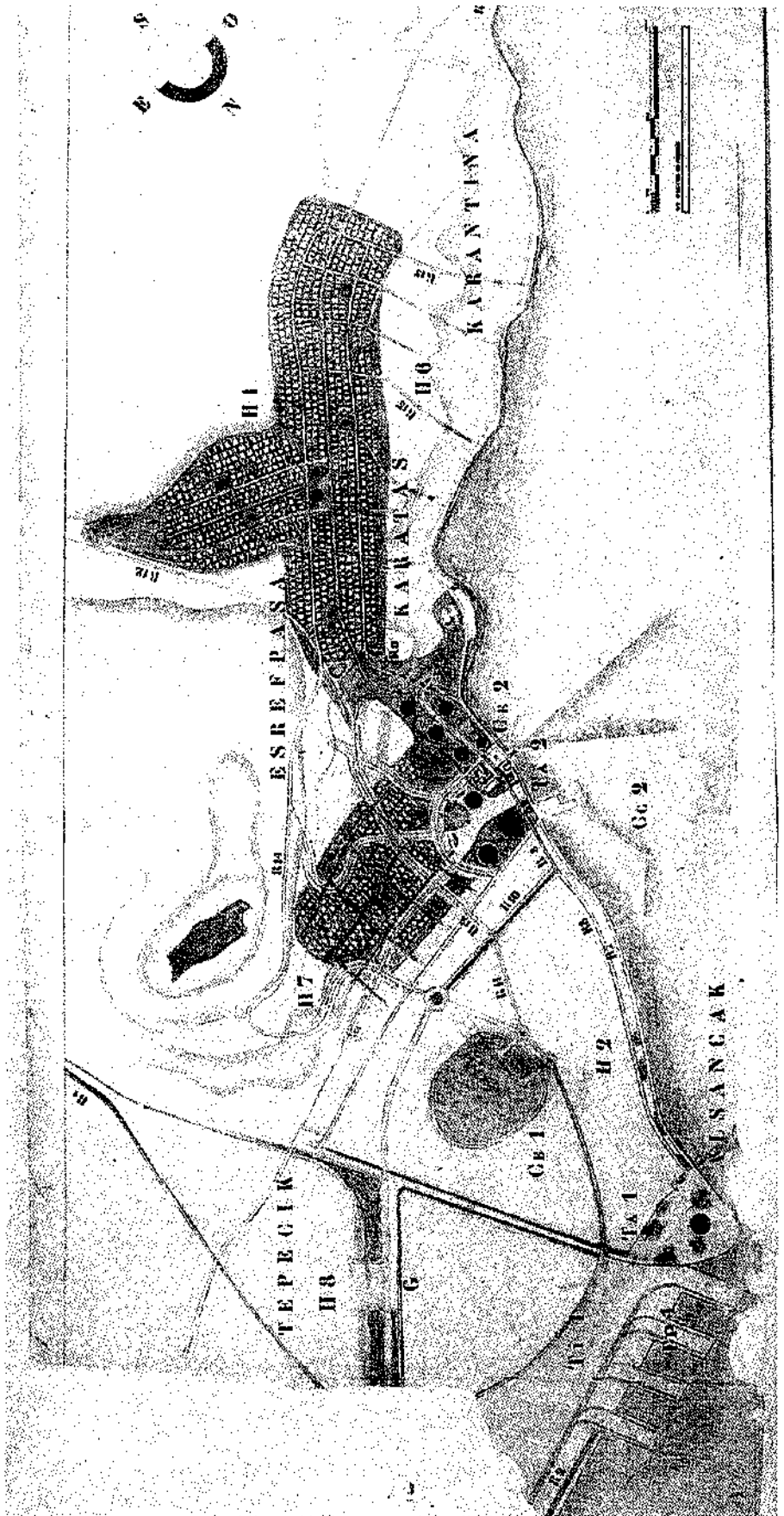


Figure 7. Le Corbusier's 'Plan Directeur' of Izmir, January 1949 (with the kind permission of 'Fondation Le Corbusier': Izmir plan, documented as of no. 13278).

3. The correspondences between Le Corbusier and Behçet Uz have been reviewed in this context and the author wishes to express her gratitude for the access to these documents, benevolently granted by the 'Fondation Le Corbusier'.

of Danger's plan *vis-à-vis* the 'other half' of the city did not fit in at all with this approach of the Municipality. It was inconceivable for the Municipal authority to conserve half of the city in an 'archaic' state. The Mayor Behçet Uz revealed in his discourses a radical approach which partly explains the search of the Municipality for a new urban model. Behçet Uz declared this divergence as follows:

Prost's point of view is not applicable for İzmir in some respects. The City of İzmir does not agree at all with the idea to conserve any monument as ornament in the middle of roads. But, we are ready to valorize a building of architect Sinan, if we find one, by creating parks all around. In fact, there are monuments that we saved so... With the plan that we prepare, we are to serve for the comfort of future generations (Oğaç, 1939, 60) (Author's translation).

At this point, it is interesting to note also a decision taken by the Municipal Council during that same period: the old names of a great number of streets in İzmir, both of old as well as new districts, were replaced by numbers. With this decision, names referring to the past of the town, the names of persons or institutions, disappeared.

The operations of the Municipality had already exceeded the scope of Danger's plan, and the necessity to prepare a new plan for extensions, especially permitting interventions in the historical city, appeared as early as mid-1930s with the idea to establish a planning office within the Municipality under the direction of or in consultation with a foreign urbanist (Seymen-Baykan, 1992). With this purpose, the Municipality consulted planners with international experience, such as Prost, Jansen, Lambert, Royer, and Ehlgötz.

COMMISSIONING OF LE CORBUSIER FOR A NEW MASTER PLAN

Correspondences dating from 1938 to 1949 between Le Corbusier and the Municipality of İzmir elucidate the question of what the Municipal authority expected from the architect and why Le Corbusier was interested in the urbanization of İzmir (3).

The Municipality of İzmir established contact with Le Corbusier for the first time in 1938, asking his collaboration for the preparation of a master plan (*plan régulateur*) for İzmir. This proposal interested the architect at the 'utmost level'. However, commissioning Le Corbusier for this task would not be easy, because the Directory of Urbanism in the Ministry of Reconstruction in Ankara did not authorize this enterprise and proposed, instead, to organize an international competition in order to obtain a new plan (Seymen-Baykan, 1992). Nevertheless, the Municipality of İzmir signed contracts with Le Corbusier for the preparation of a consulting report concerning the architect's views on the 'future development' of the city with a general scheme of a master plan (4, 5). The objective was, in fact, to form an independent planning office within the Municipality and to develop a detailed plan according to the principles to be put forward by this master plan.

Why did the Municipality, after having consulted other specialists, chose Le Corbusier to prepare the master plan of İzmir? How can we explain the determination of the Municipality of İzmir while the central authorities in Ankara were strictly opposed to this initiative? Did this opposition concern the choice of a planning model, or was it only a conflict between the central authority and its province?

The decision of the City of İzmir despite the opposition of Ankara is significant for the will of autonomy shown by the Municipality of İzmir which succeeded to

4. The letter of April 4, 1939 by Dr. Behçet Uz, the Mayor of İzmir, to Le Corbusier:

Mr. Le Corbusier, Architect-Urbanist,
As we have previously informed you, we applied to the Ministry for the planning of İzmir. Recently, an answer has been received which insists on the necessity of holding a planning competition for preparation of the Master Plan of İzmir.

We consider it useful to have your opinion however, concerning the future development of our city.

Please inform us about your terms for preparing a report, a preliminary study of the plan and about your trip to İzmir which can be extended up to three weeks...

Dr. Behçet Uz, Mayor of İzmir
(Correspondences, 'Fondation Le Corbusier'; author's translation).

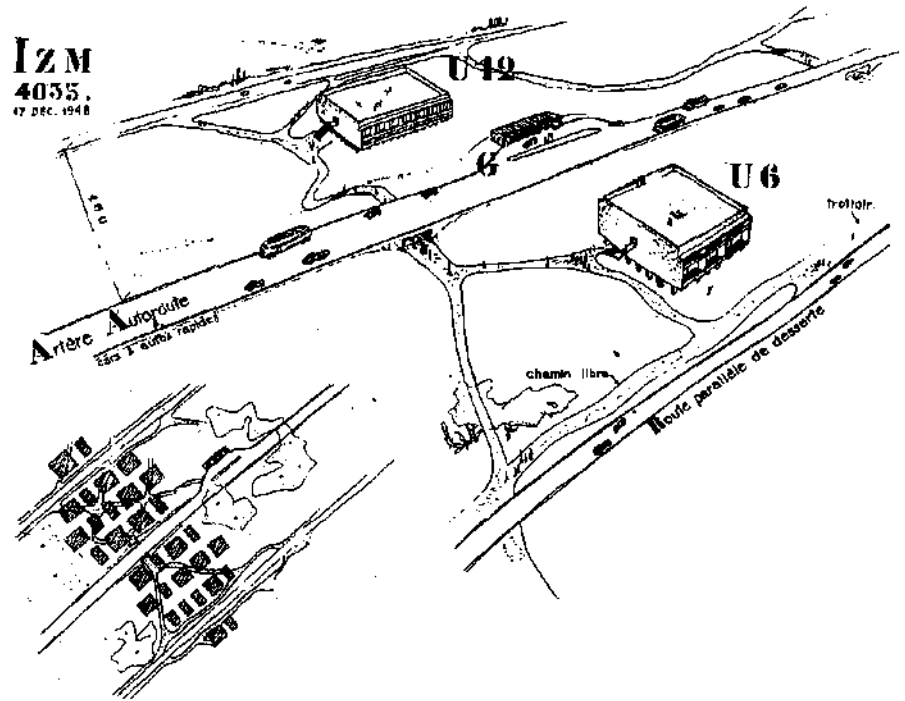
5. The letter by Le Corbusier, dated May 5, 1939, to Dr. Behçet Uz, the Mayor of İzmir:

Monsieur le Maire,
Your letter of April 21 reached me here in Algiers where I am working on the urbanization plan of that city and its region. I regret sincerely that the ministerial authority concluded on the necessity of a competition for the Master Plan of the city (of İzmir). These kinds of operations do not generally give good results.

To show you my wish to help you to find a useful solution to the problem which preoccupies you, I am ready to come to Smyrna ... and to prepare a planning scheme that seems to me useful. I would like to add that I will be glad, as compensation of the reduction I offer you, if I can obtain directly from the Municipality or indirectly, the task to prepare the project of a building in which I can propose a 'future type' of construction for the city. I will be back in Paris in four days and will be happy to know about your answer.

Le Corbusier
(Correspondences, 'Fondation Le Corbusier'; author's translation).

Figure 8. Settlement pattern of 'logis' groups, motorways, and pedestrian paths (with the kind permission of 'Fondation Le Corbusier'; documented as of no. 13266).



6. The letter of March 6 1946 by Le Corbusier to the Mayor of İzmir:

Monsieur le Maire,

Many years passed since you appointed me, in 1939, to prepare a report on the urbanization of İzmir. The defeat of 1940 prevented me from coming to İzmir ...

You asked me, insistently, to come to help you at Smyrna. After six years, I find myself as your debtor for an important amount of money as a simple consequence of the financial problems caused by the war.

I think the solution is to realize the agreement that we had made, and that I come to Smyrna as soon as possible in order to prepare the report.

I should be obliged if you would take this question into consideration and if you would make me know about your intentions.

Le Corbusier:

P.S. I would like to point out that I am at present at the heart of the reconstruction problems in France. I am one of the six members of the High Committee of Architecture and Planning which has the responsibility to evaluate reconstruction plans of many towns and regions in France, and particularly that of the port town of La Rochelle-Pallice, the constructions in Marseilles, the urbanization of the Vallée des Pyrénées, etc. I also would like to add that during the war, constructions such as the Ministry of Education and of Public Health in Rio-de-Janeiro were built according to plans that I had prepared. At present, the third sky-scraper of that kind is under construction in that city.

(Correspondences, 'Fondation Le Corbusier'; author's translation).

accomplish the reconstruction of the city mainly by its own means. It is also certain that the choice by İzmir of a controversial modernist and functionalist planning approach, while the plan of Ankara was being implemented under the supervision of the German planner Hermann Jansen, reveals once more not only the question of choice of model, but also the claim of the City of İzmir to be autonomous and *avant-garde*. There was, evidently, a hidden competition between the capital and other important cities in the course of modernization.

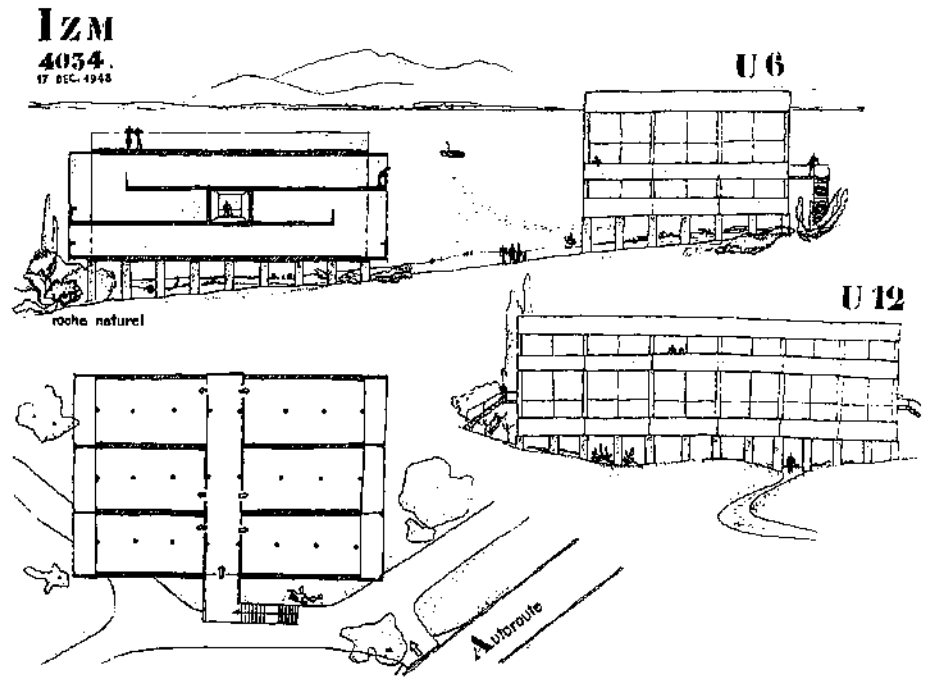
The reason for designating Le Corbusier for the planning of İzmir can be explained, also, by the propagation of the architect's credibility, especially after his planning work for the city of Algiers. When the Municipality of İzmir approached him, Le Corbusier was in charge of the planning of Algiers. İzmir as a part of the Mediterranean world, was not indifferent to the competitions going on among the Mediterranean ports in that period.

MASTER PLAN OF İZMİR BY LE CORBUSIER

Although he gave his consent for the preparation of a master plan, Le Corbusier was not able to come to İzmir because of the beginning of the war in Europe. At the end of the Second World War, after an interruption of ten years, the architect renewed contact with the Municipal authorities of İzmir, reminding that he was currently dealing with reconstruction problems in France (6). After the agreement was reestablished, he visited İzmir in October 1948 and undertook the preparation of a general master plan scheme that he submitted in January 1949. The *Projet de Plan Directeur* consisted of twenty-two plates and a report.

In his plan for the future development of the city of İzmir, Le Corbusier put forward a complete reorganization of the urban space according to the principles of urbanism adopted by CIAM in April 1948, and planned a green city for 400 000 inhabitants (Figure 7). The master plan of this *ville verte* was essentially based on two elements of different scales; an abstract circulation scheme in which rapid and slow motorized traffic and pedestrian circulation were separated, and the

Figure 9. 'Groupes de logis' (with the kind permission of 'Fondation Le Corbusier': İzmir Plan, documented as of no. 13265).



reproduction of an ideal housing type properly designed according to the natural conditions of İzmir.

The project and its report constituted a typical example in which CIAM's nomenclature of urbanism was applied on 'the theme of urbanization of İzmir'. The nomenclature is used both in the analyses and the proposals which are classified under four categories: the *milieu* or physical and human geographical context, 'the occupation of the territory' or land-use analysis that Le Corbusier calls as 'urbanism in two dimensions', the organization of volumes or 'urbanism in three dimension', and 'ethics and aesthetics' (Le Corbusier, 1949).

The master plan proposal of Le Corbusier is based on the four basic functions declared by the Charter of Athens: *habiter, travailler, cultiver le corps et l'esprit, and circuler*. Large residential areas are proposed in this plan, mainly on the slopes in the south of the existing built-up area. A motorway (following approximately today's Hatay Avenue) connects these to the city center.

The average density of these new residential districts is proposed as 350 to 400 inhabitants/hectare. Two basic types of housing unit or *logis* are designed according to the natural and particular seismic conditions of İzmir. These *groupes de logis* are elevated on pilotis within green areas. Public open land is left in its natural state without any leveling in order to preserve the 'picturesque qualities' of the site. The *logis* are served by pedestrian ways providing free passage in every directions. Common services (schools, meeting halls, clubs for the young, and shopping centers) are represented by black points evenly distributed in the residential areas (Figures 8 and 9).

Besides new residential areas, Le Corbusier has proposed a business center (*cité d'affaires*) on the Cape of Alsancak, where high-rise office buildings would be erected forming a kind of *ville radieuse*. It should be noted however, that Alsancak was one of the historical districts saved from the fire of 1922. The administrative center that would also be constituted of high rise buildings (including a new town hall building) would be created near Konak. A new port is proposed at the north of the industrial area while the existing port would serve only for yachting.

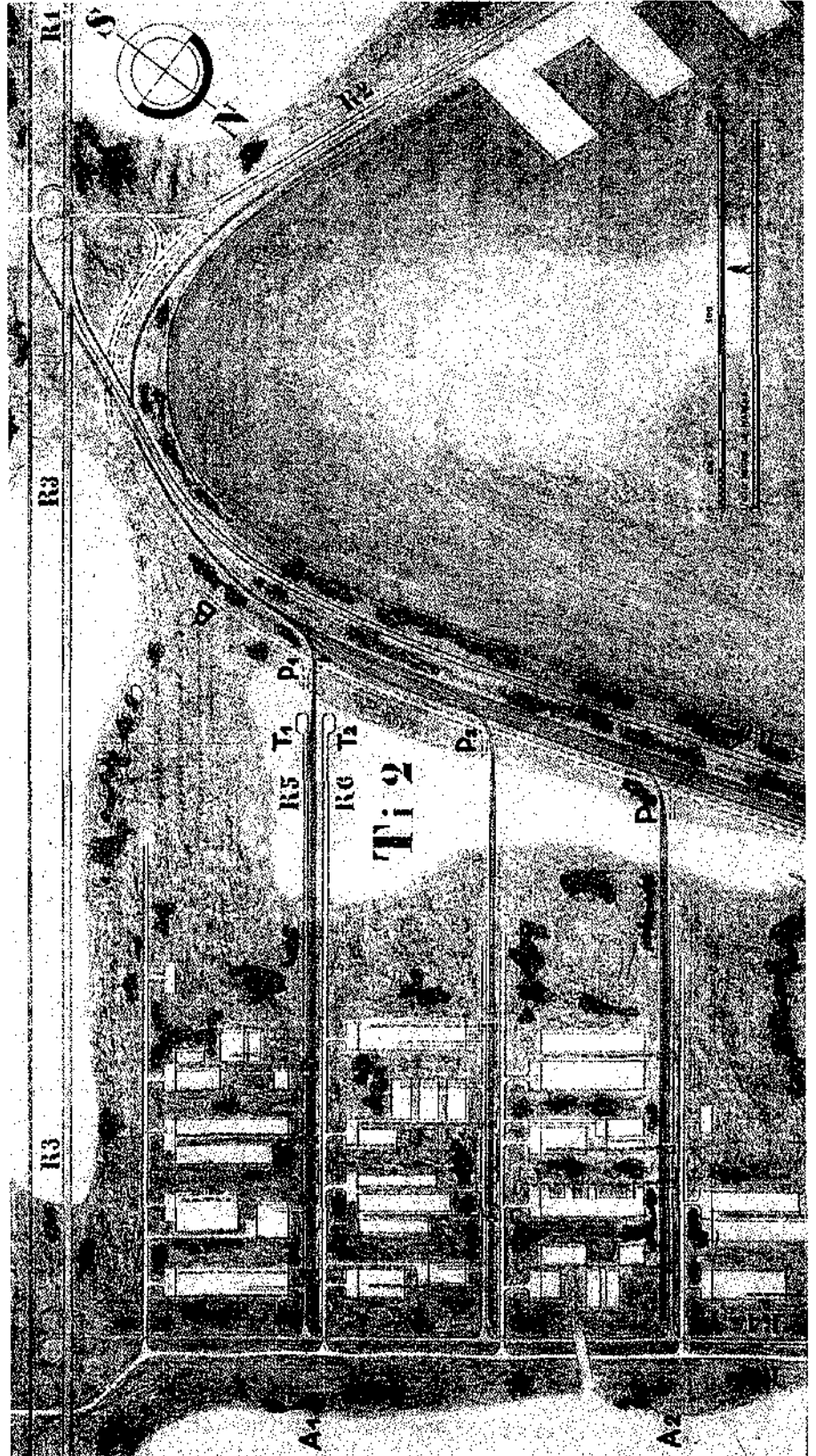


Figure 10. 'La Cité Industrielle de type usine verte' proposed by Le Corbusier for the future industrial zone of İzmir (with the kind permission of 'Fondation Le Corbusier': documented as of no. 13273).

One of the most interesting proposals in Le Corbusier's project is the new industrial district that he has designed as a green industrial plant (Figure 10). In this *cité industrielle verte*, he has put forward a linear industrial setting (that he had already formulated in *les Trois Etablissements Humains*) connected to the railroads and motorways in the north of İzmir, along the coast of Bornova Bay. A large sports center at İnciraltı in the south-west and a civic center located near Konak Plaza, where theaters, museums, and cultural centers would take place, are also outstanding proposals of Le Corbusier's master plan.

However, the most striking aspect of this plan is the *tabula rasa* that it makes of the historical town that extends from the traditional commercial center of Kemeraltı to the slopes of Kadifekale. Le Corbusier has proposed here a gradual transformation of the historical urban tissue into a rational grid pattern. While conserving the Kemeraltı curve with its most outstanding monuments, he introduced a green belt behind this street with the purpose of separating the commercial zone from the residential areas that would be completely renovated. For the 'gradual transformation' of the historical urban fabric, he has proposed, first, the construction of a grid-iron system of roads which would be entirely independent from the topography and from the existing street pattern.

In the case of an eventual superposition of the grid with historical monuments, mosques with their *placettes* or *khans*, these monuments could be preserved as pleasing centers (Le Corbusier, 1949)(Author's translation).

How can we explain this attitude of Le Corbusier who had, however, showed a particular interest in oriental architecture at the beginning of his career? Is this radical attitude *vis-à-vis* the historical urban setting, an expression of Le Corbusier's ideas on urban space, or an answer to the demands of the local authority? In his analysis of the existing urban tissue, he qualifies these old districts of the town as areas of very bad physical condition (*taudis*) in terms of the light, air and green areas that they provide; this diagnosis justifies partly the operation to be undertaken. However, the requirements of the Municipality must have also played an important role, in such a controversial position.

One of the biggest mistakes I made in my life was the letter I wrote to Atatürk. If I had not written this letter, I would have been working on the plan of Istanbul in place of my rival Prost. In this letter I advised the greatest reformer of a nation to preserve the City of Istanbul in the dust of centuries. I realized later what error I had committed (Le Corbusier quoted by Demiren, 1948) (Author's translation).

7. The letter of July 19, 1949 by Le Corbusier to Reşat İleblebicioğlu, the Mayor of İzmir:

Monsieur le Maire,
I profit from this letter to point out to you that my 'Plan Directeur' of İzmir will be opened to discussions in the International Congress of CIAM at Bergamo (Italy) this year, 23rd to 29th of July.

I hardly need say to you the pleasure that I had to make this task. I think that it contains clear and useful directory elements of which the authority, whatever it will be, can and should take advantage.

I am ready to bring all complementary information that the authority would need ...

Le Corbusier
(Correspondences, 'Fondation Le Corbusier'; author's translation).

These words of Le Corbusier, that are quoted from an interview published in a Turkish architectural journal while the architect was working on the master plan of İzmir, sheds light on the approach that he adopted in his plan for the City of İzmir. The revolutionary character of the modernization movement of that period in Turkey seems to have encouraged him to propose even the *tabula rasa* of the historical urban tissue.

However, when the project was received by the Municipality of İzmir in 1949, it provoked a real shock (7). During the elaboration of the master plan in Le Corbusier's atelier, there had been no collaboration with the technical staff of the Municipality.

Neither the political context, nor the ideological tendencies of the local authority after the Second World War were the same as in 1938, when the commission for a new plan was given to Le Corbusier by the Municipality of İzmir. In the new political context of multi-party system, it was very difficult for the Municipal authority to

undertake operations as radical as those necessitated by the implementation of Le Corbusier's plan. Could the implementation be possible if the plan had been proposed ten years before, under the one-party regime? The answer would probably be negative again, because the Municipality never had the authority nor the financial means necessary for the application of such a project. Yet, the reaction that Le Corbusier's project was subjected to was particularly due to the fact that it overlooked the importance of real estates.

The settlement model that the architect proposed is based on the idea that the urban land should be the property of the whole community, *i.e.*, on the abolishment of private ownership of property in urban land, in order 'to permit human movement in all directions'. This idea was inconceivable for the Municipal authority, especially in a period when liberal tendencies had begun to dominate in Turkey. However, the implementation of a project based principally on public ownership of urban land was not imaginable in the preceding period either. We know that the previous Mayor, Behçet Uz, could realize the reconstruction of the city by a successful management that mobilized private investments and real estates.

The master plan of İzmir prepared by Le Corbusier as a consultant project was never implemented. However, it probably constituted an important reference for the preparation of the international competition for a new plan in 1951. Although Le Corbusier's plan has been interpreted as a utopian scheme without any precision and possibility of implementation, it had influences on the creation of a modern urban image, and had a decisive role in the transformation of urban space in İzmir. The idea of *ville radieuse*, in particular, has been adopted by later plans for the creation of the administrative center at Konak district, as well as that of *cité industrielle* both in terms of its location and arrangement of the industrial zone as realized afterwards along the coast of Bornova Bay.

CONCLUSION

In the Early Republican Period of Turkey, the main motivation behind the urban planning activity, perceived as a 'know-how of rebuilding the urban space' according to the principles of 'urbanism', appears as creation of a modern urban environment. Yet, tensions arising from the confrontation of the fundamental components of the Turkish Republican ideology, with the debate focused on 'nationalism' and 'universalism' in particular, has been influential in the choice of urban models (Tekeli, 1980). The dialectical discourse on modernization and the creation of a 'national culture' became essential especially with the question of 'urban image'. In this period, planning experience of İzmir, that should certainly be considered in this ideological context, reveals at once the peculiarity of the directions taken by this city with respect to the mainstream tendencies in Turkey (those of the central authorities in particular) and throws light on the tensions behind the planning practice of that period.

The plan prepared by Danger and Prost in 1924-1925 for the reconstruction of the City that was highly damaged by the fire of 1922 coincided with the foundation of the Turkish Republic, which is characterized by an independentist, anti-imperialist ideology. The goals of the plan defined by the Municipal Commission make clear the will to reconstruct the port city of İzmir as a future economic center of the country. The reorganization of the port and its railway connections and the revitalization of the industrial zone were significant requirements that challenged the planners. This explains the reason why the Republican authorities chose to address foreign specialists for the preparation of a comprehensive plan

d'urbanisme rather than a partial reconstruction plan. İzmir had to be recreated according to modern principles of urbanism, 'the new science of town building', as a political answer to the colonialist claims on that city.

The question of 'urban image' was not less important than the functional reorganization of the town. The French *Beaux-Arts* plan, with the large boulevards, promenades, plazas, and public parks, has proposed a modern urban image inspiring occidental *bourgeois* ways of life as well as equipment that a modern society needs. The occidental image of urban space appeared, in fact, in the visionary projects of Tanzimat reformers, as early as the beginning of the Occidentalization Movement in Turkey and persisted in all nineteenth century attempts for the regularization of the urban tissue. The Republicans, formed in the Ottoman reform movement, are in a sense, followers of the progressist tradition, also in their vision of urban space. However, the Republican revolution, distinguishing itself by its radicalism not only in the modernization of institutions of superstructure, but also in the implementation of sociocultural reforms, opted also for a total reorganization of urban space. The Danger and Prost Plan constituted the first holistic urban planning attempt in Turkey, although it was implemented only partially.

This plan put into implementation in 1930's, in the period of revolutionary reforms, was shelved in 1938 after accomplishing the reconstruction of the burnt-down districts. The proposals of this plan for the creation of a new port and industrial district, and of a central railway station in connection with these, were not realized, probably because of the lack of financial means. The creation of new residential areas (garden-suburbs) outside the existing built-up area was not even discussed in the municipal working programs. However, the local authority gave particular importance to the 'modernization' of the historical districts of the town that Danger and Prost tended to protect in their plan.

Commissioning of Le Corbusier by the Municipality of İzmir for the preparation of a new master plan should be considered within the ideological context of the late 1930's, the period marked by a strong conviction in the possibility of an overall modernization in Turkey. The modernism advocated by Le Corbusier seems to have appealed the municipal authorities of İzmir. The city of İzmir made her choice for 'universalism', while the debate centered once more on the search for a 'national character' among architects in Turkey.

Le Corbusier's proposal, although it dates from 1949 because of a delay caused by the Second World War, was probably influenced by the revolutionary character of the Turkish modernization movement. Rather than putting forward a utopian project, Le Corbusier found in İzmir a suitable field to apply a 'modernist' planning scheme that he developed according to CIAM principles. However, neither the ideological, nor the political context of Post-War Turkey was the same as in late 1930's. The liberal tendencies in a multi-party system did not make possible the implementation of a plan neglecting the importance of real estates in urbanization.

The doctrines generating the models did not always meet the orientations and expectations of the local authority. Although the plan by Danger and Prost and the proposal by Le Corbusier found their place in the course of the modernization movement, the problems of their implementation present quite clearly the problem of their relevance to the evolution of the ideology of modernization in Turkey.

ERKEN CUMHURİYET DÖNEMİNDE İZMİRDE ŞEHİRCİLİK: ÇAĞDAŞLAŞMA SENARYOLARI VE İKİ NAZIM PLAN

ÖZET

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Anahtar Sözcükler: Modern Dönem Kent Planlaması, İdeoloji, Çağdaşlaşma, Rene Danger, Henri Prost, Le Corbusier.

Yirminci yüzyılın başında Batı ülkelerinde kent bilimi olarak varolma savaşını veren şehircilik disiplini, genç Türkiye Cumhuriyeti için amaçladığı çağdaş toplumun yaratılmasında destekleyici bir kentsel çerçevenin, donanım ve simgelerin ve özellikle çağdaş bir kentsel imgenin yaratılmasında önemli bir araç oluşturmuştur. Çağdaş bir Türk kenti modeli arayışında Batı uygarlığının geliştirdiği kent planlama modelleri Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde bu amaçla uygulamaya konulmuştur.

Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi kent planlama pratiğinin çağdaşlaşma ideolojisi ile ilişkileri üzerinde duran araştırmacılar, Türkiye'de bütüncül planlama deneyiminin 1927 yılında başkent Ankara'nın planlanması amacıyla açılan yarışma ile başladığı konusunda birleşmektedirler. Ancak, Cumhuriyet'in kuruluşundan hemen sonra İzmir kentinin yeniden imarı için 1924 yılında Fransız şehircileri René Danger ve Henri Prost'a hazırlatılan plan, ancak 1930'lu yıllarda ve yalnız kentin yangın alanlarının yeniden inşası için kısmen uygulanmasına karşın, Cumhuriyet döneminin ilk bütüncül plan denemesi olarak önem taşımaktadır. Fransız *Beaux-Arts* ekolünün tipik bir ürünü olan bu plan 1930'lu yıllarda Cumhuriyet devrimlerinin kararlılıkla sürdürüldüğü bir dönemde uygulamaya konulmuş ve kentin merkezi alanlarının mekansal yapısını biçimlendirmiştir.

Ne var ki, bu planı başarıyla uygulayan İzmir Belediyesi 1938 yılında planı artık yeterli olmadığı gerekçesiyle izlemekten vazgeçmiştir. Yeni bir plan yapılması amacıyla yabancı uzmanlardan görüş alınmış ve aynı yıl Belediye yetkilileri Le Corbusier ile İzmir'in gelecekteki kentsel gelişmesini yönlendirecek bir nazım plan hazırlaması üzerinde anlaşmışlardır. İkinci Dünya Savaşı'nın çıkması yüzünden sonuca bağlanamayan sözleşme Le Corbusier'nin girişimi ile savaş sonrasında gerçekleştirilmiş ve 1949 yılında Le Corbusier İzmir kenti için geliştirdiği plan önerisini Belediye'ye sunmuştur. Mimarın 400.000 nüfuslu bir 'yeşil kent' teması üzerinde geliştirdiği bu plan, İzmir Belediyesi'ne ulaştığında beklentilere yanıt vermeyen ve uygulanabilirliği olmayan 'ütopik' bir öneri olarak değerlendirilmiş ve gözlerden uzaklaştırılmıştır. 1951 yılında açılan uluslararası yarışma sonucunda seçilen K. A. Aru, G. Özdeş, E. Canpolat Planı, 1960'lı yıllarda kentleşmenin hızlanması ile yetersiz kalıncaya dek İzmir'in kentsel gelişmesini yönlendirmiştir.

Yirminci yüzyılın ilk yarısında yabancı uzmanlar Danger-Prost ve Le Corbusier tarafından hazırlanan kent planları, ilki kısmen uygulanabilmiş ikincisi ise tümüyle reddedilmiş olmasına karşın, Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nin çağdaşlaşma ideolojisi ile ilişkili olarak değerlendirildiklerinde, getirdikleri çağdaş kent modeli ile önem taşımaktadırlar. Birbirine karşıt çağdaşlık (*modernité*) biçimleri öneren kentsel modellerin seçimi ise, bu ideolojinin farklı yönelimlerine ve 'evrensellik-ulusal kültür' ikili söylemi çevresinde oluşan iç gerilimlere tanıklık etmektedir. İzmir kenti, Cumhuriyet'in ilk döneminde Türkiye'de kent planlama yönelimleri içerisinde kendine özgü deneyimi ve yönelimleri ile önemli bir yer tutmaktadır.

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