

The Elusive Faces of Modernity: Jacques Gréber and the Planning of the 1937 Paris World Fair

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Article abstract

The occasion of the first commission that Jacques Gréber received to plan the new city centre of Ottawa—the 1937 Paris International Exposition—was the scene of the first encounter between the proponents of the New Architecture and the tenets of the "Retour à l'Ordre." The last in the long tradition of French "Universelles," with their common eighteenth-century Illuminist legacy, the exposition Gréber planned was the first to open its doors widely to the most radical modern arts. This article argues that Gréber based the exposition on a double refusal: On the one hand, the refusal to introduce a unique controlling style, as had been the case in all previous French fairs, and on the other the refusal to represent modernity in any single-minded form. This pluralist approach announced in France the end of modernity understood as an issue of style altogether.

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Abstract

The occasion of the first commission that Jacques Gréber received to plan the new city centre of Ottawa—the 1937 Paris International Exposition—was the scene of the first encounter between the proponents of the New Architecture and the tenets of the “Retour à l’Ordre.” The last in the long tradition of French “Universelles,” with their common eighteenth-century Illuminist legacy, the exposition Gréber planned was the first to open its doors widely to the most radical modern arts. This article argues that Gréber based the exposition on a double refusal: On the one hand, the refusal to introduce a unique controlling style, as had been the case in all previous French fairs, and on the other the refusal to represent modernity in any single-minded form. This pluralist approach announced in France the end of modernity understood as an issue of style altogether.

Résumé

Cadre privilégié de l’invitation que Jacques Gréber, architecte en chef L’Exposition Internationale de 1937, reçut de la part du gouvernement canadien pour mener à bien les plans de la nouvelle Ottawa, l’Exposition de Paris fût aussi le lieu de la première rencontre des représentants de la Nouvelle architecture et des adeptes du « retour à l’ordre ». Grâce à Gréber, cette exposition fût également la première dans la lignée des Expositions universelles en France à ouvrir largement ses portes à l’avant garde artistique. Cet article démontre que ce qui distingua l’exposition de ’37 en premier lieu fût le double refus que lui imposa Gréber : celui d’inventer un nouveau style, et celui de concevoir une modernité à sens unique. Un tel relativisme de conception annonçait en France la fin du modernisme compris en tant que simple exercice style.

The 1937 Paris World Fair was the occasion of the first encounter between the proponents of the New Architecture and the tenets of the “Retour à l’Ordre” (figure 1). Modernist choices of the exposition were represented in the eloquent architectural sequence of the Champ de Mars axis. The backbone of the exposition was, in fact, the locus of a triple encounter. At the north end of the axis, perched on top of the Chaillot hill, rose Jacques Carlu’s Trocadero Palace,¹ designed in his “modernized” neoclassical style.² Carlu’s palace was sufficiently monumental to arouse the enthusiasm of Albert Speer,³ yet was at the same time sufficiently well proportioned and elegant to blend effortlessly into the majestic context of this unique Parisian site. At the south end of this imposing axis, temporarily concealing Gabriel’s seventeenth-century École Militaire, stood Robert Mallet-Stevens’s Palace of Light, closing the sequence with a gently curved façade emulating the Trocadero’s (figure 2). Both glowed with white surfaces. The single but significant difference in their whiteness was that the first beamed with light reflected from marble columns, while the second shone with its white-washed stucco surface sprinkled with crystal beads. Indeed, Mallet-Stevens’s Palais de la Lumière and the Trocadero Palace did not speak the same modern language.⁴ Far from being fortuitous, this unlikely encounter between modernized classicism and established International Style was carefully planned by the very leadership of the exposition, that is, by its chief architect, Jacques-Henri Gréber.⁵ He was quite explicit in his rejection of a unique, controlling style, as he claimed that the fair’s architecture “in essence has to be derived from a logical and rational program . . . that is . . . abandon any ‘style d’exposition’.” Permanent buildings, on the other hand, should refer to a classical style [in terms of] their proportion, volumes, and main elements, even though no detail should be evidence of pastiche or even any reminiscence.”

The mutual rapprochement and collusion of the two stylistic realms—each claiming the right to speak for modernity—had an intriguing background. Just a few years earlier, Mallet-Stevens collaborated with Carlu on another version of the Trocadero Palace, so similar to the second that Mallet-Stevens publicly declared that much of what Carlu built represented his own ideas. In the context of the French architectural scene of the 1930s this was hardly surprising. Simply put, the program of an Electricity Palace⁶ and the program for a state museum did not belong to the same architectural discourse, and thus required a different, though still “modern” style, as Gréber would have it.

A third structure, no less relevant, occupied the very centre of Gréber’s Trocadero concourse, even more strongly emphasizing the stylistic plurality of the place. This was the 1889 veteran of two glorious Expositions Universelles, the Eiffel Tower (figure 3). Relieved of some of its decorative elements, and thus a bit “modernized” for the occasion (rather than “camouflaged,” as had been also strongly suggested in the name of modernity to Gréber’s dismay), the Eiffel Tower appeared, paradoxically, to be the most authentic modernist monument of 1937. This perception was shared by many public figures in the arts, such



Figure 1: Aerial view of the 1937 Fair's main north-south and east-west axis. Top, the Trocadero, and the Pavillon de la Paix behind it. (Author's collection)

as Bauhaus constructivist Laszlo Moholy-Nagy, but also by Edmond Labbé, the exposition's commissioner-general himself, who worked with Gréber in impeccable tandem. Such stylistic pluralism without precedent in a French World's Fair⁷ best described Gréber's own ambiguous allegiances as an architect who arguably subscribed to a certain modernity in Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) terms and to an eclecticism of Beaux-Arts vintage.

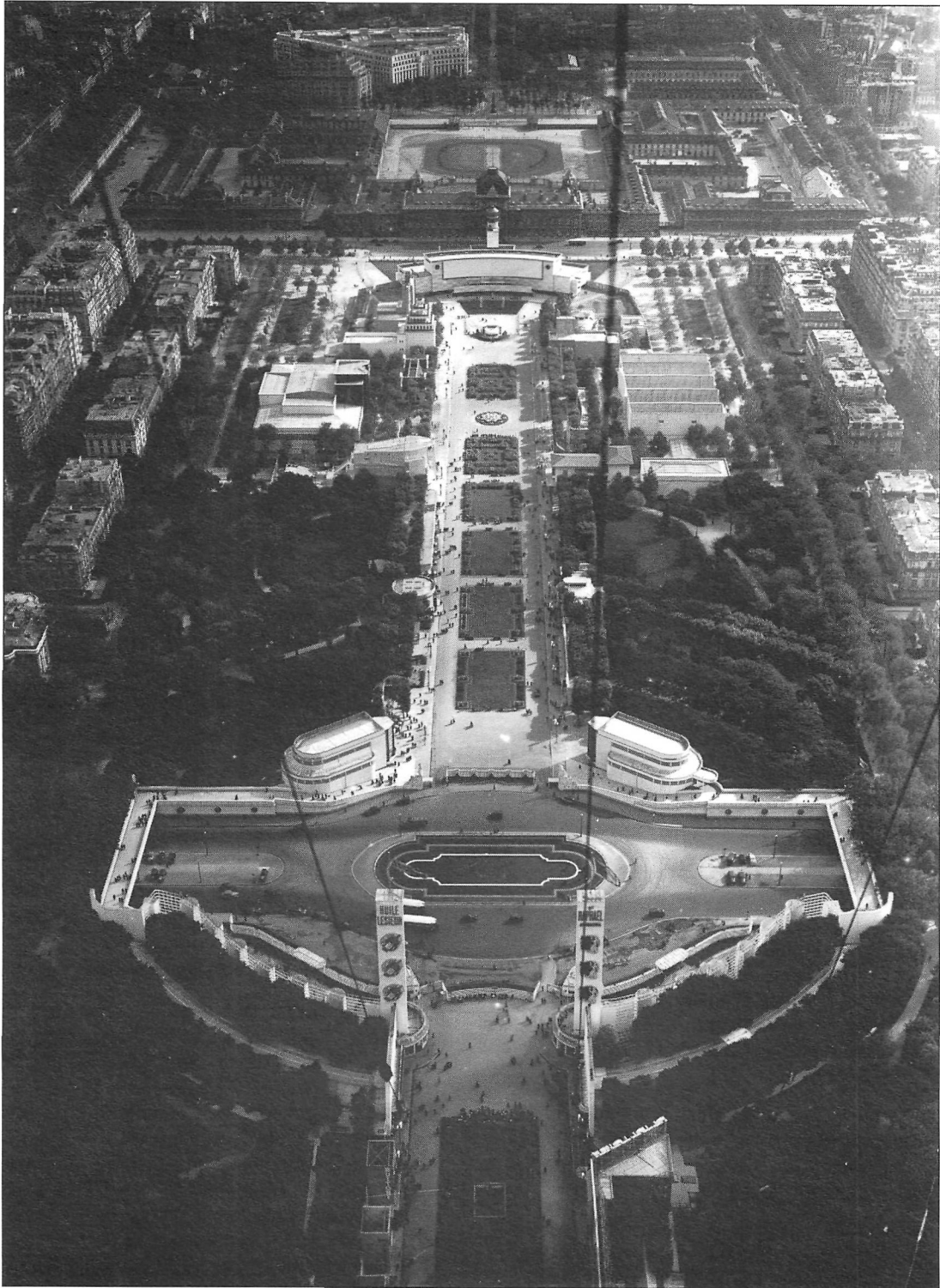
The ambition of this paper is to elucidate this point through the examination of Gréber's involvement with the 1937 Exposition, onto which he imprinted his complex and seemingly contradictory approach to architecture and planning.⁸

Central to the intense debate that preceded the opening of the 1937 Exposition were two independent series of competitions that mobilized the entire decade of the 1930s. These contests represented, in a sense, a cross-section of the architectural and urbanistic condition of its time in France.⁹ The first competition, launched in 1932, was conceived as an unofficial consultation of professionals, organized by united art associations including the Union des Artistes Modernes (UAM), as the most radical

modernist group.¹⁰ The competition coincided with two other mutually dependent events involving the urban development of Paris: the competition for the Voie Triomphale¹¹ and Henri Prost's study for the first Regional Plan of the French capital.

The purpose of the first competition was to select the best location for the fair, one that would pointedly contribute to the city's future urban development. The result was an array of remarkable solutions. Two teams were dominant: CIAM affiliated architects Eugène Beaudouin and Marcel Lods who suggested the exposition be built on the Mont Valérien Bastion to fit the Regional Plan as a functional element in a larger system on the western outskirts of the city (figure 4). The second, more conservative, by the Pierre Patout and André Japy team, placed the fair along the Voie Triomphale, between the Seine and La Défense. The authors argued that both the site and its urban development should be treated as exhibition objects, that is, as a didactic display of city planning principles.¹²

In contrast to the contest of 1932, the second series of competitions in 1934 and 1935 were organized by the exposition's administration itself, with the aim of uncovering new talents and



*Figure 2: Robert Mallet-Stevens, the Pavilion of Light at the south tip of the main axis.
(Archives de France)*



Figure 3: Night view of the fair, with the German and Soviet pavilions framing the Eiffel Tower. (Author's collection)

selecting the architects who would be granted commissions. Cynically, however, the established “Grands Patrons”¹³ managed to misappropriate the process, and used young architects only as token members of their competition teams. As a consequence, the 1932 competition was based on a radical criticism of the 1925 Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs’ own glaring lack of concern for urban relevance and social responsibility; and the 1934–5 official contest, dominated by outdated principles, epitomized with rare exceptions a capitulation to academic inertia.

To make things worse, on April 14, 1933, the Paris Municipal Council dismissed the results of the 1932 competition altogether, under pressure from small, inner-city business. It voted for the traditional site—the concourse comprising the Chaillot Hills and the Champ-de-Mars expanse—where all of the previous Paris fairs had thrived, yet had left little behind (besides the Eiffel Tower). The notorious “mistake committed against urban development”¹⁴ of the 1925 Exposition would therefore be repeated.¹⁵ The art world was shocked by such an outcome.¹⁶ Concomitantly, Charles Letrosne, a conservative architect and former official of the 1925 Exposition, was se-

lected as chief architect of 1937. Jacques Gréber was appointed deputy chief.¹⁷ A month later, the first plan for the site designed by Gréber was published in *L’Illustration*, a prestigious magazine of popular culture.¹⁸ The plan was formed along two mutually perpendicular axes—the Trocadero-Champ-de-Mars and the Seine—along with two radiating stars in the Beaux-Arts tradition (figure 5). The design offered little more than landscaping improvements, a motor-vehicle underground passage at the Quai de Tokyo, and the broadening of the Pont de Iéna. The fate of the 1887 Trocadero Palace was left undecided while a museum of modern art would be built as a permanent structure.

In support of disappointed artists and professionals, the fiery deputy Anatole De Monzie—an ally of Le Corbusier’s in 1925—decided to take matters into his own hands. In July he announced that the Letrosne-Gréber plans would be “amended.” The alternative project was publicized in the fall—a monumental plan by Auguste Perret. The public was now faced with two competing projects, reflecting political cleavages between a conservative City Hall and a left-leaning government. The former supported Gréber’s plan, and the latter Perret’s.

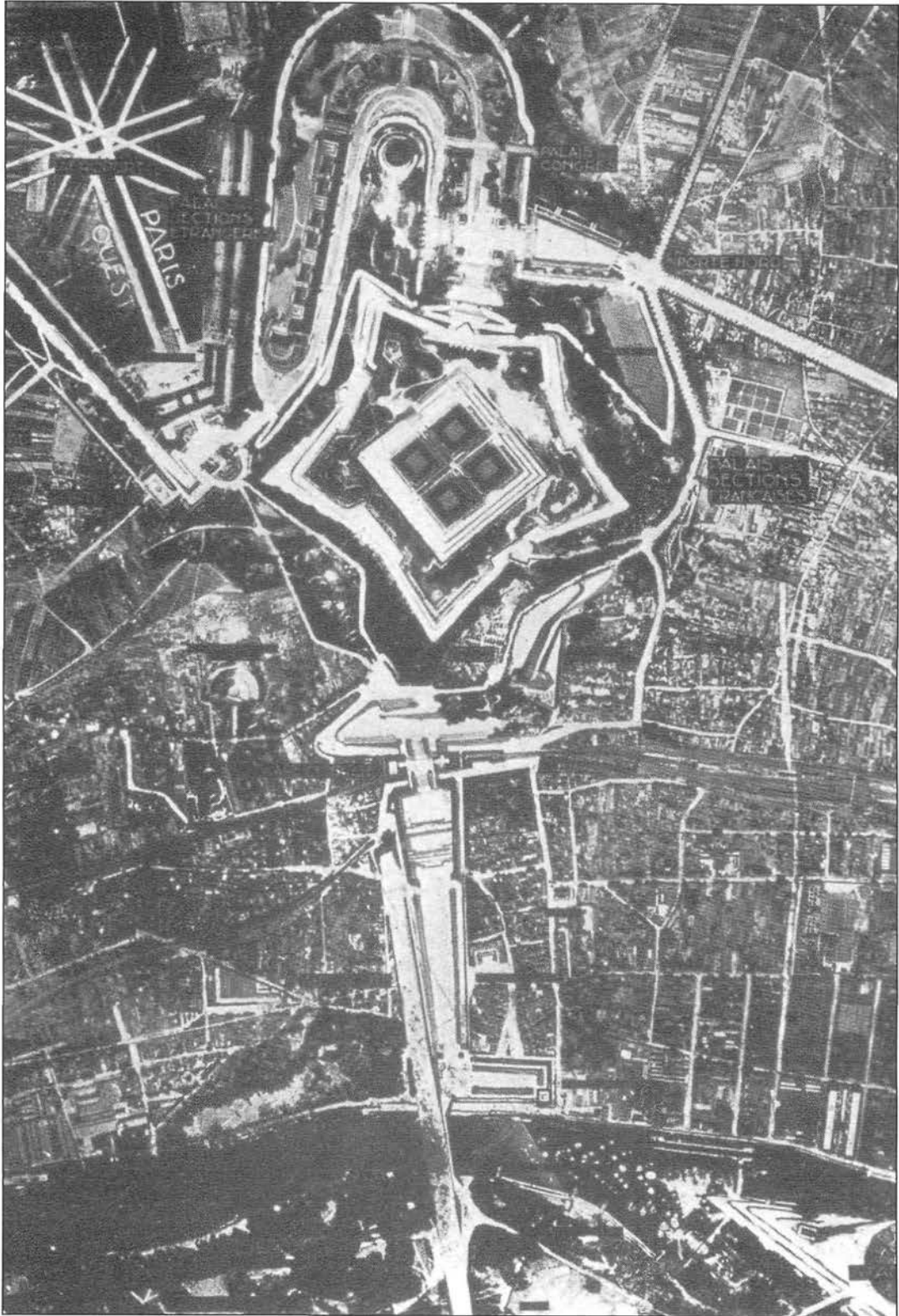


Figure 4: Marcel Lods and Eugène Beaudouin, winning entry for the 1932 competitions. (Archives de France)

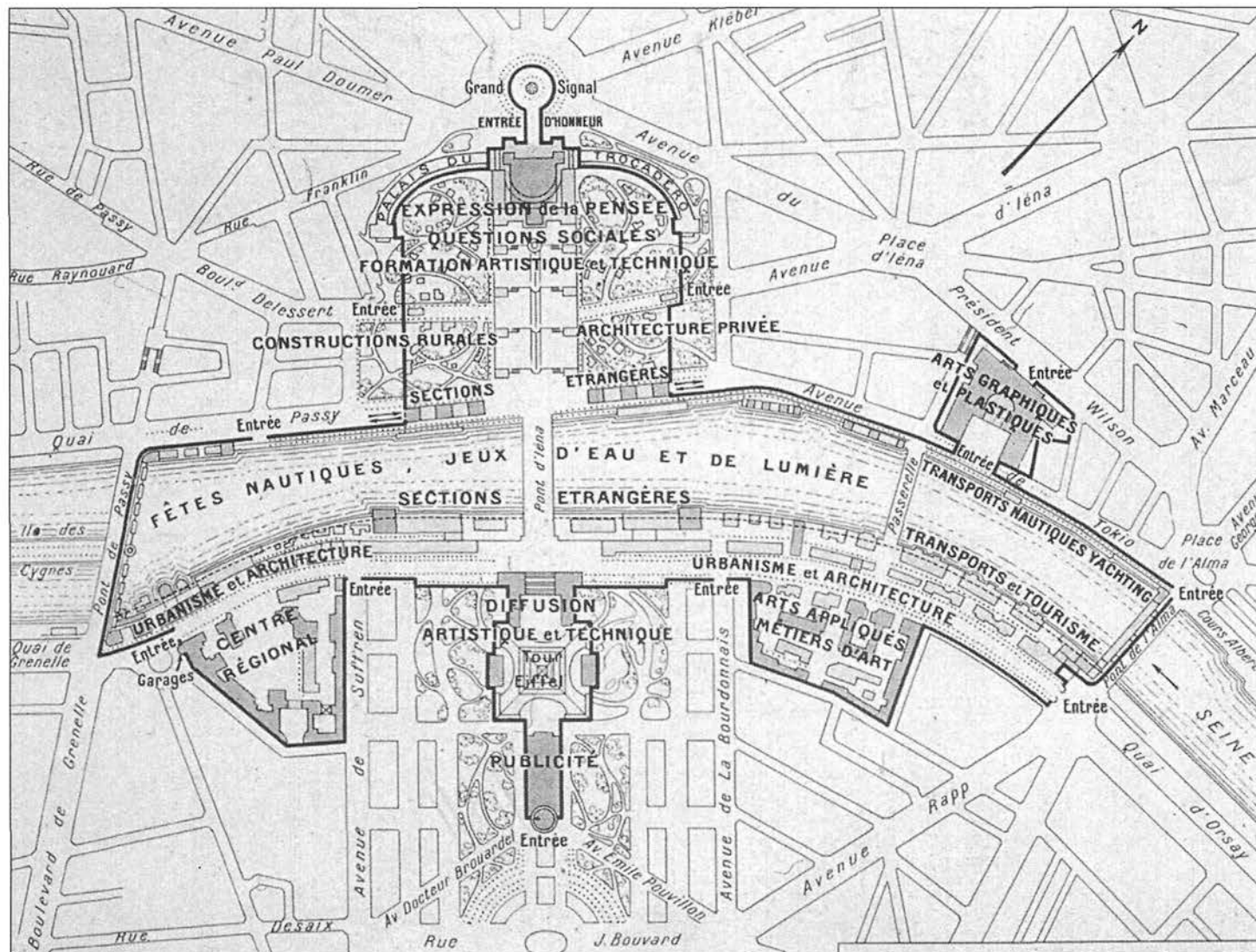


Figure 5: The Gréber-Letrosne scheme for the 1937 Exposition, published in *L'Illustration*, 1933.

The Perret project created a monumental system of two parallel avenues leading from the Porte d'Italie to the École Militaire, then to the Trocadero (figure 6). This powerful, continuous movement of avenues (connecting working-class districts to the affluent West) was supposed to add to Haussmannian Paris a magnificent perspective well within the classical spirit of the city. His intention was to create a "Champs-Élysées of the Left Bank."¹⁹ The Trocadero Palace, now a huge museum planned to absorb most of the art collections of Paris, formed, as it were, a second Triumphal Arch (figure 7).

Unexpectedly, however, on February 6, 1934 violent fascist riots caused the fall of the government. In the turmoil, not only was the Perret proposal definitely dismissed, but plans for an exposition were cancelled altogether as well. There would be no 1937 Fair.

A new storm of protests burst from everywhere. Meetings were held, leaflets were distributed. Delegation after delegation of artists met with the government and the City officials. Finally, on May 15, 1934, three months after the cancellation, an agreement was reached to reinstate the exposition, but with Gréber's plan as a compromise.²⁰ Gréber was, indeed, a man of compromise, not unlike Mussolini's official architect Marcello Piacentini, the author of the Italian pavilion in 1937 and the planner of the never-held 1942 Esposizione Universale di Roma (EUR).

On September 10, 1934, Edmond Labbé, the new commissioner general, published his Program for the Exposition he named "Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques Appliqués à la Vie Moderne." Five days later, the fair's commissariat opened the first design competition for the permanent

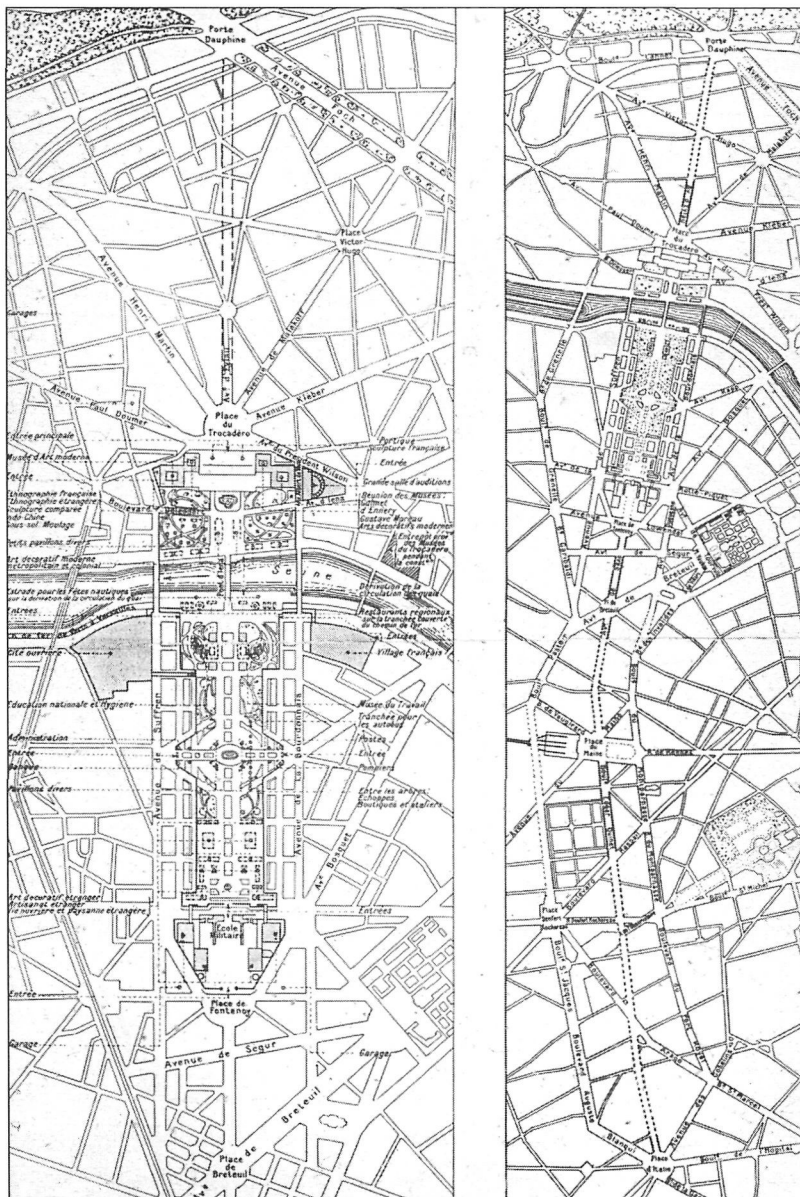


Figure 6: Auguste Perret, a 1933 proposal for the Paris Fair of 1937. (Archives de France)

structures of the exposition, and for the selection of architects who would be given commissions.

Gréber's Master Plan had assigned a "place of honour" to the existing Trocadero. Yet, considering that this exposition was expected to celebrate "modern life," something had to be done to conceal the fact that Davioud and Bourdais' Trocadero had already served this purpose on a few occasions since it was built as a temporary structure for the 1878 Exposition.²¹ Entrants were, therefore, asked to "present a proposal for a temporary solution to completely mask the present façades."

With several hundred architects participating, this was the competition that attracted the greatest number of entries. Anything went, from Romanesque churches to roller coasters cascading down the concealed palace.

Boileau, Carlu, and Azéma—a winning team in the competition²²—hid the old building within a huge shell with a sharp, backlit spur (figure 8). A large allegorical figure in front of it competed with the camouflaged towers, while the sky was crisscrossed by moving searchlights, a fashionable expression of the decade's modernity. The general layout respected

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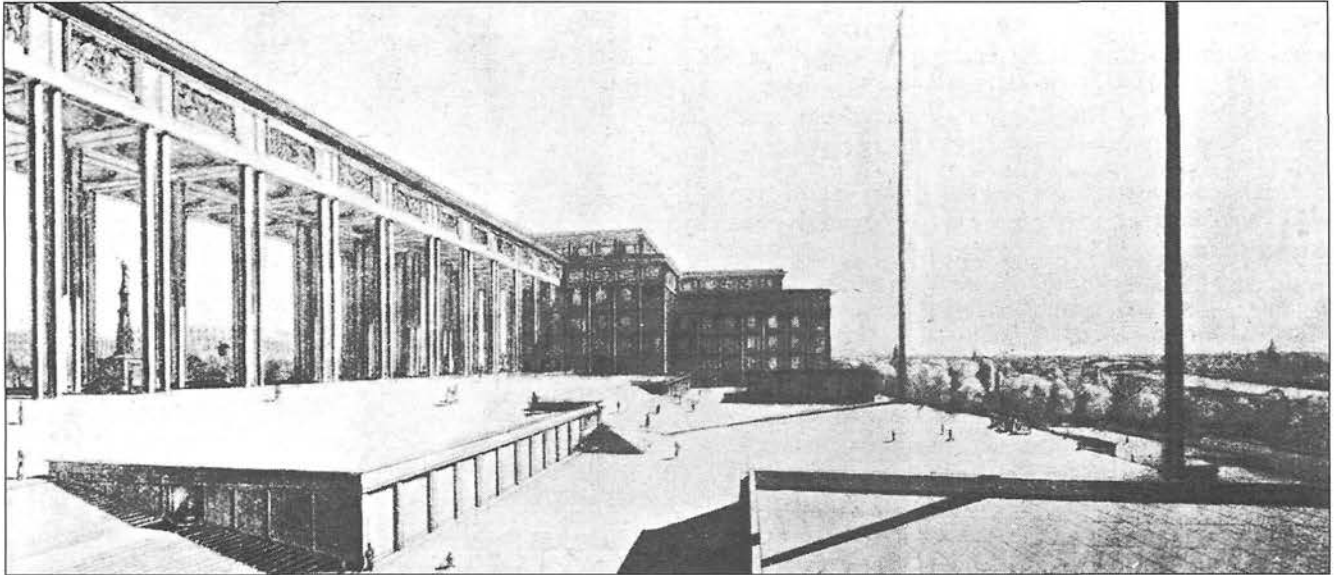


Figure 7: The Trocadero Palace by Perret, the main access to the fair. (Archives de France)

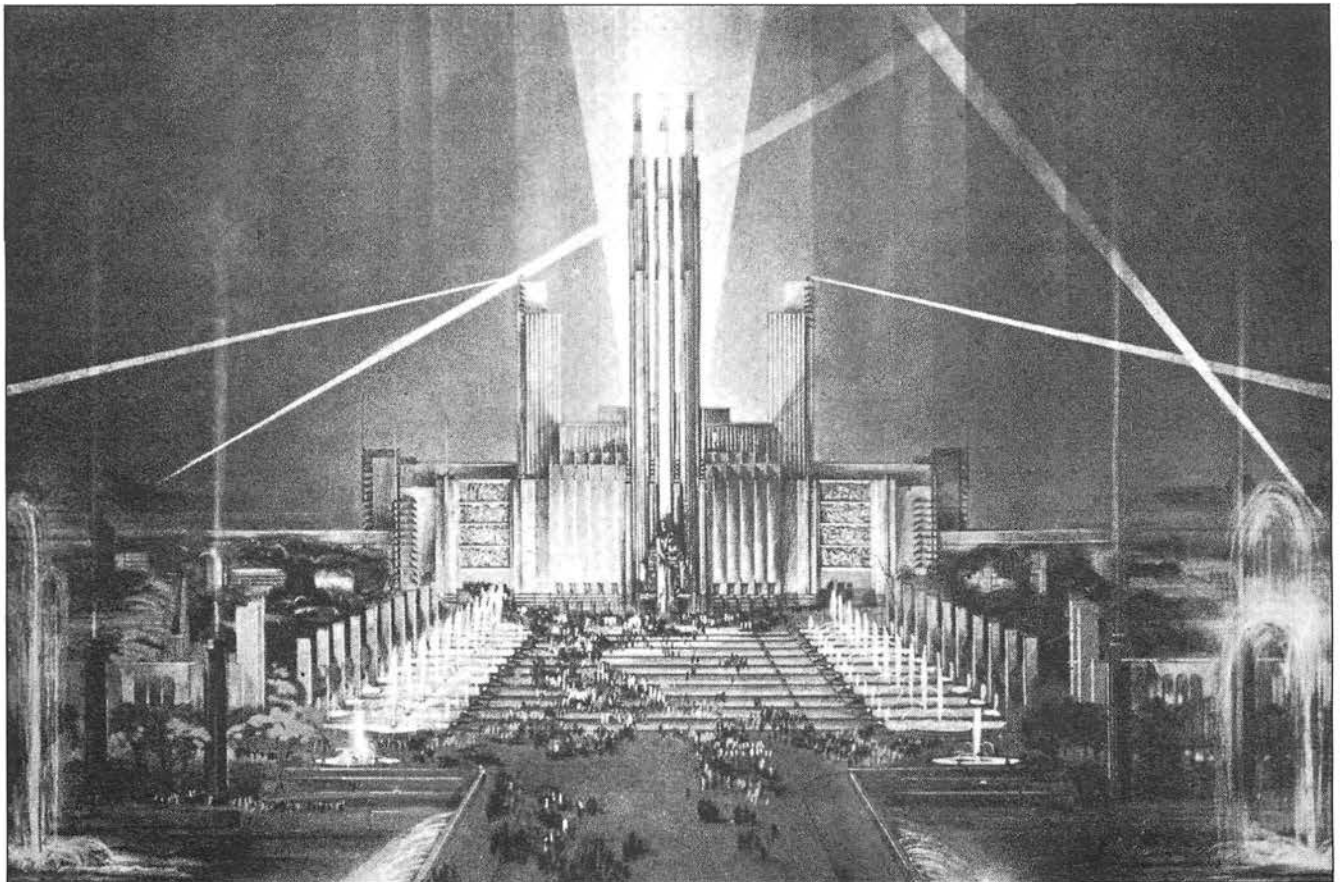


Figure 8: Carlu, Loileau, and Azéma, winning competition entry for the "camouflaging" of the Trocadero Palace (Archives de France)

Gréber's Master Plan, with two immense "foreign pavilions" symmetrically closing the composition along the Seine. The two were to re-emerge as a monumental gate formed by Boris Iofan's and Albert Speer's pavilions whose monumental silhouettes imparted a lasting memory of the 1937 Exposition (figure 3).

Once the results of the masquerade were known, public opinion let loose another storm of indignation. In *Le Jour*, the art critic Claude Roger-Marx wrote, "Here is the marvellous heresy we are offered: camouflaging the Trocadero, an exhibition building, for the duration of the 1937 Exhibition, in order to later give back this temporary structure its permanent ugliness."²³

Under the pressure of such general scorn, in which even Jean Eiffel²⁴ joined (figure 9), Chief Architect Letrosne reversed himself.²⁵ The Trocadero would be only "presented," but not masked, by a simple screen, which "would in no way prevent the monument from remaining visible at the centre of the panorama it crowns in such an impressive manner."²⁶

Apparently to counteract the bad press provoked by such inconsistency and obvious incompetence, it was decided that Letrosne, who was most responsible for the Trocadero camouflage, should leave the commissariat for reasons of health. This was when Gréber stepped in as the new chief architect of the fair. Now most of the old palace would be torn down, and Carlu would build a new, enlarged, and modernized neoclassical structure (figure 1).

Despite new protests against such abrupt expediency, Gréber himself was far from disagreeing with the stripped classicism of Carlu's new palace. Actually, a shared affinity for modernized academism linked him to another of Carlu's admirers—Hitler's official architect, Albert Speer. In 1936 Gréber travelled to Berlin, where he gave a number of talks as Albert Speer's official guest. At his own request, he visited Speer's work at Nuremberg, and wrote upon returning on December 2, 1936, "*J'ai été heureux de pouvoir vous rencontrer et admirer vos travaux.*"²⁷ Speer responded by sending Gréber some photographs of the Nuremberg parades, the Luitpold stadium, and the Zeppelin fields with the words, "I hope that I met your wishes by sending you a few souvenirs from your visit to Nuremberg. I did it with the added pleasure of knowing that you will appreciate to their true value the new constructions raised under Adolf Hitler in Germany."²⁸

Gréber's appreciation for Speer's work was such that he included the projects of Hitler's architect in his courses at the Paris Institut d'Urbanisme. More troubling was the fact that in 1942, under Nazi occupation of France, Gréber took part in the infamous trip of French artists to Germany organized by sculptor Arno Breker under the sponsorship of Hitler's government.²⁹ This unfortunate slip may explain the French government's prompt agreement to see him off to Canada on Mackenzie King's invitation in 1945, and his fall into almost total oblivion in the post-war period.

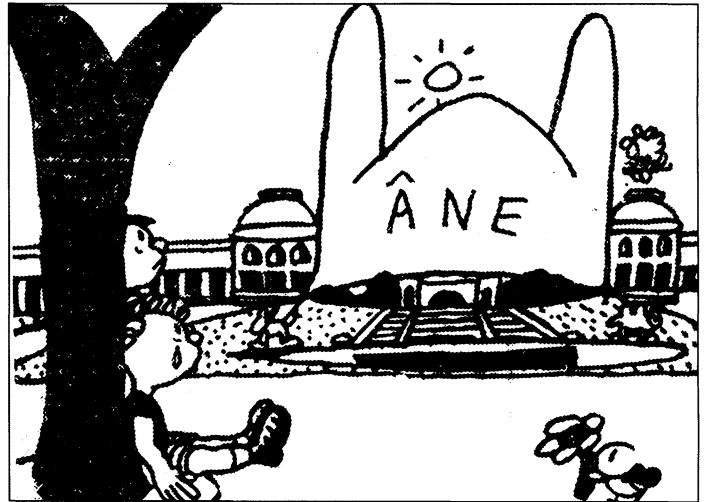


Figure 9: Jean Eiffel derides the "camouflage" competition with a donkey cap over the Trocadero and its two turrets (*L'Humanité*, March 22, 1936)

Yet, despite such inclinations, the results of the official competitions—probably the last Beaux-Arts exercises on a grand scale in France—came as a serious disappointment to Gréber in the first place. Due to many irregularities in the competition, most of the leading modern artists had been eliminated. In contrast to his veneration for Speer's architecture, in an interview with *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* Gréber stated,

We were able to partially correct the unfortunate results of the competitions by commissioning distinguished architects for special projects who were or were not winners at the competitions. This is how names such as Expert, Gonse, Herbst, Hermant, Le Corbusier, Mallet-Stevens, Moreux, Perret, Pingusson, Royer, Vago, etc., were brought to the exposition.³⁰

In order to do so, however, Gréber had no choice but to violate the exposition's own by-laws, which stated that only a competition winner could get government commissions. What is more, in reaction to 1925 and its myriad disconnected pavilions, Gréber recommended in pointedly modernist terms that the fair be articulated as a continuous, coherent space encompassing everything from the designed spoon to the designed city. Also, rather than showcases set in a large palatial building, the new chief architect recommended displays incorporated in a series of smaller but mutually articulated buildings, and stores evocative of a modern commercial city district. Echoing Le Corbusier whose many ideas he supported, Gréber believed that city blocks and streets should be reserved for pedestrians only, while motor vehicles would have access exclusively to the principal thoroughfares kept on the edges, thus demonstrating the advantages of segregating pedestrian and motor traffic. The principle was applied to the Centre des Métiers (figure 10) at

the fair over an area of five hectares, strikingly recalling some new cities in Fascist Italy, such as Sabaudia, that Mussolini inaugurated in 1934.

On numerous occasions, both Gréber and Labbé expressed their vested interest in committing the exposition to a modern vision of architecture and art. Gréber also made significant efforts to establish a bridge with the new tendencies in the United States and Canada. He specifically justified his decentralized parking system at the western entrance to the fair, with his American experience. He saw the Centre des Métiers itself as "an example of separation of pedestrian and vehicular traffic . . . already seen abroad, in new and old cities, or more recently in New York at the Rockefeller Centre."³¹ In other words, he was first in France to introduce a model of functional urbanism, which was already pervasive in modern America. He also clearly referred to the 1933 Chicago Fair³² when saying, "I wish to turn the exposition into a polychromatic whole; not to be afraid of painting the buildings to be displayed on both sides of the river as a harmonious show."³³

It is not to be excluded that the fair's chief architect also had in mind the early experiments of both the Soviet avant-garde, and those of some German and Austrian adepts of the New Architecture of the same period. Gréber's esthetic program was, in any case, largely echoed at the fair by such innovative artists as Delaunay, Fernand Léger, and others,³⁴ whom he had personally invited.³⁵ This approach to "colored architecture" played a significant role in the organized architectural pluralism Gréber was promoting. As he put it, "The contrast between the colored harmony of the temporary pavilions and the aristocratic grandeur of the stone façades on the permanent buildings conveys a feeling of strength that emphasises the value of the definitive buildings."³⁶

Labbé himself must have shared Gréber's position as he went even further in describing the architecture they desired for the fair: "Let us therefore prophesy . . . Let everyone, whatever their social condition, get involved in the art we visualise: music of the [radio] waves, transparent palaces, floating architecture, masterpieces of glass, or masterpieces of steel."³⁷

How would these disparate modernities, elusive as they were, be harmonized into a unique modern vision of the fair dedicated, after all, to the "arts and techniques in modern life"? What was Gréber's way of infusing "methodic order to harmonise the various aspects [of the fair] into a vast homogenous whole"?³⁸ What was to be the unifying esthetic dimension Gréber imparted to the exposition—an exposition that through its own stylistic pluralism foretold the end of modernity as an issue of style?

The stratagem Gréber devised to reconcile the stylistic diversity of the fair and his own ambiguous position towards modernity was the pervasive use of electric light (figure 11). Gréber's strategic placement of the Palais de la Lumière, the main official "palace," and of the Trocadero, the ceremonial gate to the Fair,

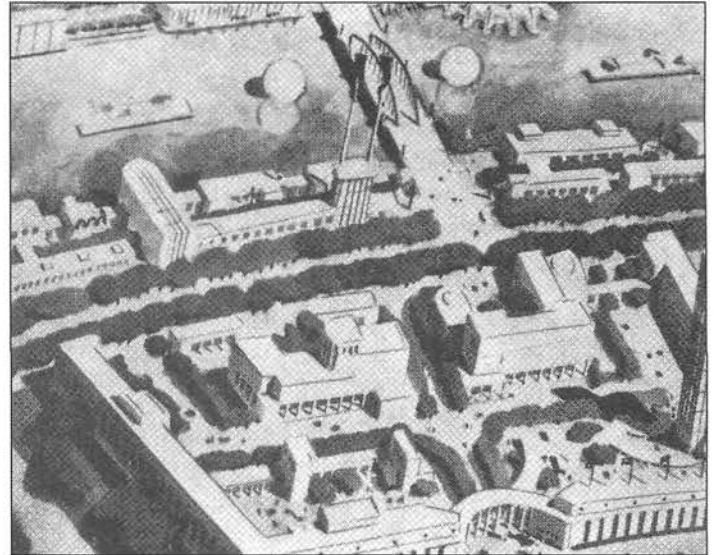


Figure 10: Marcel Chapey, competition entry for the "Centre des Métiers" Competition of 1935. (Archives de France)

facing each other at opposite ends of the central axis, clearly demonstrated the privileged position Gréber assigned to light (figure 12). Matching the curve of the Trocadero, the Palace of Light closed the triumphal sequence dominated by the luminous Eiffel Tower, lit by André Granet, Eiffel's grandson. The Seine, flooded with the liquid light of its fountains, carved its way through this gigantic space like a golden vein.

Electric light was to provide that power of transformation, innovation, and fascination capable of connecting the exposition, in the most immediate way, to its tradition and to modernity.³⁹ As Labbé later wrote in his *Rapport Général* about the overall intent for the exposition, "We chose as a goal the apotheosis of that supernatural force: Electricity."⁴⁰ And indeed, if not exactly a "supernatural force," electricity was certainly a welcome *deus ex machina*.

The overwhelming use of light at the fair as an architectural material *in its own right*, pointed to the intriguing means Gréber had devised to successfully bring art and technology into one single and unchallenged expression of modernity. Celebrating this newfound unity, as well as the popular fascination with electricity, was Dufy's monumental mural dedicated to the Fée Electricité, displayed in the Palais de la Lumière. Electric light offered itself, intriguingly, as a non-mechanical entity, a fluid, elegant, and even "supernatural" force that scintillated with the glittery dreams of Paris, the "Ville Lumière." Complementing the French tradition of serene luxury, electricity also seemed to enjoy a privileged connection with the *Siècle des Lumières*, also a constant reference in the French Expositions Universelles.⁴¹

The new architecture sculpted by light opened an endless field of possibilities for esthetic, ideological, technical, and commercial

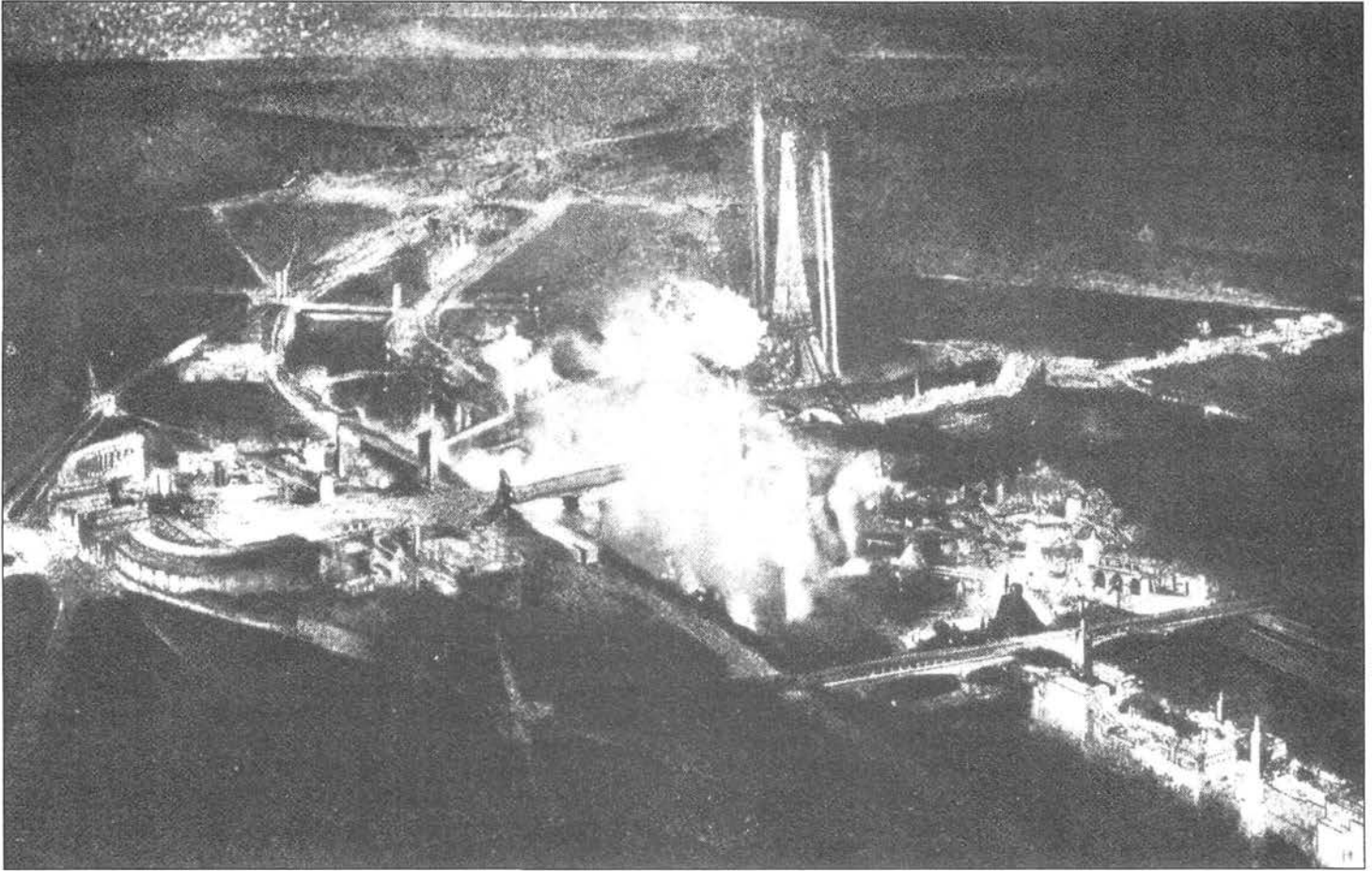


Figure 11: Jacques Gréber's sketch for the "illuminations" of the Paris Fair. (Archives de France)

uses.⁴² Never did night representations of an exposition figure as frequently in professional and lay publications as in 1937.⁴³ The power of transformation of electric light appeared as the ultimate artistic and technical symbol of progress.

Edmond Labbé emphasized in his *Rapport Général* that "if attempts were made in some ways to revert to the past and to tradition, the nightly enchantments were in themselves the flamboyant and lively expression of what may be science's greatest legacy: the victory over darkness."⁴⁴

While obviously referring to the conservatism that the exposition leadership and Gréber had to deal with, Labbé was also stating very explicitly the importance he and Gréber attributed to light in their efforts to overcome the stylistic pluralism displayed at the fair. Moreover, reference to science and the "victory over darkness" quite unambiguously pointed to the Enlightenment itself. If the technology, which necessarily stood behind the cited flamboyant pageantry, was not directly spelled out, a recall of the "nightly enchantments" equally echoed the eighteenth-century fascination with the sublime.

At the eve of World War II, the reference to the "victory over darkness" had, of course, an added meaning. The pageantry performed at the exposition stood as a symbolic effort to dissipate the dark reality of a world subjected to a profound economic crisis and to a rapidly mounting Fascism. It was no accident that the "victory over darkness" Labbé ascribed to the exposition was underscored by the emblematic link Gréber established between the Pavillon de la Paix on the Place de l'Alma and the Pavillon de la Lumière, also across the Champ de Mars axis.⁴⁵ The glorification of peace itself, as the ultimate condition for progress and enlightenment of a nation, was just another homage paid to the age of illuminism.

Indeed the 1937 Paris Exposition reached its peak at nightfall, when dim electric lights gradually flooded the night with dark-red, orange, yellow, and green lights. Coloured water jets, brightened by fireworks and searchlights, burst into the obscured sky. The rhythms of shooting water and flaming lights accelerated gradually. Loudspeakers blasted "live" music; fountains swirled up, bursting into glowing mists, fluorescent gases, exploding rockets. Airplanes crisscrossed the sky,

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electric light appeared paradoxically as an elusive, yet comforting constant. In a world in which new universal models had failed to emerge, the poetics of luminescent festivities and ephemeral buildings prefigured, in a sense, what was to emerge by the end of the century as, perhaps, the end of architecture itself: an architecture dissolved in electronic "virtual reality." Under the Eiffel Tower, indeed, a small silvery screen called "television"—shown for the first time in a World's Fair to disbelieving crowds—appeared as the discrete harbinger of a possible end, or a possible beginning.⁵⁰

For a society deeply concerned with the survival of its culture, a culture predicated on a pre-industrial understanding of the Enlightenment, electricity was acceptable because its modernity had the sleek aura of a technological innovation that appeared to be in essence non-mechanical, non-industrial. Light provided a glittery, ephemeral vision of reality, and appealed to a cherished sense of urbane luxury and festive frivolity. At the same time, electricity possessed a quality deeply satisfying to the abiding spirit of Enlightenment in France: in the eyes of the public there was something profoundly democratic about electric light. Whether cascading down the Eiffel Tower or illuminating a modest home, electricity, the ultimate symbol of modernity, was destined to be available to all.⁵¹

An important debate on what controlling style the 1937 Exposition should endorse had dominated a significant part of the discussions that preceded the exposition's opening. At its closure, the art magazine *Beaux Arts* conducted a survey among artists and architects including Le Corbusier and Mallet-Stevens. The question asked was symptomatic: "*L'Exposition nous aura-t-elle donné un style 1937?*" The magazine's conclusion was unambiguous: "No matter how diverse, the answers to our survey all concurred in one point: that the exposition did not evolve any discernible style."⁵² This, indeed, represented Gréber's most important success.

The dominant role of a controlling style acting as a favoured cultural model—in the way it did throughout the history of French fine and decorative arts applied to the Expositions Universelles—was replaced in 1937 by an open-ended stylistic relativism. For the first time, several styles competed for recognition as authentically modern, each claiming to have been historically predicated. The "Universal Exposition" ceased to refer to any exclusive stylistic model, as its conscious architectural pluralism was symbolically expressed in the sequence of contradictory statements along the Champ de Mars axis.

The negation of the given, rather than the premeditated invention of a style, was to emerge as the true measure of modernity and the permanent condition of art. Still only diffusely understood by the general public in 1937, this state of permanent "avant-garde" was finally to impose itself at the dawn of the post-war era, albeit again inevitably, in the form of a dogma. Style-making as a rejected esthetic concept announced the final end of all "styles," and in particular of esthetic modernity understood as the invention of new styles. In his own way,

Jacques Gréber concluded the debates that had obsessed French applied arts and architecture since 1889, the year the controversial Eiffel Tower was built. The last World's Exposition held in France emerged, like the tower, as the first exposition that could not fit into any style. By allowing the obliteration of the pursuit of style for style's sake, the organizers of the 1937 Exposition demonstrated further that not only did they not oppose modern art in favour of an academic one, but they also considered modern art the only possible art. What they did oppose was the idea that there could be only one form of modern art.

Acknowledgements

This essay is derived in part from my doctoral dissertation, written under Stanford Anderson. I wish to thank Professor David Gordon for his generous collegial support throughout this project.

Notes

1. The two other architects in the team were Louis Boileau and Léon Azéma.
2. Jacques Carlu, an architect of the establishment who had worked in the United States, and taught at MIT among other places, held by 1934 an influential position in the Paris city administration as one of the *Architectes des Bâtiments Civils*.
3. Albert Speer, *Erinnerungen, Inside the Third Reich: Memoirs* (New York: Macmillan, 1970).
4. Robert Mallet-Stevens, founder and president of the *Union des Artistes Modernes* (UAM), was best known as a fashionable provider of International Style to the elite, in particular in the affluent Parisian West where an entire street (now bearing his name) was lined up with his mansions. He was commissioned the largest number of projects at the fair.
5. Jacques Gréber, "L'architecture à l'Exposition de 1937," *L'Architecture* 2 (February 1937): 52.

Beyond the fair's main concourse, two other modern hybrids were displayed: the ever-present "colonial architecture" (this time set up in the Ile des Cygnes), and "Regional Architecture," under the responsibility of the fair's commissioner general, Edmond Labbé. For a reference to the modernity of the Regional Centre at the fair, see Bertrand Lemoine, "Préface," *Exposition Internationale: Paris 1937 Cinquantenaire*, exhibition catalogue, ed. Bertrand Lemoine (Paris: Institut Français d'Architecture/Paris-Musées, 1987), 21–22; Jean-Claude Vigato, "Le centre régional, le centre artisanal et le centre rural," *Exposition Internationale*, 268–77. For a study of the architectural discourses developed in France between the two world wars, see Jean-Claude Vigato, *Le jeu des modèles, les modèles en jeu* (Villers-les-Nancy: C.E.M.P.A., 1980). For a specific discussion of the regionalist architectural debate in France, see by the same author, *Architecture régionaliste: France, 1890–1950* (Paris: Nomia, 1994), especially 218–19 on the 1937 Fair. For a more encompassing cultural, social, and political history of the ideological currents in the arts in France in the same period, see Romy Golan, *Modernity and Nostalgia: Art and Politics in France between the Wars* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995).

6. The name Palais de la Lumière and Palais de l'Electricité were used alternatively.
7. The eclectic historicism of the controlling styles of the two preceding *Expositions Universelles* of 1889 and 1900 was contradicted only by the engineering modernity of Eiffel's tower, itself excluded from the realm of architecture.
8. Gréber's approach favourably impressed Canada's Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King who visited the exposition twice. Mackenzie King

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especially appreciated Gréber's blend of "City Beautiful" esthetics and functional modernity, and during his second visit offered to help him obtain the commission for the planning of the new Centre of Ottawa—even if "disappointed" with "the buildings [at the exposition] being pretty much all of the modernistic type." See, William Lyon Mackenzie King, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, MG 26 J6, dated Thursday, October 15, 1936, 733.

I am indebted to Professor David Gordon for providing me with the facsimile of Mackenzie King's diary notes on his visit to the fair's site with Gréber. For more on the Mackenzie King-Gréber encounter see further n. 19.

9. The two competitions were published exhaustively in both architectural journals and in the official journal *Urbanisme*. For a discussion of the two competitions, see Danilo Udovicki, "Projets et Concours," *Exposition Internationale: Paris 1937 Cinquantenaire*, exhibition catalogue, ed. Bertrand Lemoine (Paris: Institut Français d'Architecture/Paris-Musées, 1987), 44-71.
 10. An ad hoc group under the name Comité d'Étude de l'Exposition Internationale D'Art Moderne à Paris organized the competition. The committee was created in 1931 by six professional societies of architects and artists that the Société des Artistes Décorateurs invited to deliberate on the future exposition scheduled at first for 1935. See *Urbanisme* (August 1932).
 11. For a succinct history of the Voie Triomphale, consult Anthony Sattcliffe, *Paris: An Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).
 12. For an overview of the Voie Triomphale competition (encompassing the westward linear extension between the Arc de Triomphe and the Seine), see *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* (December 1932), 89 ff. For a discussion of the Voie Triomphale competition and references to the Paris Regional Plan by Henri Prost in the same context, see Udovicki, "Projets et Concours," 44-71. Reference to the two projects is also made in Jean-Louis Cohen and André Lortie, *Des Fortifs au Périph* (Paris: Picard, 1991), 209-11. For the program of the Voie Triomphale, see *Journal Officiel*, May 15, 1932.
- Among hundreds of other entries was Le Corbusier's project, disqualified for having failed both the deadline and the format of the competition. Le Corbusier had proposed that the World's Fair be dedicated to modern housing exclusively, while the fair itself would represent a first segment of his Ville Radieuse, started "as a seed" in the Bois de Vincennes. In the same vein, Jean Bossu, a young architect from Le Corbusier's office, proposed that most of the Left Bank be invaded by an army of "Cartesian, Patte de Poule" skyscrapers of a "City of the World." The City straddled two superhighways running along an east-west and north-south axis, in a combination of Haussmannian and Corbusierian urban strategies.
13. The term used to refer to powerful architects of the establishment who both dominated the official architectural production and the educational system.
 14. Alfred-Donat Agache, "Les Fautes contre l'urbanisme à l'exposition des arts décoratifs," in *Vient de paraître*, special issue, "Les Arts Décoratifs Modernes, 1925," 52-54. Agache was vice-president of the Société de urbanistes français.
 15. The Paris City Council added to this area the military base of Issy-Les-Moulineaux, to the southwest of the Trocadero, and as the number of participants grew at an unexpected pace, Gréber later included two "annexes," one at the Porte Maillot, the other between the Porte d'Italie and the Kellerman Bastion. The area of the exposition grew from 27 hectares in 1934 to 100 hectares at the opening.
 16. See Meyer-Levy, "L'Exposition de 1937," *Urbanisme* (November 1933): 345.
 17. There are no records of the exact way in which Gréber was appointed deputy chief architect of the 1937 Fair. Nor was there any new indication about it in a recent Parisian doctoral dissertation on Gréber by André

Lortie, whose chapter on the 1937 Exposition is based on my own work. See André Lortie, "Jacques Gréber (1882-1962) et l'urbanisme: Le temps et l'espace de la ville" (doctoral dissertation, Institut d'urbanisme de Paris, Université Paris XII Val de Marne, 1997).

I concur with the author, however, that—by his education, professional career, and connections in the French high administration—Gréber was the perfect candidate for a leading role in the conception of the fair. Born in a family of Parisian sculptors, he graduated brilliantly from the École des Beaux-Arts in 1909 to rapidly become an expert in urban planning. As a professor of urbanism at the University of Paris, and a distinguished member of the most important institutions of French urbanism, he was the winner of numerous first awards in competitions. The most notable was his plan for the city of Lille. Gréber also held the post of head urbanist for the cities of Marseille, Roubaix, Tourcoing, Abbeville, and Salin. He built a considerable number of apartment buildings and villas in the Paris region and southern France. See Jean-François Pinchon, "La conception et l'organisation de l'Exposition," *Exposition Internationale: Paris 1937 Cinquantenaire*, exhibition catalogue, ed. Bertrand Lemoine (Paris: Institut Français d'Architecture/Paris-Musées, 1987), 40. His strong connections in the circles of the French high administration included Paul Léon, former commissar general of the 1925 Exposition, and president of the jury for the 1932 competition. He became assistant to Aimé Berthod, commissioner general in the fair's first administration.

Gréber's American experience and international connections proved inestimable when he had to lobby a United States Congress that was hostile to financing a pavilion for a fair organized under the Popular Front government. The sum the Congress had voted in 1936 was insufficient, and Gréber pressed for more. He failed, however, and Léon Blum's government paid the difference! Even so, the symbolic skyscraper of the U.S. pavilion represented had to be cut in half to meet the final budget.

Due to his knowledge of English, Gréber was also able to replace Commissar General Edmond Labbé on other occasions to receive English-speaking foreign dignitaries—Canada's Prime Minister W.L. Mackenzie King among others.

18. The Musée Social also published a protest against using open spaces, already in such short supply in Paris, and reiterated its desire to see the exposition held on a site chosen in conformity with the General Regional Plan of Paris. Under the direction of Marcel Poète, the Musée Social played a crucial role in forming the first ideas about a new, comprehensive approach to the urban problems of Paris. All the texts on which large urban undertakings for Paris were based originated from this institution. The new Regional Plan was no exception.

In 1911, the Conseil Général de la Seine created a "Commission de l'Extension," which opened a clamorous competition of ideas for a "rational" development of the Larger Paris. The competition program was very broadly defined but asked the competitors to include extensive suburban areas, whether adjacent or not to the city walls of Paris. The name of Léon Jaussely emerged as one of the main winners. (This veteran of French urbanism died a few months later, on January 2, 1933). The competition results, however, had no follow-up. The idea of an urban region appeared to be still hard to accept. Paris continued to be treated only within its administrative borders, i.e., within its fortification walls. Le Corbusier was among those who refused to consider Paris beyond these limits, or accept the notion of a regional plan. He continued to do so at least until the end of the 1930s, in pointed contradiction with the *Athens Charter*. See Udovicki-Selb, "Fitting out the *Logis*, Fitting out the City: Le Corbusier's 'International Laboratory of the Dwelling' for 1941," in *Infrastructures Villes et Territoires* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2000), 41-51.

For an overview of contemporary debates on the Regional Plan of Paris, see Edouard Renard (Préfet de la Seine), "Paris, ses sorties et ses dégagements," in *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui* (June/July 1931): 6-7; M. E. Jayot (Directeur général des transports, de l'extension et de l'inspection générale), "Urbanisme et ses extensions," 36-39; M. E. Fiancette (Député, Conseiller Municipal de Paris), "l'Extension de Paris," 15-20; Le Corbusier, "Pour continuer la tradition de Paris: manifeste de la nouvelle

- génération," 116–121; André Lurçat, "Les méfaits de la Réglementation urbaine actuelle," 136–44. See also Léandre Vaillat, "Le fleuve de Paris," *Le Temps*, July 20, 1932. For the law on the Regional Plan, see reprint "La loi sur l'aménagement de la région parisienne," *Urbanisme* (April 1932): 8, and in particular the special double issue of *Urbanisme* (December 1935–January 1936), dedicated to the Région Parisienne and the plan. See also, Le Corbusier, *Brochure 1937*, published by author, 1932.
19. The reconstruction of this part of Paris had been a matter of discussion for a while. As early as 1911, M. Cherier presented to the City Council a plan for a large avenue directly connecting the Porte Dauphine to the Gare Montparnasse and Trocadero.
20. This entire episode is of crucial importance. To a large extent, as a result of this grassroots movement of exceptional impetus, the 1937 Exposition was the first French World's Fair to widely open its doors to progressive art. This influence was never to cease and was actually reinforced by the simultaneous and parallel rise of the Front Populaire. Contrary to common scholarly belief, however, the Popular Front government itself was not responsible for this receptivity.
21. For an informed history of the Trocadero Palace, see Isabelle Gournay, *Le nouveau Trocadéro* (Liège: P. Mardaga, 1985).
22. There was no ranking in these competitions. The goal was only to select a number of architects who would be later employed by the exposition. The first four competitions yielded a total of twenty-one winning projects. The award-winning architects were later to work for the exposition on projects that were not necessarily related to the projects for which they won an award. The complete list of architects (domestic and foreign) who worked for the exposition is quoted in Lemoine, 488–90.
23. Quoted in *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* (August 1935): 82.
24. *L'Humanité*, March 22, 1936. Jean Effel, a caricaturist of the Communist Party daily *l'Humanité*, contributed to the interior of Pierre Jeanneret's and Le Corbusier's "Pavillon des Temps Nouveaux" at the 1937 Fair.
25. According to Gournay, Carlu himself convinced the commissariat to give up on the camouflage, Gournay, *Le nouveau Trocadéro*, 29.
26. *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* (February 1935): 27.
27. Archives de France, F12-12442.
28. "J'espère que je suis allé au devant de vos désirs en vous envoyant quelques souvenirs de votre séjour à Nuremberg. Je l'ai fait avec d'autant plus de plaisir que je suis certain que vous apprécierez à leur juste valeur les nouvelles constructions édifiées sous Adolf Hitler en Allemagne." Albert Speer's letter to Jacques Gréber, December 2, 1936, Archives de France, F12-12442.
29. The group included Maurice Vlamincq, Jean Cocteau, Louis Hautecœur, and Auguste Perret. About the circumstances surrounding this trip, see Laurence Bertrand-Dorléac, *Histoire de l'art: Paris 1940–1944: Ordre national, traditions et modernités* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1988).
30. *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, "Enquête sur l'Exposition de 1937," (August 1937): 3–12. These competitions seemed to have been such an embarrassment to the leadership of the exposition that they were not given a single word in Labbé's ten-volume *Rapport Général*.
- The government commissioned Perret to build his *Musée des travaux publics* next to the Trocadero. The building was not exactly part of the exposition but was built in conjunction with it, and was an element of his grand 1933 Exposition design.
31. Gréber, "L'architecture à l'Exposition de 1937," in *L'Architecture* 15 (February 1937): 52. Quoted in Cohen and Lortie, *Des Fortifs au Périf*, 225.
32. The trademark of the Chicago Fair was the intense use of coloured architecture. Such was the importance of polychromy that many of the leading pavilions were repainted in strikingly different colours for the second opening of the fair in 1934. See Liza Schrenk, "The Role of the 1933–34 Century of Progress International Exposition in the Development and Promotion of Modern Architecture in the United States" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1998).
33. Gréber's speech at the fourth meeting of the Commission des Beaux-Arts de la Ville de Paris, February 28, 1936, Archives de la Seine VR 259. Considering that Gréber largely achieved his goal, it is intriguing to read in Prime Minister Mackenzie King's diary that, when they visited the fair together in June 1937, Gréber agreed with him that the "intolerable" modernism of the pavilions made them look like so many "soap boxes." This can only be understood if we take into consideration that Mackenzie King—also harshly critical of Canada's pavilion—was at the time trying to obtain for Gréber a role in Ottawa's new plan.
- During the prime minister's visit (the second in a year) to Paris and the fair, Gréber presented him with his ideas on the topic in some detail. "[Gréber] approved very strongly the idea of making a plaza to extend from the Château Laurier Bridge covering all the tracks of the station and making beneath a sort of underground station for parking cars." Gréber had done just that at the fair with the "Gare au Charbon," which he covered with a platform, and on top of which he placed the Regional Centre. Also, Mackenzie King continued, "he told me he had planned the work at Philadelphia and spoke of what had been accomplished at Chicago and New York in the way of creating plazas above railways. He knows Ottawa, having visited the City, and also discussed its plans with Noël [*sic*] Cauchon . . . His estimate of Cauchon was exactly that which I had formed myself, namely, that he was too local in his outlook, had not the vision for the large expanse."
- Obviously, Gréber already had a good hold on the commission. Mackenzie King then noted, "Gréber felt that it was important to enclose the plaza with buildings of a definite height, that there were different levels of ground and that the buildings set at different levels would present a finer appearance from the other side of the river, and would be preferable to very high buildings." Emphasizing the practical modernity of Gréber's ideas, the prime minister also wrote in his diary, "[Gréber] said the station could be arranged in three levels; one for persons going in, another for persons going out, and a third for trains and baggage, so that there would not be interference. This was modern development which was in the nature of drawers and shelves"—a more affirmative metaphor than the "soap boxes" ascribed to the fair's architecture.
- Gréber's landscape architecture expertise came to the fore as he remarked that "he saw no reason why a park-like development should not be made which would surround the entire station and link up the driveway system, making the park in the centre the main feature of the whole."
34. See F. Léger "Les besoins collectifs de la peinture: la peinture de la cite," in *Encyclopédie Française: Arts et littératures dans la société contemporaine*, vol. 16, 1935, 70/6, and other essays. These concerns were shared with Le Corbusier himself. See also José Luis Sert, Fernand Léger, and Siegfried Giedion, "Nine Points on Monumentality," reprinted in special issue "Monumentality and the City," *Harvard Architectural Review* 4 (spring 1984): 62–63.
35. In his monumental work on the cultural policies of the Popular Front, Pascal Ory echoes the received notion that the exposition leadership reluctantly accepted progressive artists under the pressure of Léon Blum's government. See Pascal Ory, *La belle Illusion: Culture et politique sous le signe du Front populaire, 1935–1938* (Paris: Plon, 1995). The myth about the alleged exclusion is still carried over in the work of other scholars as well (see, for example, Golan). Such a version of events was tendentiously created by Le Corbusier, who needed to mask his own failure to come up with a viable project, despite receiving a very encouraging sum of money from the fair's leadership, as no other individual architect. On the relationship between Gréber, Le Corbusier, and the modern artists, see Udovicki-Selb, "Le Corbusier and the Paris Exposition of 1937: The Temps Nouveau Pavilion," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 56 (March 1997).

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- Both Gréber and Labbé used the expertise and advice of George Huisman, a progressive esthete and Directeur des Beaux Arts who entertained personal relationships with the artistic and architectural avant-garde of the 1930s. He kept his administrative job through several governments, including the Popular Front. This helped impart the successive administrations of the fair and its birth convulsions with a remarkable continuity of artistic scope.
36. Jacques Gréber, "Plan de l'Exposition internationale de Paris 1937," *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, special issue "Paris 1937" (May–June 1937): 102. In a letter, Gréber also asked Le Corbusier to use colour on his own structure. He complied, indeed, by using the colours of the French flag to refute allegations of "Bolshevik" sympathies.
37. "Interview," *Comœdia* (June 8, 1935). This description curiously anticipated the pavilion of Czechoslovakia, the most strikingly innovative at the fair, but also the Saint-Gobin Glass Pavilion by Jacques Adnet.
38. Gréber, quoted in Jean Favier, *L'Architecture, exposition internationale de Paris—1937* (Paris: A. Singeaon, 1937), 37.
39. Charles Letrosne, then the exposition's first chief architect, proposed as early as 1934 to assemble in one single architectural study all the elements that referred to light, water, colour, and sound. Following suit, the exposition's first "Commissaire général" insisted that light become a central issue at the fair. Bonnier, a government member, who also supported the idea of giving light such a prominent role, proposed that the majority of the pavilions be "made out of glass and steel," most notably those built under the Eiffel Tower, itself destined to be the "anchor" of the exposition. Archives de France, Dépôt du Conseil des Ministres, P60 945–51.
40. Edmond Labbé, *Rapport Général*, vol. 5, 301.
41. For a discussion of the changes in the interpretation of the Enlightenment at the expositions Universelles, from a positivist, authoritarian encyclopedism in the nineteenth century, to a democratic, Voltairian vision in 1937, see Danilo Udovicki-Selb, "The Elusive Faces of Modernity: The Invention of the 1937 Paris Exposition and the Temps Nouveaux Pavilion" (Ph.D. dissertation, MIT, 1994).
42. Commercial advertisement played a pivotal role in this vast artistic experimentation. To the question "*Que feriez-vous si vous aviez à organiser l'Exposition de 1937?*" Fernand Léger answered in 1935, in a surprising anticipation of contemporary experiments with neon light, that he would immerse the exposition in an "*atmosphère lumineuse*," and,
- au lieu d'illuminer immeubles et monuments par leur silhouette, se servir des rues comme fond à un décor lumineux complètement indépendant du profil de l'immeuble ou du monument, créer des lignes lumineuses qui courent sur les rues, s'élèvent au-dessus, vont jusqu'au sol en se continuant tout le long. Lignes décoratives et harmonieuses à inventer. Les camelots doivent nous sortir pour cette exposition les cravattes électriques et les boutons de manchettes lumineux . . .*
- Quoted in Centre George Pompidou, exhibition catalogue, *1937, Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques* (Paris: Centre G. Pompidou, 1979).
- This approach to art and technology was also an interesting anticipation of what was to be called Pop Art three decades later.
43. See in particular the photographic series by Baranger and Chevojon, drawings in *L'illustration* special issue (May 1937), as well as the posters by Eugène Beaudouin and Paul Colin reproduced in Labbé's *Rapport Général*, vol. 11.
44. Labbé, *Rapport Général*, vol. 2, 427.
45. The most staggering effect of the use of science and technology for purposes of mass destruction, a first in modern warfare, was the bombardment of an "open" city, Guernica, in early 1937. Picasso painted the event in black and white tones for the exposition's Spanish Republic Pavilion. With an electric bulb holding centre stage, Picasso's mural referred to the feebleness of light in the world engulfed by "the night that has fallen upon Guernica [while even] the white immured and closed up, remained lifeless." Rosi Huhn, "Guernica and the 1937 International Exposition" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Hamburg, 1986).
- This association between the two pavilions was mediated by the Champ de Mars symbolizing national defence since 1790, and the Eiffel Tower, celebrating France's economic recovery after the 1871 defeat. Loaded with symbols and history, the Champ de Mars had been a military training field since the end of the seventeenth century. On July 14, 1790, revolutionary France celebrated there the Fête de la Nation for the first time.
46. An eye witness to these festivities, Giedion wrote in 1942, "These spectacles [Paris 1937 and New York 1939] form one of the rare events where our modern possibilities are consciously applied by the architect-artists. They use the structural values of different materials as the medium to intensify the emotional expression, just as the cubists liked to introduce sand, fragments of wood, or scraps of paper in their paintings. In this case, the architect made use of different 'structural' values: incandescent and mercury light, gas flames, coloured by chemicals, firework, smoke, water-jets, painted on the night sky and synchronized with music." Sert, Léger, Giedion, "Nine Points on Monumentality," 53–61.
47. Arthur Honnegger, who was a contributor to the journal *Plans*, where Le Corbusier published in the 1920s, wrote about his interest in music on film, i.e., of associating music and the visual arts. He directed *in vivo* his new piece "Mille et une Nuits" composed for the fair. Seventeen other composers, such as Messiaen and Darius Milhaud, participated in the musical arrangements of the "Fêtes de Lumière." Granet, the architect, wrote later, "*On se souvient des belles Homélies de F. Gregh et des carillons qui faisaient vibrer ce clocher de 300 mètres*," referring to the Eiffel Tower. A. Granet, *Décor éphémères, Paris 1900–1948* (Paris, 1948), 27.
- The musical themes were Light (composer Floret Schmidt), National (Jacques Ibert), Colonies (Elsa Barraine), Music (Darius Milhaud), The Seine Apotheosis (Raymond Loucheur), Day Pageantries (A. Koeschlin; B. Massiaen), Dream (Jean Rivier), (Manuel Rosenthal), Danse (Marcel Delanoy), Spring (Paul Le Flem), Summer (Louis Aubert), Fall (Claude Delvincourt), Thousand and One Night (Arthur Honnegger), Enfantine (Ingel Brecht), Fire (Henri Barraud), Fantastique (Pierre Vellones), Song (Maurice Yvain)
48. *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 6 (June 1937): 115–19.
49. When Labbé replaced Latour as commissioner general in 1935, plans were made to "disseminate" the fair's light pageantry throughout France and as far as its African colonies, thus clearly assigning light the powerful role of bringing together diversity.
50. A closed-circuit television was installed in the Pavillon de la Radio, and made it possible to "see" from various points of the exposition the activity in the pavilion's radiobroadcast studio where commentators and movie stars spoke to the crowds.
51. This essentially democratic character of electricity was vividly captured by Lenin's definition of communism as the conjunction of Workers' Councils (democracy) and electrification (prosperity).
52. Editorial, *Beaux-Arts* (September 1937).