

POWER AND NATIONAL IDENTITY IN THE FORMATION OF ISLAMABAD
AND ITS CAPITOL COMPLEX

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ABSTRACT

POWER AND NATIONAL IDENTITY IN THE FORMATION OF ISLAMABAD AND ITS CAPITOL COMPLEX

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This thesis is an attempt to understand the concept of power and national identity concerning the urban form and architecture of Pakistan's capital city, Islamabad. Power is more than just a coercive ability. According to Michel Foucault, power mechanisms through the normative process of order, discipline and organization affect social constructs. Through this channel, power reflects in the city's physical form. Identity is a formalization of these social constructs. In WWII's aftermath, many capital cities emerged that sought to negate or re-enforce ties with sovereign or imperial power. Representation played an important part in conveying this relation where a nation's capital was seen reflection of its identity. In this stead, architecture is a powerful collective rendition of a nation by expressing, defining, negating or validating its depiction in the international world. This representation cannot be perceived in isolation from the context in which it is placed. Hence, the urban layout and pattern of the city deserves comparable importance in its analysis.

Pakistan is one such nation state located in South Asia that severed its ties with British sovereignty in 1947. The intention of the thesis is not to criticize but to understand how power and concerns of national identity shaped its capital city. Islamabad is one of the largest new cities in Asia designed by Constantinos A. Doxiadis, a Greek architect and urban planner, in 1959. Because of lack of trained professionals, Pakistan relied on foreign architects such as E.D. Stone, Louis I. Kahn and Arne Jacobsen among others to design its national capitol. This research focuses on planning and urban form of the city and the architecture of the capitol complex within it.

Keywords: Islamabad, power, representation, urban form, architecture, national identity, post-colonial.



ÖZ

İSLAMABAD VE KAPİTOL KOMPLEKSİNİN OLUŞUMUNDA İKTİDAR VE MİLLİ KİMLİK

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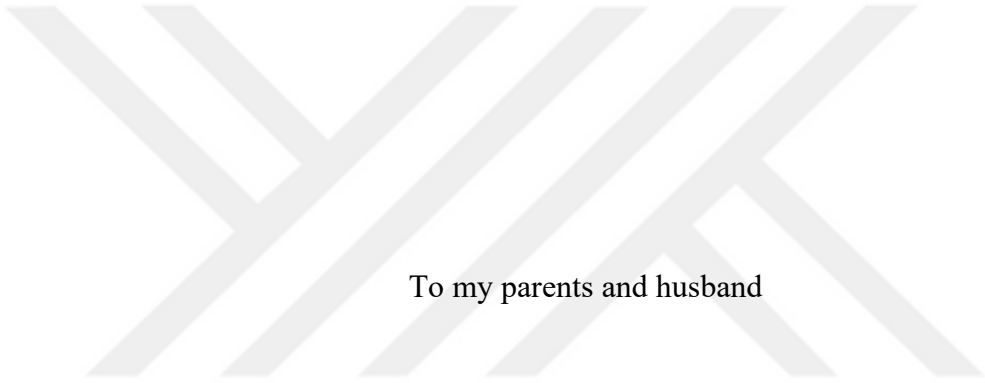
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Bu tezde, Pakistan'ın başkenti İslamabad'ın kentsel form ve mimarisiyle ilintili olarak iktidar kavramı ve milli kimliğin irdelenmesi amaçlanmaktadır. İktidar, salt zorlayıcı bir hünerden fazlasıdır. Michel Foucault'a göre; düzen, disiplin ve organizasyon normatif süreçleri yolu ile edinilen iktidar mekanizması sosyal yapıyı etkilemektedir. Bu yolla iktidar, kentin fiziksel formuna yansır. İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrasında bakıldığında birçok başkent, emperyal hükümetler ile ilişkisini ya tamamen bitirmeye veya tekrar güçlendirmeye karar verdi. Bir ulusun başkentinin, o ulusun kimliğinin bir yansıması olarak görüldüğü bu ilişkiyi sürdürmede temsil önemli bir rol oynadı. Bu noktada mimarlık, uluslararası ölçekte bir ulusu açıklamak, tanımlamak, yadsımak ya da doğrulamak için güçlü bir kolektif temsildir. Bu temsil, kullanıldığı bağlamdan ayrı bir şekilde değerlendirilemez. Dolayısıyla, bir şehrin kentsel düzen ve desen çözümlemesi benzer bir önem kazanmaktadır. Pakistan, 1947 yılında İngiliz egemenliğiyle bağlarını koparmış Güney Asya'da bulunan bir ulus devlettir. Bu tezin amacı, iktidar ve milli kimlik kaygısının bir başkenti nasıl şekillendirdiğini eleştirmek

deęil, anlamaktır. Islamabad, Yunan mimar ve Őehir plancısı Constantinos A. Doxiadis tarafından 1959'da tasarlanan, Asya'nın en byk yeni Őehirlerinden biridir. Eęitimli profesyonel eksiklięi nedeniyle Pakistan, baŐkentin tasarımı iin E.D. Stone, Louis I. Kahn, Arne Jacobsen ve dięer yabancı mimarlarla alıŐmıŐtır. Bu araŐtırma, Őehrin planlama ve kentsel formu ile iindeki Kapitol kompleksinin mimarisine odaklanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelime: İslamabad, g, temsil, kent formu, mimarlık, ulusal kimlik, post-kolonyal.

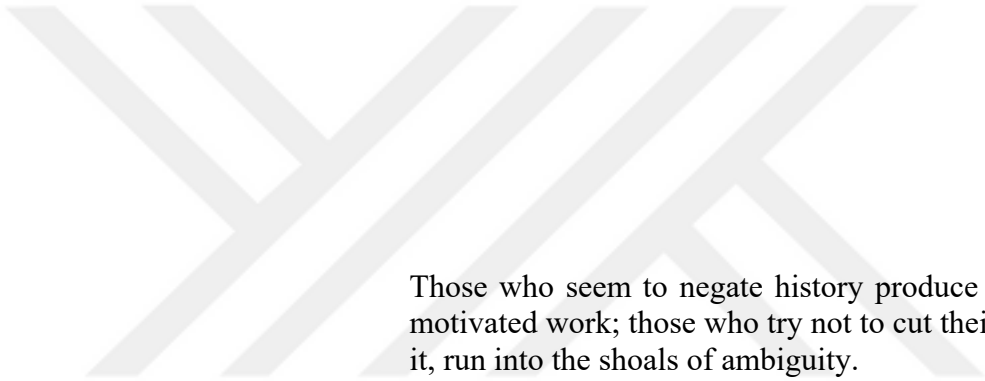




To my parents and husband

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Those who seem to negate history produce historically motivated work; those who try not to cut their links with it, run into the shoals of ambiguity.

Manfredo Tafuri, *Theories and History of Architecture*

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CADA	Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives (Benaki Museum, Greece)
CDA	Capital Development Authority
DA	Doxiadis Associates
EDSA	Edward Durrell Stone Collection (University of Arkansas, USA)
FCC	Federal Capital Commission
GHQ	General Headquarters (Army)
LIKC	Louis I. Kahn Collection (University of Pennsylvania)
RDA	Rawalpindi Development Authority

NOTES

The abbreviations for archives are detailed for purpose of the formatting style (APA 6th) used in preparation of this manuscript. Many of these sources have not been used in scholarship concerning Islamabad before. These abbreviations are used in text and for labelling figures in conformation with the rules of the archives and their material publication policy.

Mughal, *Moghal* and *Mogul* are used as alternatives; as in many archival sources alternate versions of the spellings are used.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 State of Affairs

This thesis is an investigation into Islamabad, the capital city of Pakistan's, urban layout and its architecture. Islamabad is one of the many new capitals that came into being after the Second World War and turned 56 years old in February 2016.

My fascination with Islamabad and its capital complex started at an early age. As a child, I would persuade my parents to take me to see the buildings which would be lit up on national holidays. Their placement at the end of a long avenue made it more unique, as on the way to the complex, I would see other midrise buildings, decked up in flags and lights for the celebration. Our car would be part of a spontaneous entourage of automobiles on the road. With time, security concerns in my country, Pakistan, have grown tense and the roads leading to the complex have been cordoned incrementally. Currently, none except government vehicles are allowed within half a kilometer of the complex.

Needless to say, this fascination of observing Islamabad's official buildings and layout has only grown with time, with a particular peak in curiosity of the administrative complex as they have become more and more inaccessible. Their austere facades, commanding presence, position and relative nonchalance to the rest of the city has garnered my attention. As cities go, Islamabad is relatively young, having being built from scratch in the 1960s.

New cities, through the course of history, have come into being for a variable number of motives and reasons. For instance the ancient Greeks used the city to expand trade while the Romans used it as an instrument to counter enemies of the state and expand their empire. In later years the European empires, such as Spain, France and England among others, employed it as a tool to assert their sovereign rule, expand their colonies and facilitate trade. Though cities in most instances occur organically and spontaneously, the creation of a new capital city, specifically after WWII adheres to a specific set of motives. In this era, this entailed state sponsorship for their inception. This was accompanied by a policy and spatial shift in relation to the preexisting conditions. The representative power of the city through its urban layout and architecture were well understood and used accordingly. These cities were a way for the verification and solidification of the will of the ruling government.

In this manner a particular organization and rationalization of space is used as a symbol for the domination of the state and ideology. All these concerns encompass, and are esoteric, to the instigators, place, and time, structure of government, symbolization, origins and precedents. In their commonality are held the dual themes of identity and power which help in tailoring the socio cultural context that reflects in the architectural and planning aesthete.

In a similar manner, the decision for Islamabad's conception automatically places it in the extended influence of political action. The states formed after the war were either in a stage of development or followed a break after a long era of colonial rule. The latter case was true for Pakistan¹ which in August of 1947 attained independence from Imperial British rule. Pakistan's quest for independence was based on the premise that Muslims should have a separate nation for safeguarding their rights upon the British exit from the Indian subcontinent. Religion, thus became a strong source of affiliation for its new citizens. While this formed one benchmark, the notion of development that

¹ On August 14, 1947 the Muslim and Hindu majority areas of previously ruled British Indian subcontinent became the new nation states of Pakistan and India respectively. Pakistan was divided into two wings, the East and West with India in between. The administrative and political power was situated in the Western wing while the Eastern wing, although geographically smaller was demographically larger in comparison. This inequality led to tensions that escalated with the Eastern wing breaking away and forming the state of Bangladesh in 1971. There also exists strained foreign relations and politics between two countries of India and Pakistan since 1947, primarily caused by the issue of Kashmir, which both claim as their territory.

had gripped the world post WWII was another contender juxtaposed with a shift in the nature of rule, for expression of the new nation's identity.

For putting this expression into concrete Pakistan imported technical professionals for urban planning, design and architecture for its new capital. This import brought with it an inculcation of a modernism² into the intellectual vacuum regarding architectural aesthete that existing in Pakistan after it came into existence. During my undergraduate course in architectural seminar I came to learn that Louis Kahn and Arne Jacobsen were among those invited for to present proposals for Islamabad; but they can lay claim to no built structure in or around Islamabad. Upon investigation all I would find were incomplete answers. The fact that these gaps remain unfilled by the written word, posits an extremely unique opportunity for research. The answers are lying forgotten in archives waiting to be brought to light. This has also been recognized by recent scholarship in a book which documents the notion of development in Pakistan at its advent by inculcating archival data (Daechsel, 2015, p. 1).³

In order to understand Islamabad's genesis then, it becomes important to understand the varied concerns. A prerequisite is to comprehend the events that enabled Islamabad's formation and to study why it was formed the way it did. Similarly, regarding the architectural attributes of its capital complex it is vital to place Islamabad in the global context of architectural aesthete without divorcing it from its colonial legacy. Specifically, the import of notable foreign professionals and their contribution to Islamabad needs to be read into. For this, their role and the events that led to their eventual presence or absence from what is built, needs to be analyzed.

Hence, using this thesis as a vehicle for investigation, I have tried to understand the formation of Islamabad's capital city and the architecture of capital complex; through

² While the accepted history of modernism in architecture is constantly being challenged, after Hassan ud-Din Khan's seminal work, *The International Style*, it merely provides an overview of modernism applied to other parts of the world. While new research has brought about alternate versions of modernity for other post-colonial or imperial countries like Lebanon, India and Turkey etc.; Pakistan remains largely ignored in scholarship.

³ Markus Daeschel, the author of this recent publication, outlines the available focused literature on the city in the introduction to his book. This includes O Yakas, *Islamabad, the Birth of a Capital* (Oxford University Press, 2001)., Matthew S Hull, *Government of Paper: The Materiality of Bureaucracy in Urban Pakistan* (Berkeley, Calif.; London: University of California Press, 2012)., and (unpublished) Ahmed Zaib Khan Mahsud, "Constantinos A. Doxiadis' Plan for Islamabad: The Making of a 'City of the Future' 1959-1963" (Leuven: K.U.Leuven., 2008).

the matrix of concerns which hold power and identity as frames of reference with particular focus on its import of architects for the capital complex. The thesis primarily focuses on the initial decade of Islamabad's development i.e. 1960-1970.

1.2 Theoretical Framework

WWII brought with it a number of changes in the geo-political spectrum. Globally, one statistic that got a big boost was the number of capital cities, rising in number from forty to about two hundred by the end of the year two thousand (Gordon, 2006). Another change was of which the former is a result is the distinction between state and society in the political order (Steinmetz, 1999, p. 95). Particularly, democratic government which marks in an area, a renewed effort to plan and implement power and institutions for the presence of government and its symbolic ruling structures.

In this period, according to Foucault, the nature of space and power dynamically changed in the mechanisms of its production (2012, p. 58). Power in politics can take many forms where the physical environment is often a powerful tool. The claims of particularity, identity and existence go hand in hand with civilization and in this stead the city which contains it. Foucault elaborates his ideas of power on architecture and urbanism on a number of fronts. He elaborates his views on the level of knowledge; on discourse and discursive practice; on social relations and architecture; on the level of body politics, bio power; and on aesthetics and spatiality (Fontana-Giusti, Evans, Kantrowitz, & Eshelman, 2013, p. 15). He categorizes sovereignty, governmentality and discipline as mechanisms of power (Foucault & Gordon, 1980, pp. 6-8).

This echoes in Lefebvre's identification of spatial ideology as an outcome of "political power" that imposes upon those that are dominated. He postulates that all conceived space conveys ideology (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 23). His tri partite schema for production is explained by an interstice of spatial practice (everyday life practices), representation (conceptualization) and representational (space lived through association of images and symbols) space (Ibid., 37-38). In his understanding, representation of space although abstract is crucial in understanding inherent relations between the people and the object and are instrumental in political and social practice. Representational spaces are inherently symbolic and imaginative signifiers in society and its individuals, which can often escape recognition due to subjectivity. So these representations have a

“practical impact” on social textures when their “intervention occurs by way of construction” (architecture) which are then informed by ideology and knowledge and are subject to modification (Lefebvre, 1991).

Lefebvre’s focus was the social practice of construction in terms of urban sociology. He criticized the state and the Capitalist mode of production through space. This brought to light the urban as a potentiality of both political intention and change. To put simply, this means that the everyday social practice for which the urban and architecture form the backdrop are a political action whereby the state and dominant system organizes and rationalizes space. Thus, it becomes important to look at architecture and urban design not for and of itself but to understand it in an interstice of institutional, cultural and social implications where politics of identity and power give important insights. As Lefebvre states that this tri partite schema contributes differently to spatial production “ according to the society or mode of production in question and according to the historical period” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 46).

In history the period between 1815-1914, the rise of colonial domination of Europe over the globe was approximately 35 to 85 percent (Said, 2006, p. 41). Of these areas under Britain, were large parts of the Indian subcontinent, which broke into the two nation states of India and Pakistan in 1947 on the termination of its rule. The new nation of Pakistan decided to build a new capital-Islamabad. This coincided with the industrial boom that had gripped the globe after the two World Wars. The new members of the United Nations sought along with other markers of status to create symbols for their independence in the form of “modern” capitals. In this regard, post-World War II studies on capitals are not new.

Modern capitals are classified by Lawrence J. Vale in three broad categories; evolved capitals, evolved capitals renewed and capitals designed anew. For example he quotes London, Vienna , Paris and Berlin as evolved capitals; Rome, Moscow and Venice as renewed capitals and Washington DC as a new capital (2014, pp. 18-47). Vale lightly touches on the subject of Islamabad but leaves more to be explored. David Gordon on the other hand puts forward six categories of twentieth century capital cities; Multifunctional, global, former, provincial, super capitals and political capitals. For instance he identifies New York as a super capital, Bonn as a former capital and Tokyo

as a global capital (2006, pp. 8-15). What he does not delve into is the political significance concerning their architecture and urban design.

Under Gordon's categorization Islamabad can be labelled as a political capital and in Vale's terms one that seeks to break away from evolution; a capital designed anew. Edward Said's work "Orientalism" resonates loudly at this point as most western scholarship has looked at this era from a euro centric point of view. Said looks at the authorship of discourse and the lens through which the far, middle and near Eastern side of the globe is grouped together. In his words, Orientalism "is rather a distribution of geopolitical awareness into aesthetic, scholarly, economic, sociological, historical and philological texts" (2006, p. 12).

Similarly, scholarship on Post WW II capitals embodies modernity, modernism or its branch brand The International Style. Their discourse has largely remained centered as a ground base through the profound transformation that the new order of capitalism, industrialization and secularism brought in. Concerning Pakistan and its formation, it is necessary to outline its post-colonial legacy as it presents a unique cultural narration, taking cue from Sibel Bozdogan building a case for narrating Turkish modernity in her book, *Studies in modernity and national identity*. However, the same modalities as Bozdogan's do not apply in detail analysis. Pakistan is one of the two nation states⁴ that came into being as an ideological state based on a religion, Islam. This situation is inverted in the case of post war/colonial countries like Turkey or India. This makes the premise of "power" and "politics" and "national identity" all the more pertinent in the analysis of its built form. This need is heightened in case of authoritarian governments or autonomous bodies ruling over societies, which did not go through the transformation that the West did. Architecture and urban design were utilized as visual symbols to profess varying agendas by them.

In Said's wake and in parallel, application of de-constructivist thought has spawned many an endeavor in scholarship, which collectively we have come to know as post-colonial discourse. Application of the modalities of power and national identity have

⁴ The other state founded on the basis of religion is Israel i.e. Judaism.

picked up pace concerning South East Asian studies. This has displaced the euro-centric frame of reference of modernity or Modernism's discourse, but is recent.

Focusing on Pakistan and its colonial past one author to note is Thomas R. Metcalf. In his works such as *Forging the Raj: Essays on British India in the Heyday of Empire* and *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj*, he explores the interrelation of power and culture in the forms employed by the colonizers over the subcontinent. The buildings represent the reflection of the imperial rulers, which added to elaborate their rule over the aesthete and politics of their nation by negating the old forms and establishing "British" ones. Another author William J. Glover has keenly delved into how the British made the city of Lahore (situated in former India and now in Pakistan) their own, through architecture and urban planning in his book, *Making Lahore Modern: Constructing and Imagining a Colonial City*. He elaborates on new forms of urban governance employed by the British that focused on the premise that the material fabric of the city would lead to a more controlled moral and social upgradation. He ties the colonization of Lahore to the urbanization prevalent in the 19th century over the world, which believed in the physical environment possessing the power to have bearing on the individual and the collective. Highlighting the weakened civil society and the empowered British ruler, he concludes, this form of urbanization as a result of social inequality was collaborative. In tandem the author Anthony D. King through his book, *Colonial urban development: culture, social power and environment*, demonstrates the urban as a unique product of culture and power structures. He uses the colonial city as the precedent in this research and in a case analysis of New Delhi (early nineteenth century to 1947), attributes its evolution to an interstice of global and local power mechanisms.

While the before mentioned works largely focus on a colonial era practices written in a post-colonial era, similar discussions of the post-colonial genesis of a city, point in focus-Islamabad, are few and far in between. Concerning Islamabad, one, is the exceptional book by Matthew Hull, *Governmentality of paper: The Materiality of Bureaucracy in Urban Pakistan*, in which is investigated the paper mediation concerning the urban bureaucracy during and after Islamabad was being built. In this analysis the material forms of files and papers result in a distinct politic. This is analyzed with reference to how the citizens are effected, inhabited and how the city is

shaped and regulated. This work is a fresh take, as it highlights Foucault's approach to governance in a new manner, through an extension of colonial era practices, which sought to isolate government from mainstream society in a post-colonial setting.

A recent publication that lies in line with this thesis endeavor is Markus Deaschel's account of Islamabad in his book, *Islamabad and the Politics of International Development in Pakistan*. His work employs archival and theoretical information to analyze the notion of development in a post war international arena juxtaposed with a post-colonial one. This provides a new look into this period's historiography; albeit through a cultural lens.

Of the numbered historic accounts that exist concerning Islamabad's urban design and architecture is Zahir-ud-din Khwaja's book, *Memoirs of an architect*. Khwaja was an employee of the government of Pakistan whilst the capital city was being constructed and his book provides a biographical account and insight into the then state of affairs. Another author is Sten Nilsson whose published works remain inaccessible and largely out of print. His penmanship of 1978 includes, *The New capitals of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh*, which is a comparative analysis of the three new capitals in South Asia. Orestes Yakas's book, *Islamabad the birth of a capital* is also a historical account. Yakas was an employee of Doxiadis Associates and headed his team at Rawalpindi. Closely concerned with the project of Islamabad this book is his recording of the capital city's administrative activities.

Doxiadis Associates was a Greek firm headed by the architect and urban planner Constantinos A. Doxiadis (1914-1975). The Pakistan government had engaged Doxiadis's services for its capital in 1959. Islamabad's case is unique as it is one of the largest new towns designed in Asia at that time. An intriguing aspect of Islamabad is that many foreign architects were involved in the project but their built works are physically non-existent -a fact that unravels upon perusal of the historic accounts.

The foreign expertise⁵ involved in the capital complex project includes Edward D. Stone, Louis I. Kahn, Arne Jacobsen, Marcel Bruer, Gio Ponti, Alberto Roselli, Kenzo

⁵ Local architects involved in the project included Minoo Mistry, M. A. Ahed and Naqvi and Siddiqui.

Tange, and Vedat Dalokay. The Colombo plan⁶ team of British architects including Gerard Bridgen, Bradford, Maurice Lee, Goodyear, W.M. Hamilton, and W.L.Lancaster & Franklin were involved in designing individual buildings. Sir Robert Mathew (UIA Chairman) and Johnson Marshall were invited for the coordination and comprehensive site plan layout of the administration center. Whereas, Kimio Kondo and Derek Lovejoy were part of the design team for landscaping. The contribution of these architects is not attended to by scholarship. Furthermore, of the historical accounts that exist none offer a critical insight into Islamabad's urban layout and its architecture.

This analysis is perhaps what the existing scholarship is in dearth of; the transitional social, cultural and political reality of Pakistan in a post-colonial setting as manifest through its architecture and urban design. The juxtaposition of the interesting local milieu; of post-colonial legacy, an inhibition to secularism or a heavy lean towards religion by the Pakistani state and a quest towards national identity. With the international milieu; of modernism, of acceptance of secularism and its expression in architecture as an indicator of progress and its tie to identity, all lay the ground work for analysis. Which is what in part, this thesis hopes to accomplish.

1.3 Methodology of the Thesis

This study which is titled, "Power and national identity in the formation of Islamabad and its Capitol Complex", attempts to answer the before mentioned concerns through qualitative analysis.

The research utilizes both descriptive and exploratory research methods for conducting the study. It builds upon existing literature, archival research and personal experience of living in the city to come up with preliminary ideas and facilitate development of insight and hypotheses regarding the problem definition.

In order to grasp a clearer picture of events a historical analysis is the foundation upon which the archival research builds up. In the words of Lefebvre, "If space is produced,

⁶The Colombo Plan for Cooperative Economic and Social Development in Asia and the Pacific was conceived at the Commonwealth Conference on Foreign Affairs held in Colombo, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) in January 1950.

if there is a productive process, then we are dealing with history” (1991, p. 46).⁷ The individuality of this research lies in referring to fresh and virgin data in form of historical manuscripts. This has been carried out through accumulation and interpretation of archival and existing information regarding Islamabad and its construction through government and consultant documents, reports and correspondences between various individuals. These are found in but not limited to, the client’s and various architect’s archives and libraries.

The thesis utilized the Capital Development Authority (CDA) library in Islamabad, and the Rawalpindi Development Authority (RDA) library in Rawalpindi (Islamabad’s twin city). The consulted archives include Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives (CADA) in Athens, Greece; Edward Durell Stone collection at the University of Arkansas, USA; Louis Isadore Kahn archive at the University of Pennsylvania, USA; Gio Ponti archives in Milan, Italy as well as material from the Arne Jacobsen holdings at the Danish National Archives (Rigsarkivet).

The most extensively used source are the Doxiadis Archives in Athens, Greece. It is a private organization holding a vast array of office files, personal correspondences, photographs, Doxiadis’s personal diary, reports and journals concerning Doxiadis’s projects around the globe. Among them Islamabad has a notable section. The second is the CDA library. Their holdings comprise of reports submitted to the government of Pakistan by Doxiadis Associates, as well as internal reports of the departments charged with the task of overseeing the construction of the capital.

The supplementary sources are archival documents from the Edward Durell Stone collection at University of Arkansas, U.S.A. and the Louis I. Kahn Archive at the University of Pennsylvania, U.S.A. as well as archival material from Gio Ponti and Arne Jacobsen holdings in Italy and Sweden respectively. These include literature on the city, and personal as well as official correspondences concerning the capital project. The data concerning these consultant’s projects in Islamabad, remains largely overlooked by existing scholarship.

⁷ Lefebvre posits that by historical analysis the forces and relations of production here are to be analyzed in addition to events.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

This body of this thesis is divided into five chapters. The first chapter is the Introduction, which is followed by the second chapter.

The second chapter is titled Power, National identity and the Capital. This chapter contains two sections. The first section outlines the concept of a capital city and how its architecture and urban design relate to identity and power. It investigates the significance of a capital city, how power is an informant of control and how do politics and national identity inter-relate. The second section contextualizes Islamabad, by tracing a historical background and spotlighting its socio-political framework in relation to the same themes. It traces the legacy of colonialism, how Islamabad was used as a symbol for expression of power and national identity and the varied intentions that pre-empted its formation.

The third chapter is titled Islamabad-The Capital City. It is composed of three sections. This chapter deals with how Islamabad's geo spatial location from an abstract idea to its physical formation that reflects inherent structures of power and identity formation. Its first section investigates the reasons that affected Islamabad's name and site selection. The second section delves into the ideology behind the urban layout by Constantinos A. Doxiadis. In the third section Islamabad's urban layout and formation is analyzed in detail by reading into the concepts utilized by Doxiadis.

The fourth chapter is titled Islamabad – The Architecture of the Capitol Complex. It is comprised of three sections. The first section outlines the legacy of architectural aesthete in the region. The second section reflects on the commission established to define an appropriate architectural style for the capital. The third section tackles the events thereof, concerning the proposals and built form of the individual buildings in the capitol complex by various foreign architects.

The final chapter concentrates on the interrelation of the concepts of power and identity in an assimilative effect, from the global level to that of the city and down to the capitol complex. It uses the before mentioned themes to understand the formation and development of the new capital of Pakistan; as well as understanding the historical, cultural and political histories that preempt it.



CHAPTER 2

POWER, NATIONAL IDENTITY AND THE CAPITAL

This chapter unravels how the notions of identity and power tie in with the city and a capital city in particular. First, a historical analysis and understanding of a capital city is established. The next part of the chapter attempts to dissect and understand the myriad of political and cultural events that preceded the formation of Pakistan's capital city, Islamabad. This builds an understanding of the capital in a post-colonial transitional reality of social constructs. This process entails highlighting the legacy of colonialism for a cultural insight; the intention and reason for formation of a new capital for political insight; and an attempt to understand the different factors that made its formation possible as well as those that shaped it. These factors are not isolated but inter relate to result in a profound impact on the layout and design of the city, which will also form part of the chapter.

2.1 The concept of power and national identity Vis a Vis the city

2.1.1 The city and significance of a capital

The origin of the word capital lies in Latin. The term *capitalis*, originates from the root word *capit*, which means “head”. The word capitol is often confused with the term but has a shared etymology. It comes from the name of the Capitoline Hill in Rome, where

the roman senate convened in the Capitolium.⁸ It is from this physical and linguistic grounding that we define the capitol and capital today. Typically, lawmakers resided in this complex atop a hill- acropolis. It was physically segregated from the city - a citadel⁹ and generally accessible to a select few. In his book *The City in History*, Lewis Mumford writes that the proto city comprised of the institutions of the fortified camp and the shrine coming together in a special precinct, which was the citadel. In the citadel, the new mark of the city is “obvious”. The change in scale was deliberate in order to awe and overpower. The bulk and upward thrust of buildings in the citadel was dominating. An outer wall was used to physically demarcate the general population as a military device. Once these institutional structures of the city became fixed the arch typical city underwent little alterations (1961, p. 94).

Mumford further emphasized the importance of this citadel as a cultural, educational and control center even before the advent of independent democratic institutions or individual municipal equivalents of places such as the library or court (1961, p. 101). From the ancient city to the modern the growth, change in scale, extension and dynamics have varied greatly but the capitol has remained in one form or another dominant as an expression of power and symbolical eminence. This capitol evolved with time and in the case of larger and relatively more complex organizations of settlements spread over a wider region, figuratively exemplifying itself in the form of a capital city. This capital city relating back etymologically to the capitol through the term *capit*, was expected to symbolize similar attributes of cultural, educational and control consolidation in relation to other cities as that of a capitol to its settlement.

During the fourteenth to the seventeenth century systematic studies on the shaping of the urban space resulted in rebuilding and ordaining cities to incorporate elegant squares, long vistas, new fortifications and aesthetic building arrangements among other symbolic reflections of sovereign power. As Foucault explains, cities in this time period evolved and came to serve as models of governmental rationality that could be applied over a wider territory. Herein, the power of architecture and urban design, of

⁸ Temple built to honor Jupiter- the God of sky and thunder.

⁹ A citadel is the core fortified area of a town or city. It may be a fortress, castle or fortified center. The term is a diminutive of “city” and thus means “little city”, in S Toy, *Castles: Their Construction and History*, Dover Books on Architecture (Dover Publications, 1939).

a capital city in particular, to convey a choice and form of attention upon objects of concern was immense. Thus, the capital city became a subject of significance in the minds of political men (Leach, 2005, p. 347). Ruling powers benefitted from architecture and urban design of the cities to serve as their ideological vehicles.

For example in the case of colonized regions, Laws of the Indies of 1573 are particularly interesting, whereby the Spanish regulated a legislative compilation that would govern its kingdoms outside Europe. Accordance with these laws resulted in a particular ordering of gridded streets with a central plaza, defensive wall and uniform building style. In this manner imperialist power over the governed was reflected, consolidated, symbolically conveyed and exercised in the urban and architectural locations and their dimensions.¹⁰

In and after the seventeenth century, ambitious rulers as well as political leaders constructed grand courts, palaces and centers for administration. These monumental buildings and their specifically tailored urban setting displayed a similar grandiosity and orderly arrangement. Long avenues, geometric patterns, radial networks of ways as exemplified by the Baroque principles were employed. An often quoted example is Baron Haussmann's reconstruction of Paris (1853-1870). Another example is Washington D.C.'s plan (1791) in which the order and geometry of Baroque crosses with the citadel of ancient origins and comes forth as expression of post-colonial power.

This example also builds for us a contemporary understanding of a capital and the capitol. The word capital applies to the city in which the government of a nation, state, or other political jurisdiction is based. Inside this capital city, the term capitol¹¹ signifies the control center in the form of complex of buildings in which governmental activities take place.

¹⁰ For more information see Mundigo, Axel I., and Dora P. Crouch. "The City Planning Ordinances of the Laws of the Indies Revisited. Part I: Their Philosophy and Implications." *The Town Planning Review* 48, no. 3 (1977): 247-68.

¹¹ This may be a case of the looking at the term from a view of American scholarship as the term is rarely used in reference to the cluster of government buildings in Islamabad in proposal drawings or archival documents. Instead the term Presidential Complex/Palace is used. For the purpose of this thesis the term Capitol Complex and the Presidential Palace/Complex will be used synonymously.

2.1.2 Power as an instrument of control

In Foucault's terms "Sovereign power" operates by absolute rule of law. It is largely a traditional form of governance and involves absolute obedience to the monarch or a central authority. "Disciplinary power" gradually manifested itself in tension with sovereign power in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Disciplinary power confirms itself in the physical effect of the control and its appearance through surveillance and force. This is achieved by a regulation of space, time and behavior which is imposed through a complex interconnection of institutions within society. In this manner, "power reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday life" (Foucault & Gordon, 1980, p. 39). "Governmentality" is rise of the idea of state, systems, procedures and rules by which both individuals and institutions comply. This dates to the beginning of the twentieth century, which heralded important social and political changes such as the dismemberment of the empires, development of federal systems and decentralized systems of government. Power assertion by "governmentality" plays on the idea of constant surveillance and order.



Figure 1: Athens acropolis (2016).
Photograph by author.

In traditional forms of sovereignty, such as in the ancient cities, power is explicit in its spatial display. The old city of Athens with a hilltop seat of government visible to the governed is an example (Figure 1). Here the dominant position and accumulation of an administrative, religious and cultural center takes physical form.

An example of disciplinary power is in the setting up of Roman camps overnight, known as castrametation. Foucault drew reference from the camps where power is in an invisible form. The Roman military camp settlements (Figure 2) were significant in displaying social and institutional hierarchy through their grid like formation which enables imposition of social order and control in their military and their conquered territories (Phang, 2008, p. 39).

In modern urban design and planning, where the Hausmannization of Paris is often referred to as an example of governmental power instilled in the city's urban space and fabric; panopticon by Jeremy Bentham is an institutional and architectural example in concrete of power assertion by governmentality. In Foucault's understanding, institutions as tools of power also help form specific notions of identity. This further facilitates systematic subjugation and exercise of power over people. When localized in spatiality it helps to limit movement between fixed parameters.

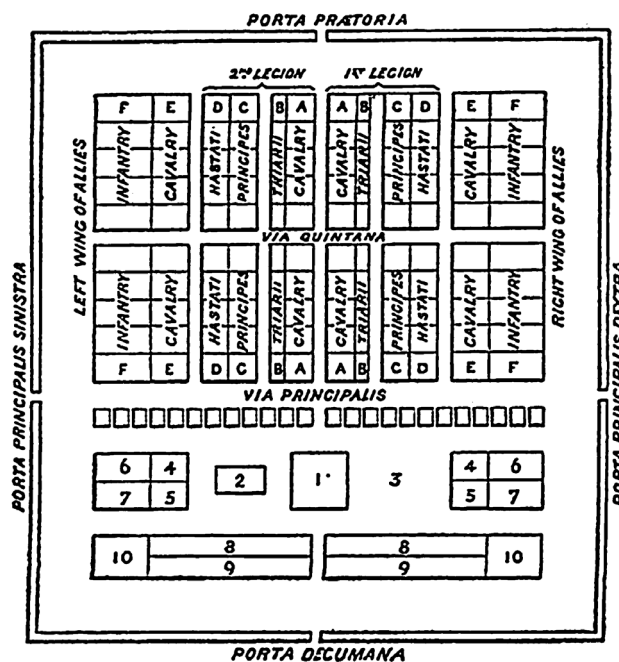


Figure 2: Plan of a Roman military camp (1979).
 Displaying position and importance of different ranks and their order in a settlement.
 Source: <http://pix-hd.com/roman+army+forts>

2.1.3 Politics and national identity

Identity is categorized as both a psychological and social phenomenon and operates by an “ideology” of binary opposition where the “we” and the “other” play an

important part (Mandler, 2006, pp. 271-297). The sense of identity can be very physical and tied, in a historic sense, to a natural territory. According to Lefebvre, “What we call ‘ideology’ only achieves consistency by intervening in social space and in its production, and thus by taking on body therein” Lefebvre (1991, p. 44). This ideology, which is supporter of the will, and tied to the myth of power; must then materialize in the place that conveys it (i.e. architectural monuments). Ideology’s implication in place, translated through social production (for example, a historical event, achievement or attribute deemed important by supporter of the will) thus reiterates itself by polity.

The term “nation” conveys a sense of birth and place through its roots, and was historically used for civility or distinction and could be applied to a group(s) of people with a shared ideology (Dean & Butler, 2012, pp. 1-4). This ideology by binary opposition can be simplified in terms of one or a number of characteristics of groups such as religion, race, language, region, customs or blood ties (Wodak, 2009, p. 5). According to Lefebvre this suits a “class’s purposes when it promotes patriotism” (1991, p. 111).

The Hellenic and Roman forms of civility (i.e. notion of a nation) was held superior by Western scholarship of the sixteenth century. Discourses have the power to construct, perpetuate, transform or dismantle national identities (Wodak, 2009, p. 5). In this stead, Palladio harkened to Roman and Grecian antiquity to codify elements of proportion and geometry and translate them into civic architecture and government buildings for Italy. The impact of this was profound leading to the imperial or sovereign form of dominance of the West. The West politically exported this style as an excuse to “civilize” (Dean & Butler, 2012, pp. 6-8) other regions of the world by colonization when travel and trade picked up pace in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Identity is “mobilized into existence through symbols invoked by political leadership” (Dryzek, 2006, p. 5). Ideology in this manner dominated existing groupings (religions, race, customs, regions etc.) and crystallized the sovereign’s identity upon the ruled. One such region, colonized by the British, was the Indian subcontinent, consisting of present day India, Bangladesh and Pakistan.

When this ideology or “naturalness” intervenes in social space it produces “a focused space embodying a hierarchy of centers and a main center i.e. the national capital”

(Lefebvre, 1991, p. 112). In the nineteenth century, the Industrial Revolution coupled with the breakdown of imperial power led to a world of nation-states. A series of cities appeared after WWII, which produced new cities on the basis of urban experimentation. The “modernist city” was a global phenomenon which on the basis of science, experimentation and rationality boasted solution to problems such as population growth, war damage, shortage of housing etc. (Scott, 1998). Political visions combined with the architect’s vision to produce national centers and cities. In many instances, specifically in the areas colonized a reaction or harkening to the past was seen as affirmation of an existing or lost identity. Chandigarh (1951), Brasilia (1957), Dhaka and Islamabad (1960), Dodoma (1976), Abuja (1979), Putrajaya (1995) and Astana (1997), all form part of an extensive list. The action of constructing a new space, offered the countries a space for “focused” expression of their new found or reclaimed independence. This building of a new identity is reflected by the urban plans and architecture of the institutional buildings (Vale, 2014). Countries were additionally steered on by the economic possibilities offered by these new spaces. Of the many examples are Pakistan and India, which embraced the provision of new cities in their first five year development plans.

2.2 Contextualizing Islamabad

2.2.1 The legacy of colonialism

When the British decreed the formation of the new democratic states of India and Pakistan in 1947, they had colonized and ruled the Indian subcontinent for more than a century. Anthony D. King looks back at this era from a Marxist framework associating Western imperialist power situated in society that shaped the city (1976). Edward Said in his work inspired by Foucault’s theory of “power knowledge” puts forward that, “A western style for dominating, restructuring and having authority over the orient”, served to promote Europe’s imperial objectives by scholarship (2006, p. 3). This was a resultant of a conscious effort by the British to comprehend those they colonized and control their past (Metcalf, 2005).

The ruling British had sought to civilize the natives of this land by a strict hierarchy in “sovereign” rule. One example is New Delhi, that employed urban and architecture

design tools to display British superiority and imperial power. When conveying the King’s sentiments about building New Delhi, Lord Stamfordham wrote in a letter to the viceroy of India, “We must now let him [the Indian] see for the first time, the power of Western science, art, and civilization” (Singh, 2002, p. 40).

Lord Stamfordham was inspired by the cities of Rome, Paris, and Washington, D.C. The planning of New Delhi was a token of imperial might of the British. New Delhi was conceived as an isolated administrative satellite city outside the existing city of Delhi, the imperial capital of the Mughal Empire (Figure 3). The new plan consciously sought escape from the prevalent political and indigenous associations.

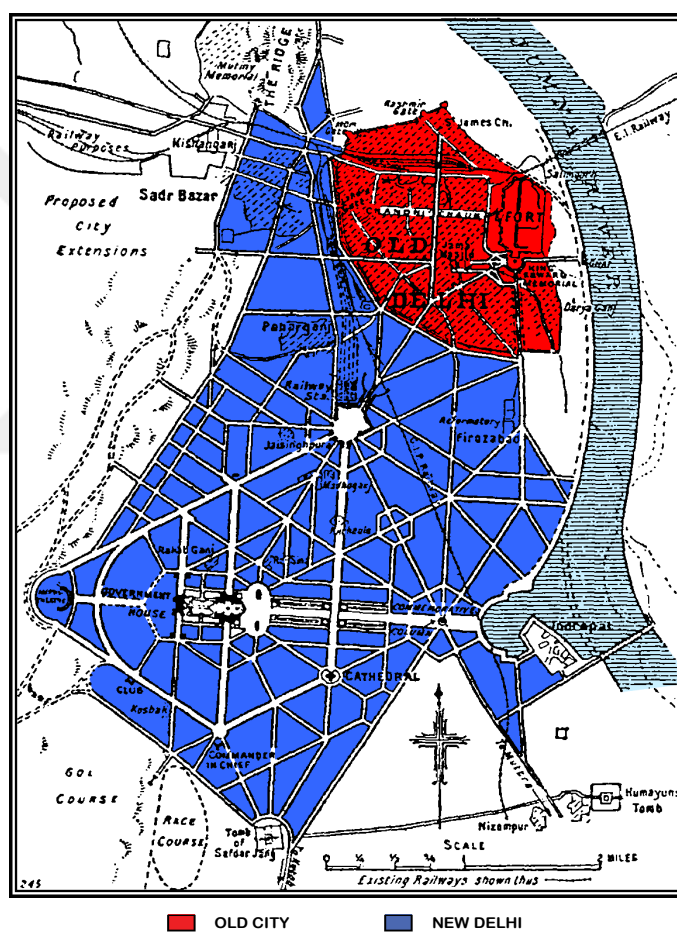


Figure 3: New Delhi Plan (1912).

Source Map courtesy of <http://www.urbanplanning.library.cornell.edu>. Edited by author.

A similar employment of “geometrical clarity” had enabled the British in earlier years to instill social order and control in their ruled cities.¹² They found the indigenous city

¹² One of the first colonial urban settlements was by the French in 1700s in Pondicherry, India. It was laid out in a grid to separate it from the indigenous settlements.

disorderly, confusing and hard for surveillance and control (AlSaiyyad, 1992, p. 118). Indian local cities were composed of a mixture of narrow and wide streets meandering through *mohallas*.¹³ In these areas shops, social and public spaces of gathering are interwoven and similarly dwindle back into streets. Social interaction goes on at all hours of the day.

British colony building tradition added areas of civilian authorities, “the civil lines” and military forces area known as “cantonment” to the urban fabric. The civil lines “had grid like, tree lined, bungalow dotted clarity” (Glover, 2008, p. 52). In these local recruits were regimentally housed on the basis of their rank. Rawalpindi (Figure 4) was one such city, which served as the Northern Command Office for the British Military and upon sub-continent’s division was made the General Head Quarters (GHQ) of the Pakistan army with a population of over 185,000 (Janjua, 2015).

In tandem “British buildings in India remained up to mid-century [eighteenth] projections of Greece and Rome” (Metcalf, 2005, p. 109). These buildings were not devoid of political significance and were symbolic of a conquering militarism and a culture, which considered itself superior. “In their architectural style these building transplanted contemporary European forms on Indian soil” (Metcalf, 2005, p. 109). Even when considering the architectural style for building New Delhi in the latter century when a certain hybrid of European aspirations and local architecture was emerging, the “Indic Style” was considered inappropriate (Metcalf, 2005, pp. 106-137).¹⁴ It did not have “the constructive and geometrical qualities necessary to embody

¹³ A *Mohalla* is a traditional Urdu term defining an area or neighborhood.

¹⁴ The Indic style was an appropriation of the traditional styles of the subcontinent. Metcalf builds his argument that the prevalent styles of India were classified on a political basis. With introduction of knowledge control units such as the Census (1872) and the Archeological survey an ethnographic understanding was built and opened the West to India’s architectural language. The architecture was categorized broadly by caste. The “Hindu” which was indigenous to the soil and term “Saracenic” was alluded to buildings of the Muslim dynasties. This religious division was interpreted as backwardness of the people reflected in their buildings. The Hindu architecture was rejected on the basis of scientific and aesthetic parameters while the Saracenic in some parts adopted as it reflected in a manner the embodiment of the European ideals. For more information see Fergusson, J. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*. London: Read Books, 2007 and Said, E. W. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Group, 2006.

the idea of law and order which has been produced out of chaos by the British administration” (Metcalf, 2005, p. 146).¹⁵

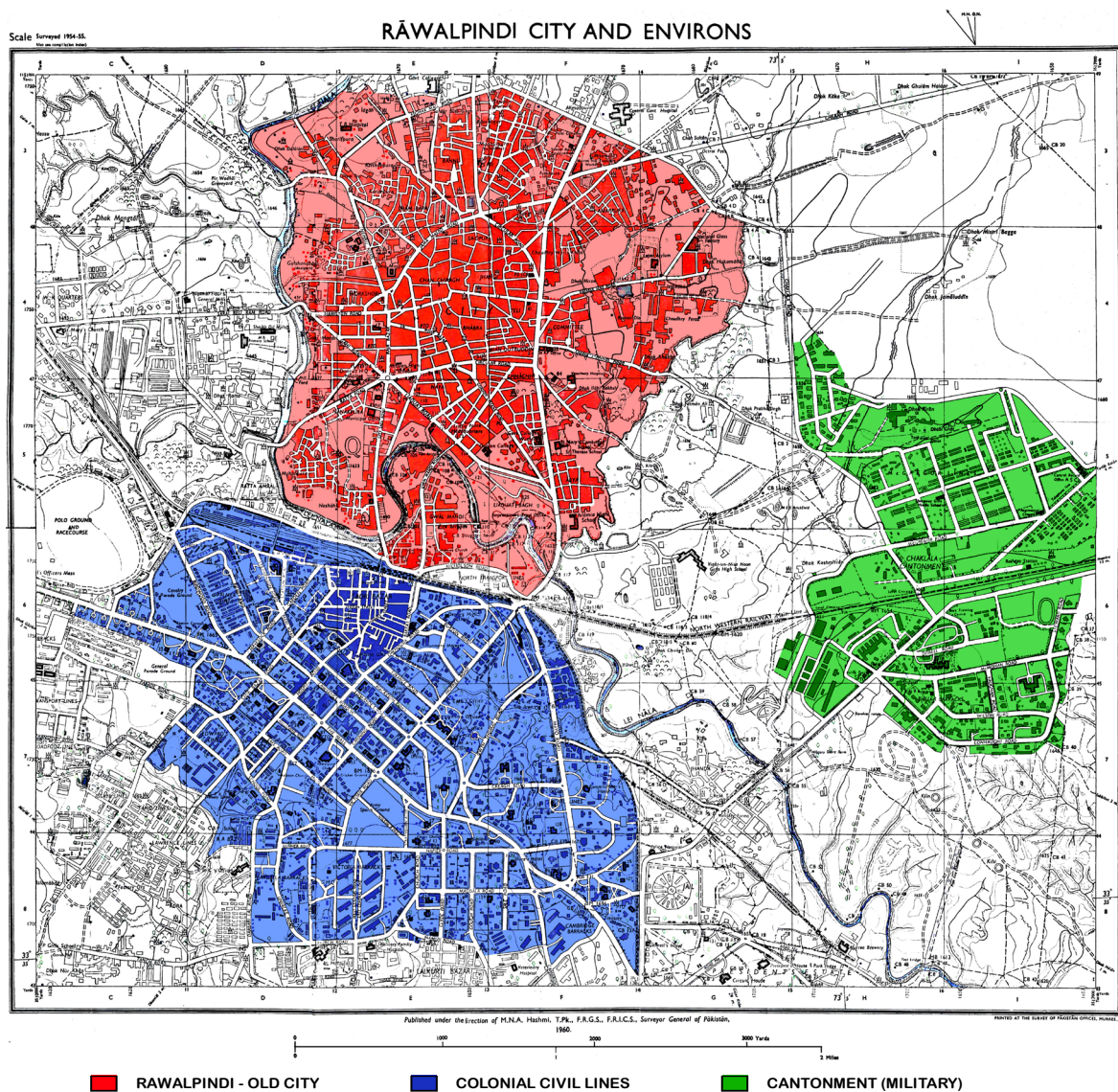


Figure 4: Old Rawalpindi and colonial Civil Lines and Cantonment Area (1960).
Source: Map courtesy of Survey of Pakistan offices, Murree, Pakistan. Edited by author.

2.2.2 The capital as a symbol

Due to the physical split of Pakistan at the time of its birth i.e. West Pakistan and East Pakistan (Figure 5) with only religion, being the unit of support in between there was

¹⁵ Metcalf quotes the reviews of Herbert Baker and Edward Lutyens. Herbert Baker was appointed as architect of the new Capital Delhi. Metcalf critically analyses Herbert’s motives as more political than aesthetic.

a need for establishing a national unity. This political unity was reflected by Ayub Khan's (1907-1974) desire to establish a strong organization in the country. "Such a strong administration felt the need for creation of a national symbol and such a symbol would obviously be the capital for the new state" (Yakas, 2001, p. 1). "Field Marshall Ayub Khan was definitely the father of the new capital of Pakistan" (Yakas, 2001, p. 10). The decision for the new capital was taken in 1959 a year after Ayub Khan came into power.

In his book, Markus Daeschel sheds light on capitals founded in South Asia's history that gave architectural form to their ideologies. Among these he lists Fatehpur Sikri by Emperor Akbar (1569), Jaipur by the Maharaja of Jaipur (1727) and New Delhi by the British (1911). The recent capital in the region was Chandigarh in India (1949).¹⁶ While the others remained as historic examples of a sovereign nature, this new provincial capital was getting critical acclaim. It projected India as a developing nation as it was designed by a foreign architect with the new technological era as a frame of reference. As Lefebvre points out that this "modern state" puts itself forward as a stable center of "(national) societies and spaces" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 23). The new nation of Pakistan, strove to achieve the same.

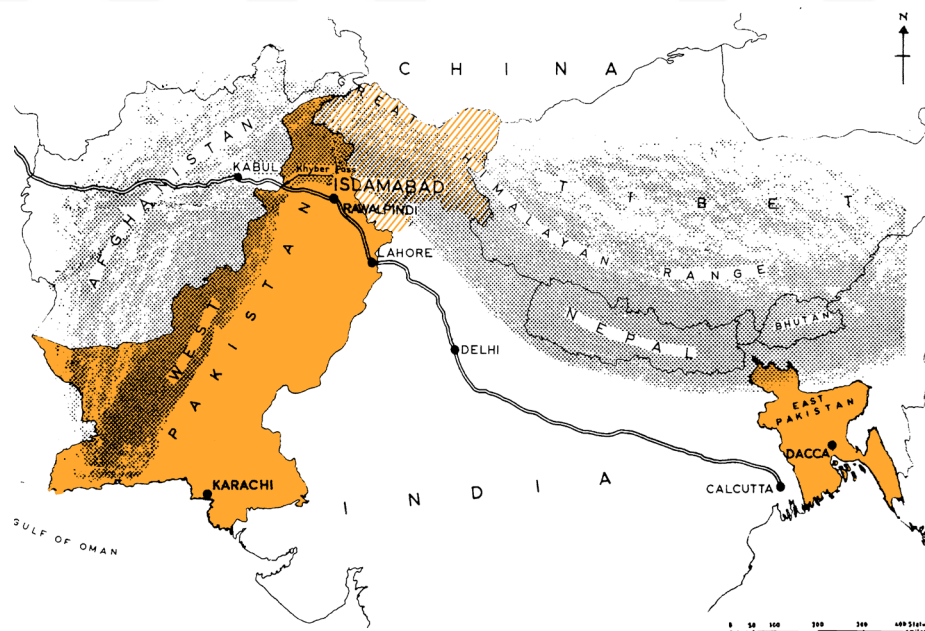


Figure 5: West & East Pakistan's discontinuous geographic boundary (1964).
DA Bulletin 64 © Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives, Athens, Greece.

¹⁶ The province of Punjab was divided in two at the time of the partition of Indian subcontinent in 1947. Chandigarh was built to replace the Lahore as the capital of Punjab which now existed inside Pakistani territory.

2.2.3 *Of intentions: Gen. Ayub, Doxiadis and the Ford Foundation*

Ayub Khan¹⁷ was the commander of the Pakistan army with around two hundred thousand men in 1951. As chief he had a “personal approach to running the army” (Cloughley, 2000, p. 43), and due to this he was soon appointed the defense minister in M. Ali Bogra’s¹⁸ cabinet without vote. In this power play, the Governor General Ghulam Muhammed, hoped to bind the army to his will and so created a dangerous position for himself in politicizing the army (Niaz 2011, p. 146). As the defense minister Ayub penned a memorandum to deal with Pakistan’s problems. This memorandum contained directives with a military zeal which exudes a unity of command and a culture of obedience (Niaz, 2011, p. 148). Soon thereafter, he declared a state of emergency in 1958 by overthrowing the government and becoming the President. He declared himself committed to a system of democracy that was adjunct to the Muslim faith. As part of his many reforms, the constitution of 1962 concentrated the power in the hands of the central government and through it the President, who could dissolve the parliament any time he wished to do so.

After independence from the British, the nationalist regimes of India and Pakistan hoped that sovereignty would now be with the people. According to Foucault, this became possible in modern times through emergence of a society which had a web of disciplinary powers and the people became governable entities (Foucault, Senellart, Burchell, Ewald, & Fontana, 2009, pp. 35-70). However, in the case of Pakistan this proved unsuccessful as protests against the “ruling powers” continued as in the pre-partition days. This discontent has plagued Pakistan by giving its state the mechanism of “sovereign power” over “governmentality” a number of times. Declaration of a “state of emergency” (Foucault et al., 2009) by the military dictator Field Marshall General Ayub Khan in 1958 (Figure 6) is a witness to this occurrence followed by coups in 1977 and 1999 by other army generals.

“Sovereignty capitalizes a territory” (Foucault et al., 2009, p. 32), Foucault observed more specifically, after discussing the building of a new capital city as the quintessential manifestation of sovereign power in the field of urban planning. “In the case of

¹⁷ Ayub Khan had earlier served in the East Bengal Indian British regiment and trained at Sand Hurst.

¹⁸ Shahebzada Mohammad Ali Bogra (1909-1963) served as the third prime minister of Pakistan.

decolonization, it effected the urban design of the capitals as the new ruler in power viewed urban design as a mechanism to shore up their rule” (Gordon, 2006, p. 22).

Ayub was quite taken with the attention, Chandigarh the new capital of the Indian province of Punjab, was getting in the world for its progressive vision (Kalia, 2012, p. 68). Chandigarh was planned as a modern city, free of existing traditions, for a people with a great ancient past, expressing India’s faith in the future. At the time of the partition, it was to be a place of prestige and convenience, an administrative center, with a target population and a goal. When Chandigarh was contemplated, the focus on urbanism was a bit hazy in the region. “This city was to be free of the familiar overcrowding, pavement dwellings and squatters’ shanties of many Indian towns” (Antoniou, 2003). In the consequent years, the idea of a modern city became vital, especially to a new independent country. The legitimacy of Ayub’s government hung in between settling refugees and modernization where the tools of architecture and planning served as channels of authority and custodianship, centralized power and its disseminated application (Muzaffar, 2012, pp. 149-153).¹⁹

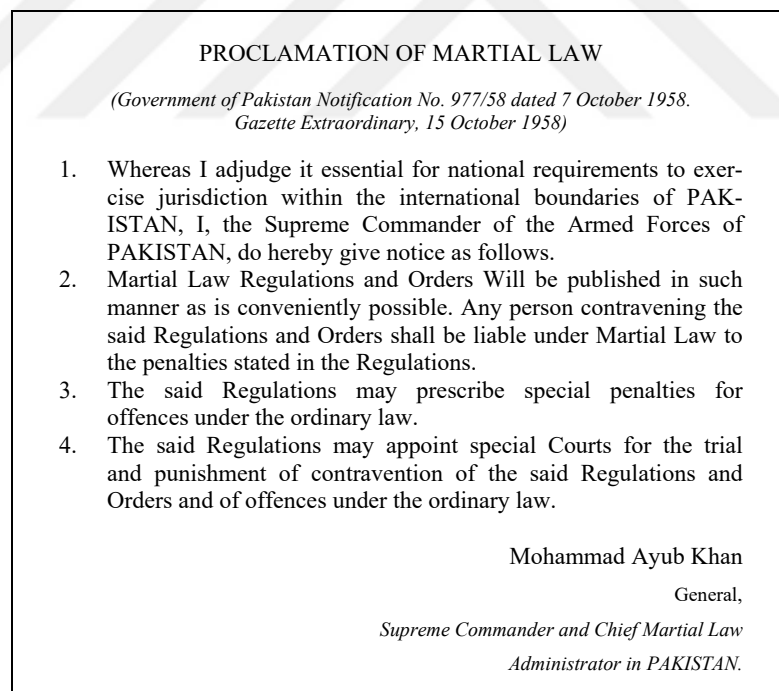


Figure 6: Martial Law Proclamation (1967).

Source: Khan, M. A. *Friends Not Masters: A Political Autobiography* (Oxford University Press), p.273.

¹⁹ The Korangi project, completed right before Islamabad, is taken as the prime example which focused on refugee resettlement in Karachi. The city of Karachi was the nation’s first intended capital.

Therefore, it was to serve as a model in city planning for India and rest of the world. The urban form of Chandigarh is a pattern based on draught board pattern, suited to the particular site attributes. The plan resulted in a distinctive distribution of roads and a hierarchy of form with regard to function. Ayub similarly wanted to bring Pakistan on the map with the new capital as a symbol of the “nation's aspirations” (Z.-U.-D. Khwaja, 1999, p. 81) and a showcase of capability against India (Figure 7).



Figure 7: Field Marshall Ayub viewing the site for the new capital (1960).
Maj. S. Zamir Jafri, Islamabad takes shape (Islamabad, CDA, 1964), p. 3.

On February 24, 1960 the new capital was named Islamabad “The city of Islam” (DAReview, 1970). President Ayub Khan, on occasion of inaugurating the capital said:

Islamabad has been my dream always -- and it is not a dream which is unrealistic or unwanted. Whether the capital was to be in Karachi or elsewhere, it would have had to be built. Let me tell you this, the capital of a country is the focus and the center of the people's ambitions and desires, and it is wrong to put them in an existing city. It must have a colour of its own and character of its own. And that character is the sum total of the aspirations, the life and the ambitions of the people of the whole of Pakistan (Z.-U. D. Khwaja, 1978, p. 207).

As Lefebvre argues that the dialectic between (social) space and its construct (as a product), is a result of the process of space lending a quality to thought that becomes “incarnate” by means of design. This occurs through the “illusion of transparency” and a “realistic illusion”. Ayub’s dream of a new city relies on purity of the city (i.e. wrong to situate the capital in an existing city) as a link to the former, and rationality (color, character, reflective of ambitions etc.) as a link to the latter. Both of which interrelate to legitimize spatial production on basis of social constructs (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 27-31).

For his “dream” to take concrete form in reality Ayub hired a Greek urban planner named Constantinos Apostolou Doxiadis (1914-1975). Doxiadis had first come to Pakistan as an advisory member of the Ford Foundation-Harvard University development for its five-year plan in 1954. He was particularly interested in urban settlement plans. His connection with the Ford Foundation and Harvard Advisory Group was an important reason for his selection as the town planner for Islamabad (Kalia, 2012, pp. 68-69). The government accepted the Ford Foundation funds for establishing and organizing the National Housing and Settlement Agency. This brought foreign aid to Pakistan and was beneficial for Ayub’s regime.²⁰ Constantinos A. Doxiadis was supported for over two decades by nearly \$5 million in grant awards as shown by the archives of the Ford Foundation (Kim, 2015). This is the largest personal award by the foundation to an individual. “It was thought advisable that the project of Islamabad be considered as an applied case for comparison with theoretical studies” (Yakas, 2001, p. Introduction). The decision to carry out the research project was initiated before Islamabad’s decision.

Ford’s anti-communism with his ideal of the modern urbanism was reflected in Doxiadis’s own ideas (McFarlane, 2011, pp. 164-167). Strands of USA policy, Ford’s anti-communism and western ideology of the new city that was dependent on the car and the machine is a tribute to capitalist democratic freedom and reflective of Doxiadis’s scientific modernism of ekistics. Lefebvre describes this as an urbanism that “appears by the vehicle for a limited and tendentious rationality in which space, deceptively neutral and apolitical, constitutes an object” (Lefebvre, 2003, p. 164). For

²⁰ The Ford Foundation also supported the foundation of the Graduate School of Ekistics by the Athens Technological Institute. For more information refer to Orestes Yakas.

Lefebvre this was a pseudo rationality dominating an urbanism which he saw as degrading social constructs. However, the marriage of these factors bred “vehicular urbanism” which served in “appropriating urban culture as an exploitable selling point within the broader city competition for status and capital” (Donald & Lindner, 2014, p. 104).²¹

The potential of the new town to reflect the process of development and modernization had turned it into a commodity that could be retrofitted to any regime. This multifaceted status of the capital: as a symbol of Ayub’s regime, Pakistan’s progress and modern urbanism was promoted and put on display. The naming of the capital coincided with the Iranian Shahinshah and the Turkish President’s visit to Pakistan (“New Capital Named Islamabad,” 1960). Thereafter any foreign dignitaries visiting Pakistan were taken to the site of Islamabad while work was in progress. Prominent among those shown around the new city included Queen Beatrix of Netherlands, King of Nepal, the Premier of Chinese, King of Japan, President of Iraq, British Minister for Overseas Development Ms. Barbara Castle (Figure 8, Figure 9 & Figure 10).



Figure 8: Master Plan being explained to Queen Beatrix of Netherlands (1962).
Maj. S. Zamir Jafri, *Islamabad takes shape* (Islamabad, CDA, 1964), p. 11.

Markus Daeschel, highlights how this chain of events is similar to when the Korangi Township in Karachi was being built. The limelight effectively switched to focus on

²¹ The idea of vehicular urbanism is attributed to Jason F. McLennan, 2004.

Islamabad. Deadlines on site more than often coincided with a visit. A model section was completed first so that a physical example could be exhibited. Daeschel terms this as a “political theater of development” (Daeschel, 2015, pp. 174-175). In this theater the concerns of presentation, or in Lefebvrian terms; representation and representational concerns of space, outdid many others.

Power and identity, thus, have a non-linear relationship which comes to the fore in the significance attached to the status of a capital city and in its physical grounding in the geo spatial sphere. In any applied case it becomes hard to disentangle the intricate manner in which they knit into one another feeding into and off each other. This is evidenced by the complex and different apparatuses of governance employed in different ages and regions which lent diverse forms to the city. Exercising of power is enabled through the social construction of an identity and vice versa.

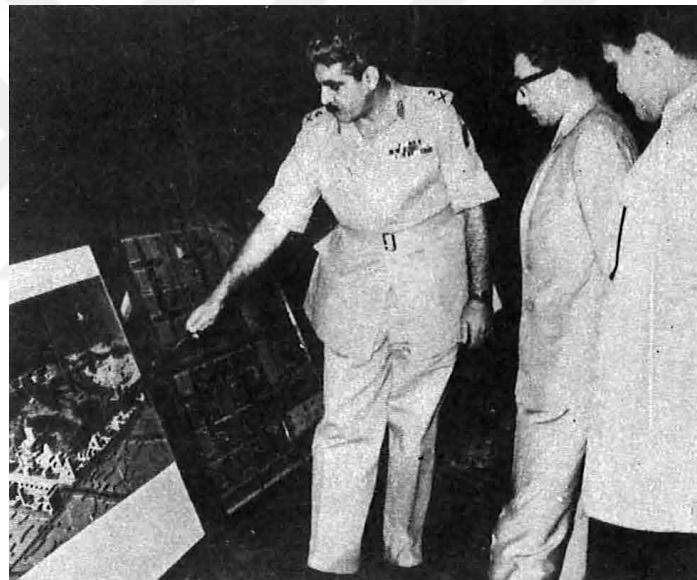


Figure 9: Gen. Yahya explaining administrative center's view to the King of Nepal (1962).
Maj. S. Zamir Jafri, Islamabad takes shape (Islamabad, CDA, 1964), p. 11.

The initial smaller settlement from which the word capital takes its bodily and etymological roots is the localization of a social, cultural and political hub as exemplified by the Rome's Capitoline hill. Denizens identified coherently with its geospatial presence through a religious and political sentiment. During the middle ages, a city's power was put on display through the use of citadels, royal palaces and courts. The aesthetics employed in construction of the urban and architectural

dimensions of the city served as a proxy to suggest their capabilities in terms of economic and military strength enabled through a sovereign mode of power.

As a result of territorial expansion of settlements a hierarchy among cities was established. This resulted in transformation of the power of a city. Cities in which administration, culture and politics consolidated became centers of authority much like the citadel did on the scale of a small settlement. In areas over which this apex exercised control, abstract power legitimized itself by employing the tools of urban and architectural design. Symbolic significance became more important and representation took precedence in establishing a sense of identity, specifically for imposing control on geographically disparate areas i.e. the colonies of European powers. Edward Said's theory of Orientalism denotes how negating knowledge of the colonized and establishing superiority of the colonizer's knowledge, led further legitimacy to their dominance in the social and cultural strata. Both are enabled by an imperial form of governance. One such area colonized by the British was the Indian sub-continent comprising present day India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. The cities of New and Old Delhi (historical/ colonial) and Rawalpindi (historical/colonial/ military) make evident through their form show that spatiality is affected and effected by different power mechanisms.



Figure 10: Shahinshah of Iran viewing charts of Islamabad (1960) with General Ayub on the left, Maj. S. Zamir Jafri, *Islamabad takes shape* (Islamabad, CDA, 1964), p. 21.

After World War II, modernity, industrialization and a new take on economics shattered older sensibilities of both identity and power. Assimilation of these themes in the spatial realm was reflected in city design. The abstract social construct of a “modern city” became an exploitable selling point on a global scale, which lent legitimacy to emerging nation states who were quick to jump on the bandwagon. Culmination of these abstract attributes in a city which held the status of a capital, further enhanced these nation’s significance and authority symbolically. This “modern” or “new city” took physical form with the help of both different power mechanisms, specifically in areas that were formerly colonized. Here, vestiges of older governance formed the base on which new social and spatial identities were forged.

In the case of Pakistan, the decision for the establishment of a new capital, Islamabad, was taken in a similar vein as were other settlements as part of its first and second five year plans. These included satellite towns in various cities for refugee resettlement, and most notably the Korangi development project. The power mechanism of governmentality was overthrown by Ayub’s takeover which established a “disciplinary” and “sovereign” power in its stead. This “sovereignty” sought establishment of order and dominance in society. An ideal capital city was seen as a projection of Lefebvre’s “realistic illusion” by the regime, which informed identity building by; (a) relation to the larger domain of modern social constructs, and (b) relation to religious sentiment on which the nation’s otherwise discordant demographic was based. This garnered acceptability for the regime’s exercise of absolute power in its decision to “capitalize” a new territory to its own advantage.

The first factor bolstered Pakistan’s status as new decolonized welfare state to be funded by global organizations in tune with capitalist democratic agendas. The city formed the vehicle for this change backed by Ford Foundation’s interests. In tandem Pakistan’s first five year plan drafted in 1954, included many new settlements. Though this initial plan failed, resurgence of an absolute power through General Ayub’s rule set the grounds for a second five year development plan (1960-1965) as well as Islamabad. Constantinos A. Doxiadis was chosen on account of his “appropriate” work sensibilities as the chief consultant for Islamabad. During the construction of the capital its representational attributes to the global community surpassed many other concerns of design. As highlighted in the chapter, various foreign delegations were

shown around the site of the capital. This “political theatre of development” helped in further establishing the capital politically as a symbol of development, social transformation, modernization and state building.

The second relation to a religious sentiment by the regime was a unifying element for the population of discordant geographical and ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. Following WWII, the British decided to grant self-rule to the region. In British India, Muslims were outnumbered by Hindus three to one. Their mistreatment at the hands of the Hindu majority led Muhammad Ali Jinnah, leader of the All India Muslim League, to demand regional autonomy in Muslim majority areas. When these negotiations failed, a demand was made for an independent nation-state for the Muslims of India. Composed of a diverse groups of regions and cultural backgrounds Pakistan’s new inhabitants had only religion as their common denominator. This the regime used to its advantage as a unifying tool.

The following chapters elaborate how this came to be expressed in the built form of the capital city of Islamabad.

CHAPTER 3

ISLAMABAD THE CAPITAL CITY

Having being colonized by the British for over two centuries the new country of Pakistan's social order still bore vestiges of imperial rule, enhanced in part by the military takeover of Ayub Khan. Where the previous chapter sheds light on Pakistan's social constructs relative to the project of "modernity" and to its own self, the following chapter looks at their translation through the tool of urban design and architecture. The tri schema of Lefebvre's spatial practice, representational and represented space comes to the fore crossbred with Foucault's power mechanisms in the process. How these themes transcribe into the built form and layout on an urban scale, forms the crux of this chapter in the case of the nation with a staunch religious ideology, a military regime and an imported urban planner.

3.1 Site and name selection

The capital of a country is not merely another city, it is a leader amongst cities, to this city come leaders of administration and politics, of commerce and trade, of literature and art, religion and science. From this city flows the inspiration, which pulsates life into the nation. It is the symbol of our hopes. It is the mirror of our desires. It is the heart and soul of the nation. It is therefore essential that the environments of the capital should be such as to ensure continued validity in the nation... We must also examine how the layout and the architecture of the capital will influence the character of administration and nation as a whole (CADA, 1959b).

The above excerpt from Ayub's inauguration speech is a strong example of "representation of space" which Lefebvre states is conceived of as a transformable space for lived experience. This is governed by determinants of varying degrees. This also "subtends the notion of space" for those interested in it (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 190), as unfolds in the selection and the selection criteria set for the site of the capital.

The initial intended location for the capital was Karachi in the early years of Pakistan as per its founder's wish (Tan, 2000, p. 187 FCC Report). As Karachi was a big city, the state officials had decided to place the new capital on its outskirts. The first plan was made by the British firm of Mis. Raglan Squire & Partners in a reflection of the civil lines to be more manageable which harkened to a colonial legacy. Criticism soon followed and the second plan was drawn inside the city of Karachi as the association between the government and the populace was deemed an important factor. The Swedish firm of Merz Rendel Vatten assigned to this task said in its report:

The desire to isolate the capital in a new and separate town, or a section of the town, has appeared to the authors to be an echo of ideas from the past era during which the functions of the state were confined merely to the responsibility for a certain degree of order and a certain disposition of justice. In such a community the state system could be segregated and could, in magnificent surroundings, manifest its supremacy in splendid isolation (B.Ostnas, 1952, p. 36).

Soon after Ayub Khan came into power the question of Karachi as suitable location was put to question, by concerns of keeping the "administration away from the influences of a port and business and industrial center" (Ahmad, 1959). Since 1950s many new countries in the world relocated capitals and consolidation of power of a particular group is evident from many, particularly by location change, for example Malawi and Ivory Coast (Table 1).

In spatial terms this move served to preserve authority and or power of a sovereign nature. Due to global changes in economic systems, according to Lefebvre, the historical town had disintegrated to be replaced by an "abstract space" in which power of money, business centers and their networks dominated spatial production (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 53). Karachi was one such example which Ayub wanted to distance from in terms of its "influences" of economics.

Table 1:
Latter Twentieth-Century Capital Relocations

Case	Year	New Capital	Former Capital
Brazil	1956	Brasilia	Rio De Janeiro
Mauritania	1957	Nouakchott	Saint Louis (Senegal)
Pakistan	1959	Islamabad	Karachi
Botswana	1961	Gaborone	Mafeking
Libya	1963	Tripoli	Benghazi
Malawi	1965	Lilongwe	Zomba
Belize	1970	Belmopan	Belize City
Tanzania	1973	Dodoma	Dar es Salaam
Nigeria	1975	Abuja	Lagos
Ivory Coast	1983	Yamoussoukro	Abidjan
Germany	1990	Berlin	Bonn
Kazakhstan	1997	Astana	Almaty
Malaysia	2000	Putrajaya	Kuala Lumpur

Source: Schatz, Edward. *When Capital Cities Move: The Political Geography of Nation and State Building*: Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies, 2003.

Ayub decided to form a committee called the Federal Capital Commission (FCC) in 1959 to ensure a “scientific and rational” decision for an alternate site. General Yahya Khan was appointed chairman by General Azam Khan who served under General Ayub. Of its fourteen sub-committees comprising of a 100 Pakistani specialists, four were put under charge of ranked army personnel. These were the committee on Geographic and Climatic Factors, Social and Cultural Factors, International Relations and Defense Factors. C. A. Doxiadis was appointed as “advisor” to the special commission to investigate the problem for the new capital’s site in March 1959.

In his book Orestes Yakas, notes descriptions of the commission’s report where independent recommendations did not all echo the desire for Rawalpindi. The Geographical and Climatic factors subcommittee recommended a location twenty miles south of Karachi, the Potwar Plateau or pockets beyond Rawalpindi. The Financial and Economic subcommittee recommended a site within sixty or seventy kilometers of Karachi in retrospect of already available facilities. The subcommittee on Social and Cultural Factors suggested “a place where the business community is not coming in direct contact with administration on a social level”. The suggestion by the sub-committee on International relations penned down Sakesar, Fort Monroe or Rawalpindi as site with “balanced advantages” (2001, pp. 20,22).

The sub-committee on Development Resources Factor favored Karachi with respect to availability of building materials, labor and technical personnel and water supply. The Communication Factor committee thought Karachi as ideal but disadvantageous with respect to it not being “centrally located” and proposed a location that was so. The Civil Supplies sub-committee was in favor of the capital being moved to a more central location. The Town Planning and Aesthetic Appreciation committee analyzed Karachi and found it to be of a good standing in case of a site for the capital (Figure 11). This lean towards a “centrality” is intriguing as it posits many openings. An effort which tried to tie the new identity of the capital to history and religious sentiment, while distancing it from other associations is likely.

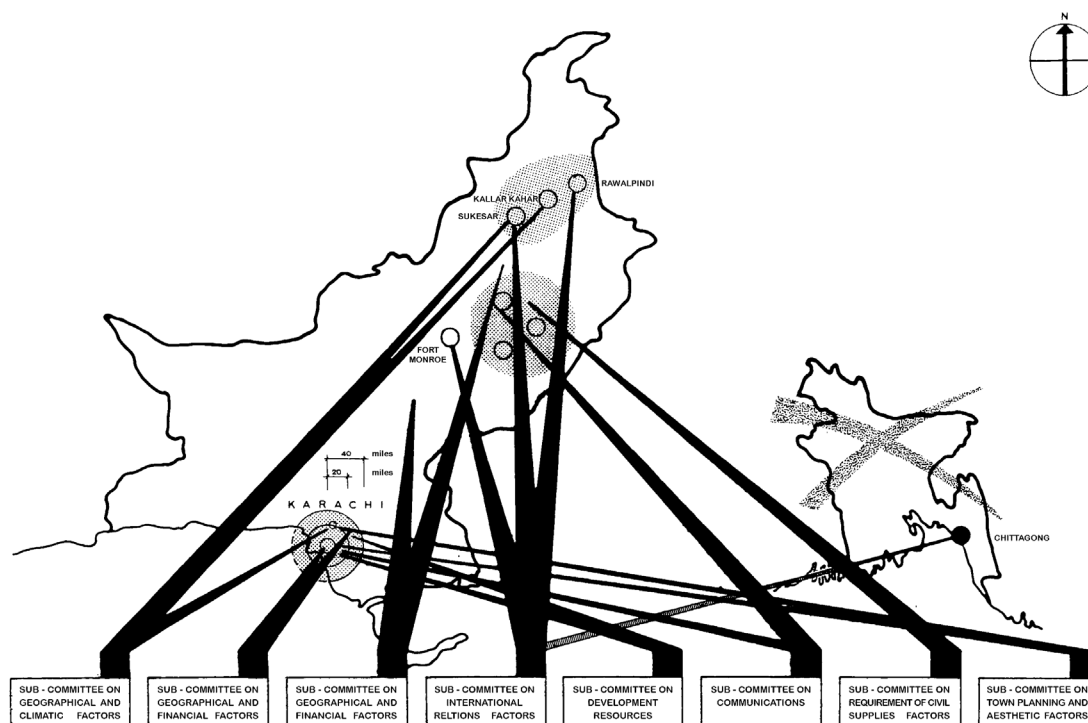


Figure 11: Suggestions of the FCC committees for a capital site (1960).
DOX –PA 77, Doxiadis Associates, Athens, p.69.

In the site selection process, Pakistan sought to be in more communication with other Muslim countries in the West and central Asia. Particularly through its placement near Rawalpindi at the historic Grand Trunk road.²² Sites near the eastern side were thought

²² Grand Trunk route or road is the name given during the British colonial administration to one of the longest historical routes in Asia. It connected central Asia to south Asia and beyond. For more information see Tayler, Jeffrey (November 1999). "India's Grand Trunk Road". *The Atlantic Monthly*. 284 (5): 42–48.

not appropriate because of their proximity to India. It was also thought locating the capital in East Pakistan would make it “both geographically and emotionally isolated” (Yakas, 2001, pp. 20,21).

Although the bulk of the work of investigations and surveys was carried out by Pakistani experts themselves, it was left to Dioxides to undertake the collating, coordinating and finally publishing this material in form of reports representing the work of the fourteen committees (Z.-U.-D. Khwaja, 1999, p. 88).

Doxiadis carried out his research on the basis of his framework of study “the city of the future” and the “Ecumenopolis”. His choice for the location of the capital was perhaps overshadowed by this intent. Upon the commission’s decision, Rawalpindi was selected as an appropriate site with an adjacent site that was best suited for the new capital “in magnificent surroundings”.²³

The newspapers supported as well as heavily criticized the selection of Rawalpindi over Karachi. One reason would be that Karachi was chosen as the interim capital in lieu of Quaid-e-Azam (1876-1948)²⁴, the founding father of Pakistan’s, directive. The notion of disagreement with the Quaid’s wishes was perturbing to many sentiments by a form of association and identity. A sense of historic synchronization in memory and place (Anderson, 2006, pp. 191-194) plays an important part in identity building. Just as a denial to heritage is often seen as illegitimizing a particular identity.

In the rationale for the new site we see a similar pattern. The site of Karachi was considered unsuitable because “existing structures characterized the town” and its environs “had never held any special importance for the country” and was devoid of traditional inspirations” (Yakas, 2001, pp. 7,9). Whereas the site near Rawalpindi, which was at the conurbation of Grand Trunk road route held historical importance, as it was the route of the Muslim invasion into South Asia (Nilsson, 1975, p. 149). Ayub

²³ The site for the new capital was reportedly selected to be in a plain, segregated from other cities, and the region’s climate and scenic beauty would help its inhabitants to efficiently rule the country. “It is a widely accepted tenet in cultural geography that landscape constitutes a culturally produced expression of social order.” This mindset helped to create distinction between the ruling British and the native Indians on a racial basis. Relocation to a pleasant climate and scenic beauty so as to be more “effective” led to the creation of many hill station in India reserved for the British away from the hot climate and its “corrupting” influence as on the natives (Kenny, 1995). Islamabad was located near one such Hill station, called Murree, and the choice of location can be attributed to a lingering colonial mindset.

²⁴ Quaid –e-Azam (meaning the great leader) is a ceremonial title bestowed upon Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan by the National Assembly of Pakistan in 1947.

notes in his memoirs that the site selected had a “rich history” in addition to “a notable seat of civilization and learning”; as well as “a cradle of Gandharan art” (Khan, 1967, p. 116). In Pakistan one of the most developed institutions was the army with its headquarters in Rawalpindi, and the move of the capital served as a consolidation of civil and military power (Vale, 2014, p. 147). Many were of the opinion that Ayub chose Rawalpindi for this purpose and proximity of the site to his ancestral village (Hull, 2012, pp. 38-39).

The preference of the site answered nearly all the questions pertaining to climate, landscaping, communications, defense, availability of building materials, water and power resources and last but not the least, aesthetic and natural scenic beauty (Z.-U.-D. Khwaja, 1999, p. 88).

Just as the British had found the indigenous cities disorderly the alternate confidential report of the commission, found in the Doxiadis Archives at Athens, found Karachi to be “unplanned and grotesque” and could no longer be converted to a city of “aesthetic beauty”. This was a major consideration in building a capital from scratch as it should not be “grafted” on to an existing city (CADA, 1959b, p. 12). The report clearly states the physical features around Rawalpindi “lend themselves to zoning off various population groups” and “imposed natural restrictions on growth” of the capital which should retain its distinction by not expanding in an unplanned manner (CADA, 1959b, p. 29). This paragraph is earmarked in the report by either Doxiadis himself or a person in the Doxiadis Associates which reflects its importance.

By locating the new capital near Rawalpindi, Ayub got his wish to isolate the capital away from the existing urban centers of the country in order to segregate, control and capitalize the country’s federal center and “legitimize his rule to a global audience” (Kalia, 2012, p. 67). An area was reserved for military purposes with an adjacent 2000 hectares for their residence which is double the area of the two industrial areas put together (Hardoy, 1964, p. 322; Nilsson, 1975, p. 146). This is a clear reflection of the strategic importance for the army regarding the new capital. Rawalpindi was made the interim capital and was to be used for its services with its existing colonial legacy for the federal capital (Figure 12).

As a new nation, Pakistan was hard pressed for money but the construction of a capital was deemed a “necessity” even though its financial weight was mentioned as “considerable” in the FCC report (CADA, 1959b, pp. 23-24). For the initial five year

term a sum of \$ 41 million was allotted for the capital of which almost 25% (\$ 9.9 million) was reserved for the President’s house, Parliament house, Supreme court and office accommodation for 9000 civil servants (EDSC, 1961). As a result of a weakened civil society and an authoritarian regime any opposition good or bad for its selection was muted by the disciplinary and institutional powers in the hands of the “sovereign”.

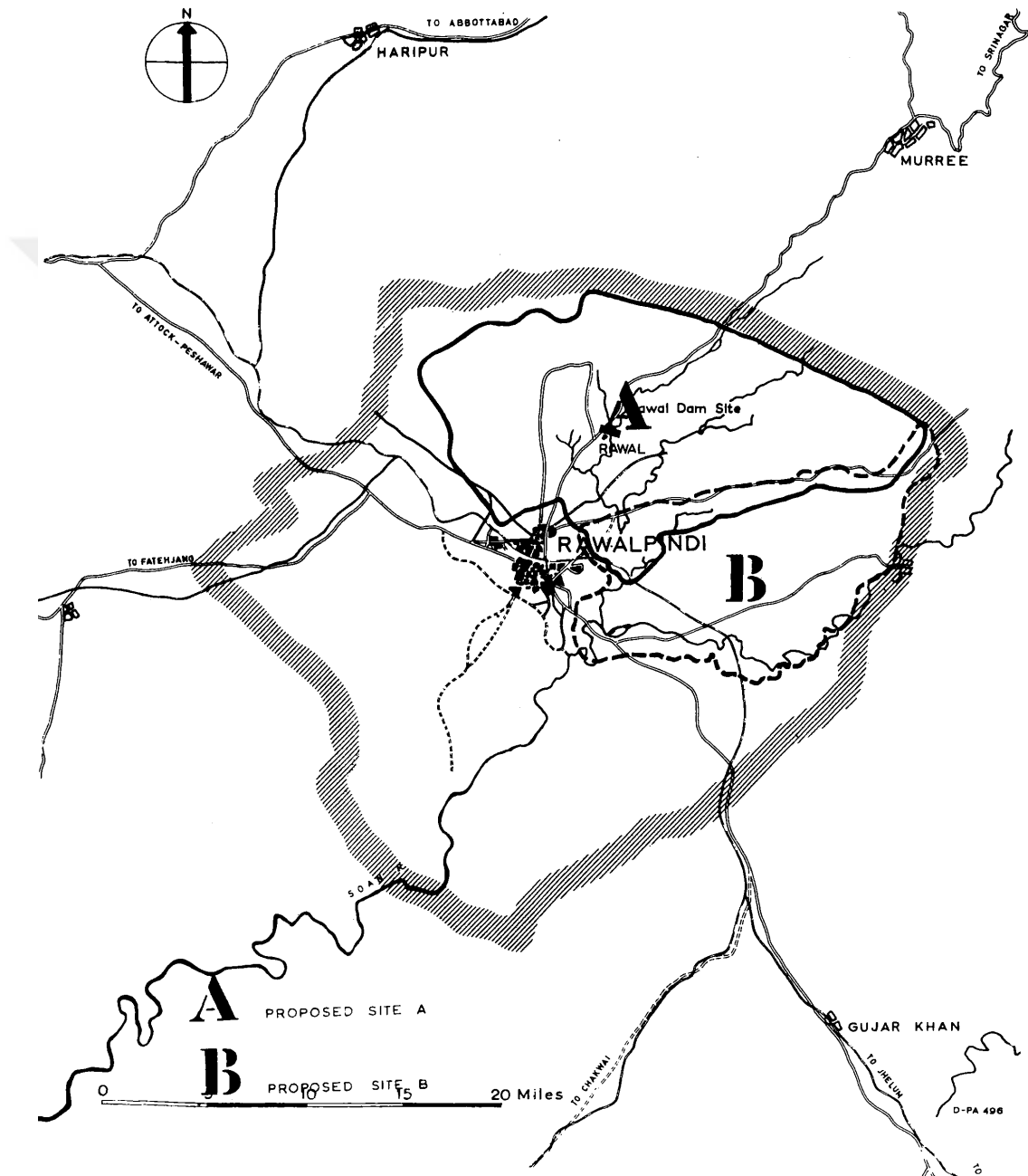


Figure 12: Proposed capital site (1960).
DOX -PA 77, Doxiadis Associates, Athens, p.73

The argument of power and dominance seems one sided when reviewing the selection of the capital's site but it cannot be ignored. An obvious defense provided by an analysis of the site selection committee's recommendations reveals Karachi as a more favored site in relation to Islamabad. Figure 11 vividly displays this fact. However, the confidential report presents a completely different criteria for its selection. With Doxiadis as the advisor of the site selection committee and General Ayub, himself, in charge of the capital project, the final decision was made in their interest.

The decision to call the new capital Islamabad, *Islam's city* was reached by the cabinet in February 1960 ("New Capital Named Islamabad," 1960; Nilsson, 1975, p. 147). This coincided with the visit of Turkish and Iranian heads of state in a bid to make stronger ties with Muslim states. Some names suggested for the capital were *Ayubabad*, *Jinnahpur*, *Muslimabad* (Kalia, 2012, p. 67). The suffix '-abad' means land/abode of. In this stead the naming of the country Pakistan, meaning land of the pure; and then the capital's name suggestions as well as its decision, is evocative of a need to build a "narration of identity" (Anderson, 2006, pp. 204-206). This narration can be attributed in Saussurian terms to signify by relation to the other or the opposite.²⁵ The names denote religious and or ideological association by exclusion and difference, on which the two nation theory²⁶ was based.

Bound to seek recognition of its own existence in categories, terms, and names that are not of its own making, the subject seeks the sign of its own existence outside itself, in a discourse that is at once dominant and indifferent (Butler, 1997, p. 20).

Having a name empowers the subject/object in social constructs through association and build its own account and vice versa. The power of the name hence cannot be undermined in building an identity as Judith Butler's analysis mentioned above elaborates. When it comes to identity in spatial terms, Lefebvre posits that space achieves full meaning only when the concept of space is juxtaposed with social

²⁵ Ferdinand Saussure states that "in language there are only differences *without positive terms*. This means that signifiers such as words, text, objects do not hold any autonomous meaning in and of themselves but are known in relation to one other (Harris, 1993). By inference then this knowing is formative of the signifier's identity. The signifier's meaning is the signified. Saussure saw this relation as arbitrary and motivated by social convention.

²⁶ Two nation theory is attributed to Muhammad Ali Jinnah (Quaid-e-Azam) and was the principle behind the Pakistan movement and India's partition. Religion was taken as the identification factor in forming a separate nation for the Muslims of the British ruled Indian subcontinent.

constructs –the signifying, (i.e. the name) and the spatial (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 134-136) .This will be elaborated in the following sections.

3.2 Doxiadis and Islamabad

Constantinos A. Doxiadis was a Greek town planner who was already working on the Korangi township development in Karachi for settling the immigrants to the new country²⁷ (Figure 13). The Korangi township project marks the “re-territorialization of the de-territorialized” immigrants as stepping stone towards Islamabad by the regime of Ayub Khan (Daeschel, 2011, p. 138).

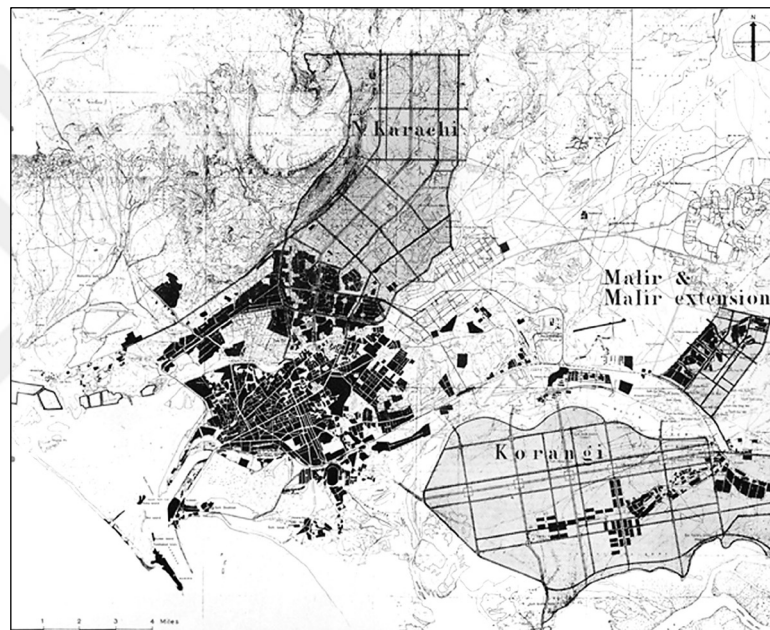


Figure 13: Greater Karachi Resettlement plan (1958).
Source: <http://www.arifhasan.org>

In tandem many other township projects (Figure 14) in both wings of the country were also launched with aid from other countries in a “vast scope for expansion” (“Lahore Township to be completed in 3 months,” 1960).²⁸ For the capital’s planning the Capital Development Authority (CDA) Ordinance was issued on 14th June, 1960, constituting the authority and defining its powers and duties. It was an autonomous body with the

²⁷ For a list of Doxiadis projects in Pakistan see Appendix B.

²⁸ The Lahore township, setting up of the Urban development department by West Pakistan , Satellite towns in various old cities to accommodate refugees such as Rawalpindi, Sialkot, Faisalabad etc.

necessary legal and institutional status (Z.-U.-D. Khwaja, 1999, p. 84). Doxiadis was selected as the town planner for Islamabad during which his office produced more than 4000 drawings (Figure 15).

***New township for
50,000 families***

— ○ —

**PRESIDENT LAYS
FOUNDATION-STONE**

(By a Staff Reporter)

President Field-Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan, who laid the foundation stone of a new township near Lahore on Monday, called upon all technical organisations in the Provinces and at the Centre to co-operate with the National Housing and Settlement Agency, which had been created to deal with the housing problem on a national scale.

<p>The President said that the results achieved by the Agency in Korangi would provide a wholesome basis for future planning of townships. Apart from co-ordination of all activities in the various regions the Agency would, he was confident, undertake the utilisation of indigenous building materials and evolve designs which would suit the climatic and social conditions of the country.</p>	<p>The President expressed the hope that the I.C.A. and the Ford Foundation, which had responded in respect of Korangi, would take similar sympathetic interest in housing projects elsewhere in the country. He was sure that the country's effort to ease the housing situation would not be handicapped for lack of funds and materials.</p>
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Lt.-Gen. Mohammad Azam
(Continued on page 6, col. 8).

Figure 14: Newspaper announcement for Lahore's Township (1960). Staff Reporter, *New Township for 50,000 families*, Pakistan Times, 14.2.1960.

The mechanism of power in the case of the classical cities is easy to comprehend because it is visible and uni-lateral by its architecture and treatment of space. Most ancient cities had been planned and built on a radial pattern, the central core being occupied by the city center and visible to all. In Foucault's opinion, in the era of modernity, visibility as well as surveillance worked side by side to rationalize and impersonalize the idea of a utopia. This utopian vision facilitated the institutions of power and wealth along with the industrial city in the urban fabric. Both these methods come into play in the creation of Islamabad. The city and its institutional buildings take their form and shape in a rather visible and unilateral comprehension in order to state the capital's ideology and power. On the other hand the concept of "A City of the

Future” (Doxiadis 1965b, p. 2)²⁹ that Doxiadis had based on *Ekistics* and his concept of *Dynapolis* is driven, in part, by the mechanism of power of wealth and the industrialized modern city.



Figure 15: Doxiadis presenting plan to Ayub Khan, Sir Robert Matthew & others (1961). DA Newsletter Vol. 2 1961. © Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives, Athens, Greece.

3.3 The layout and formation of the city

3.3.1 The basic layout

Karachi was named the capital on the eve of the partition in 1947. It was the first site to be considered for a capital city with two proposals. The first was a plan that advocated a separate administrative city by Swayne Thomas in the preliminary scheme in 1948 backed by Sir Patrick Abercrombie who was a consultant. This center was a concentration of 65,000 inhabitants to the north east of the city as a satellite town. The conviction that the isolation of the people and those who governed was not appropriate brought about the second plan from Merz Rendel Vatten (MRV) in 1952. “The new capital and the existing central business section should be given the possibility of growing together into one common core” (B.Ostnas, 1952, p. 32). In the report on Karachi, MRV cautiously interpret the desired rectilinear form of the city as

²⁹ The title, “A city of the future” was used when the report on Islamabad was presented to the cabinet and President of Pakistan for approval. This idea was developed by Doxiadis in conjunction with the Ford Foundation for “cross cultural training in urban planning”.

authoritarian and reflective of the government's will to restore an order which has "so the speak, entered into the blood of an individual" (B.Ostnas, 1952, p. 16; Nilsson, 1975, p. 143).

Dynapolis

This control and order in Doxiadis's vision, *dynapolis*, helped in formation of the layout of Islamabad with respect to Rawalpindi. This concept, denoting a dynamic city, was central to the formation of the capital. He wanted both the sister city of Rawalpindi and Islamabad to grow in a unidirectional manner leading with help of a parabolic form instead of favoring the radial city form of older times. This was to help the city in its the modern era of change and explosive growth to not result in a sprawl. The solution thus, is to fix a core from which all future activities will emanate. Accordingly, the question that should Rawalpindi be left un-coordinated with the capital in its vicinity is posed by Doxiadis in a report (DoxiadisAssociates, 1960b) and resulted in a set of suggestions for the twin city. This language of the report reflects that Rawalpindi was at best a secondary concern where the primary objective was to prevent any tarnishing of the image of the capital before any other consideration.

Utilidors and a city for different speeds

Doxiadis wanted to combine the elements of nature with networks and shells. The high speed of growth was facilitated by operating lines of transportation along The Asian highway (Figure 16). The Asian Highway project was initiated in 1959 with the aim of promoting the development of an international road transport system in the region. From 1960 to 1970, potential routes were identified and analyzed by the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UN ESCAP). For this reason two main highways were proposed; The Islamabad highway and the Murree highway.³⁰ The latter is aligned perpendicularly to the former and connects the two cities. Two more highways, by-passing the existing town of Rawalpindi were proposed, the alignment was dictated in part by the natural landscape. In Lefebvrian terms this is a "frontal" expression of "representations of relations of productions" set within space (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 33).

³⁰ The Murree highway was renamed in later years to Kashmir Highway.

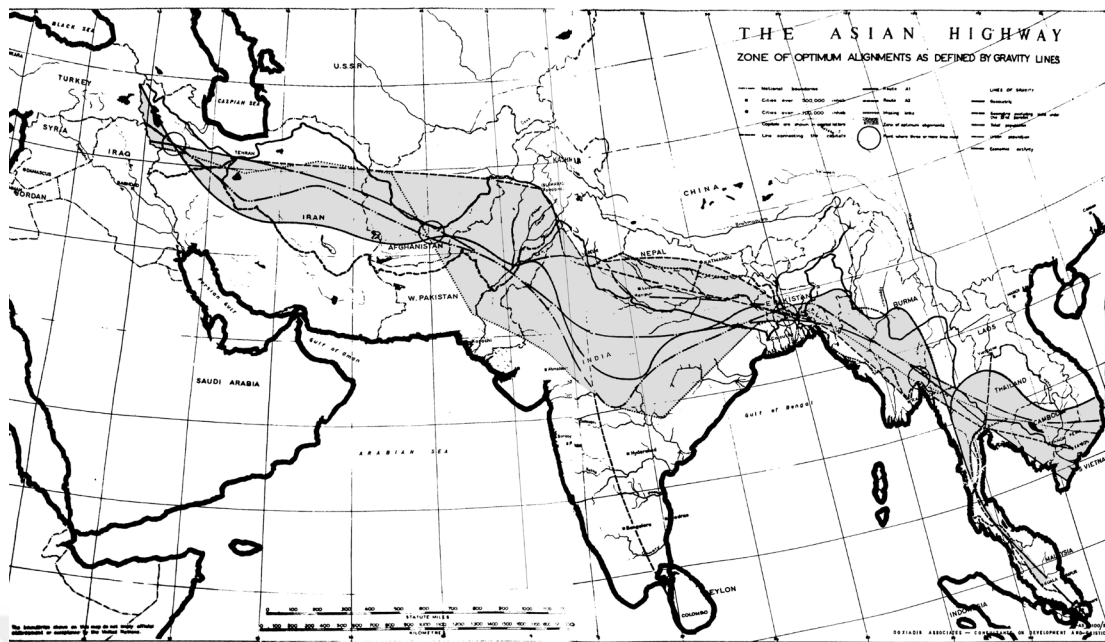


Figure 16: The Asian Highway and Islamabad (1960).
 DA Newsletter Vol. 3 No.12 1963. © Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives, Athens, Greece.

This basic step of highway demarcation in the formation of the metropolitan area formed a big square which would define the functions and circulation in and outside the cities (Doxiadis, 1965, pp. 4-7). Keeping in view future traffic growth and high speed traffic movement he proposed revision to the capital highway from a width of 1200 to 1800 feet. Doxiadis termed those line of transport “*utilidors*” which would accommodate the utility networks for the city’s proper functioning. For the layout and basic unit of the square Doxiadis in his report tries to rationalize its employment through Islam; “Every large and important synthesis of Islamic culture is based on pure geometry” (Doxiadis, 1965, p. 11; DoxiadisAssociates, 1960d, p. 130; Nilsson, 1975, p. 156). He connects the form as a “signifier” of the historical legacy of Mohenjo Daro of the Indus valley civilization and Mughal architecture which followed a two axial system (Figure 17).

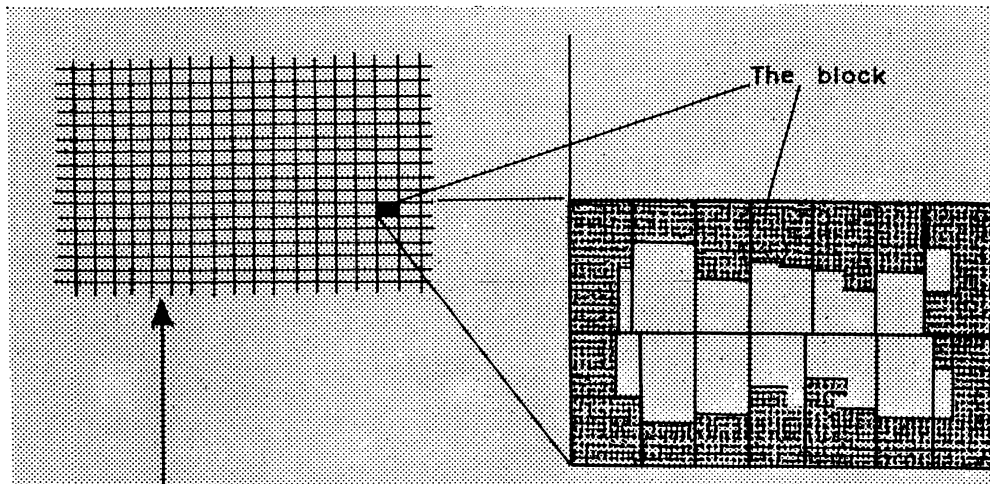
The Grid Iron Pattern

Foucault states, that to “capitalize” a settlement it is thought of on the basis of a smaller geometrical figure (square or rectangle) which is a module that is subdivided into smaller sectors (Figure 18). In this manner by repetition the space is structured and disciplined. Foucault referred to this as an advanced appropriation of a Roman military camp as a disciplinary instrument. In this simple scheme, multiple artificial facets can

be constructed and organized by hierarchy of power, function and their distribution and interrelation (2009, p. 32).

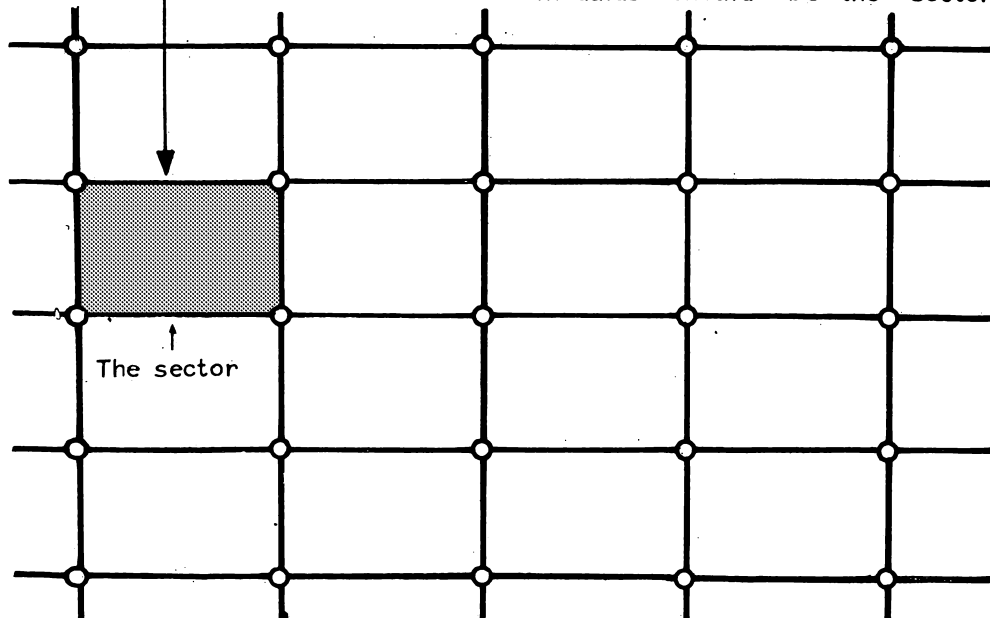
THE OLD CITY

here the modulus is the block



THE NEW CITY IN THE SAME SCALE

now the modulus should be the sector



The scale in our city planning has changed. Thus the basic element which used to be the city block is now replaced by the community sector.

D-GA 317

Figure 17: Antiquity and the square (1960).
Source: DOX-PA 77, Doxiadis Associates, Athens, p.155.

As in Brasilia, New Delhi and elsewhere the isolation of the complex from the rest of the city or the existing city was a feature of planning in twentieth century city capitals (Gordon, 2006, p. 26). The FCC under General Yahya Khan went to Chandigarh as well as Delhi to study the master plan of these Indian cities ("Capital Commission in New Delhi," 1960). Rawalpindi was effectively cordoned off and isolated from the new Capital of Islamabad in part of its indigenous character. In the words of Doxiadis, "Rawalpindi should not have any role in the capital. It should remain the regional center... [And] the servicing center of the capital"(Hull, 2012, p. 49).

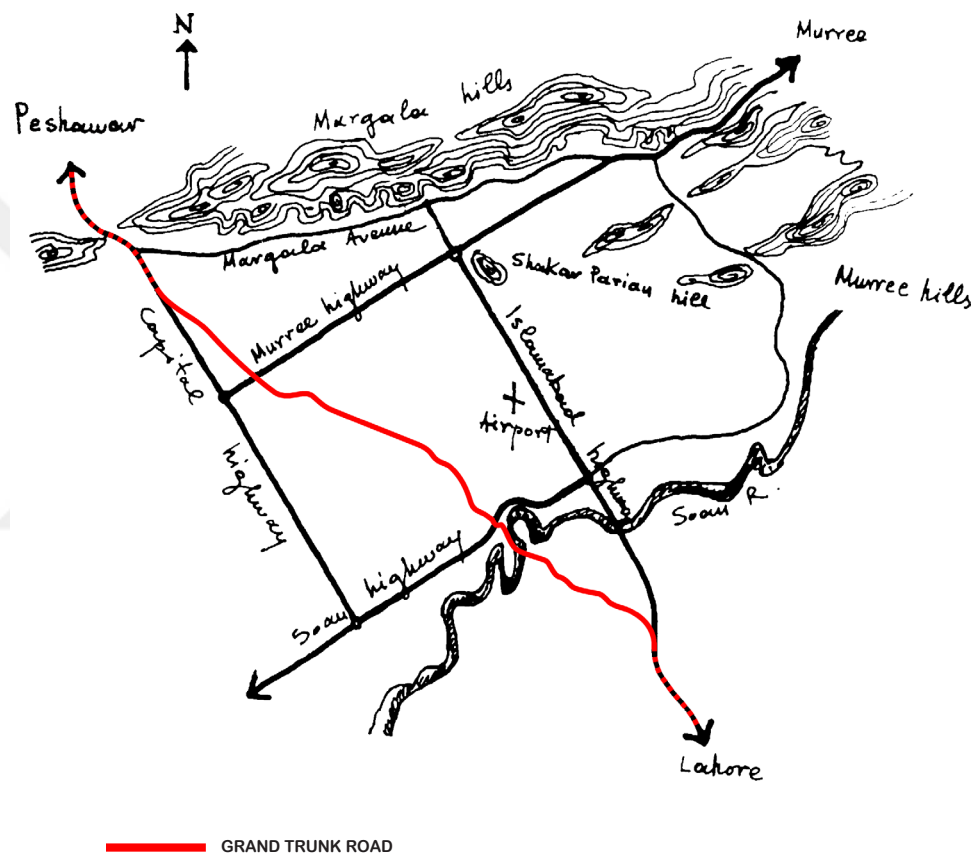


Figure 18: Network of roads and the square (1959).
Source: DOX-PA 29, CDA library (Islamabad). Edited by author.

Initial plans even provided a large military zone in parallel to the green belt that separated the two cities. Additionally the establishment of two main highways separated the area of Rawalpindi and Islamabad proper with its national park. The divide between the organized and the indigenous urban fabric (Figure 19) served as a social isolation and physical isolation method harkening to colonial times in India to which the federal report on site selection referred to in positive terms. The report

avored segregation as it believed the precedent by British remained “uncontaminated” and hence “the layout should be designed to restrict contact between the government and the business circle” (CADA, 1959b, p. 31). This specific structuring of space is very disciplinary which, as Foucault explains “addresses the essential problem of a hierarchical and functional distribution of elements” (2009, p. 337).

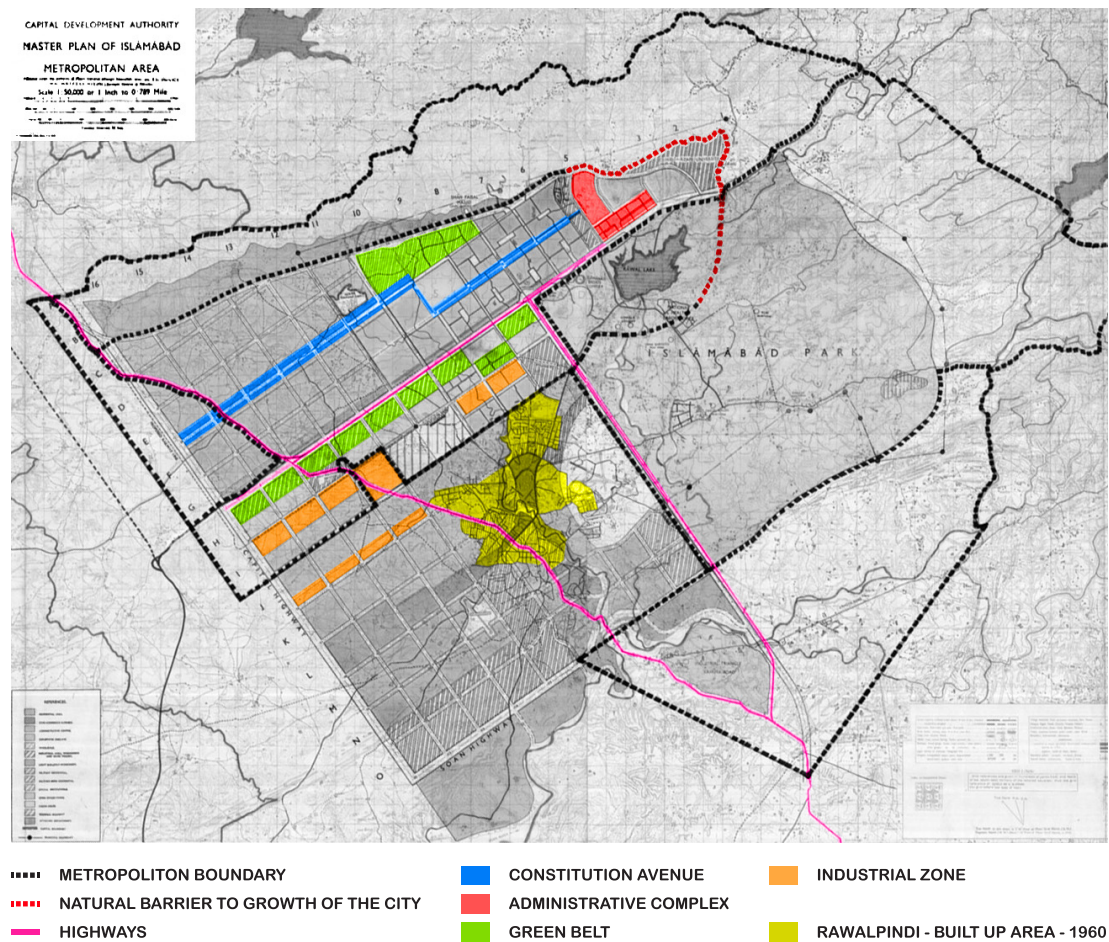


Figure 19 Spatial articulation, the grid demarcation and placement (1960).

Source: Map courtesy of the Rawalpindi Development Authority (RDA), Rawalpindi, Pakistan.

Edited by author.

3.3.2 The ekistical unit and hierarchy of the urban formation

Doxiadis based the smallest ekistical unit/module of the grid on the Anthropos. A square derived from the distance a man can reach by foot which was about 2000 meters square. These organizational units of 2.2×2.2 km were named sectors. In the eyes of Doxiadis the capital exercised great influence and its inhabitants should belong to many social groups as a reflection of national statistics. The plan was initially zoned

by social status of middle, low and high income classes despite Islamabad’s portrayal as a capital without a “caste system” (SpecialCorrespondent, 1960).³¹

This was solely discerned by the rank people served in the government where the BPS (Basic pay scale) or grade was an indicator in a continuing legacy of colonial times. House and lot sizes were accordingly allotted with trend for the higher income towards the north eastern side in the plan (Hull, 2012, p. 49) and for the middle income towards the city of Rawalpindi with the industrial sector on its periphery (Table 2).

Table 2:
Income Group, Basic Pay and House Area

Income Group	Scale(BPS)- Grade	House Area (Sft)
A,B	1-4	350-800
C,D,E,F	7-18	800-2000
G,H,I	20-22	2000-3200

Source data: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives, Athens, Greece

Inside the sector a five level hierarchy was proposed in order to allow for “gradual integration” of different social groups and for “self-containment and support” with regard to facilities despite government housing being “favored’ to be clustered in a specific area by officials (Doxiadis, 1965, pp. 3-9). In the terminology that Doxiadis used there is a classification of centers (Figure 20). Class center V hosts a population of 30,000 to 40,000. This then and breaks down into smaller groups (Table 3). Centers serving larger populations were to be located along the main artery of communication in the urban layout. The grid-iron pattern of sectors is served by a hierarchically structured road network comprising a width of 1200, 600, 300 ft. intersecting at right angles.

This organization promoted ““public ordering” as all migrants and inhabitants of the city were expected to settle and conduct their lifestyle accordingly. The amount of space allocated and amenities provided were embedded a hierarchical order by self-

³¹ The caste system in India is a system of social stratification which has pre-modern origins, was transformed by the British Raj. It is perhaps in a manner of competition or comparison that the term has been used in the article regarding Islamabad. While the Hindu religious caste system is based more on a socio-cultural class dependent on birth origins the economic caste (stratification) is discussed as manifest in Islamabad’s plan and hence its ironic portrayal is highlighted.

discipline and surveillance. This approach worked to reduce the visibility of the state as an agent of social reform where the social organization was a disseminated administrative structure sans an authoritative figure.

Table 3:
Population division and classification

Class Community	Population
V	20000-50000
IV	6000-15000
III	2000-3000
II	1-4

Source data: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives, Athens, Greece

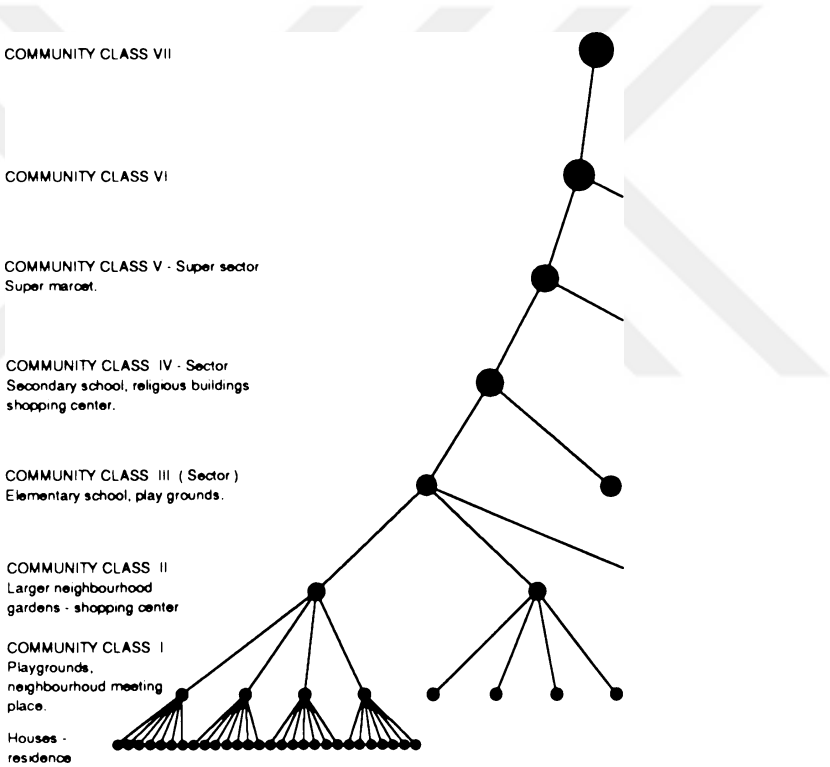


Figure 20: Hierarchy of urban subsectors (1959).
Source: Botka, D. (1995). Islamabad after 33 years. Ekistics, 62.p.213.

It was thought that irrational intermixing would cause problems in physical planning and social disturbance (DARreview, 1970). The grid iron plan, population division and house types can be ascertained to Foucault’s understanding of architecture “as an element to support, to ensure a certain allocation of people in space, a canalization of their circulation, as well as the coding of their reciprocal relations (2000, p. 351). It

was thought advisable to construct the high income houses near the administrative center (Figure 21) to give them a quieter environment and better view to the north (Yakas, 2001, p. 71).

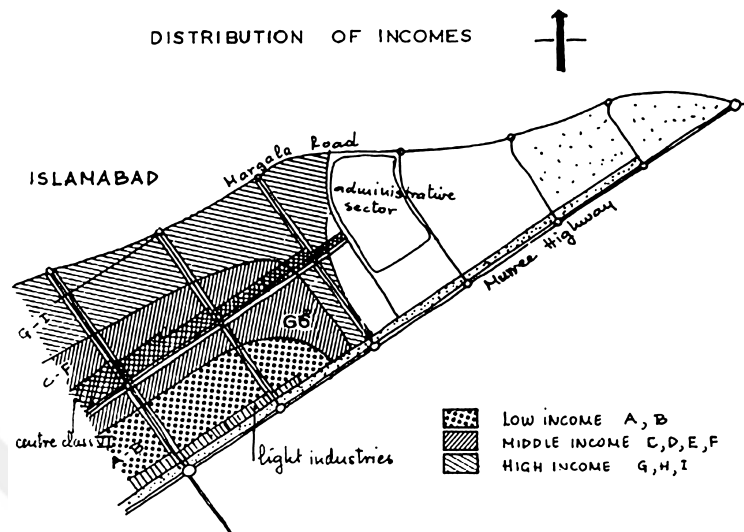


Figure 21: Distribution of incomes and area allocation (1961).

Robert M. Hull, Government of paper (Berkeley, London, University of California, (2012), p.98.

In addition when Doxiadis proposed a special report on residential plots (DoxiadisAssociates, 1960c) their size was considered small where the people belonging to higher social status with moderate incomes demanded a bigger lots of land. With the president’s decision civil servants of the government were given bigger plots while in co-relation higher income civilians were awarded smaller plots.

This helped in creating a middle class which was almost nonexistent at the time of the partition and served Pakistan’s economic interests (Yakas, 2001, pp. 83,89). These interests sought a “systematic regularization of spaces” (Rabinow, 1989, p. 82) or a more disciplined, economically thrifty and forward looking population. The resultant bungalows are “almost as voluminous as the parvenu villas in the Calcutta of the colonial era” (Rabinow, 1989, p. 82).The family of an employee earning less than Rs.125 a month will live on a plot of 125 sq. yards in an A type house while on the other end of the scale an employee whose monthly salary is Rs.3000 per month would get a 3000 sq. yard plot house category K (See Appendix C for more details). As reported in a New York Times article in the 1970 the clerks live in one sector in small apartments and the high official live in another in spacious bungalows with big yards

(Figure 22 & Figure 23). “The result is a compounding of the social and economic caste system” (Schanberg, 1970).



Figure 22: Government housing in G-6 (1964).
CDA Library, Islamabad



Figure 23: Private residence in F-6 (1964).
Maj. S. Zamir Jafri, *Islamabad takes shape* (Islamabad, CDA, 1964), p.16.

This brings to light Lefebvre who states that “In spatial practice, the reproduction of social relations is predominant” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 50). Power solidifies social relations of class in spatial terms rather, spatial formation is informed by the former. The nestled space of central power and of the disseminated authority by social design in this manner, preserves power rather instead of weakening it.

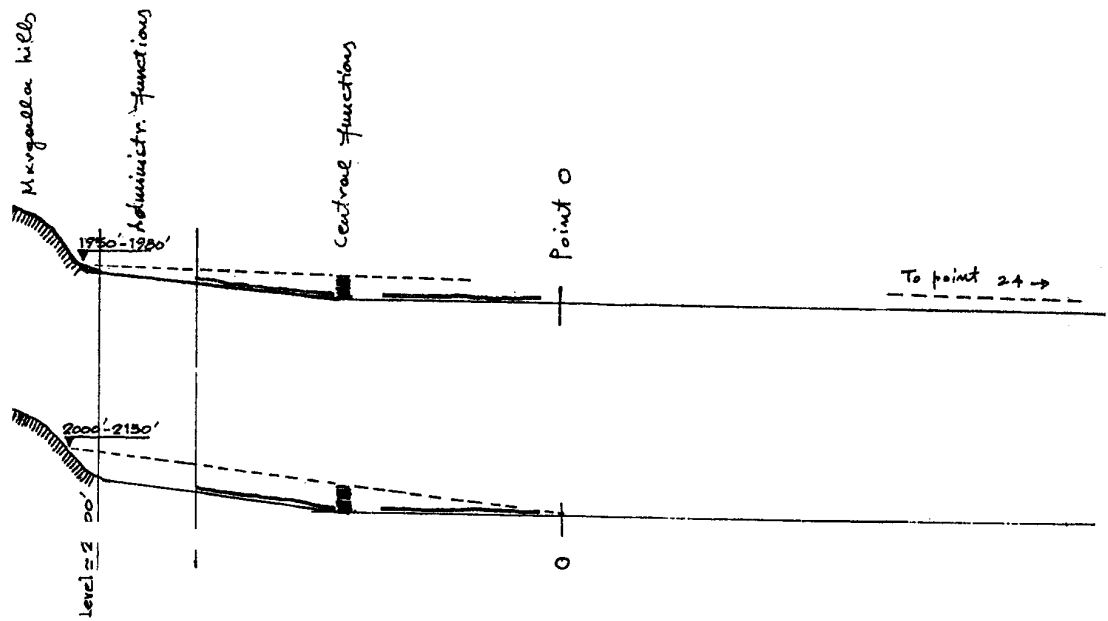
A similar “solidification of social relations” with respect to the seat of the government, i.e the capitol complex, and the city’s inhabitants is discussed in the next section. Here we see the administrative complex emerge as the *capit*, “head” of the city.

3.3.3 Administration along an axis and capital complex location

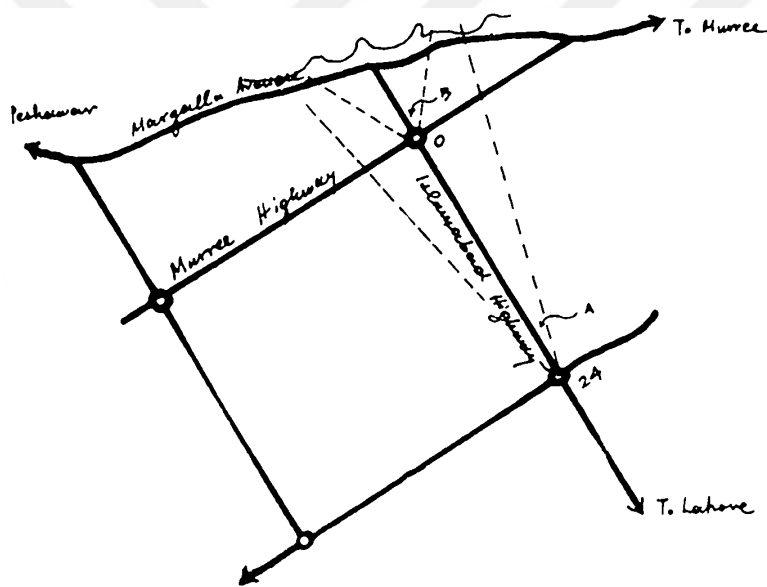
The selection for the location of the capital complex was motivated by “the idea that the symbol of Pakistan could be physically implemented by creating a core of high-rises in town” (Yakas, 2001, p. 69). A specific study was conducted on densities which correlated that the height of the buildings would give a rising effect towards the administrative center and the height of any building should not surpass the roof of the president’s house (DoxiadisAssociates, 1963b, p. 109; Yakas, 2001, p. 77). “The presidential palace is sited at the most important position in the city” and that it will have height and dimensions that correspond to its importance and situation. In the same report found in the Doxiadis Archives, focused architectural and urban dimensions are deliberated concerning the extension of the administrative center. It includes a detailed study on its view and fixing the height of the buildings as well as position of these areas within it (DoxiadisAssociates, 1963a, pp. 1,10,12).

Doxiadis writes that the main axis running through Islamabad on the East West axis will be called Capitol Avenue and would end at the Presidential palace³² located in a “commanding position” at the top of a hill in the core of the plan. “The national administrative enclave provides motivation for the whole project” (DoxiadisAssociates, 1963a, pp. 1,10,12). As the road will be fixed and the position of the seat of the government would be at a higher altitude it would “dominate the city” even when the city has expanded (Doxiadis, 1965, pp. 3,9). Additionally, Doxiadis posed the problem of architectural synthesis on a large scale and posits that one of the basic element a spectator entering Islamabad would see, shall be the buildings in the administrative zone at the foot of the Margalla Hills. He proposes their storeys should be more than ten so that they can be visible from a distance (Point O as seen in Figure 24).Figure 24: Sketch and section along presidential avenue by Doxiadis to determine visibility of presidential Palace (1963).

³² Presidential house, Secretariat, Senate, Presidential square, National assembly.



SECTION ALONG ISLAMABAD HIGHWAY



SKETCH PLAN SHOWING SIGHTLINES

Figure 24: Sketch and section along presidential avenue by Doxiadis to determine visibility of presidential Palace (1963). Source DOX-PA 217, Doxiadis Associates, Athens, p.11.

This ceremonially appropriate, urban pre-eminence to the site was made on the government's wish. It is interesting to note that the original allotted location for the National assembly was at the terminal point of the hill where the president's house is now situated. This alteration to the plan was suggested by a General Yahya to the President to which he agreed (Z.-U.-D. Khwaja, 1999, p. 91). The ceremonial route (Figure 25) was to house parades more in line with nationalistic agendas and military

strength display akin to the old King's routes in imperial and colonial India which were steeped in imperialistic agendas. Both these examples use urban space as a power tool.



Figure 25: Model of Islamabad-Capitol Avenue (1961).
© Constantinos A. Doxiadis archives, Athens, Greece.

Likewise, in Lefebvre's view the real subject of social space in this matter, which is the state's political power is "an apparent subject, an impersonal pseudo-subject" that is hidden by an "illusionary transparency". He adds in continuation, "within this space, and on the subject of this space, everything is openly declared: everything is said or written" (1991, p. 51).

The same avenue is now the ground for highly-anticipated joint annual military parade by the armed forces of Pakistan which commemorates the historic Pakistan Resolution on March 23, 1940 - a day which marks the birth of a separate state for Muslims. The Kremlin Square and the Tiananmen Square, in Moscow and Beijing respectively, are similar examples of a more egregious display of political power in the urban form.

In recent times the area housing the presidential palace or '*Aiwan-e-sadr*' has come to be termed as the red zone which can be cut off to traffic or general public on the government's will. The so called "democratic" state powers exert their control over public space by cordoning it off whenever they see fit (Figure 26). A similar example can be found in the Hausmannization of Paris where the widening of boulevards was a strategy to control society through surveillance as areas could be cordoned off at will. The new rigid boulevards in place of the old organic streets were construed as public spaces to facilitate the "state's protection of property and would not be open to those who contested it" (Harvey, 2006). The capital complex symbolizes the seat of democracy. Conceptually, it is for the people, but access to it is in strict control of institutional powers. The urban form with clear distinction, division and hierarchy facilitates this action.

According to Lefebvre, medieval space "preserved" certain spaces as a "prop for its symbols". More specifically this explanation can be applied to the capitols of towns. Places of religious and political importance were anchored by "network of lanes and main roads to a landscape transformed by peasant communities" (1991, p. 53). This specific articulation of the urban space, ensured the "capital as the seat of sovereignty and the central point of political and commercial circulation" (Foucault et al., 2009, p. 31) by a physically imposing location. It also served the symbolic representation of surveillance and order. While in historical or medieval town plan this was an organic process, in the case of a capital city such as Islamabad, it was intentionally "produced". In addition the site for a Grand National Mosque was fixed in a location perpendicular to the constitution avenue, "befitting a city of Islam". "Located higher than the Administrative Sector on an elevated site it would command the entire panorama and would be seen for miles along the highway and surrounding areas"(Sayyid, 1964, p. 35).

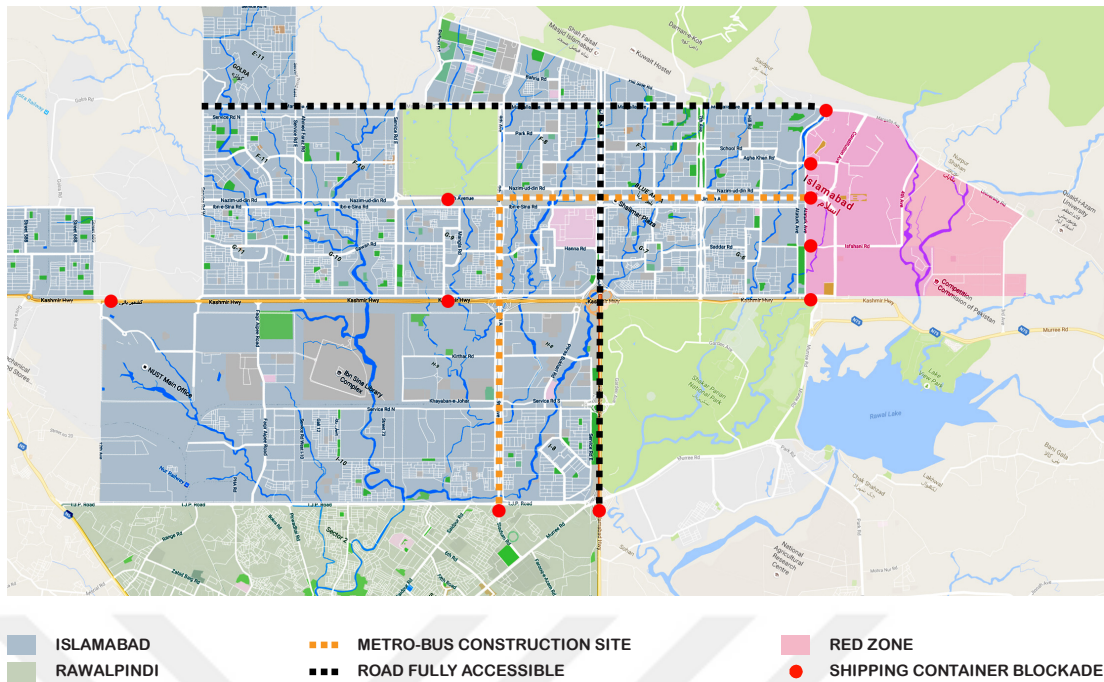


Figure 26: Containers used to blockade all routes towards red zone (2013).
 Redrawn from: Roads leading to red zone blocked again. <http://www.friendsmania.net>

The setting up of an institution, such as the Federal Capital Commission (FCC) and later the Capital Development Authority (CDA) through legislative action, is facilitated by the aid of “sovereign” power in place after Ayub’s takeover. On this committees’ institutional basis, a rationale was sought for relocation and selection of the capital’s site. The deliberations reveal notions tied to identity steeped in colonial and religious constructs of power. A west ward or central lean preference in location of the site on the Grand Trunk Road was a bid to improve foreign relations based on religion with other countries as well as distance it from India while associating historically with an important trade route. The identity of the new capital was not to be tarnished by either an existing built form, corrupted by intermixing of different population groups within it nor be unproductive through effect of its climate. Themes such as stress on “magnificent surroundings” thought to have a positive effect on the work output of the government workers, were a colonial construct. Karachi’s negation, validated through climatic, geographical or a historical yardsticks is steeped in either a power consolidating or exercising agenda. The location of the new capital near the command center for the military; near the president’s ancestral village and in a “tabula rasa” environment so as to “zone off various population groups” were among the various unstated objectives. Concordantly, the final decision of the capital’s site in

opposition to the initial deliberations of the FCC set the stage for molding its spatiality as desired. This new “produced” capital, sought congruently to also “build an association” by virtue of its name as well as play the part of a verification aid for Ayub’s regime. Islamabad was to be the city of Islam, in a pure environment reflective of its country’s name Pakistan meaning the land of the pure.

Constantinos A. Doxiadis was chosen as the new capital’s urban planner. His commission was based on the desire of the regime to import the ideal of the “globalized modern city” and international funds that were enabled through it. This utopia of a “modern city” also harmonized with Doxiadis’s motivations particularly through his theory of Ekistics. In this instance the power knowledge of an illusionary dream constructed by discourse took precedence. As Pak discusses in her work that Doxiadis’s concept of Dynapolis, the Ecumenopolis and linear city are part and parcel of his conceptualization of Entopia. This is rooted in scientific and rational grounds and makes the utopia achievable and thus an Entopia. It also makes the Entopia “unquestionable” on the same grounds (Pak, 2014).

The basic layout of Islamabad employed the use of a geometrical grid. The grid divisions were layered on by governmentally directed and regulated income and social hierarchy. This specific selection of form facilitates a systematic surveillance, segregation, rationalization and control which are devices of “disciplinary” and “sovereign” modes of power. This specific spatial ordering further “reproduces” these social relations.

However Doxiadis’s rationale for the grid form ties itself to a very sovereign and historical reference. One is compelled to wonder if this only served to bolster an association of the regime to the design when it was presented by Doxiadis. His scientific and empirical studies of the dynapolis and Ekistics, give more basis to his design than a metonymical reference.

Nevertheless, this metonymical association is hard to miss when considering the location of the administrative center which through deliberate design “preserves” an allocation of focal high ground. As explained by archival references, this effect was carefully produced and orchestrated to imply the importance, standing and command of the government. The combined result of the specific geometrical grid and capitol

complex placement by design, has proven over Islamabad's age, to justify its analysis of nurturing and sustaining the acts and motifs of power.

While location specification, signifies translation of identity in the geo-spatial realm of whose complete expression remains incomplete without the presence of built form. The next chapter thus, ventures from the urban scale to the architecture of the capital city. It focuses, as previously discussed, on the architecture of its seat of government, the capital complex.





CHAPTER 4

ISLAMABAD – THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE CAPITOL

For an architecture to escape a dialogue with the context in which it has been placed is quite impossible, just as by its presence a building cannot help saying something even if it lacks a certain aesthetic or intention on part of the builder (Mumford, 1961, p. 84). In continuation from the previous chapter, this chapter investigates how architecture was effected by its dialogue with the urban form as well as in relation to larger cultural and social realities. Due to a process of signification, a space can be decoded (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 17). Where Lefebvre particularly refers to an existing space, representation of spaces form a crucial part of his spatial ideology's triad. The differentiation in marking a territory according to a set of principles thus giving it form; and concretizing the principles as representations via buildings by spatial articulation in the public realm has a historic link to identity. According to Lefebvre;

The area where ideology and knowledge are barely distinguishable is subsumed under the broader notion of representation, which thus supplants the concept of ideology and becomes a serviceable (operational) tool for the analysis of spaces, as of those societies which have given rise to them and recognized themselves in them (1991, p. 43).

In antiquity, when settlement sizes were small, monumental architecture was the foremost expression of power expressed through assemblage of art resources and all manner of building materials and their finance (Mumford, 1961, pp. 64-65). From then

on till present day we can easily identify this trait in the monuments, castles, palaces, tombs, public use and religious buildings etc.

How this broader notion of representation, as expressed through architecture, comes to the fore in the creation of Islamabad's administrative complex, where space has been used as an operational tool to dissect and supplant the notion of ideology, forms the basis of this study. Initially Pakistan started off as a movement to safeguard the Muslim minority's rights ensuring freedom to practice their religion in peace along with adequate political representation in British ruled India.

After the British had taken the decision to leave depart, the movement demanded a separate nation for the Muslim majority areas as they would be outnumbered by Hindus three to one, in a united India. The cultural and religious tension and extremism turned this independence movement into something akin to the crusades starting with the Calcutta killings.³³ The subject of "Islam" thus, formed a very crucial and emotional part of the identity of its new inhabitants and was used in various instances throughout Pakistan's chequered history to unite its otherwise sectarian, ethnic, linguistic and cultural divisions.³⁴ Islamabad was the focus of multiple aspirations, particularly of General Ayub's whose adage to "liberate the spirit of religion from superstition and move forward under the forces of modern sciences and knowledge"(Paracha, 2015) was to be translated into spatiality through the capital's existence.

The government allocated a large chunk from Islamabad's budget for construction of the administrative center. Constantinos A. Doxiadis was dismissed as the chief consultant in 1963 and retained as a consultant. Instead the Capital Development Authority hired a team of international architects to design it. Simultaneously a panel of Pakistani bureaucrats was put together to assess the architect's proposals. The main areas of the Administrative and special buildings sector were divided as follows:

³³ August 16, 1946 was announced by the Muslim political party as Direct action day to showcase Muslim strength in India and how they would be mistreated at the hands of Hindus once the British would depart. This turned into one of the worst communal riots in British Indian history thus reiterating the stance of the strike.

³⁴ For a more detailed analysis of Pakistan's ideological constructs and power usage in politics to ensure a tailored identity see Paracha, Nadeem F. "Pakistan's Ideological Project: A History." *Dawn*, Aug 02 2015.

- i. The Secretariat zone
- ii. Central square (Presidency, National Assembly building, Senate/Cabinet establishment block and Supreme court)
- iii. Cultural zone (the National library, museum, National archives, armed forces museum and arts council)

The following chapter focuses on the debate that ensued for selection of an appropriate style, selection of appropriate architects and their proposals for the capitol complex.

4.1 Connection to legacy / Construction of legacy

Before the British had ruled over the Indian subcontinent for about two centuries, the Muslims though a minority had started taking over the revered land of the Hindus as early as 711 CE³⁵ and had enjoyed an uninterrupted rule for over five hundred years. These rulers came from the Occident and brought with them a rich tradition of architecture which in consequent years blended with Hindu forms, especially in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Their imprint has been greater than that of the British (Stephens, 1964, pp. 22-23,112). The British similarly had sought to assert their identity and power through architecture; by construction of new buildings to exude power and a simultaneous negation of old buildings in order to mark their superior intelligence. Metcalf notes:

Indeed, by providing a vocabulary for the consideration of those questions, the architectural debates themselves shaped and defined Britain's conception of its national purpose (2005, p. 106).

As a result, the architecture existing at the advent of British rule was thought unfit for ruling, and romanticized as picturesque, opulent and without distinction from one era to another. It was only to be used as an ingredient to the British conception of an appropriate style. The termination of British rule and Pakistan's inception coincide with an ideological shift in architecture and urban design framework. One which we may call "Modernism" or the "International Style" by the time Islamabad was being built.

³⁵ The first Muslim state was founded in Sind in 711 CE by the Arabs. Then, in 841 CE a state founded by the Habbari family expressed its loyalty to the Abbasid caliphate in Baghdad. Later Turks founded the Ghaznavid dynasty which conquered and ruled over the Indian subcontinent. They were succeeded by the Mughals prior to the British takeover.

Modern architecture's expression as the modernist building is a consequence of secularism emerging in the political scenario in the 18th century and seeping into aesthetic sphere in the 20th (Rowe & Koetter, 1983, p. 31). Waves of this still had time to reach parts of South Asia whose transformation had a completely different set of cultural, social and technological backgrounds. This collective aesthete (of a secular nature) found an organized form in the CIAM (*Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne* or International congress of modern architecture) in 1928 Europe, and was further boosted by the famous exhibition termed "International style" at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMa) in New York in 1932. Its main carriers and proponents were the avant-garde intelligentsia. Modernism's sweeping rationalization that boasted life improvement, advertised by providing a link to development was its claim to fame. This also gave it legitimacy to be exported and appropriated around the world as an epistemology of development (Bozdogan, 2001). This "high modernism" was promoted as a tool for social reformation by "progressives who have come to power with a comprehensive critique of existing society and a popular mandate (at least initially) to transform it" (Scott, 1998).

This echoes strongly in Ayub's memorandum to the cabinet while serving as the defense minister. Consequently while in power, his government's agenda was set between modernization and development of a new nation state (Tarar, 2008). This also fulfills the first condition for high modernism, as proposed by Scott, with the second being unrestrained power and the third a weakened civil society (Scott, 1998, p. 97). The first condition while being met by Ayub's intentions also resonates in Doxiadis's commission. His appointment due to his acclaim as a future oriented modern thinker, can be seen as an "import" of high modernism's sensibility. The "sweeping agenda" then became easy to implement in Ayub's military rule; which resembling any other dictatorship, automated unrestrained power and a weakened civil society.

Pakistan had inherited a structure of management from the British which acknowledged superiority of a Western concept of architecture and education which puts Edward Said's concept of Orientalism in the spotlight, in the import of architects, while the few present in Pakistan went without acknowledgement. Some local architects included Mino Mistry (1912-2006), Mehdi Ali Mirza (1910-1961) and Naqvi & Siddiqui. The decision to not entrust the design to Doxiadis was taken in a

cabinet meeting and proposed by the Federal secretary of Finance. “Various big names” such as Walter Gropius and Kenzo Tange were shortlisted with Le Corbusier’s name an automatic reject due to intra state politics. Le Corbusier was involved in designing the city of Chandigarh in India, which was Pakistan’s political rival. Gropius is regarded as one of the pioneers of the modern movement in architecture. Upon his and Kenzo Tange’s refusal the next list of architects contacted, comprised of more practicing and proclaimed “modernists”. Hence, instead of a “major master architect” the alternate path taken was to invite a group of “like-minded architects” (Z.-U.-D. Khwaja, 1999, pp. 94-95). CDA engaged the services of Sir Robert Matthew as the chief consulting architect and as designer of the cultural complex buildings. The secretariat building complex was entrusted to the Italian firm, Ponti Fornelli and Roselli. Central square buildings were first commissioned to the Swedish Arne Jacobsen and then the American Louis I. Kahn. Marcel Bruer was also approached but due to a disagreement over fee structures, did not concede to design. Both Arne Jacobsen and Louis Kahn were dismissed and Edward D. Stone from USA was engaged. Khan went on to design the National Assembly at Dhaka, East Pakistan. Stone designed the Presidency, National assembly and Senate/cabinet block as they stand today.

Importing international architects highlights their role both as a tool and a symbol of the regime’s agenda to portray its legitimacy and in turn boost the identity of the Pakistan as a “developed nation”. It becomes even more interesting when one notes that the vacuum of an identity after independence was to be filled by a post-colonial frame of mind. Additionally, reiterating what was previously negated regarding architectural style, was understood as an essential part of nation building and identity; i.e. a harkening back to the past legacy of the Muslims in the subcontinent and anything that would be in contrast with their competitor, India. For example, in an excerpt of a meeting held with Doxiadis on deciding the aesthetics of Islamabad found in the Doxiadis archives, CDA officials inquire as to what would be the defining characteristic of the city as the “pigeon hole” is for Chandigarh (CADA, 1960, p. 131). This also rebuilds on the competitive capital city status stance.

From the very inception of the planning process there was however a very strong feeling, particularly amongst the intelligentsia and the bureaucracy,

that the new capital should reflect the past traditions of Muslim architecture, in visible and concrete form (Z.-U.-D. Khwaja, 1999, p. 125).

Architecture and urban design became tools for a translating this thinking pattern. Pakistan's power echelons, especially those in charge of Islamabad, were quite reluctant to let go of its traditional and religious affiliations. This desire was also mirrored in the common citizen. Even though the government's agenda was one of modernization to symbolize development,³⁶ the aesthetic translation was very different.

The question then arises, that could the foreign architects be made to design in a manner so as to recall and express the religion of Islam and simultaneously satisfy the "up to date" intention of the ruler and ruled alike. Another question regarding imported ideas versus local realities is pertinent as the new nation did not have ample resources or the industrial infrastructure on which these architects so heavily relied; both for construction and ideation. This juxtaposition is quite unique and the events that followed, interesting. The confusion in defining a style and attempting to appropriate modernism (Figure 27) led to many commissions and decommissions by the Government of Pakistan; as will be discussed in the following sections.



Figure 27: Meeting of world renowned architects with CDA top officials reviewing the plans and progress. Maj. S. Zamir Jafri, *Islamabad takes shape* (Islamabad, CDA Library 1964), p. 18.

³⁶ Ayub Khan introduced many constitutional, educational, industrial, social and educational reforms during his rule. Even though his own memoir is a personal and biased view. For details see *Khan, M. A. Friends Not Masters: A Political Autobiography*: Oxford University Press, 1967.

4.2 Defining an appropriate architectural style

Though a new country we, as a people, are an old nation, with a rich heritage. Inspired by a historical past ... eager to build a new city which, in addition to being an adequate and ideal seat of government, should also reflect our cultural identity and national aspirations... since we have lost the best specimens of our architecture in Delhi and Agra, we are anxious to have some semblance of our architectural treasure here (Mumtaz, 1987, pp. 184-185).³⁷

To define the architectural tone for the capital Ayub Khan put together a committee of Secretaries (Figure 28).³⁸ The former paragraph is taken from the committee's chairman, Naseem Ahmed Faruqi's address. This committee included members of cabinet rank, who were to set architectural standards, and was extremely influential in the appointment and dismissal of architects.



Figure 28: The Government committee examining President House plans (1964).
L to R Altaf Gauhar Information secretary, Khurshid: Works secretary,
N.A Faruqi: Principal Secretary to President.H.Zuberi: Communications secretary
Maj. S. Zamir Jafri, *Islamabad takes shape* (Islamabad, CDA Library 1964), p. 11.

Identity was an awkward subject in Pakistan as it was composed of a heterogeneous group of peoples. Albeit the ideological binder was Islam, its understanding was

³⁷ Naseer Ahmad Faruqi, Originally in Nilsson, S.Å. *Islamabad: The Quest for a National Identity First Report*. Lund: Förf., 1978.

³⁸ When this committee was set up the Secretariat buildings designed by the Italian architects Gio Ponti and Alberto Roselli were nearing completion.

diverse. For instance the Sunnis, Shias, Ahmedis and then the Muhajirs, Punjabis, Sindhis, Balochis, Bengalis and Pashtuns; identified differently with the notion of Islam as well as lifestyles. There were sub-groups identifying with Sufis or mystics and for whom the site of saints were held in reverence, of which there are two in Islamabad.³⁹

Consequently, the notion of Islam in architectural and urban form differed in the minds of the client (the ruler), the general populace and the consultant. Everyone had their own ideas about its product though from varied standpoints. Matters were further complicated where individuals in charge of bureaucratic institution, like N.A. Faruqi, tried to impart their personal understandings of Islamic theology vis-a-vis architecture when making decisions for the capital.

Kamil Khan Mumtaz sees this as discrediting the term “Islamic Architecture” by those who apply this label to certain specific forms associating them with a particular period (1987, p. 192).⁴⁰ The buildings of the Muslim Mughal rulers, particularly Emperor Shah Jahan (1592-1666) and Akbar (1542-1605) took the fore and became synonymous with Islamic architecture in the region. Though the buildings are magnificent in their own right they cannot be applied as a generality or cannot be taken as the sole precedent.

The elements singled out from them as “Islamic” were broadly decorative. With little or no background in its rationalization these “decorative elements” as a way to express Islam, were forced upon the commissioned architects. Those who propagated their use thought they were championing the cause of Islam and by association Pakistan. Translated to Lefebvrian terms, this apparent “fetishism” of an abstract, visual space (which would be reflective of the nation), and a “fascination” with a space that has been lost or rediscovered along with political and/or religious significance (Mughal and/or other Islamic architecture) of the scholars and the committee in charge of

³⁹ Bari Imam Shrine and Pir Golra Sharif Shrine.

⁴⁰ He also posits that the Western scholar due to his orientalist mindset had classified a whole range and diversity of Muslim cultures as synonymous. This is reflective of the same mindset only it was housed by the new person in authority who sought to differentiate in similar same terms from other styles of architecture. Foucault’s theory of power in terms of discourse construction can thus not be ignored. As the British through their western centered scholarship (i.e. Said’s Orientalism) had inculcated these differences in the common mindset by its institutionalization.

Islamabad, makes it possible to trace spatial “production” i.e. “genesis” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 140).

4.2.1 *The view (or the bureaucratic notion of Islam?)*

The Capital Commission requested various scholars to outline an approach for Islamabad’s new capitol complex. Prominent among them was Mian Mohammad Sharif (then chairperson of Institute of Islamic culture) who was invited by CDA to present a lecture. His observations are copied in a letter by Orestes Yakas to Doxiadis Associates in Athens. They are attached with a note that everyone concerned with the Islamabad project should read them (CADA, 1962b). This highlights the importance of this lecture in both the consultant and the client’s view.

Sharif outlined three stages of philosophy of art. The first is an Aristotelian sense which reflects qualities of unity, symmetry, proportion etc. The second quality he explains in light of the Italian scholar Vico,⁴¹ who had a subjective view of art and stated that beauty and art consist solely in the national art and architectural expression of the people. He ties this end to Croce.⁴²

For Sharif the third approach is the new theory, which is a fusion of expression and utility. He outlined eleven distinctive elements that may not be functional in the modern sense but are functional in a parallel sense. They are important because they elevate the spirit and give it a heavenly direction. Therefore in Sharif’s opinion they should not be ignored for the purpose of spirit, nor should be secondary to utility. These elements were Minars and minarets, domes, turrets and domelets, battlements, parapets and cornices, gates & gateways, arabesques, pillars, borders, bands and ribbon, arches, stucco or marble adornments on wall panels, tile work and tracery & lattice work. He insisted that if these elements were cut away from architecture, the built form would fail to arouse national pride (CADA, 1962b). Sharif believed in the

⁴¹ Giambattista Vico (1668-1778) was an Italian philosopher, historian, and jurist. His work is critical of modern rationalization and apologist of classical antiquity. His principle of *verum factum*, that truth can be verified only by construction or creation, remains one of his primary claim to fame.

⁴² Benedetto Croce (1886-1952) was an Italian philosopher and politician inspired by Vico, who took his postulate forward that all art is a type of language. For more information see Collins, P. *Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture, 1750-1950*: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998, p.173.

universal nature of art yet stated that each nation had its own peculiarities. In the case of Pakistan they were the elements listed above. He added:

We cannot include all these elements in their fullness in Islamabad, for to do so would be too expensive, more on the side of excess, and too difficult to synthesize with modern architecture, but we can certainly have a feature here and a feature there to give the town an Islamic orientation without discarding the requirements of modern architecture (CADA, 1962b; Z.-U.-D. Khwaja, 1999, p. 127).

Sharif further observed that Muslims had made sizeable contributions to exterior embellishment features that should not be forgotten and reinforced them as being central to an Islamic character. He highlighted four points on the subject of spirit of the people of Pakistan. These are, a) Religious attitude b) Belief in God to which every architectural feature points (i.e. minar, dome, turret) c) desire for a link to the past and d) desire for future development in all fields including architecture (CADA, 1962b).

These views resonate in another bureaucrat Musarrat Hussain Zuberi's⁴³ letter to N.A Faruqi.⁴⁴ Zuberi felt that the selection of the site for Muslims remained a primary concern where the elevation bespoke its importance. Giving more significance to the exterior, he stressed on a variety in its design and embellishment through usage of elements as already outlined by Sharif. For internal spaces he held the view that the mosque should set the inspiration for planning and spaces should open out as opposed to being closed in. Additionally geometric shapes of all sorts should be employed and not restricted to uniform rectangular blocks.

In a similar vein, an example of just how considerable importance was attached to outer forms and symbols as a reflection of religious identity is illustrated by letters to the CDA written by two civil servants found in the Doxiadis archives. Bakhteyar⁴⁵ wrote to General Yahya to suggest that the orientation of Islamabad should follow the direction of the *Qibla*⁴⁶ so as to reflect a “distinctly Muslim idea” and that the mosques should not be visually misfit in the overall urban plan (CADA, 1959a; Daechsel, 2015,

⁴³ Principal Secretary to the president.

⁴⁴ N.A Faruqi was the cabinet secretary and Chairman of the Secretaries Committee set up by Ayub to outline an architectural style for Islamabad.

⁴⁵ American educated planner and resident of Dacca.

⁴⁶ *Qibla* is the direction of prayer for Muslims. The point is fixed by the location of the *Kaaba* in Macca.

p. 197). Riaz, a retired army officer, communicated his vehement prayers that Islamabad may truly be a place truly for Muslims (Daechsel, 2015, p. 198). When it came to the chairman of the committee, N.A. Faruqi, had a similar disposition. His wishes can be ascertained by the following lines, in a special supplement of Pakistan Times, March of 1960:

Modern life and modern techniques postulate a certain pattern in architecture in town planning. There is not getting away from that fact. A blend has to be worked out. In a word every endeavor is to be made to ensure that architecture in Islamabad is such as would ‘speak to our people – and serve them too’. The emphasis would not be on monumental masonry but the structures would be so designed as to have a meaning, a message (SpecialCorrespondent, 1960).

Just how much importance he attributed to outer forms is evident from the next part of Faruqi’s statement:

The commission wish to associate local talent and tradition as closely as possible with the actual designing of the buildings and the decorations and practically every artist in the country can play a part in the great venture and the commission proposes to devise suitable means for ensuring this association and participation (SpecialCorrespondent, 1960).

This particular “representation of space” can be understood through the lens of Lefebvre. According to him in the case of pre-capitalist societies and spaces emerged “consecrated” by religious and political actions of those in power. Representation of space dominated representational space having religious origins. Religious ideology in the case of Islamabad facilitated “social continuity”; for those who sought to retain link to the ideology of Islam in a visual manner, and for those in power to consolidate the populace, which was diverse (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 34). Additionally Sharif’s views derive from a literal “representational space,” one which is described as reliant on “associated symbols and images”. For example the eleven distinct elements, are described through a very poetic, philosophical notion appropriate for evoking “national pride” tied to religion. As Lefebvre states, “This is the dominated – hence passively experienced space which imagination seeks to change and appropriate. This overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 35).

Perhaps, of the few rational viewpoints, was Zahir Ud Deen Khwaja’s who joined CDA as Director Planning in 1961. In his opinion, a preconceived idea of what a building should look like was not appropriate. He outlined three approaches to the

debate at hand. These summarize the options that the Pakistani nation had at hand to define an architectural style. Firstly, an advocacy of the complete revival of form adopted traditionally or secondly a break from it. The third approach is a middle ground between the two.

We have to aim at a modern interpretation of the basic spirit of Islamic architecture, reflecting the principles which were adopted by the Muslim builders rather than the outer forms and symbols... the spirit, rather than the substance (Z.-U.-D. Khwaja, 1999, p. 131).

Khwaja's voice stood alone in advocating a rational approach amongst the general opinion of the committee as well as the populace at large. Sharif's opinion was steeped in identification of a form that led back to "immediacy via a historical mediation" which Lefebvre dubs as "reverse repetition of the original formative process" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 231). Constantinos A. Doxiadis had also been working on the same question for over five years.

4.2.2 The Consultant's view

Doxiadis first came to Pakistan long before the decision to build the new capital was taken. He was involved in resettlement projects around Pakistan as part of its post-independence needs for refugee rehabilitation. He was a consultant to the Pakistan planning commission as part of the country's five year plan for development (1955-1960). Even though the focus was on urban settlements, their architectural style remained an important concern for Doxiadis. His frequent visits to Pakistan are recorded in his diaries found at the Constantinos A. Doxiadis archives at the Benaki museum, Athens. These diaries contain numerous photographs, explanatory notes and draft reports in what can be interpreted as his initial thoughts on selection of an "architectural style" for Pakistan. He writes in his diary:

The real styles which have deep roots are accepted by the whole nation, are the ones which are native styles even if they have received the influence and digested foreign elements. These are the only styles which can produce monumental architecture which will stay permanently during the whole era of a certain civilization (CADA, 1955, p. 15; DoxiadisAssociates, 1961c, p. 34)

This was in direct clash with the notion of an architectural style in view of the client. In order to create a new style for Pakistan, Doxiadis proposed an insight focusing "folk

origins”. These origins can only be found in areas where an architecture has not received any foreign influence (CADA, 1955, p. 16). The confusion in adopting a style, in his opinion, is caused by a lack of belief in local architecture coupled with a blind trust in western educated or qualified architects to only be of merit. This has led to an imitation of foreign patterns and that are either modernistic or semi modernistic (CADA, 1955).

Doxiadis states that the scholarship and documentation of indigenous architectural style has been biased towards the “top of the pyramid” architecture. By this Doxiadis means buildings of monumental value which are not utilitarian to the general populace i.e. Mughal buildings. From the outset his writings display a disregard for the form of Mughal architecture which he dubs as “limited in target and egocentric” and “socially unjust” (Figure 29). Doxiadis writes that the Mughals were empire builders which is a strategy unsuited for a new nation of Pakistan (CADA, 1955, p. 8). On the next page he highlights the importance of technically trained people versus one great architect for constructing the vision for Pakistan. Continuing in an effort to define the style of residence for the people of Pakistan he writes, “the houses should be freed from all dead traditions or an imitation of foreign styles and patterns” (CADA, 1955, p. 73). His people centric view of architecture resulted in the survey of multiple indigenous housing and building techniques in his visits.

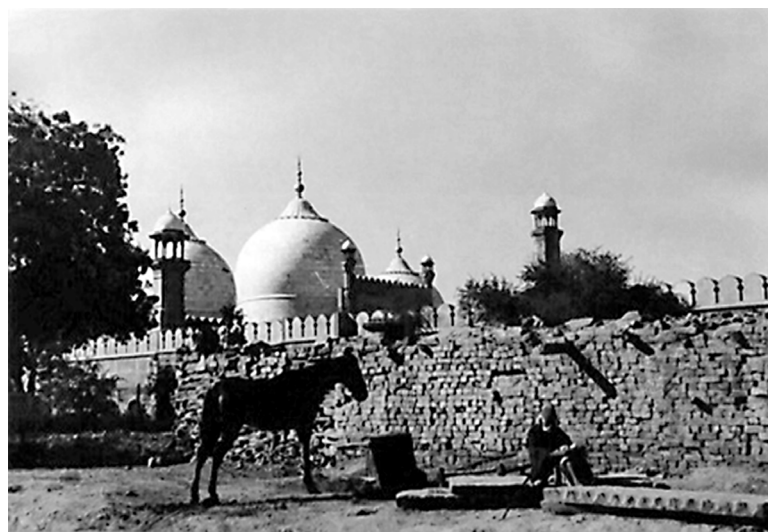


Figure 29: Photograph by Doxiadis of the Badshahi Mosque, Lahore (1955) with its relatively poorer indigenous vicinity, CADA, Pak Vol 4 pg. 197.

After being officially commissioned as the chief consultant of the capital of Islamabad, he prepared a report titled “Architecture in Islamabad: which studies the architectural history of the country in an effort to incorporate the genuine elements of the past into contemporary aesthetic and functional forms” (CADA, 1961b). It was presented to the Pakistan cabinet on May 5th 1961 (CADA, 1961a). This report is a consolidation of his survey and analysis over the years and echoes his initial ideas. It contains many excerpts from his diaries. The report stems from the premise for the “need to conceive the architecture of the new capital of an old nation, one entering a new phase of its history at a time when no good architecture of any importance is in existence” (DoxiadisAssociates, 1961c, p. 1).

Doxiadis outlines two approaches for this need, the subjective and the objective. A subjective approach entails that, a particular style may be dominated by the architect’s personal choice and prove a hindrance in conceiving a national style when projected over a city. For this reason a team of architects should be chosen. By following an objective approach that employs an analytical and systematic procedure, a style should be chosen that enables both the architect and the client to follow it (DoxiadisAssociates, 1961c, p. 3).

The report then moves on to description of a) architecture in general b) architecture in Pakistan, c) a look towards the future and d) Islamabad’s architecture; to give e) recommendations in the end. This report was forwarded to the architects invited to prepare proposals for the capital complex. They gave merit to the report’s usefulness when designing (Yakas, 2001, pp. 77-78). In the opening chapters Doxiadis highlights the need for an appropriate setting of architecture within a city which then leads to a certain architectural thinking and its creation.

The first part highlights relation of humans, land, time and culture to architecture and importance of styles. He argues that the relation of architecture should not be limited to “mere facades or architecture of the building” but taken holistically and rationally with the city (DoxiadisAssociates, 1961c, pp. 9-12). In his argument good architecture is a result of synthesis in which “buildings acquire a certain identity” within a “frame” to receive “specific treatment and expression”(DoxiadisAssociates, 1961c, pp. 18,19). He then draws a distinction between public and private architecture. For him “prerequisite for public buildings are a ‘proper setting and location’ for their correct

architectural expression” (DoxiadisAssociates, 1961c, p. 20). Private architecture is dependent on their internal structure but in terms of the city should be conceived in consistency with the region’s evolution (DoxiadisAssociates, 1961c, pp. 20-25).

Doxiadis regarded architecture as an evolutionary process and deliberated that this evolution no longer occurs. This is due to, niche movements (art nouveau or neoclassical as in the case of the subcontinent) which were transplanted geocentrically without having any indigenous roots (in the locality, culture or people). So while the evolution was a bottom up process it has been replaced by a top down mechanism; from public housing to monumental building and its reversal. Architectural concerns are decided among those who design and order monumental buildings and this he finds faulty as explained by the term “top of the pyramid” in his writings. In order to find an appropriate style he wanted to find a continuity, an interchange of forces from top to bottom which comprised elements of evolution (DoxiadisAssociates, 1961c, p. 39). He believed that in this interference, folk architecture has survived the imprint of foreign influence (DoxiadisAssociates, 1961c, p. 34).

Doxiadis then criticizes the similarity of solutions that the international aspect has brought to locality by conceptually listing the themes of Team X and CIAM. Team X was a movement that rose “out of mechanization and standardization” and CIAM as “constituting the reaction to this similarity of solutions”, irrespective of locality he posits a middle ground between the two. Reliance on either of the approaches will figuratively lead to international radiation that will burn the plants which are rooted in the local soil. The solution as a mediator between these two approaches should be “folk architecture” i.e. universalism (DoxiadisAssociates, 1961c, pp. 41-42).

Doxiadis then proceeds to analyze architecture in Pakistan through a historical overview of four periods dominated by different civilizations in its territory (Figure 30). The Indus civilization (2500-1500 BCE) in which he analyzed Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa settlements; The Hindu and Buddhist period (6th century BCE to 6th century CE) which focused on Taxila, Jundial, Takht-e Bahi and Mankiyale; The Mughal period (16th to 18th century CE) with case studies on Fatehpur Sikri, Lahore Fort, Taj Mahal and Shalimar Gardens. He then proceeded to include and an analysis of rural constructions and city evaluation of Rawalpindi and Peshawar under the title of Pakistan at present.

<u>2. Photos and Sketches from :</u>	
a. Indus civilization:	Mohenjo-Daro Harappa
b. Buddhist:	Taxila Monastery at Takht-i-Bahi (near Peshawar) Monastery at Jaundial (near Taxila, Rawalpindi) Mankiyale Buddhist stupa (near Rawalpindi)
c. Moghul:	Fatehpur-Sikri Lahore Fort Taj-Mahal (Agra) Shalimar Gardens
d. Pakistan at Present:	Peshawar City Rawalpindi City Rural Constructions

Figure 30: Analysis of different architectural styles and their major settlements-a list (1961).
DOX-PA-99, Doxiadis Associates, Athens, p.48.

Through a case study of the city plans, Doxiadis looks into their functional arrangement, synthesis, axial rationality, corresponding ratio of roadways, human scale etc. (Figure 31). The nature of spaces in these cities are interpreted by organization and relation to each other with features such as house groupings, courtyards, streets, squares etc. He notes how certain structures such as stupas are located on a hill top and are distinct in functionality due to “ways of living” (DoxiadisAssociates, 1961c, p. 81). In addition Doxiadis analyses materials, and methods of construction to detect qualities of an architectural style. Particularly with reference to Fatehpur Sikri and Mughal architecture which the regime gave a lot of importance to. He considered Fatehpur Sikri a “failure” on multiple occasions which can be interpreted as an opposition of the regime’s priority ("Construction of the New Capital," 1960).

On other occasions he was quick to folk origins in monumental architecture. For example when discussing the *Naulakha* pavilion in the Lahore Fort,⁴⁷ he ties its umbrella like form to the convex Bengali roof construction (Figure 32) in the mud houses found in East Pakistan (DoxiadisAssociates, 1961c, p. 103). In Fatehpur Sikri’s analysis, Doxiadis identifies open court or roof top, verandahs and enclosed spaces dependent on climatic and cultural considerations. In analyzing buildings such as

⁴⁷ This pavilion is located on the North-West corner of the Lahore Fort, Punjab, Pakistan. It was built in 1663 CE as a personal chamber of the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan. Its defining feature is the curved white marble cantilevers.

*Panch Mahal*⁴⁸, *Diwan- e-khas*⁴⁹ and several mosques he identifies the “square” as the fundamental composition element in the façade or plan (DoxiadisAssociates, 1961c, p. 85). He also noted geometrical tendencies in the structural properties and in the mosaics, inlay work and pierced window screens of the Lahore Fort.

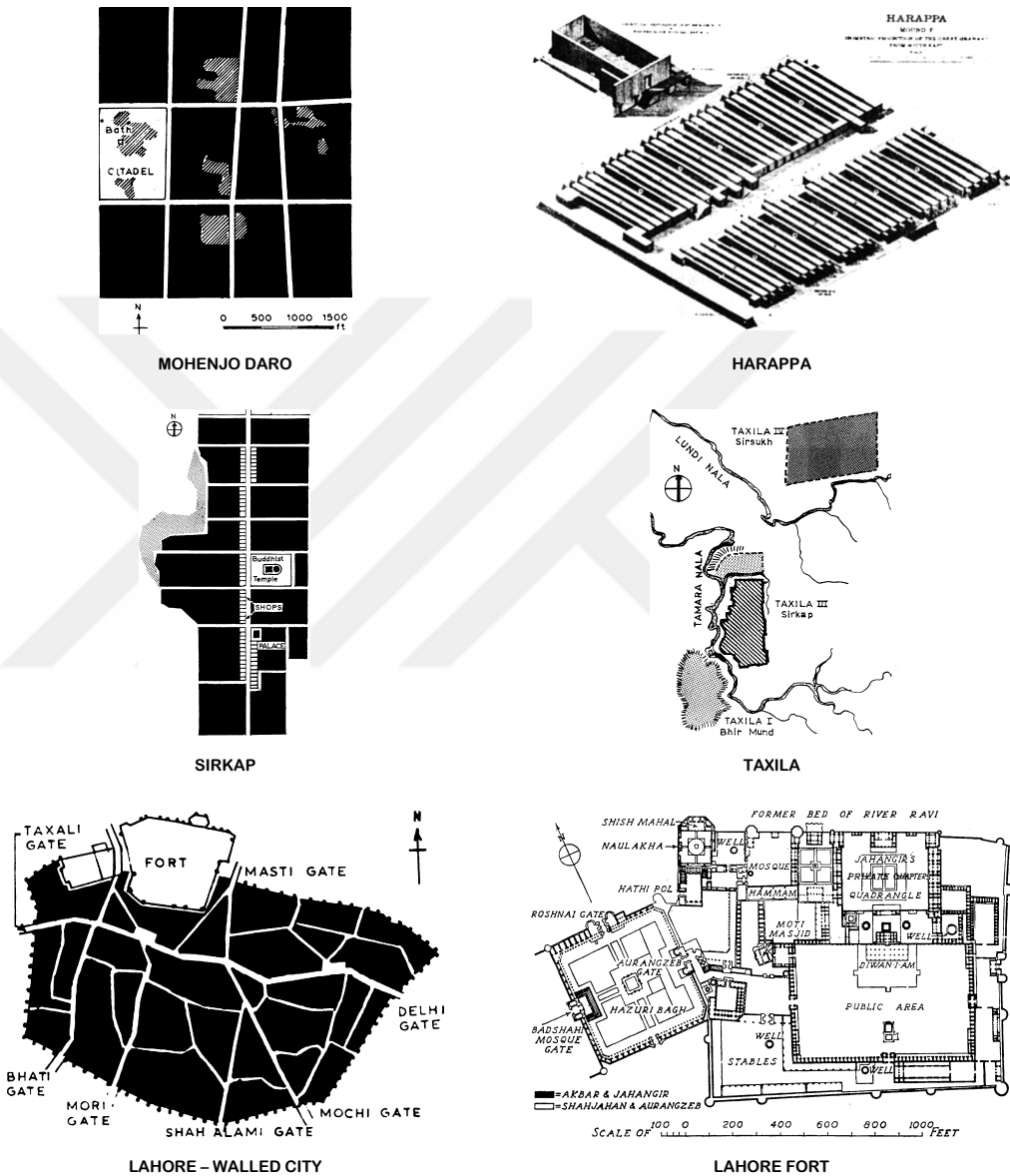


Figure 31: Mohenjo-Daro, Harappa, Taxila, Lahore city and fort (1961).
DOX-PA 99, Doxiadis Associates, Athens, pg. 59,61,63,65.

⁴⁸ *Panch Mahal* is a four tiered structure, with *jaalis* (perforated screens traditionally used for female segregation) as walls. It is located in Fatehpur Sikri and is one of its most prominent structures.

⁴⁹ The *Diwan-i-Khas*, is the hall of private audiences of the Mughal emperor, located in the Red fort, Delhi.

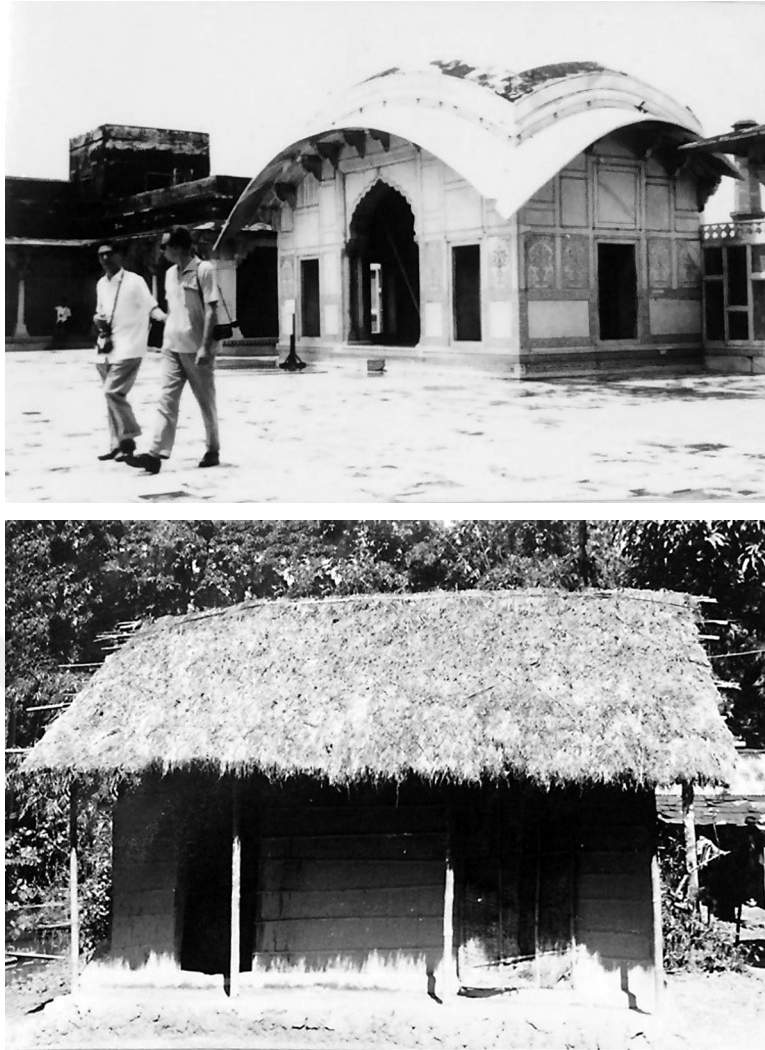


Figure 32: Photographs by Doxiadis of Naulakha and Bengali bamboo hut (1955)
 CADA, Pak Vol.13 p.12 & Pak Vol.3 p.76.

The fort and palace were also analyzed as a grand scale example of the Mughals by focusing on its organic growth and its detailing in spatial and formal terms (Figure 33). In sync the gardens of the Mughals were used as a referencing tool for open space design analysis (Figure 34). This included the *Shalimar Gardens*⁵⁰, *Hazuri Bagh*⁵¹, squares in front of imperial mosques and the *Taj Mahal*.⁵²

⁵⁰ The *Shalimar* or *Shalimar* gardens is a complex of Mughal gardens located in Lahore, Pakistan. They were completed in 1641 CE. They are a world heritage site, the status of which is endangered by a Metro train project which is currently under consideration in Lahore.

⁵¹ *Hazuri bagh* is garden betwixt the Lahore fort, *Badshahi Mosque*, *Roshani gate* and the *Samadhi* of Ranjit Singh in Lahore. It was built in 1813 CE by a Sikh emperor in traditional Mughal layout.

⁵² *The Taj Mahal* was built in 1632 CE by the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan in Agra, India as a tomb complex.

Doxiadis scrutinizes the ordinary housing structures in West (Lahore, Peshawar, and Rawalpindi) and East Pakistan (Dacca). The concurrent theme he wanted to reveal was the usage of appropriate structural modulus and scale. He roots out the preference for the geometric shape of a square and a tendency towards decoration and color keeping in focus on the locations around Islamabad's site to ascertain their aesthetic sense (Figure 35).

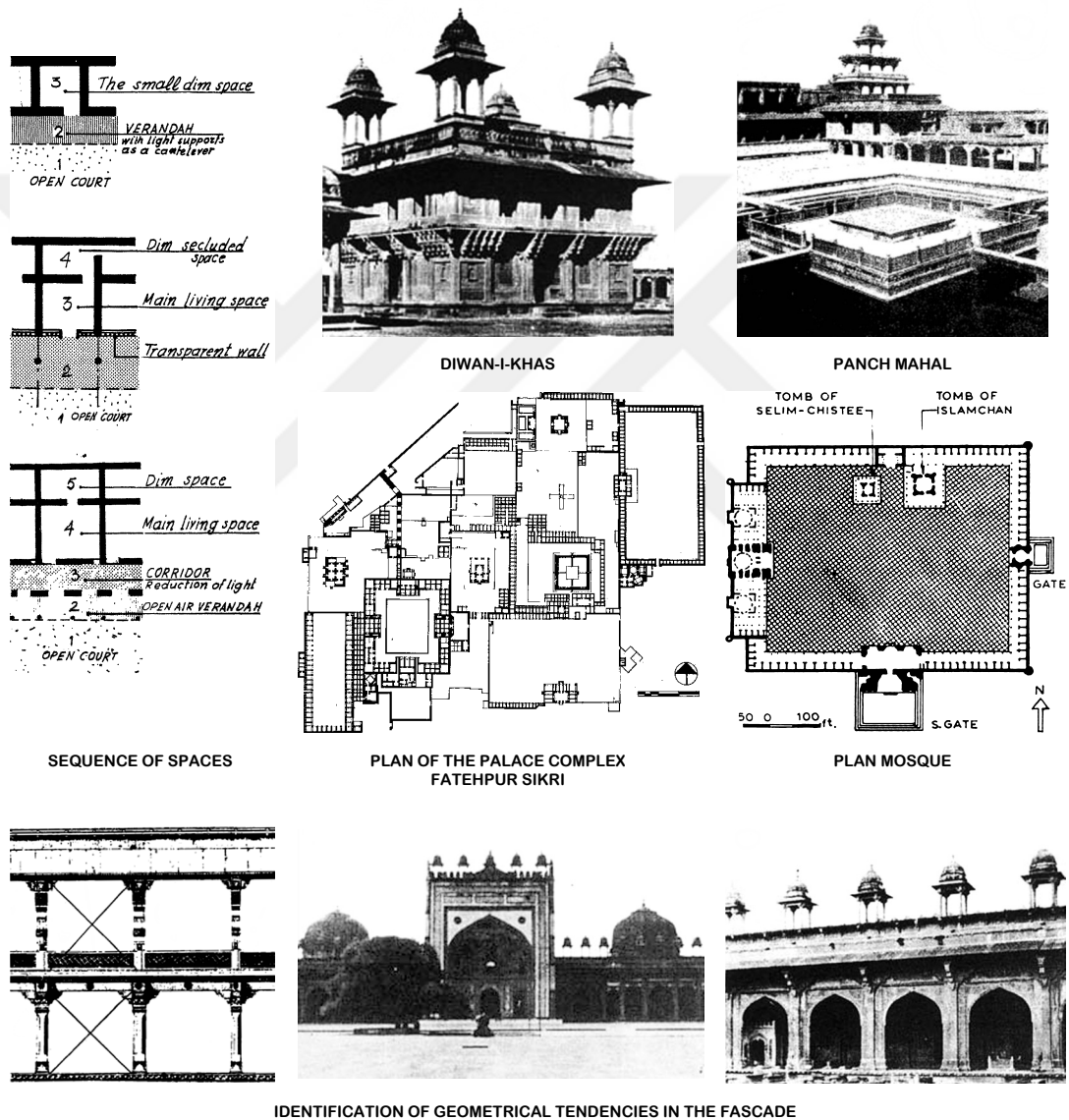


Figure 33: Fatehpur Sikri (1961).
 Block plan of palaces, Analysis of spaces, Geometry in façade, Plan of mosque, Diwan -i- Khas
 DOX-PA 99, Doxiadis Associates, Athens, pp. 83, 85, 86, 91.

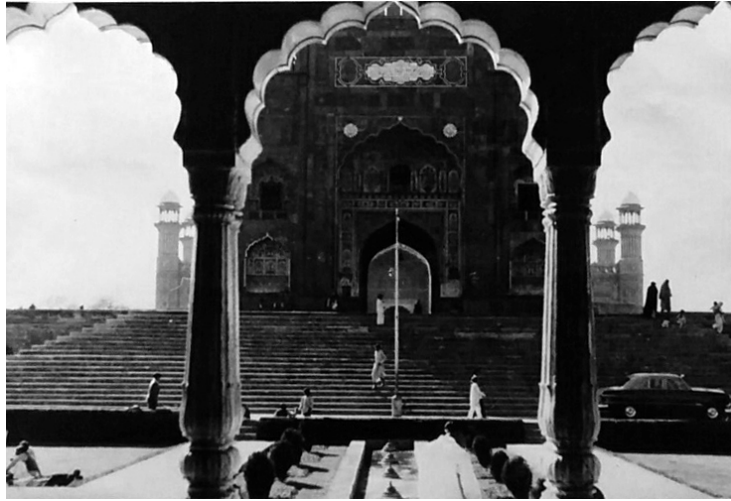


Figure 34: Photographs by Doxiadis of Badshahi Mosque square and Hazuri Bagh (1955).
CADA, Pak Vol.4 p.200.



Figure 35: Photographs by Doxiadis of rural houses around Islamabad and in Punjab (1955).
CADA, Pak Vol. 13 pp. 75, 66 & Pak Vol.1 p.241.

Additionally Doxiadis believed rigidity in city organization to be a recent outcome of western import. With regards to materials and construction he praises local traditions and argues that contemporary practices do not always lead to proper solutions (DoxiadisAssociates, 1961c, p. 137). Doxiadis then posits a discourse that

embodies six basic principles. The underlying suggestion is that a style should not be preconceived but consciously searched for. The principles were: unity of purpose, unity of conception, unity of means, hierarchy in expression, proper expression of times and expression of scale. Unity of purpose is achieved through serving the people. Architecture should be true with regards to economic, social, political, technical, cultural and aesthetic concerns. Unity of conception implies that implementation should be uni-directional in approach. Unity of means refers to standardized material usage leading to a unity in details in the physical expression of buildings. Hierarchy of expression implies that the buildings should reflect their character truthfully, for example modest housing should employ modest building materials. The proper expression of time and scale should reflect in plan and form (DoxiadisAssociates, 1961b, pp. 110-114).

The conclusions highlight the fact that a “style” cannot be created overnight but is the result of a time taking process. Likewise “style” should not be preconceived and imposed on a city but consciously searched for which contradicted demands of the government (DoxiadisAssociates, 1961b, p. 115). In Doxiadis’s view a character can be imbued into a new city (i.e. Islamabad) which can be given time to evolve. For this, he recommended “overall unity of effort”. Doxiadis proposes that one should not copy a style of the past and repeat it, but be creative in its approach. He states that Islamabad should be a workshop in which experimentation and learning should be concomitant themes. Islamabad should not be the site of majestic architecture, instead master builders and architects should aim towards an opportunity of learning and transfer of knowledge rather than dictation of a style (DoxiadisAssociates, 1961c, pp. 254-256).

His recommendations even though explanatory are only so in figurative terms. They outline a process rather than a product through a critical regionalist’s approach. Doxiadis did not possess this specific caption of “critical regionalist” to present his discursive objectives as it was not until later, spurred on publications in architectural theory,⁵³ that we have come to answer the question of “modernity” and tradition with its usage.

⁵³ Christian Norberg Schulz’s *Intentions in architecture* (1963) followed by *Genius Loci - Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture* (1980) and Kenneth Frampton’s *Towards a critical-regional* (1980).

Doxiadis's view of Islamic architecture was thus also focused on interpretation of formal historical buildings in intangible terms of space, organization, structural modulus etc. The client on the other hand wanted a tangible product; whose interpretation of an Islamic architecture was also formally restricted and material in nature (i.e. M. M. Sharif's views).

4.2.3 Foreign architects

The case of spatiality, the modern era or the paradox of modernity brought forward a link between industrialization and its manifestation in urbanization and architecture. As Lefebvre explains that before this revolution objects, were created from a "subjective viewpoint"; in the sense that they were always and mostly commissioned by sovereign, princes and rich patrons or were individual genius endeavors. Architects had been subjected to build for the rich and aristocracy. Their view of what was monumental or what was appropriate for civic space dominated above all else. The linkage between means and modes of production and its product opened up the possibility of conceptualization, perception and a new consciousness of space.⁵⁴ Lefebvre argues that this gave rise to a) "specific dialectic"⁵⁵, b) disappearance of "the façade" as a privileged face presented to an observer and this c) brought to fore a "global space". Lefebvre writes as a consequence, that this brought on "a monotonous architecture of the state" (1991, pp. 111-128).

This "monotonous architecture" can be connected to Sarah Goldhagen's position who argues that the CIAM and the International style was a codification of the modern movement into tropes such as the flat roof, steel structure, use of glass and devoid of ornamentation etc. This action "glossed over its multifarious and far reaching agenda"(Goldhagen, 2005). This codification set the grounds for familiarity of the modern movement in architecture for society at large and was the basis for its export as an idea around the world, as in the case of Pakistan. In this manner, prestige was lent to the developing countries when prominent architects took part in designing their cities. The postcolonial era offered western architects the opportunity to implement

⁵⁴ Lefebvre, here, mentions the role of Bauhaus and its artists.

⁵⁵ By this Lefebvre is implying that the representation of space was reduced and abstracted deliberately; for instance by breaking and rotating panes to imply apparent depth in a 2d plane.

their ideas and theories on a much larger scale, in many cases some served and some transcended the agendas of different regimes. A kind of “universal modernism” was equated as the medium of progress of a nation.

4.3 The Architecture of the Capitol Complex

The multiple proposals and the planning concepts of the Capitol complex of Islamabad provide an instructive discourse of conflicting ideologies. As Lefebvre posits, here the “principle of uneven development applies in full force”. Countries that are in initial stages of production of (goods) space cannot exploit the new possibilities of urbanization and knowledge as those countries that are technologically advanced. Spatial production which has by then attained a conceptual and linguistic grounding acts “retroactively” upon the past opening up new meanings. The past is comprehended differently and by relativity the present takes on a different aspect (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 65).

This makes prominent the clash between the desire of the committee and the layman for whom an architecture expressive of cultural and traditional nuances of Islam was of prime importance; where as for the technologically advanced western professional architects the ideology of “modernity” bore different aesthetic parameters. Where the former wanted an expression tied to the past, facilitated in materialization through a latent sovereign power structure; the imported “modern” architect wished to break away from history, able to express his individuality as a result of an opposition to similar historical power constructs.

For instance when the plans for Islamabad’s Parliament complex were being discussed, it was found important that the “building be of substantial size in order to be architecturally expressive, it will have to be carefully designed to reflect our past culture, at the same time utilizing modern methods of construction” (Nilsson, 1978, p. 16). For an illustration of the kind of power the committee exercised in the commissioning and decommissioning of architects, the following clause in the invitation document sent to consultants listed under the title of judgement is self-explanatory:

Judgement of the preliminary drawings shall be carried out exclusively by the committee of CDA. This is considered to be the only practical solution,

as the CDA cannot be restricted or bound in its judgement by the opinion of specialists seeing that it is the sole responsible authority which is to proceed to the realization of the designs (DoxiadisAssociates, 1961a).

4.3.1 Karachi proposal

As discussed earlier the initial intended capital site was Karachi and a plan for the same was made by the Swedish firm, Merz Rendel Vatten (MRV) upon invitation. This plan formed a strong axis that was to culminate in a monument to the Quaid of the nation, the founder of Pakistan. Around the monument to the Quaid was proposed an open square surrounded by government buildings, a central mosque, law courts and state administration and cultural affair buildings. The square was in shape of a hexagon each side of which measured 1400 feet. It was to house a million Muslims when gathered for celebrations and prayers for *Eid*.⁵⁶ For those travelling by air would see pools in form a crescent moon and star, in the reflection of the symbols of the national flag (Figure 36). The report defends the design which may be interpreted as authoritarian, rectilinear and geometrical by stating that it may be as an outcome of a desire to want order rather than insensitivity to functional and social conditions (B.Ostnas, 1952, p. 16).

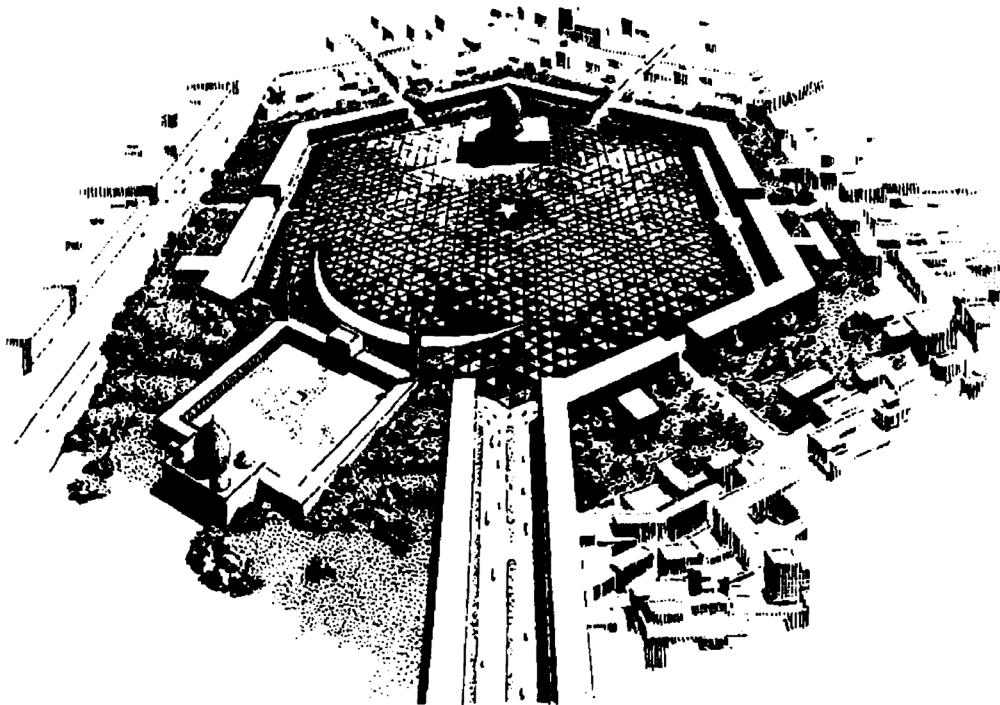


Figure 36: The Heart of Pakistan, MRV proposal for Karachi (1952).
Nilsson, S. The New Capitals of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh (Studentlitteratur, 1975), p.140.

⁵⁶ Muslim holiday after the month of fasting and on the 10th of the last month of their lunar calendar.

This axis was to extend and have different legs that housed 200,000-300,000 inhabitants. Walking distances shaped the arrangements on a micro scale and mass transit was to be done through a railway system. This proposal was shelved in a single day when the Ayub's government came to power. It was well known that he would not prefer the closeness of the business and government circles and preferred isolation. On the subject of the architectural style of the main governmental buildings, MRV thought that it would be a reflection of the ideal of Pakistan and added that, "There should be no question of a mere importation of the eclecticism which characterizes certain western architecture, nor of creating a pastiche in the Muslim style, which would be nothing but a mechanical adaption of an old mode" (B.Ostnas, 1952, p. 34). This pastiche, which the firm of Merz Randel Vatten had warned against, would come to the fore in later proposals for the Presidential complex.

4.3.2 Doxiadis's proposal

This section discusses the proposal put forward by Doxiadis for the national capitol complex. Doxiadis had assumed an automatic commission, before it was decided to bring in a team of international architects to design it.⁵⁷ Doxiadis's reports document two proposals presented to the government of Pakistan. The first proposal was presented in May 1960 and the second in November 1960.

During his many visits to Pakistan, Doxiadis had gradually built his own philosophical discourse about an "appropriate architectural style". This discourse of the "unity of effort" is an idealistic approach as it highlights a process rather than a product (See Section 4.2.2). He particularly stressed on tuning conditions that bring about architecture (i.e. social, political, economic etc). As a result his elucidation of this process is largely in intangible terms. With regards to Islamabad's architecture Doxiadis preferred an injection of "character" rather than imposing a particular style.

In the placement of the capitol complex as discussed in section 3.3.3 Doxiadis harkens to an acropolian legacy. The complex is placed on hill 17 and 17d (Figure 37), which are elevations marked outstanding from the outset of the capital's planning by both the

⁵⁷ The government, bent on constructing the capital at an unprecedented speed, had already started work on the President's hill according to his design which was later suspended (LIK, 1964a).

client and the consultant. Following is an excerpt from an interview with Orestes Yakas published in the Doxiadis Associates newsletter:

There is a conical hill feature that always appears the darkest color on the landscape. This is monument hill. On this, our plans to build a national monument to Pakistan have already been approved. There are three hills in the total site area: Monument hill, Capitol Hill, on which will be built the president's house, and a third elevated plateau designated for the great mosque. These three hills stands above the Islamabad site as symbols-symbols of the national, the progressive, and the religious spirit of Pakistan (CADA, 1962a).

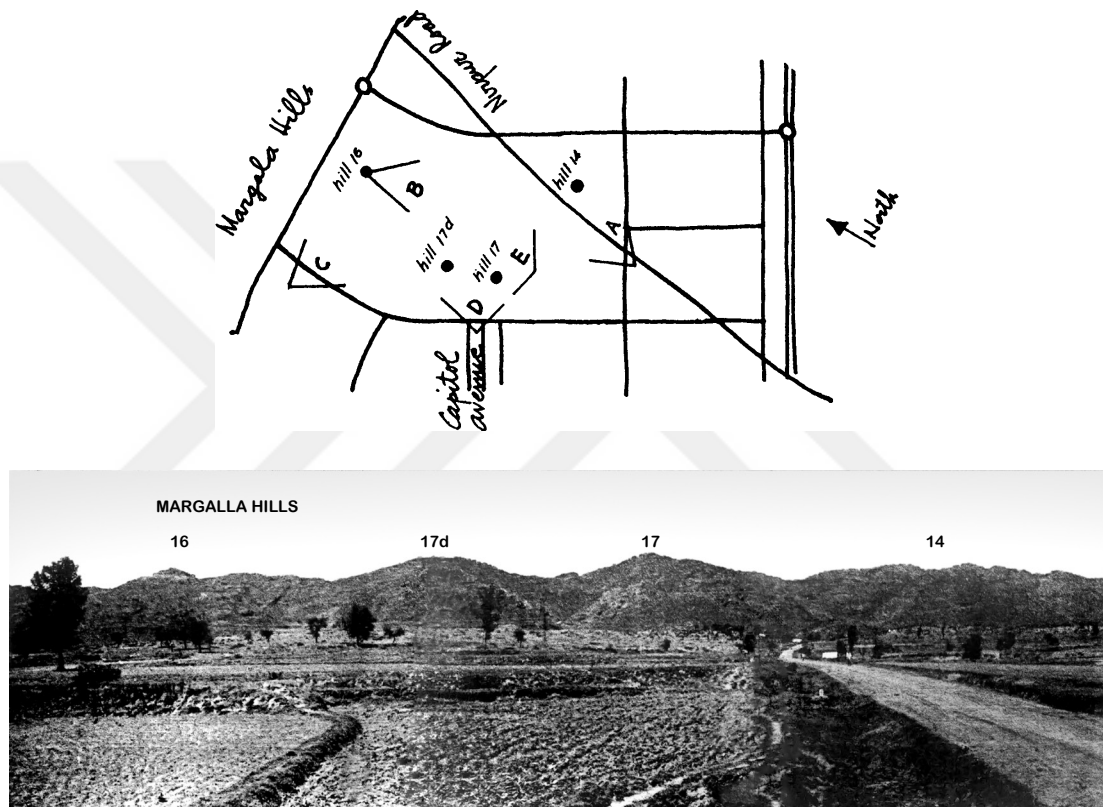


Figure 37: Hills 17 and 17 d. Location of the complex (1960). DOX-PA 89, Doxiadis Associates, Athens, p.99. Edited by Author.

Placement of the complex in this area situates it at one end of the city. This site had a natural barrier in the form of Margalla hills at its back. The main thoroughfares were adjusted at an axis so this position enjoyed maximum visibility to and from the city. This systematic physical isolation was an important factor for the regime in moving the capital's site away from the port town of Karachi. Doxiadis, in his proposal used the natural elevation as part his philosophy of unity, eclectically justified by assorted precedents from nature and history of the region (i.e Saidpur village and Jamrud

fort)⁵⁸(DoxiadisAssociates, 1961d, p. 48). He also drew references from the capitols of Washington and Paris to “give an idea of the importance of the central part of Islamabad” (DoxiadisAssociates, 1960a, p. 106). Both capitals display vested power centres of medieval and ancient patterns in the urban landscape (Figure 38 & Figure 39). It also highlights how social space was “reproduced” with hierarchy of the government and its governed through specific precedents and hence “social relationships that obtained earlier still obtain” (Lefebvre, 1991).

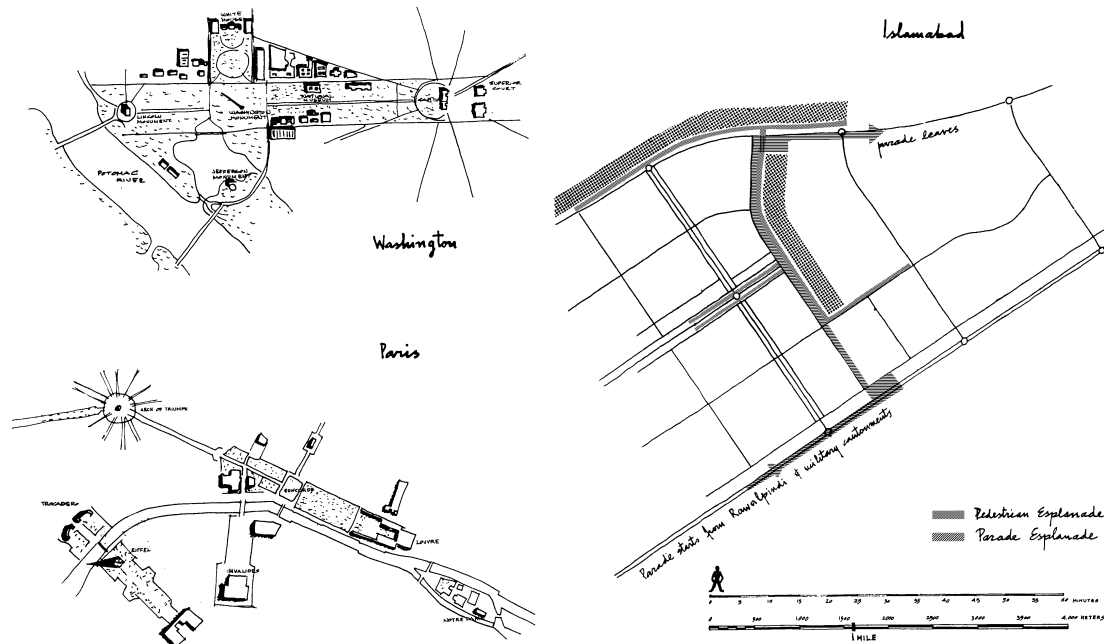


Figure 38: The core of the administrative function of Islamabad- Comparison with other capitals (1960). DOX-PA 89, Doxiadis Associates, Athens, p.107

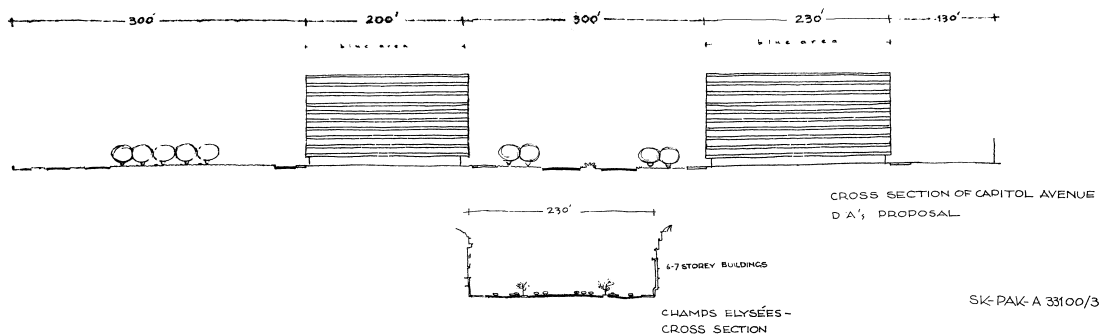


Figure 39: Cross sectional analysis of Capitol Avenue & Champs Elysées (1966). CADA, Pak Vol. 239 p.239.

⁵⁸ Saidpur village is situated at the Margalla foothills and is a Mughal era settlement. Jamrud Fort was built in 1836 CE and built under Sikh rule. It is situated to the north of Islamabad near the city of Peshawar.

In the first proposal of Doxiadis, the buildings are placed so that the Legislative complex (Assembly building) is at the centre of focus of the National avenue (main axis) with the Executive complex (the Presidency) and the Judicial complex (Supreme court) to its left and right (Figure 40). In the final proposal we see a shift of the Executive complex to the middle of the arrangement (i.e. at the axis of National avenue) and shift of the Legislative complex to its left (Figure 41). This iteration was based on the President's directive (Z.-U.-D. Khwaja, 1999, p. 91). Change of placement gives an insight into the symbolical importance attached to the Presidency over the Assembly, which coincidentally gives more importance to the president.

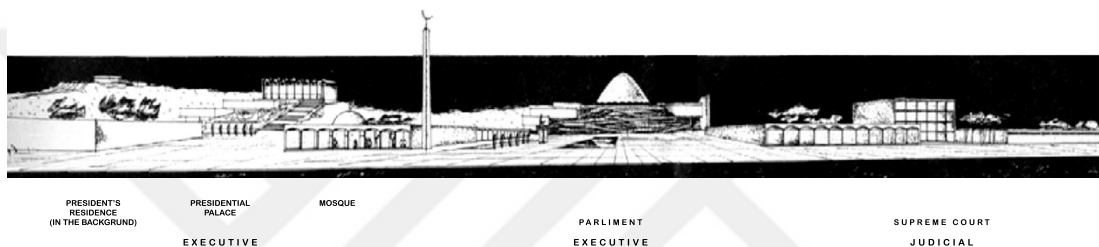


Figure 40: Capitol Complex: First proposal (1960).
DOX-PA 78, Doxiadis Associates, Athens, p.121.

To bring about a unity of form of these buildings in their setting, Doxiadis looked towards folk architecture. He posited that true application of material, as seen in the indigenous housing of Pakistan, would result in a modulus, “a proper type of grid” (DoxiadisAssociates, 1961d, pp. 51-64). This can also be interpreted as a “structuralist” approach for appropriation of a scientific method of construction. For example his usage of beams which see their initial form in the houses and markets of the capital are used “in their highest expression of this light curvature to an elevated arch resulting in a stongest and most monumental expression” in the complex buildings. He dubbed the capitol building structures as examples of “top of the pyramid buildings” (DoxiadisAssociates, 1961c, p. 238). Synonymously expression of power in assemblage of resources of building (Mumford, 1961, pp. 164-165) reflects in usage of concrete blocks with Mathura stone, an upscale from the material applied elsewhere in the city (DoxiadisAssociates, 1961c, p. 238).

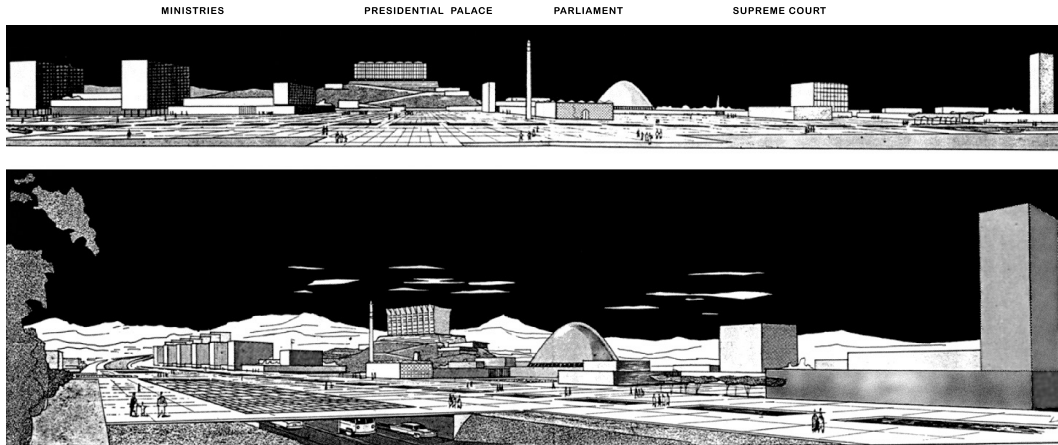


Figure 41: Capitol Complex: Second proposal (1960).
DOX-PA 89, Doxiadis Associates, Athens, p.125, 127.

In addition to elevation Doxiadis attempted to give maximum prominence as well as segregation to the capitol complex. A pedestrian esplanade with underground vehicular access in front of the capitol complex was provided (Figure 42).

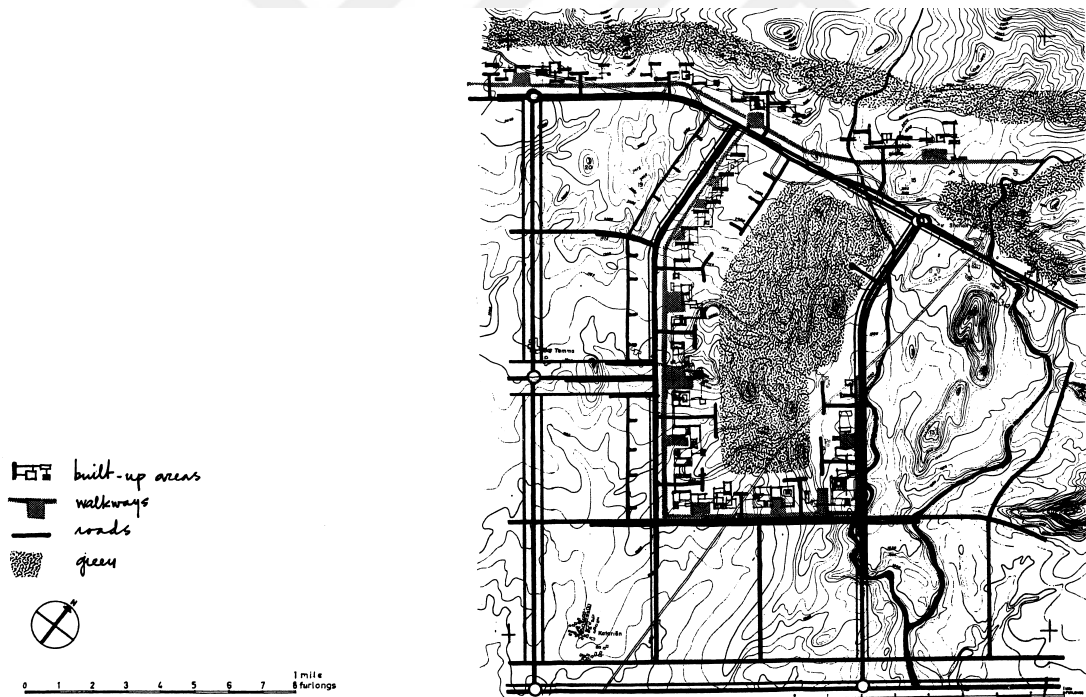
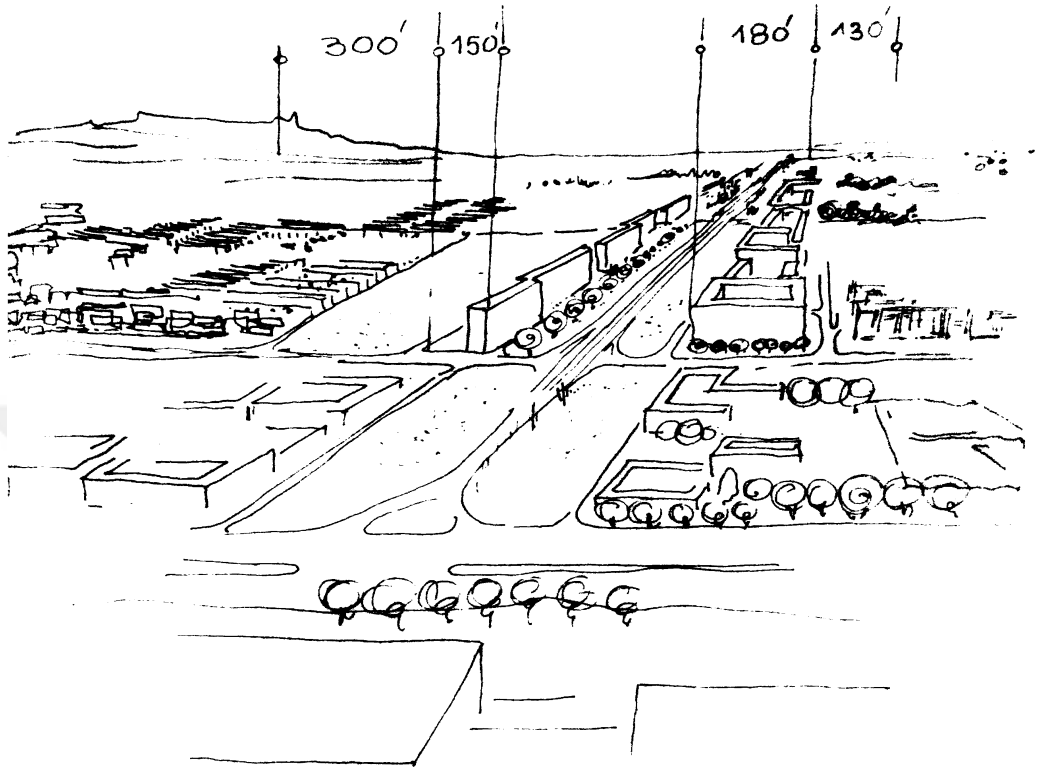


Figure 42: Lines of access and built up area (1960).
DOX-PA 89, Doxiadis Associates, Athens, p.115.

This limited movement through special access roads in and around the capitol where general movement was channelled through main roads for parades. From these main roads the users would be collected in two large squares in front of the government

buildings and then dispersed through designed routes. He maximized road and zone widths nearby for relative visual scale (Figure 43).



It does not suffice to pay attention to the view of the Presidential building from the main road but we should in addition take into consideration the view of road from the Presidential building. The greater the width of the zones, the more substantial the center (which is the backbone of the city) will be.

Figure 43: Doxiadis's sketch (1966).
CADA, Pak Vol.239 p.145.

Relying on traditional elements of jalis, courtyards, verandahs and water bodies the spaces in between the administrative centre and civic area formed buffers, both spatial and political. The belt of ministry buildings seemed to add on to this effect (Figure 44, Figure 45, Figure 46, Figure 47) The resultant proposal makes a formidable facade of buildings that employ on a solid void relation for a complete effect. The capitol by its placement emerges monumental in scale, placed at the most elevated part of the city with restricted access.

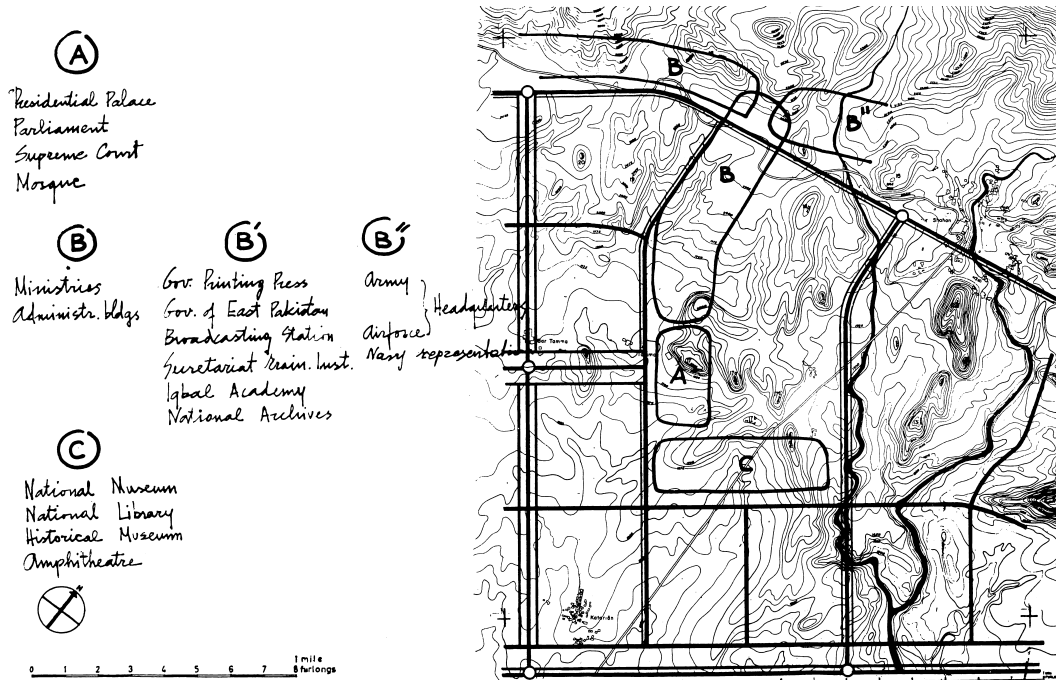


Figure 44: Tentative location of buildings to be included in the administrative sector (1960).
DOX-PA 89, Doxiadis Associates, Athens, p.109.

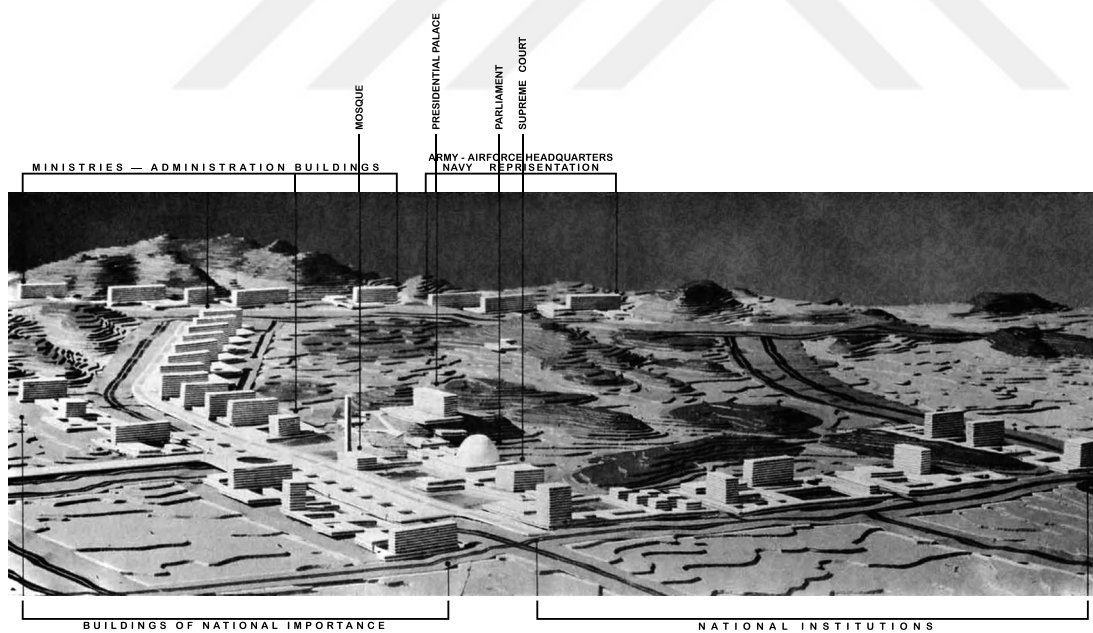


Figure 45: Model of the capital complex.
DOX-PA 114, Doxiadis Associates, Athens, p.135.

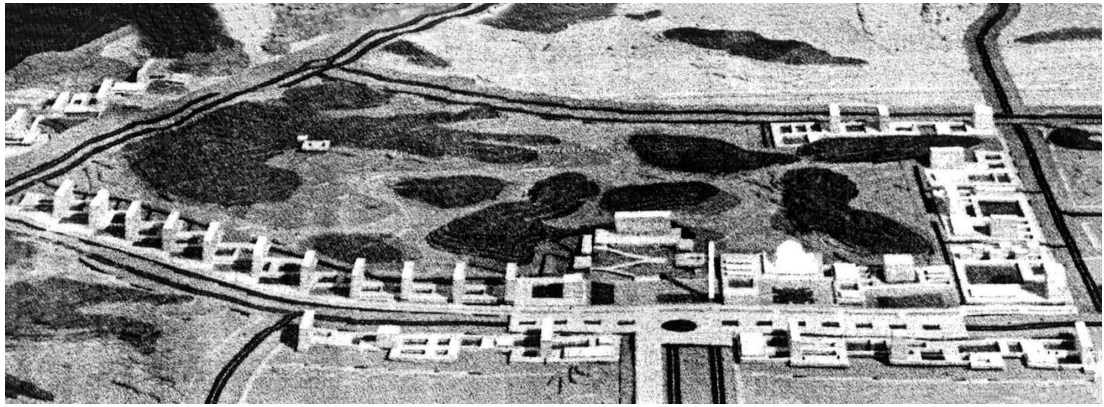


Figure 46: Perspective of model of the capital complex (1960).
DOX-PA 89, Doxiadis Associates, Athens, p.121.

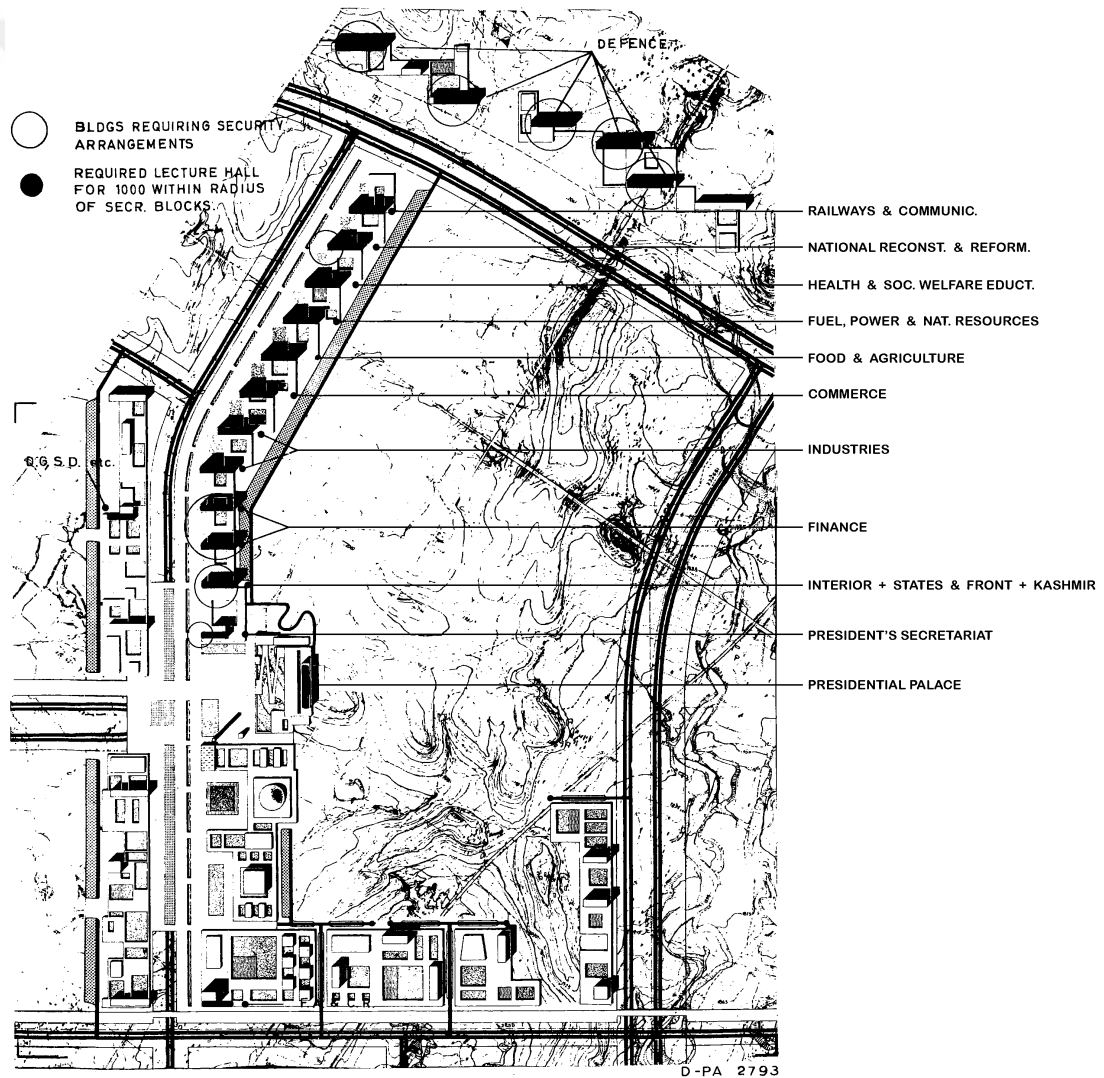


Figure 47: Proposed location of ministries (1960).
Suggestions submitted to CDA. DOX-PA 114, Doxiadis Associates, Athens, p.145.

In the sketch of the second proposal the presidential palace is a large rectangular form. A simple geometrical outline was proposed for easy recognition (DoxiadisAssociates, 1961d, p. 78). In Doxiadis's conception, the Presidential Palace and Parliament corresponded in height and scale to give a "character" to the city (DoxiadisAssociates, 1961d, p. 76). The front vaulted colonnade and building form of the palace is reminiscent of the high court building in Chandigarh by Le Corbusier (Figure 48).

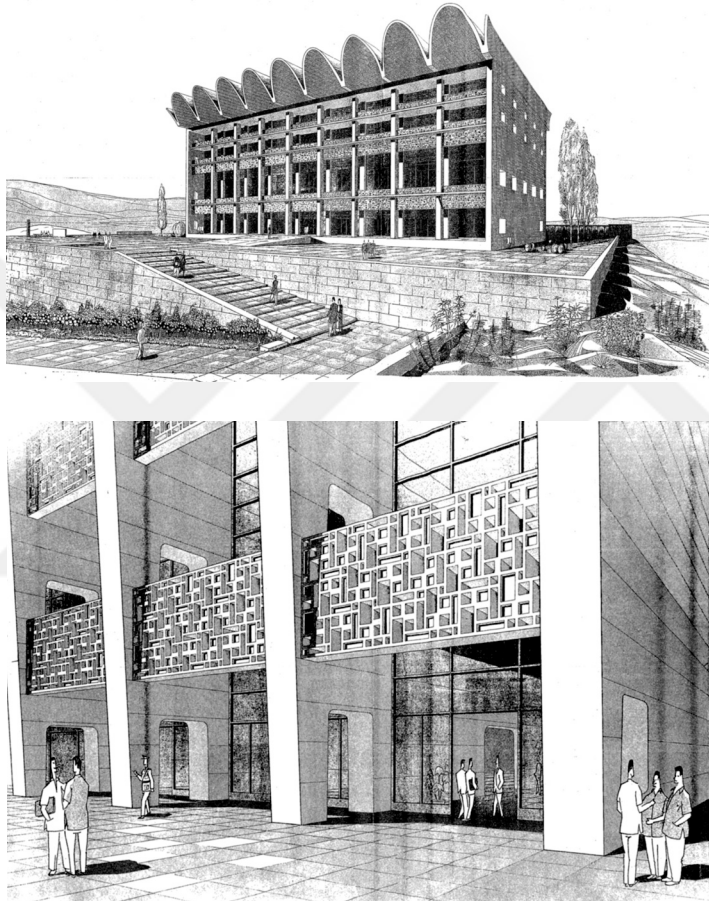


Figure 48: Presidential Palace & Detail of Presidential Palace (1961).
DOX-PA 115, Doxiadis Associates, Athens, pg.243, 247.

The odd oval shaped elliptical paraboloid of the national assembly is set on a square platform on top of the other hill. This brings to mind Oscar Niemeyer's National congress of Brasilia with the Supreme court building by Doxiadis in reflection of the towers of the same complex. There are also two squares in front of the complex, the Presidential and the Republic with a mosque in between (Figure 49). While the three bigger components did not vary widely in their form, one proposal to the other, the mosque differs. In the first proposal it was designed in a traditional manner with a

crescent on its dome and cylindrical minaret. The echo of the vaulted colonnade on its façade serves as a binder for the overall composition. In the second proposal the mosque emerges simpler and the minaret less steep. It also excluded the crescent emblems. The position and scale of the mosque is not lost on the keen observer. In its scale it does not correspond to the number of people intended to use it as part of the government brief (all the government employees and the general populace numbering over 26,000+). Nor does it follow the direction of the *qibla*. It can be surmised that it was placed there upon the regime's insistence but did not carry the same importance in the consultant's eye.

The application of accepted architectural forms to establish identity is hard to miss. The tropes of critically acclaimed capitals, appropriated to Islamabad's site in an effort to establish its character is reflected in Doxiadis's reports. He wanted Islamabad to serve as a "workshop" for these styles in their construction and usage. In a set of recommendations in an earlier report on the administrative area, Doxiadis categorically singles out the need for a "training program" and a co-ordinated capital area that should not be a mere sampling of buildings in an effort to bring up the level of local expertise (DoxiadisAssociates, 1960a, p. 130).

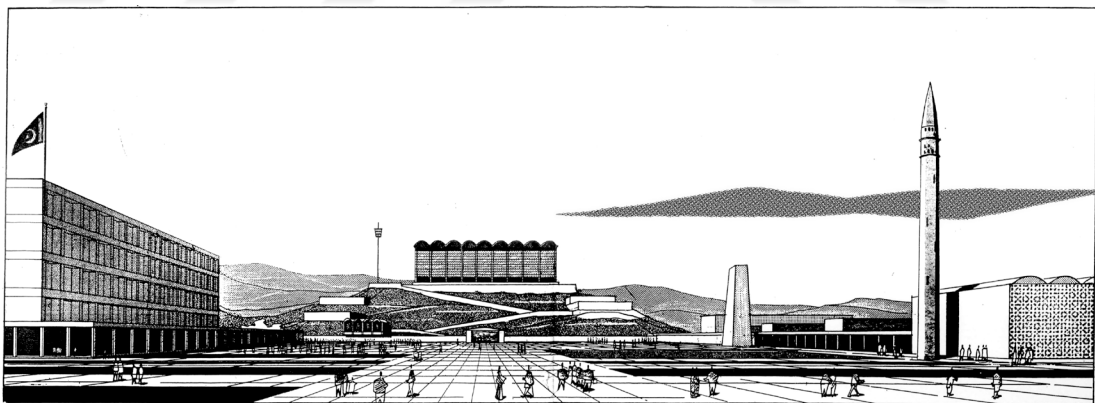


Figure 49: Perspective view, Presidential Palace Square Second proposal (1960).
DOX-PA 89, Doxiadis Associates, Athens, p.128.

The sketches present a synthesis- a collage of building heights, volumes, distances and their connections in a hierarchical manner of importance. Specific architectural vocabulary is used so that any future extension will also retain the character of the group of buildings. Access to these areas is restricted and limited. One cannot help but interpret the complex as another version of an agora or forum placed on the highest point of the city. While in the Greek agora or other classical cities this hierarchical

difference “occurred spontaneously” in case of the capital of Islamabad it was a “produced difference” which is distinguishable from “difference which is induced, and generally reduced” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 250).

4.3.3 Robert Matthew : Pedestrian esplanade and the central square

Conscious of the architectural importance of the administrative complex buildings, CDA tried to secure the services of world-renowned architects. Upon non-availability of individual “top architects” (CDA(DirectorateofArchitecture)), such as Kenzo Tange and Walter Gropius, the alternate decision of engaging a team under Sir Robert Matthew as chief consultant was taken. Sir Robert coordinated the initial proposals of the architects and took upon the setting proposed by Doxiadis as the base arrangement with an increased regard for the site’s natural contours. He suggested iterations to the arrangement as he understood that it was a matter of national pride for the country (Nilsson, 1975, p. 178). In a letter to Louis Kahn who was then designing the complex, Matthew writes:

The presidential palace has been brought slightly to the south east so that its terminating cluster of rooms are on the center line of the capitol avenue. One effect of this is to heighten the ramparts of the palace as seen from the square; making it more aloof and in practical terms more secure. Secondly the ramp in this position gives ample space for the foreign office and for the service road in front of it. The end of the lake below the great wall of the president’ gate houses is less ramped. This whole area is broader. The palace is seen from the capital avenue, the conclusion of every vista (LIKC, 1965c).

Sir Matthew suggested the area between the esplanade and buildings to be allocated for pedestrians by segregating car movement. He revised the esplanade’s width up to 90 feet with hard paving. Building on Doxiadis’s solid void relation of the complex, he proposed a terraced area planted with trees and shrubs between the Esplanade and National Avenue. Sir Matthew posited that this would “serve to break the whole length along the National Avenue into varying and interesting squares and groups of plantation related to the buildings”. He proposed a linked system of spaces through the administrative center (LIKC, 1964a) .

Sir Matthew’s civic and pedestrian friendly proposition was not taken positively. The client stated that in light of security requirements of President’s estate “a visual link may serve the purpose” (LIKC, 1965a). Design upon this directive meant that the

public was completely isolated from government buildings (Figure 50). According to Lefebvre, spatial activity is restricted by space as it implies an order by limitation. Space in this manner commands bodies “proscribing and prescribing gestures, routes and distances” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 143).

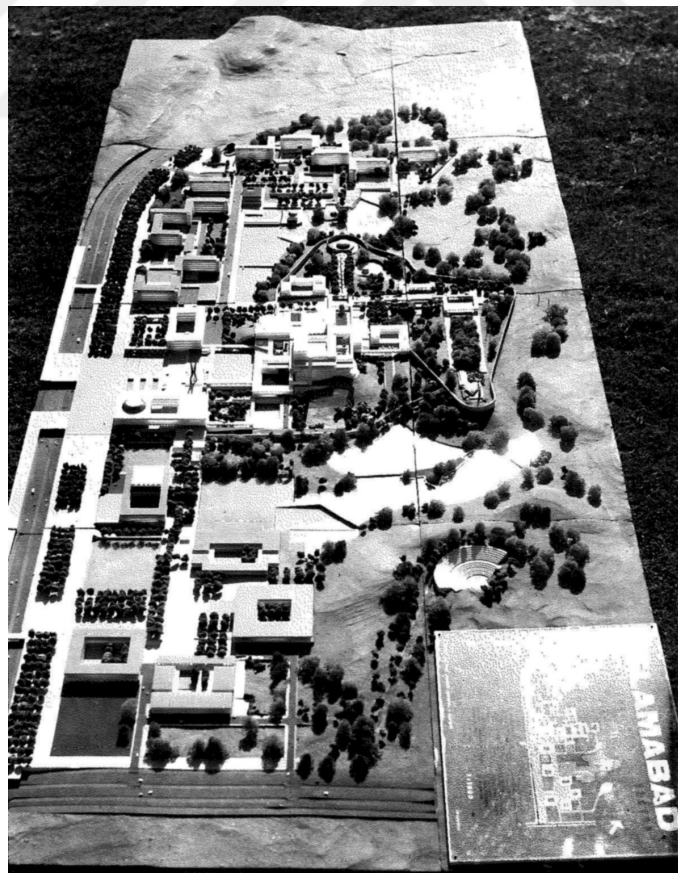
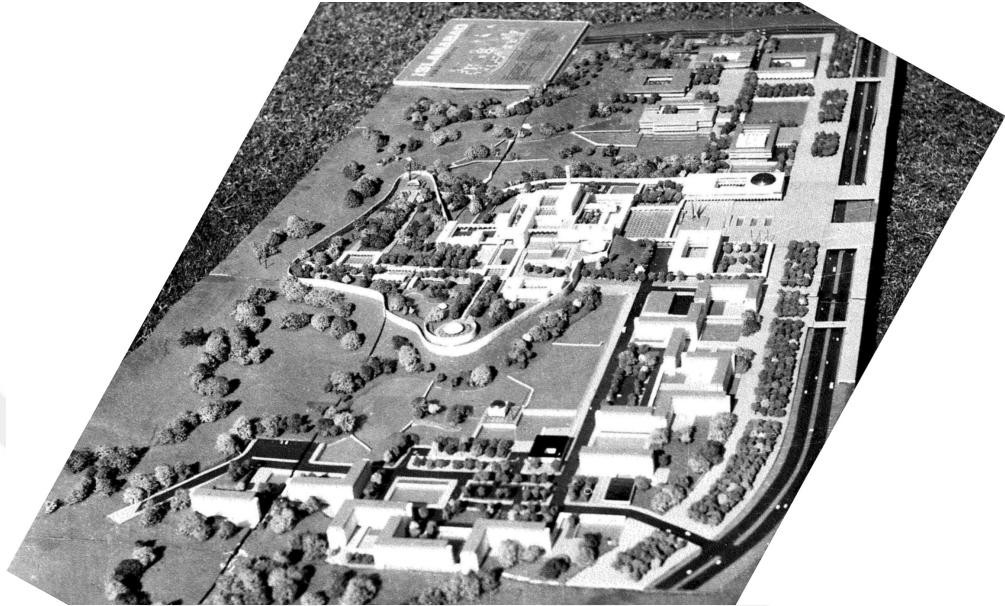


Figure 50: Photographs of the capital complex model (1964).
© Louis I. Kahn Collection. 030. II.A.82.4.

4.3.4 Arne Jacobsen: National Assembly Building

The contract between Arne Jacobsen and CDA, to design a national assembly was finalized in October of 1962 for a sum of Rs.600,000 (Rigsarkivet, 1962a). The proposal he presented for the building aimed to create an impressive and “unmistakable design” which would also justify its function (Faber, 1964). It is an oblong, rectangular block with a monolithic cylinder, clad in marble, housing the parliament chambers and a mosque underneath. Its shorter end faces the avenue. It is devoid of any decorative elements. The parliament block opens on to a pedestrian patio oriented towards the northeast, while the patio on the southwestern end is covered. These patios group the office blocks present on their sides (Figure 51 & Figure 52).

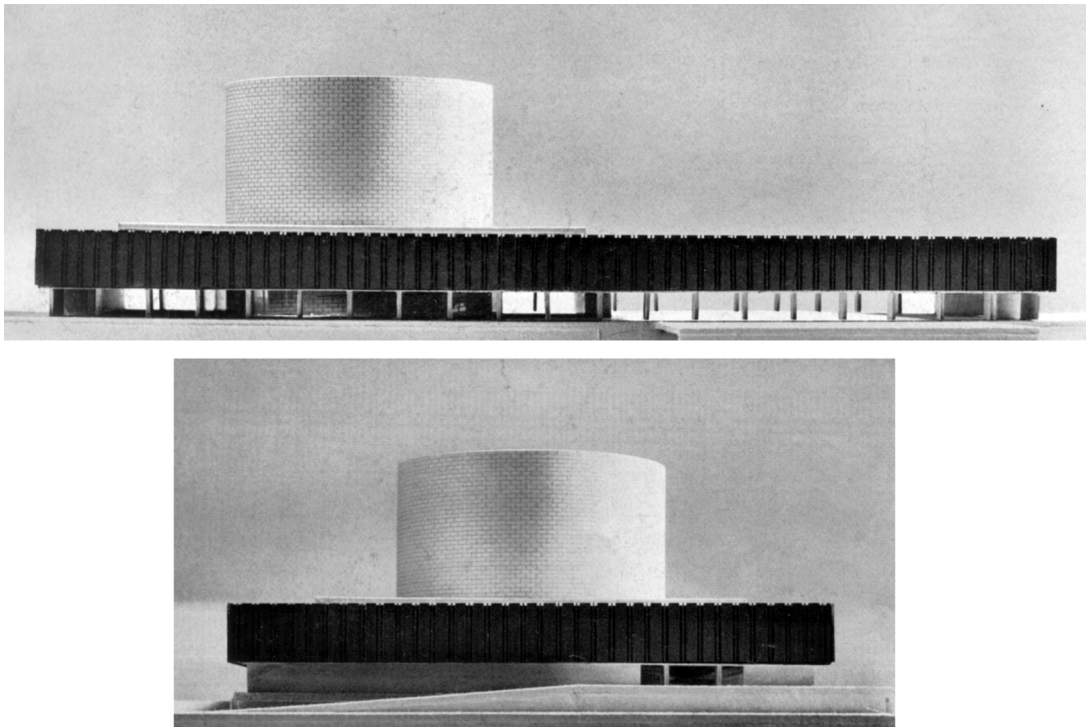


Figure 51: Proposed South West & South East elevations of Parliament building (1963).
E. Rockwell, *Arne Jacobsen* (G. Hatje, 1964, University of Michigan).

Details in Jacobsen’s drawings list materials for construction including precast concrete, patented anodized aluminum panels and tubular steel space frames (Rigsarkivet, 1962b). The necessary industry and expertise for the production and usage of these materials was lacking in the country which was struggling to survive in its initial years of freedom.

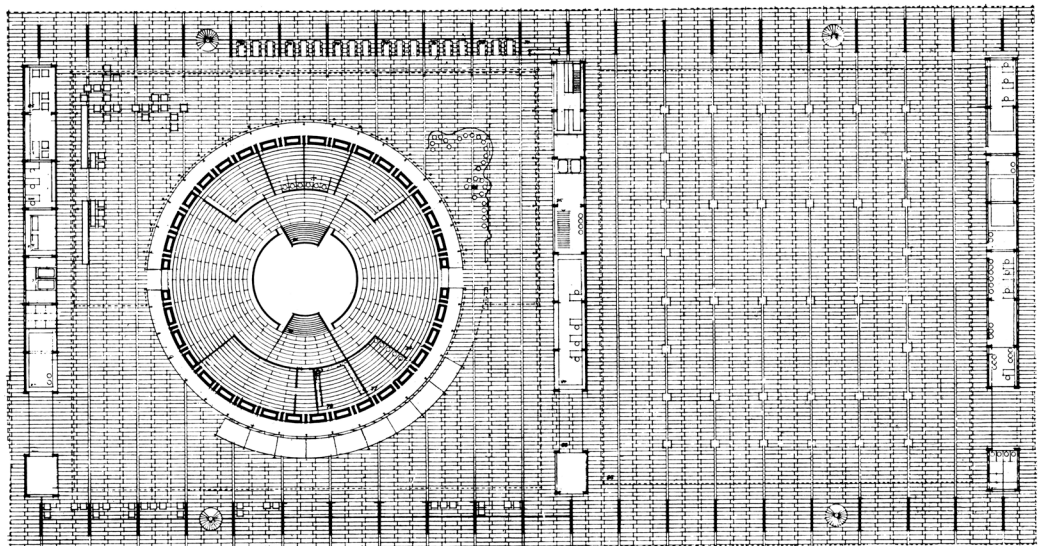
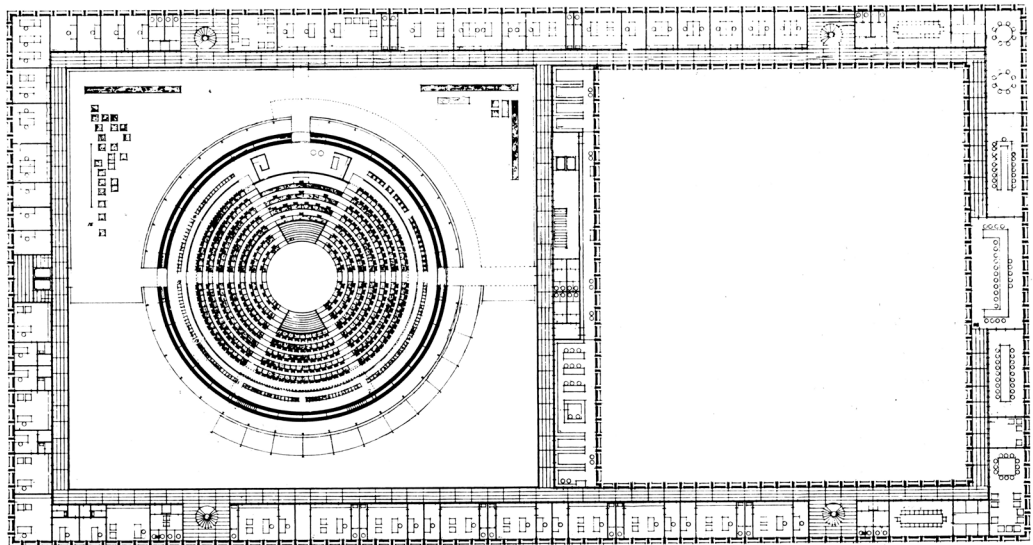
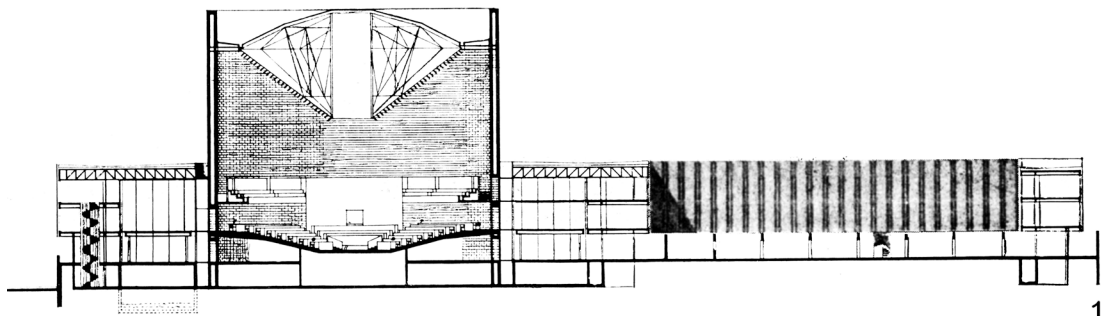


Figure 52: Plan and section of the Parliament building (1963).
 E. Rockwell, *Arne Jacobsen* (G. Hatje, 1964, University of Michigan).

1: Longitudinal section of the office wings, Parliament chamber, and open North-East patio,
 2: Plan of office floor and chamber, 3: Plan of ground floor and mosque below parliament.

Office files in the Louis Kahn archives, document minutes of the meeting of Arne Jacobsen with CDA. His use of construction material, especially the use of anodized aluminum façade panels was a topic of heated debate regarding cost and feasibility (LIKC, 1964b). Programmatically, Jacobsen notably inculcates public access, public restaurant and a pedestrian patio in his proposal. His design, though monumental in expression, is structured in its approach of working of the government. Jacobson's proposal was criticized on both financial and aesthetic grounds (CADA, 1966, p. 7). It was after his first proposal that a question of providing a second chamber in the assembly was raised (Rigsarkivet, 1963a). Due to an increase in gross area for the assembly from 77,000 Sft to 140,000+ Sft, Arne Jacobsen asked for a reconsideration in the architect's remuneration and also suspended work until this matter could be resolved (Rigsarkivet, 1963b, 1963c).

Where the problem seems to be at first of an economic nature, analysis of correspondence in the archives, reveals that the aesthetic consideration played a very significant part. In a reply to Arne Jacobsen's request for fee revision, Zahir-Ud-Deen Khwaja as a representative of the CDA in his capacity as Director planning writes, "An important point, which was engaging the attention of the CDA simultaneously [in relation to economics] was the question of incorporation of certain Islamic features in the National assembly building" (Rigsarkivet, 1964c).

Jacobsen had presented his straight and simple proposal in line with aesthetics of the International Style (Nilsson, 1975, p. 178) in front of a jury of federal secretaries. Their general consensus of opinion was that, "central assembly chamber should incorporate a high dome like structure which may be reminiscent of past cultural traditions of the Muslims" (Rigsarkivet, 1964c). The other features which the committee of secretaries and their chairman thought appropriate were, "in form of some arches in the cylinder, a dome above the cylinder or some additions in the fore-courtyard". A request for "dominating" mosque for use of members in place of the subterranean space proposed by the consultant was also suggested (Nilsson, 1978, p. 17). Additionally this was also communicated by mail to the architect on April 25th 1963. These demands were ignored by the consultant who differed in his opinion about client-consultant relationship from those who commissioned him (Z.-U.-D. Khwaja, 1999, p. 100). The

aesthetic insistence was strange to Arne Jacobsen. In a letter to Robert Matthew he writes referring to Zahir-Ud-Deen's reply from the CDA;

This letter I find makes the matter even more difficult as the economic side might have been solved by some arrangement, but as European architect I do not find it possible to attach Islamic or other religious factors to one's architecture (Rigsarkivet, 1964a).

Jacobsen continues that this insistence seems impossible for him to adhere to and as a result, "I must sit back and see the job be taken out of my hands" (Rigsarkivet, 1964a). He also writes that he will not be able to realize a quality of building with different architectural aims in mind than those who had hired him.

Sir Robert Matthew was also concerned by this turn of events in which CDA's relationship with the architect had turned sour. Correspondence found in the Danish National Archives highlights this. In a letter to Arne Jacobsen, Sir Robert writes, "If the government select an architect than it is for him to design the building and no one else" (Rigsarkivet, 1964b). In the same manner he communicates his alarm in a personal letter to Zahir-Ud-Deen Khwaja which is as follows, "This method of working may well effect all other architects...If the government have some preconceived ideas about architectural design these should be made quite explicit when the architect is appointed (Rigsarkivet, 1964e).

CDA relieved Arne Jacobsen of his contract in August 1964. In one of his last letters to the CDA, Jacobsen states that had he incorporated their wishes for a dome, it would have ruined the design completely (Rigsarkivet, 1964d). Delays and lack of funds due to war (1961) gave the committee opportunity to change consultants. The government turned to Louis Kahn after Jacobsen's dismissal.

4.3.5 Louis I.Kahn:Presidential Complex

Louis Isadore Kahn was already working on the President's estate when Arne Jacobsen was dismissed. He produced three schemes for the presidential complex of buildings, over the period of two and a half years. The office of Louis Kahn was commissioned to design the government center, consisting of the parliament, president's offices, Supreme court and a museum of Islamic history (Ronner & Jhaveri, 1987, p. 307). The directives for spatial requirement changed over the course of his association with said project. Specifically, as he was also asked to design the national assembly after

Arne Jacobsen's exit. The parts of plans, which in earlier proposals are captioned the Museum, change to the Council of Islamic ideology and then morph to inculcate the cabinet (parliament) in its plan, in subsequent proposals.

The early version of the complex comprises of large circular ramps from the sunken highway (as proposed by Doxiadis with a pedestrian esplanade on top) to a central square. The Parliament, President's offices and the museum group around it, while the Supreme Court is on the other side of the highway. President's house is located atop a hill, accessed through a ramp. An artificial lake connects the three natural hills on which the complex is situated (Figure 53). Kahn proposed that the three hills were to be utilized in the following manner, "Central hill for the President's house, Northern hill for area of recreation, and Southern hill as a quiet precinct" (LIKC, 1964c).

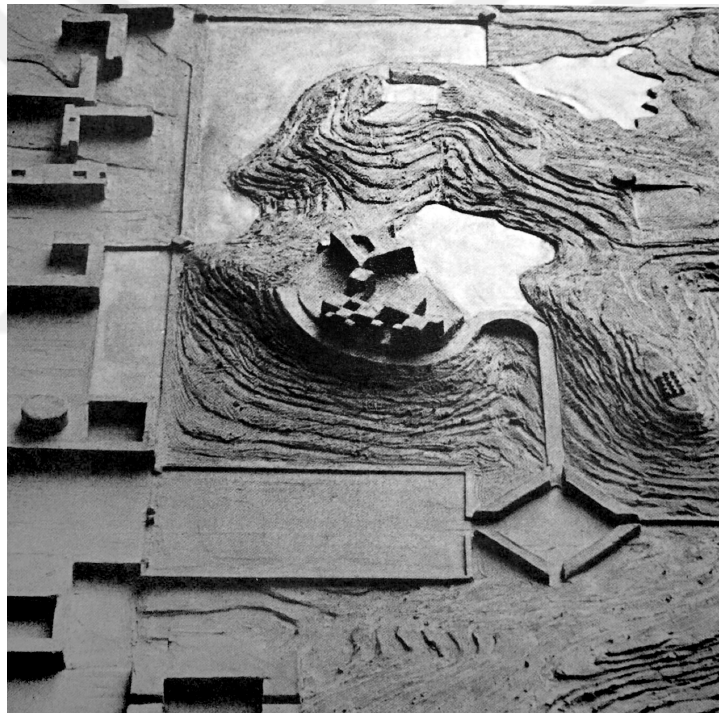


Figure 53: View of the site model from the South East- early version (1963). Ronner, H., and S. Jhaveri. *Louis I. Kahn: Complete Work, 1935-1974* (Westview Press, 1987). p.307.

As in his initial proposal, Kahn provides a square for large gatherings in the next. He proposed a national monument in the square. It was suggested as a new concept of a minaret embodying a small chapel with an open ground for prayer. The square was to be a roofless hall of meeting (LIKC, 1965g). In this manner Kahn situated the complex

with an open area that specifically welcomed the common people and was tied by association to their religion.

This suggestion was not accepted and the monument was to have a “secular” significance only (LIKC, 1965h). Instead a provision of an arcade was advised (LIKC, 1965a), along with a “Durbar Hall” for investitures and large gatherings (LIKC, 1965a). This gesture explicitly draws out the lingering colonial mindset of the committee put in charge as well as usage of the word secular, which was used in a similar cultural understanding by the CDA officials. The Durbar hall in its external setting, more closely resembles the showcase events staged by the British, such as the Delhi and Lahore durbars, signifying the takeover of India by the British Crown. The Durbar is a colonial imagination, which embodies a showcase of royal power and ascent to the throne through a processional event. The British in turn had taken cue from the Mughal royal street movement where royalty would be perched atop a dais on a visit through the city streets, exalted above the general populace. Additionally usage of the terms such as a “royal suite” (LIKC, 1965k) for the presidential palace’s area requirements sent by the client to the consultant display a similar thought pattern of exclusion with an imperial reference as opposed to democratic inclusion.

In parallel, explicit demands for a content of religiosity by the CDA committee of bureaucrats, put together to decide the details regarding the architecture of the complex, irked Kahn. He communicates this in a letter to Sir Robert, “The insistence of an Islamic touch is plaguing and insidious, but in spite of this, it can stimulate resources not called on before” (LIKC, 1965f). The demands reoriented Kahn’s architecture and forced him to look towards pre-colonial examples of built form. He pens that his effort was directed towards an evolution of the form for a new civic order within the glorious tradition of “Mughal architecture”,⁵⁹ which would enable to bridge the past to the future (Chakraborty, 2013).⁶⁰ Kahn hoped to soften the committee’s

⁵⁹ Kahn’s visit in Pakistan included as did Doxaids’s, tours of the architectural monumnets in the region. For more information see Goldhagen, Sarah Williams, and Louis I Kahn. *Louis Kahn's Situated Modernism*: Yale University Press, 2001,p.173. Goldhagen critically reassembles Kahn’s identity as an architect with political, socail and artistic ideals of modernity specifically in a post war context.

⁶⁰ Cited by Chakraborty from Louis I. Kahn, undated transscript of presentation to Pakistanis in “Pakistan Correspondence - Misc.,” Box LIK 120, Kahn Collection.

staunch demands and inspire them through his work. In order to make this more effective he called on Sir Matthew and all other architects for help. In the same letter, he writes;

It is important, in my opinion to get a reaction from the CDA to the architectural approach. This reaction will provide us for a more sympathetic presentation in late September... I have changed the president's house to strengthen its architecture (LIKC, 1965d).

Kahn's next proposals are also one of boldly cut profiles, much in the fashion of Arne Jacobsen and devoid of expressionist overtones on their surfaces. His design was repeatedly criticized for "not reflecting a Pakistani character" (CADA, 1966). Stress was placed on an "accent of national character and Islamic architecture" (LIKC, 1965j) much in line with M.M. Sharif's views which placed importance on decorative outer design and its abstraction. In the status and space given to the mosque in proximity to the cabinet, its area is almost five-fold of the other areas (marked as chapel in the plan) (Figure 55). The design was a particularly important concern sans identity. The clients on the other hand, had an issue with his pyramidal roof in the design which they thought gave "the impression of a church" (Figure 54).

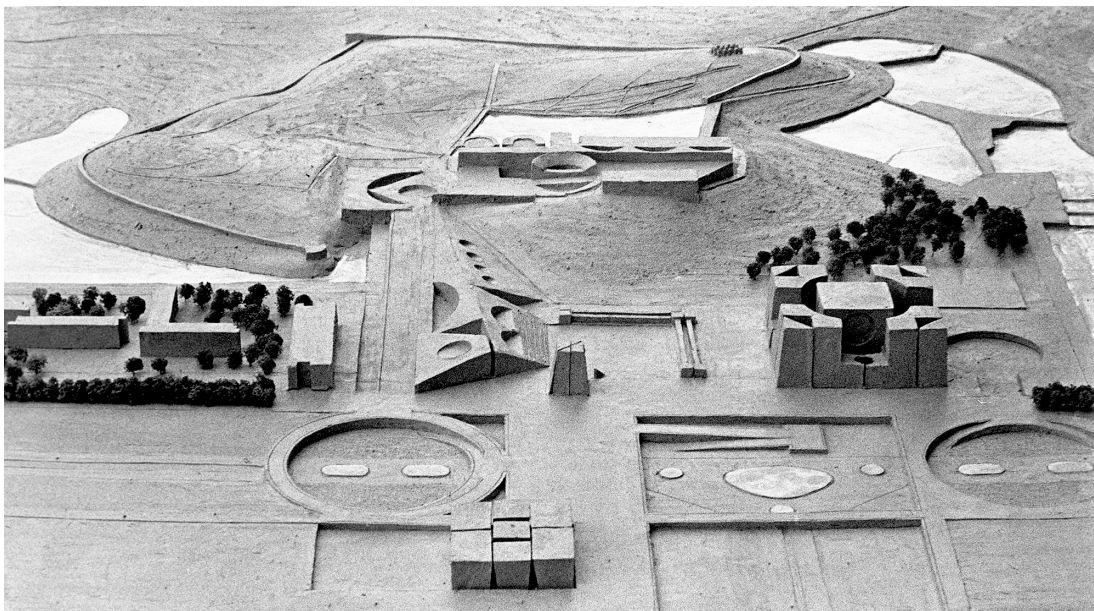
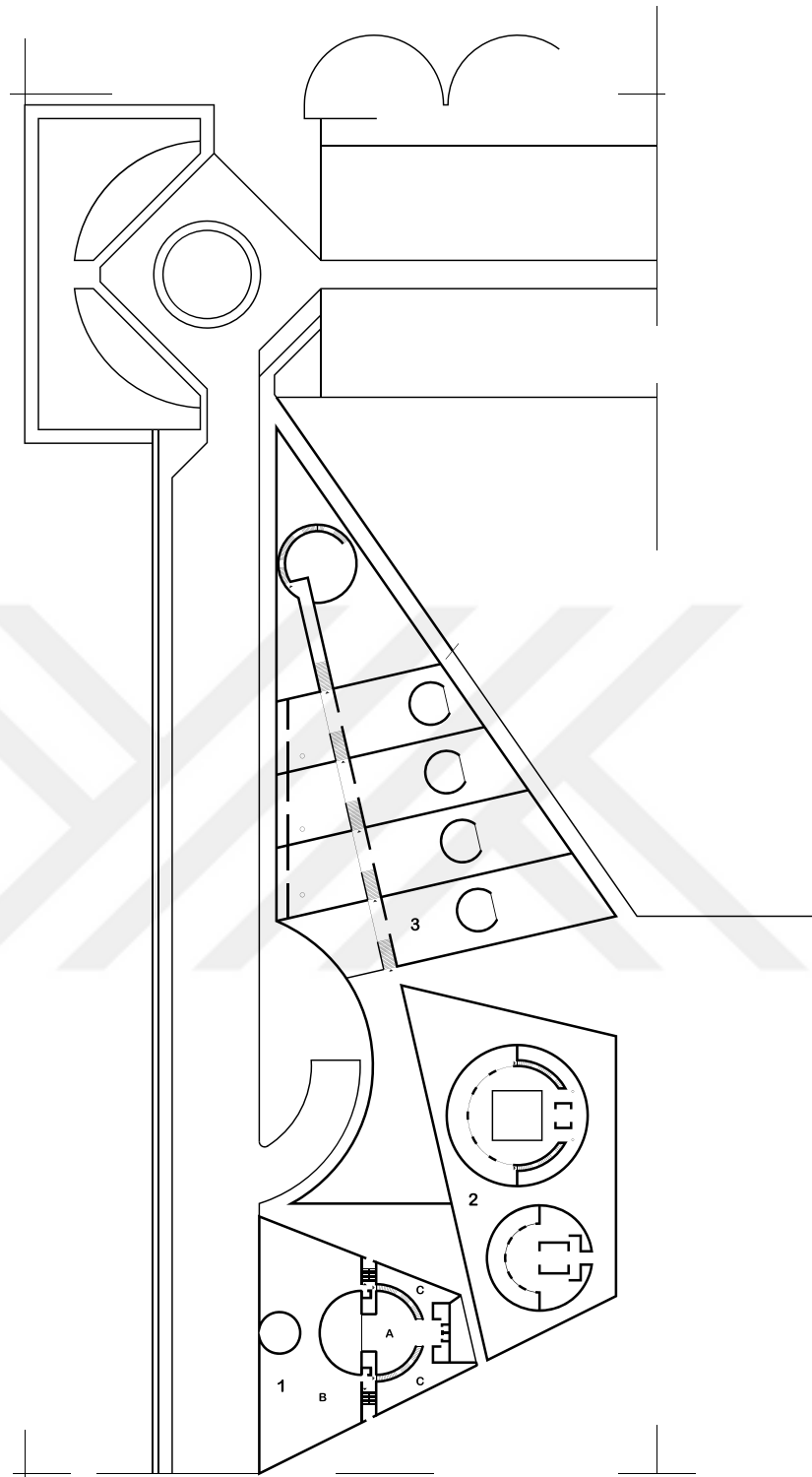


Figure 54: South east view of the model-intermediate version (1963).
© Louis I. Kahn Collection. 030.IV.E.675.1.010



FLOOR PLAN (EL 1907)

- 1 CABINET
 - A CHAMBER
 - B OFFICE
 - C SECRETARIES
- 2 COUNCIL CHAMBERS
- 3 CHAPELS
- 4 AMPHITHEATER

Figure 55: Study plan of the Council of Islamic Ideology (1963).
 © Louis I. Kahn Collection. 030.I.C.675.3 Redrawn by author.

Kahn was asked to change it. Earlier when Kahn had declared the pyramidal roof upon being clad with marble would have a pleasant appearance, one committee official had reacted in following words; “the sentiments of those who will offer prayers inside the mosque were far more important than any aesthetic architectural consideration” (Chakraborty, 2013).⁶¹ In the next proposal, we see the pyramidal structure disappear. In its place is a long rectangular building relying on geometric, four-sided compositional elements (Figure 56). On the insistence of the client, the assembly building is topped with a dome (Figure 57). Kahn complied to this request pending no effect on the acoustics of the chamber by addition of a dome (LIKC, 1965i).

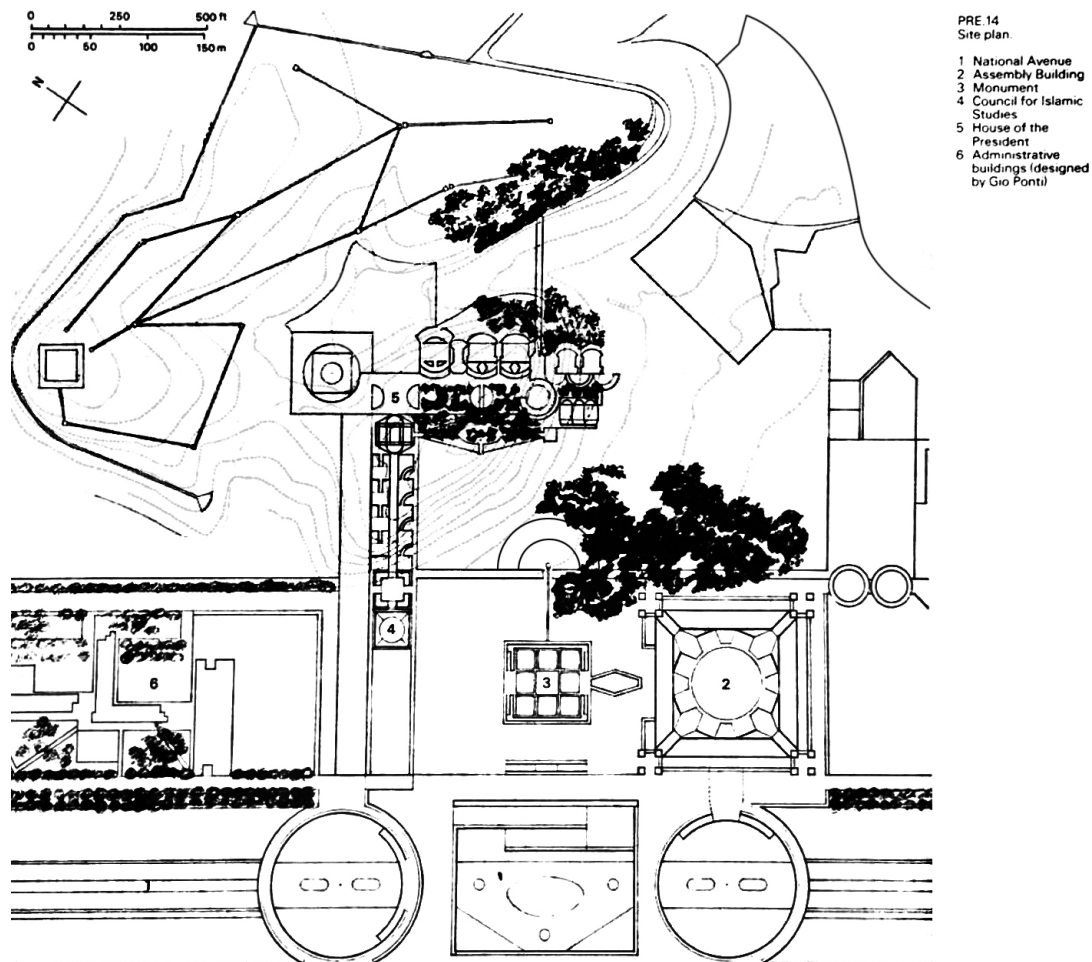


Figure 56: Plan of the complex- Final version (1964).

Ronner, H., and S. Jhaveri. *Louis I. Kahn: Complete Work, 1935-1974* (Westview Press, 1987).

⁶¹ As cited by Chakraborty from “Minutes of a Meeting held on 19 Jan. 1970,” in “PAK PWD Correspondence 1969,” LIK 117, Kahn Collection.

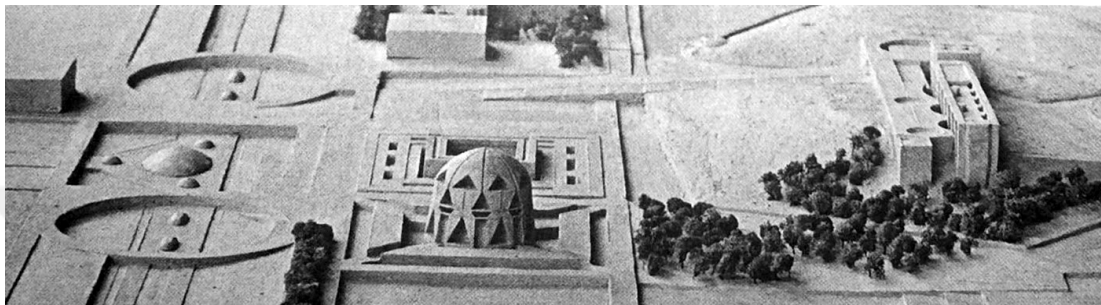
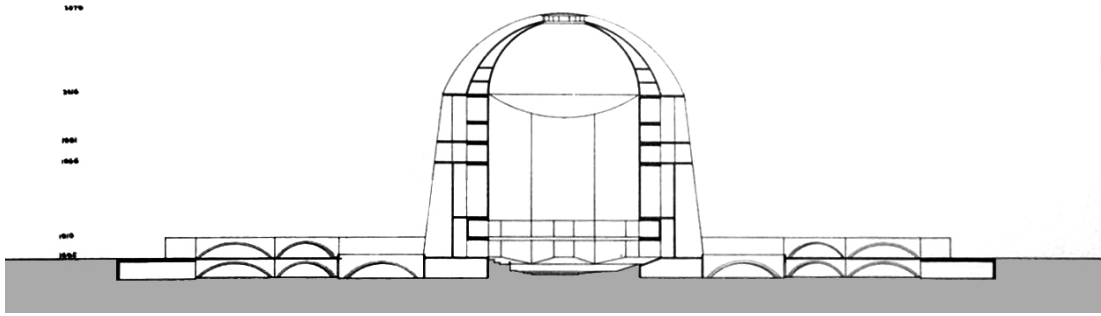


Figure 57: South East elevation of model and section of assembly building- Final version (1964). Ronner, H., and S. Jhaveri. *Louis I. Kahn: Complete Work, 1935-1974* (Westview Press, 1987). p.311.

In a page from Louis Kahn's sketchbook he notes, the monument which was earlier proposed as an open square, now, encloses an inner court with help of walls. These walls would have Koranic verses inscribed upon them. The square would be surrounded by tea terraces and shops (Figure 58) and open to common people (Ronner & Jhaveri, 1987, p. 311). The committee also asked Kahn and Sir Matthew to revise the open spaces in the complex area in light of security concerns. Due to this revision, significantly reduced portion of the capital complex termed as the "outer cordon" was accessible to the civilians. The open areas included gardens, water bodies and spaces in proximity to the square which were to be included in the President's private residence and "inner security cordon" (LIKC, 1963).

Kahn believed in the "virtue of democracy and a vibrant public sphere" (Goldhagen & Kahn, 2001, p. 162). In this stead the monumental language of his buildings and public design were an effort to psychologically evoke a sense of attachment to the institutions housed within them while simultaneously encouraging people's inclusion. Despite adhering to multiple alterations to his designs, Louis Kahn was

replaced and instead given the chance to design the Parliament complex at Dhaka⁶² which became one of his most critically acclaimed projects. “The reason for the rejection of Louis Kahn’s design is believed to be the inability to modify the design so as to reflect Pakistan’s desire to introduce Islamic architecture in Islamabad’s buildings” (Nilsson, 1978, p. 21).

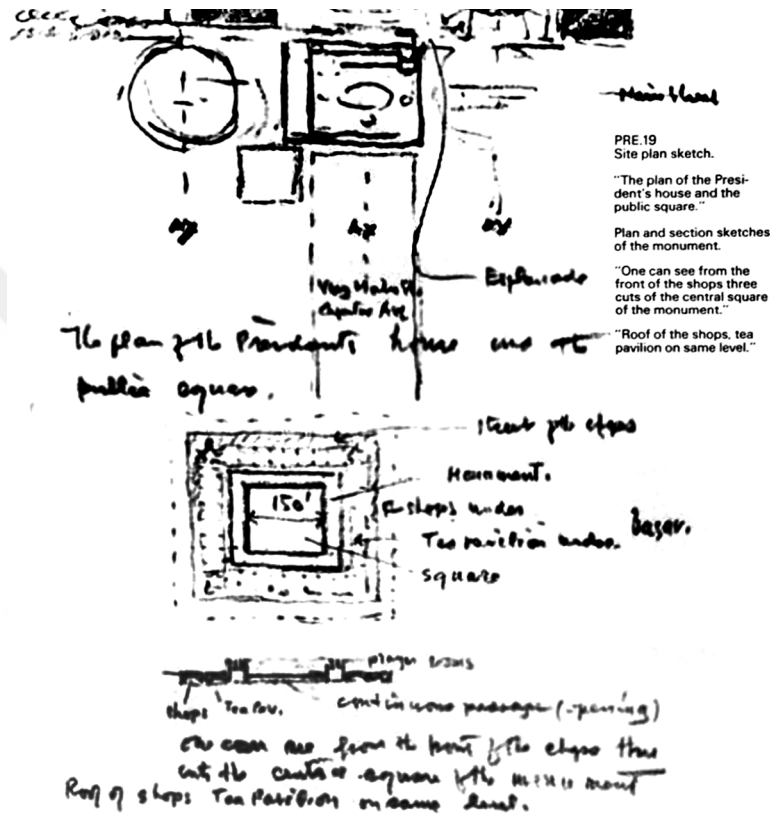


Figure 58: Plan and section sketch of the square with notes (1963).

Ronner, H., and S. Jhaveri. *Louis I. Kahn: Complete Work, 1935-1974* (Westview Press, 1987). p.311.

Goldhagen presents this alternate commission as a political strategy whereby Ayub Khan sought to gain acceptance in East Pakistan in the upcoming elections of 1965 ordained through the new constitution. To stress on the importance of East Pakistan, Ayub had mandated that the national assembly would meet in Dhaka instead of Islamabad twice a year. By commission of yet another monumental capitol complex Ayub sought to reinforce his term of rule and gain voter support. This was also to be

⁶² Capital of Bangladesh, formerly East Pakistan. Bangladesh gained independence from Pakistan in 1971.

seen as a display of resources spent on East Pakistan, the inequality of which was one reason for its eventual parting from the West⁶³ of Pakistan (Goldhagen & Kahn, 2001, pp. 163-164).

An item found in the Louis Kahn archives is a clipping from an Urdu newspaper highlighting N.A. Faruqi's views as broadcasted on the radio expressing the importance of inculcation of Islamic stylistic elements in the buildings of the capital. N.A. Faruqi, was not pleased with the design of the Secretariat buildings. The Secretariat complex designed by Italian architects Gio Ponti and Alberto Roselli was nearing completion before the committee of cabinet rank was formed by CDA. In this news clipping N.A. Faruqi, yet to be appointed in charge of CDA, expresses his desire that all future buildings should be built by locally sourced architects for a more Islamic character of the city (LIKC, 1965b).⁶⁴ Upon his appointment as the chairman of CDA from his position as personal secretary to the President, he sent out a directive to Robert Matthew, Gio Ponti and Louis Kahn. The letter is copied in full as under (LIKC, 1965e);

Dear Sir Robert,

As you must have heard, I have taken over as Chairman C.D.A. In appointing me, the government gave me a directive to see that the architecture of the major public buildings in Islamabad has an Islamic touch, reflecting our past traditions and culture.

This question as you know had been debated quite a lot in the various meetings held in the CDA. And lectures were arranged to give some indication of the special features of the Islamic architecture (See prof. M.M. Sharif's observations).⁶⁵ Even otherwise I am sure that architects of international standing know what Islamic architecture is. The question is of imparting it to our major public buildings.

I am, therefore, conveying to you the directive given to me, with the request to help me in its implementation. Unfortunately the biggest complex of

⁶³ The East Pakistanis were underrepresented in political matters and their needs were often ignored, along with an unequal distribution of economic resources.

⁶⁴ Faruqi also held the position as vice president of the Ahmaddiya movement in Lahore. Ahmaddiya is a minor sect branching off from mainstream Islam. This sect has over the years received strong criticism from both orthodox Sunni and Shia Muslims. In 1953 civil unrest ensued in Punjab, West Pakistan, demanding their status as members of the Islamic faith to be denounced which led to the imposition of martial law. The insistence of an Islamic touch may well be unifying methodology for both the governed as well as a strong statement by Faruqi himself to express strength of his faith.

⁶⁵ An interesting fact to note, as also pointed out by Zahir-Ud-Din Khwaja in his memoirs, is that M.M. Sharif was N.A. Faruqi's father in law.

public buildings namely, the secretariat, is nearing completion. But we can bear the directive in mind for remaining buildings in the secretariat complex. The president's house and the national assembly, the Supreme Court and other public and cultural buildings.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Prof. Louis Kahn and Sgr.Ponti.

In suggesting an Islamic touch to the architecture, it is not the intention that the internal construction and arrangement should be anything but the most modern and sophisticated. Our own climatic and social conditions should, however be borne in mind.

I would further suggest that the while making full use of modern equipment for lighting and ventilation we should not overlook the fact that they can fail and we may have to fall back on natural means of lighting (during the day) and ventilation. These considerations would of course arise only when the details of the building have been worked out.

Yours sincerely,

N.A.Faruqi⁶⁶

This letter is an apt example of institutionalization of a sovereign and disciplinary mode of power, in the hands of a bureaucrat who sees it as a duty for architects to conform to an "Islamic style" based on a personal understanding of architecture. The concern with the façade as a privileged face presented to the observer is symptomatic of a thinking style that preceded the tenets to which the architects in communication aspired.

4.3.6 Gio Ponti and Alberto Roselli: The Secretariat buildings

Alberto Roselli was the principal architect of the Secretariat buildings that stood ground on Doxiadis's proposed ministries location. Roselli and Gio Ponti had already completed a few buildings to the west of the governmental complex such as the Pakistan house and a hotel⁶⁷ (now occupied by the foreign ministry). The Secretariat buildings are two groups of four L shaped blocks grossing over a staggering 1000,000 sq. ft. of space (Figure 59).

⁶⁶ Due to the importance of the document in this thesis the letter is copied in full form the original source.

⁶⁷ This hotel was named Sherzade and the architectural record article notes how soon after its opening the interior was redone to suit the style, albeit a more "lavish" one for the government employees.



Figure 59: General view towards buildings (1971).
Source: <http://www.archnet.org> © Gio Ponti archives

For these architects the challenge presented for constructing one of first buildings in the new capital was answered through the following approach:

We tried to establish a method of approach to Muslim tradition we interpreted it as not bounded to the 'forms' of the past but to its general ambience, to present culture, to the actual way of life and to the local climate. We went beyond rationalism as regards our interpretation of the environment. But on the other hand we had to keep a rational position before the problems of technology, economy and structure... They are not imported European buildings and are completely different from what we have designed for Italy or abroad (Taylor, 1967).

The architects employed infill of precast concrete with in situ concrete frames rejecting the use of local brick and stone (Figure 60). Where they found the brick to be unsuited to their style and small, stone was found to be too expensive.

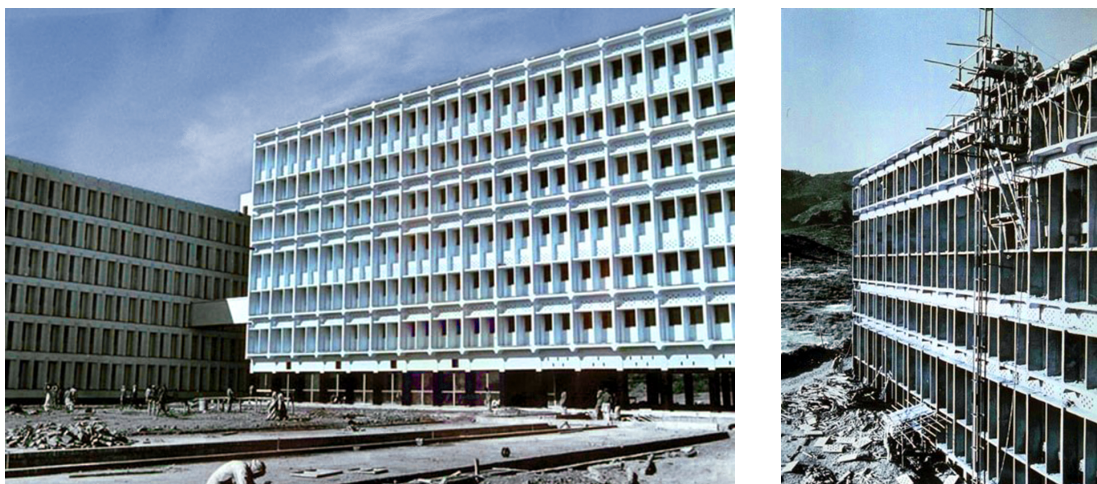


Figure 60: Front and Side façade of secretariat under construction (1964).
Source: <http://www.archnet.org> © Gio Ponti archives

During construction a lot of problems were faced, as the manual labor employed was uneducated in modern methods of construction. For Roselli, “the technology adopted betrayed its origins and was difficult to graft into the country with its particular

climate... technology was revealed as a product designed for a given society rather than a mass of universally valid techniques”(Taylor, 1967). Admitting this complication, the architects also saw it as an opportunity to “have an educational effect on the local building industry” (Taylor, 1967). Their approach (i.e. a negation of historical forms and to use building construction as an opportunity to inform local expertise) is resonant of Doxiadis’s discourse towards an evolution of the capital’s “style”. This is explained by the fact that Doxiadis and General Ayub Khan took a personal interest in the Secretariat buildings (Nilsson, 1975, p. 178) and no CDA committee existed at the time of their approval. Later, these buildings were criticized as being too “western” and labelled with fierce terms such as “unfortunate” by the committee whose interpretation of Muslim tradition was tied to the very “forms of the past” that the architects had negated. After disapproval of the Secretariat complex and decommissioning Arne Jacobsen and Louis I. Kahn, the committee found their concerns to be answered by employing the American Edward Durell Stone.

4.3.7 Edward Durell Stone: Presidential Complex

Edward Durell Stone was not a new comer to Pakistan when his services were enlisted to design the President’s estate; having designed the Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA) offices in Lahore as well as the Pakistan Institute of Nuclear Science and Technology (PINSTECH) in Islamabad’s vicinity, Pakistan International Airlines (PIA) mosque in Karachi and a sales office for the same in Rawalpindi among others (Appendix E). All the buildings are similar in vocabulary and employ the use of screen *jalis* that he had started to use first in the USA’s Embassy in New Delhi. In terms of practicality his design for PINSTECH is criticized by Zahir-Ud-Deen Khwaja who dubs it as wasteful of space and money for monumentality’s sake (1999, p. 117).

According to Zahir-Ud-Deen Khwaja, Stone was “constantly knocking at the door to be entrusted with an assignment in the new capital” (1999, p. 115). In addition a letter found in the E.D. Stone collection, reveals that I.H. Usmani, Head of PINSTECH had written to W. Abbasi, Chief Secretary to West Pakistan, praising Stone for imbibing “a great deal from Mogul architecture” in reflection of the “traditions and heritage of architecture” (EDSC, 1964).

Khwaja also notes how N.A Faruqi was impressed by the profile of E.D. Stone in a TIME magazine issue which played a great part in his commission (1999, p. 171). The cover story on Stone by the TIME magazine hails him as a “pioneer modernist” who is also a deft interpreter of the International style (TIME, 1958). The article serves as a good case study in the expression of power and identity of a nation’s relation to architecture and also highlights the discursive power of print media. Stone’s design of the USA pavilion at the Brussels International fair is lauded and compared to USA’s rival, the Soviet Union. In many such exhibitions the pavilions served as to portray by comparison, power of national cultures, economies and identities over another (Crimson, 2004). References to the Parthenon and Roman classical ideals are present throughout the text of the article, particularly when the design of the USA embassy in Delhi is mentioned (TIME, 1958). Criticism mounted after Stone’s embassy design as he had drifted away from the strict adages of modernism in the eyes of architectural critics. His lapsed credentials, ironically, fitted the CDA committee’s requirements to the tee, in the same manner as they resonated with other “contradictory government impulses against modernism” (Palette, 2013).

Stone had the art of articulating his design statements to suit his clientele and also bolstering his reputation as an architect. He was a commercial success. Letters found in the archives at Arkansas, document how his publicity department, categorically, forwarded documents to Wall Street Journal and New York Post highlighting Stone’s achievements in Pakistan up to the time of his commission.

The beauty of Foucault’s power analysis lies in the fact that power is not only negative and fixed but is an everyday embodied phenomenon in society. Hence, the TIME magazine article and the reason for the selection of Stone for the commission are intertwined in power webs of Foucauldian discourse. The limits of the episteme, lying in international recognition, suggesting development and acclaim for Pakistan by relation to the architect’s commission; orchestrated by the dispotif element of media. According to Foucault, dispotif, refers to the collection of discourses and other institutions that may seem contiguous in nature but act as a collective on the basis of a strategic function.

Subjects may produce particular texts, but they are operating within the limits of the episteme, the discursive formation, the regime of truth, of a particular period and culture (Hall, 1997).

Similarly through a Lefebvrian lens, the place of social space in part is adduced with and “illusionary special status” which is “concerned with imagery and writing, underpinned by the written text and broadcast by the media” resulting in a reductionist lived experience (1991, p. 52). Trace amounts of the same can be found in the usage of particular terms in the plans and descriptions of the design as will be discussed later.

Edward Stone with his acclaim was able to take in the commission. In a 25 page long contract signed between him and the government, E.D. Stone was to provide design services for the President’s estate, National Assembly building, Foreign Office Building, Central square, Supreme Court building for a sum of \$ 435,988 approximately Rs.1,902,920 at that time. This excluded certain other expenses the maximum remuneration which was set at \$ 39,400 = Rs.183,246 (EDSC, 1966). The reason for mentioning this financial detail is to highlight that no expense was spared at getting a design that the government bureaucrat wanted. In addition to paying fees to other architects for the design, such as Louis Kahn and Arne Jacobsen, their air travel and other miscellaneous expenditures, this sum of the fee was an addendum. Pakistan, a country struggling to get on its feet financially, could not really afford this burden especially as it had gone to war with India in 1961, but did.

Stone’s proposal as described by the new Director of planning after Khwaja’s exit, S. Ali Hussain is as follows:

The design is based on the Moghul style of architecture but at the same time providing all the amenities of the modern age. The plan basically consists of an internal courtyard with administrative and social elements on the west, domestic elements in the east and a beautiful arcade on the northern and southern sides. The internal courtyard would be landscaped on Moghul pattern and it would have pools and fountains. There would also be a back; garden on the same pattern as the Shalimar Garden at Lahore ("President's house," 1968).

In the office brochure for the presidential estate of Pakistan, and indeed there was one, one finds the same terms used for signifying an Islamic touch. “The president’s offices face a great central square, with its terraced gardens, fountains and reflecting pool in the *Moghal* tradition” (EDSC, N.A-a). Similarly in another paragraph the residence of

the president is described with the terms, “marble faced, Islamic style” (EDSC, N.A-b) and the captions in drawings read “Mogul garden” and “Garden court” (Figure 56).

At first glance the proposal for the President’s house bears a striking resemblance to the Viceroy’s house in New Delhi⁶⁸ when compared with the architectural drawings found in the Edward Durrell Stone collection (Figure 62 & Figure 63). Similar urban setting with a network of roads leading towards a grand monumental structure bearing resemblance to other imperial constructions with a complex of other buildings of significance around it. The lower levels have offices and service areas with banquet areas and reception areas in the middle, topped with state guest suites. The residence for the president is located at the rear in a separate block connected by formal gardens to the front complex.



Figure 61: Aerial Photograph. Viceroy’s House and Court (1931).
By Sir Edwin Lutyens and the two Secretariats by Sir Herbert Baker.
Vice regal Estate, New Delhi. Photo: Arthur Gill. (June 6, 1931)

⁶⁸ The Viceroy’s House now renamed the *Rashtrapati Bhavan*, is one of the grandest palaces built by the British in India as a showcase of imperialism. For more information see Metcalf, T. R. *Forging the Raj: Essays on British India in the Heyday of Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005



Figure 62: Perspective View. South Elevation of the Viceroy's House New Delhi, India (1914).
Painting by Lutyens' and Baker's artist, William Walcot,
Source: The Wolfsonian collection URL tag: TD1992.165.1.JPG.

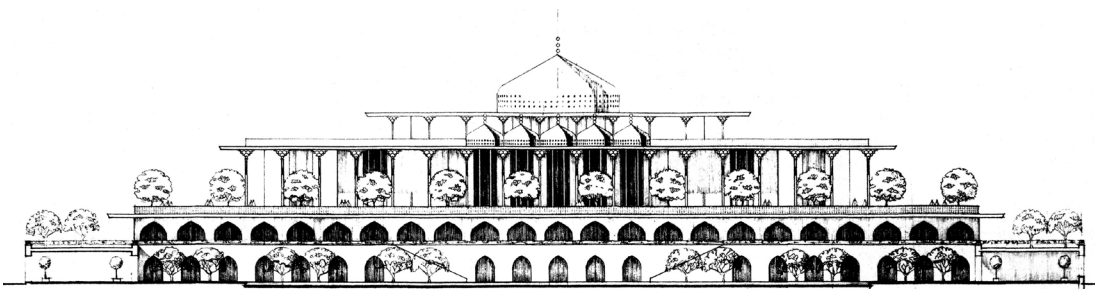


Figure 63: North Elevation. Pakistan Presidential Estate (1966).
E.D. Stone Papers, (MC 340 XI. Q-23). Special collections, University of Arkansas.

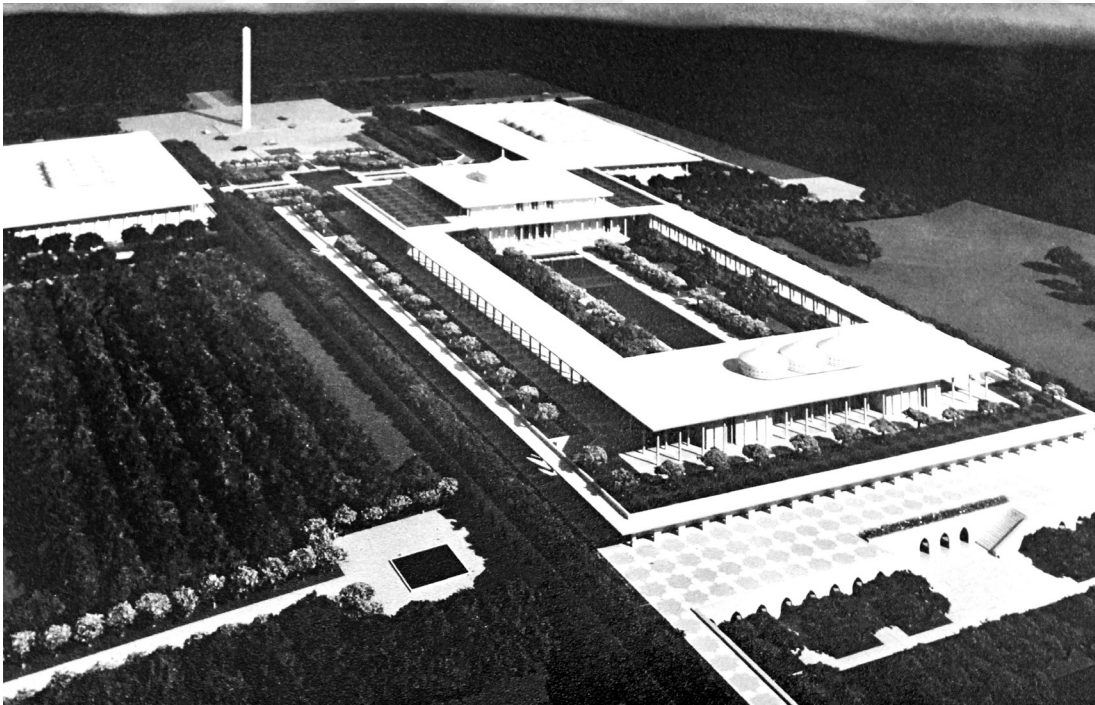


Figure 64: Perspective view. Pakistan Presidential estate (1966).
E.D Stone papers, Photograph by Louis Checkman, (MC 340 II-VI. 10 BOX 87). Special collections,
University of Arkansas.

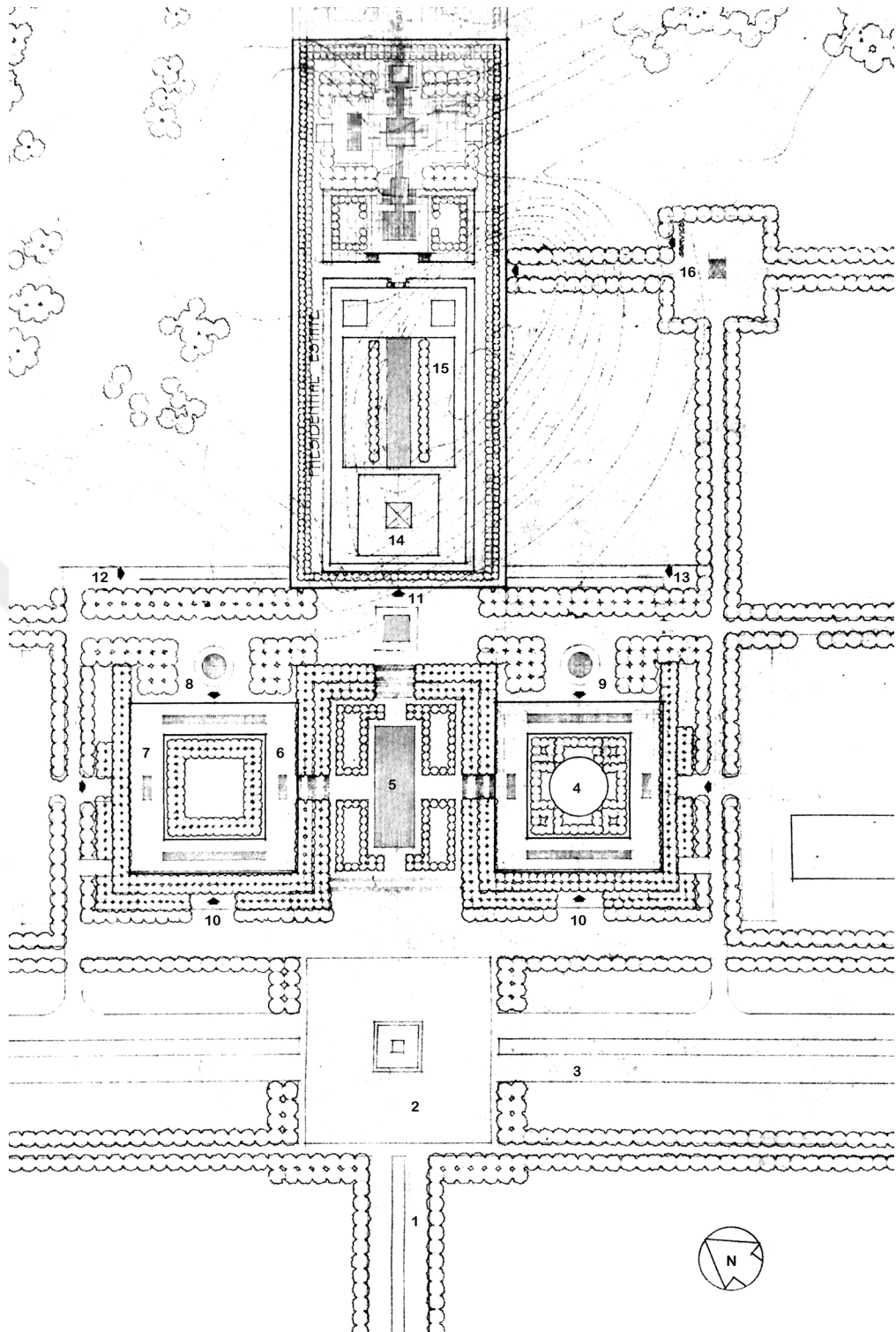


Figure 65: Plan. Pakistan Presidential Estate (1966).
 E.D. Stone Papers, (MC 340 XI. Q-22b). Special collections, University of Arkansas. Edited by author.

1: Capitol Avenue, 2: Memorial Plaza, 3: National Avenue, 4: National Assembly, 5: Central Square (Mogul Garden), 6: Foreign Office, 7: Establishment & Cabinet Divisions, 8: Officers' Entrance, 9: Assembly Members, 10: Public Entrance, 11: Ceremonial Entrance, 12: Ramp up to Parking, 13: Ramp up to Entrance, 14: Presidential Estate, 15: Garden Court, 16: President's Entrance.

The situation on ground today, however, is different from what E.D. Stone or Doxiadis had initially planned (Figure 66). We see the same central square and monument as found in the other proposals with a similar setting for the buildings but they are cordoned off to the public. In the envisioned active public space is instead an inactive banal green lawn visible through the fences. The central square is not open to the public and no monument exists in the designated place. The schematic layout of the road network was redone in later years by CDA and is commonly known as the “D” *chowk*⁶⁹; a quite literal name for the physical form of the road network and the fence around it.



Figure 66: Aerial Photograph of the Capitol Complex (2014).

Photo: Mustafavi, Y. (Oct 1 2014).

Panoramic view of the capitol complex looking towards Constitution Avenue.

Source: <http://www.panoramio.com/user/6359142>. Edited by author

The most striking feature however, is the absence of the domes on top of these buildings in their present form. Kamil Khan Mumtaz writes, “The project was eventually modified to eliminate the domes and the arches and reduce the verandahs and overhanging canopies”. Similarly an “austere” treatment was also given to other

⁶⁹ *Chowk* means intersection in the Urdu language.

buildings in the capital complex. This revision to the design started in 1975 and continued till 1984 (1987, p. 188). The national assembly building rises as a very stoic horizontal and vertical block arrangement with the only religious element in form of a qur'anic inscription in a band on its forehead (Figure 67).

Perhaps the only thing in common with these structures and Mughal architecture on first look are their white expansive facades. It should also be asked as to what makes these buildings more national than Jacobsen's and Kahn's proposals. The fault lay not in their architecture but their analysis coupled with the prefix of Muslim or Islamic attached to it. What the committee sought was a unified, single characteristic in the buildings that would somehow assimilate all characteristics of their Islamic culture and hence be nationalistic. This idealization, half-baked and projected through non-architectural minds was limited to a façade centered analysis. They failed to take into account the multitude of ways this could be interpreted and presented. Their association, rather fixation with a specifically Mughal vocabulary of architecture was the basis for rejection of Jacobsen's and Kahn's designs.



Figure 67: National Assembly of Pakistan (2007)
Source: <http://www.na.gov.pk/en/index.php>

Additional buildings for the complex such as the Supreme Court and Prime minister's secretariat were built in later years. Their stories also need to be told though it does not form the focus for this thesis. For example the Supreme Court building was commissioned to the Japanese architect Kenzo Tange in the 1980s but the government did not trust him to interpret Islam on their terms for them (Figure 68). Instead similar

demands for “Islamic elements” were made. It is reported that he lost interest in the project and handed it over to Shin Toki for this very reason (Husain, 2005).



Figure 68: Supreme Court of Pakistan (2007).
Photo: Ghani, U. Source: <http://www.scbap.com/>

Similarly the Prime Minister’s secretariat, to the east of the Supreme Court was designed by the state owned National Engineering Services, Pakistan (NESPAK) in the 1990s (Figure 69). The building seems to be the CDA bureaucracy’s dream of yesteryear brought to life. Not only does it superficially embody the spirit of Islam but also makes a kitschy attempt to portray the office of the prime minister, in no subtle way, as the heart of the Neo-Mughal Empire. Employing a stick-on “Islamic” vocabulary in the Mughal “style” it is a grandiose exhibition of power and resources.



Figure 69: Prime Minister Secretariat (2007).
Photo: Sohail, A. Source: <http://mapio.net/o/17833/>

The buildings of the capitol complex are a hodgepodge that reflects the contradictory stance of the government in their choice of preferred form and the process by which they were commissioned to “modern” imported architects. The “sovereign” governmentality infused with the retained structure of British governmental mechanism helped. The officials put in charge, exercised a measure of power over the commissions just as a rich patron or monarch had in the past, the very change in which had resulted in form of the “modern” architect. The contemporary western architect thus, faced restraints in design. The preference of the façade as a visual representation to the committee’s unrelenting insistence on specific building vocabulary coupled with a less developed and less technological building construction setup, has produced the buildings that we see today.

It should be amiss if one were to not discuss the Grand National Mosque which has become a noticeable element in Islamabad’s skyline. This mosque known as the Shah Faisal mosque or King Faisal mosque when completed in 1986 remained the largest in the world till 1993 (Figure 70).



Figure 70: Faisal Mosque under construction (1966)
Source: http://www.cda.gov.pk/about_islamabad/history/#ad-image-16

The mosque is not part of the capitol complex nor was in constructed in the initial years of Islamabad’s development. Its inception entailed the impetus of the Saudi king to finance a grand mosque for Pakistan. An architectural competition was held in

collaboration with the UIA (International Union of Architects), the CDA and the IAP (Institute of Architects Pakistan). The jury members also came from these institutions and met in 1969. The selection of the Turkish architect, Vedat Dalokay's design was criticized by conservatives. Dalokay's design was unconventional as it "did not have arches and domes and rejected the rich mosque heritage of Pakistan" (Naz, 2005). Nevertheless, the design was selected and built. It stands today, at the northern end of the axis perpendicular to the capitol avenue at the eastern end of which stands the capitol complex. Its tent like pyramidal roof structure is noticeable from afar.

As for the capitol complex, from the west to the east the Secretariat, Senate, Presidential secretariat, National Assembly, Supreme Court and then the Prime Minister's secretariat all seem to speak a language of disjunction through their architectural forms. Where Doxiadis and the regime saw this complex as a unitary whole, it is anything but. Although in its protected boundary enclosure it stands consolidated on the stage of the city of Islamabad.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The curiosity that living in the city of Islamabad provoked in me to seek answers to questions, such as, why did the main road of the capital lead to the government administrative complex? Why did the government sponsor these buildings? What style are these buildings constructed in and why are they so carefully guarded? What effected the decision regarding their placement? Why were various foreign architects involved in the design of the buildings and not locals? Why was a foreign planner responsible for the capital's urban layout? Why is the city so rectilinear in its layout and restrictive in its social order in comparison with its twin city of Rawalpindi? among many others. This thesis attempts to answer the questions in relation to Islamabad's urban layout and architecture of its capitol complex.

Space signifies, and that remains incontestable. What it implies is in binary opposition of dos and don'ts and this, "brings us back to power" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 143). The signifying aspect of space is interrelated with the dual themes of power and identity as they hone the socio-cultural context. The socio-cultural context (everyday lived experience) has a direct bearing on representation of spatiality (architectural and planning aesthete) which concretizes itself through representational forms (architecture and urban planning) in the spatial realm. In view of Michel Foucault's analysis, the modern form of power is not a coercive or a commanding instruction perforce, rather by its ability to be interspersed in locality it re-arranges and dominates

space. By its methodology it is limiting and instructive of society while operating from above it. By its manifestation it works from within with help of institutions, by producing actions, arranging and organizing them to tailor them to its own advantage (everyday lived experience).

A change in political power brings about profound changes in social order. This affects the conception of space, breeds new ways of looking at the self in relation to the whole and a new manner to experience reality. The external structures produced by power in the spatial realm, representation and meaning play an integral part in their experience and understanding. Hence, the potency of the lens of Lefebvre's spatial ideology as an outcome of political ideology through an interstice of spatial practice (everyday lived experience), representation (conceptualization) and representational space holds sway.

Foucault's power analysis focuses particularly on Europe and France, but its application is also relevant in many other instances. Specifically in the formation of new capitals by states that gained independence in the wake of WWII. These nation states shattered the old notions of sovereignty and heralded national political orders. This era also witnessed profound industrialization, whence the modern city phenomenon boasted of providing a package deal solution based on rational scientific solutions the world over. Hence political ideology juxtaposed with the vision of the architects and urban planners. Formation of new cities and capitals served to consolidate these emerging ideologies of a "focused" statehood and nationality. Thus, the dual themes of power and national identity formed the framework of analysis for this research.

Pakistan, is one such nation state which gained independence from Britain in 1947. The decision for the new capital, however was taken a year after General Ayub's military takeover where reversion of a political system from "governmentality to sovereignty" provided ample opportunity to employ "power" as a tool for its establishment. This also helped in re-iterating older patterns of social order that were colonial in nature.

For this research, establishing a context for the new capital of Islamabad entailed analysis of several aspects. The initial focus was to comprehend the existing colonial urban and architectural formation. Literature analysis brought to light how the ruling

British had sought, by a systematic negation of indigenous forms and institutions of discourse and government; a domination, restructure and authority over the locals. Power structures are reflective of the city by its architectural and urban form. As highlighted by the case of pre-colonial Indian and Pakistani territory, where the forms of power based on re-ordering of the urban space, regulation, segregation and demarcation of hierarchies were colonizing and controlling in nature and produced a specific design vocabulary. Superiority of a particular method of arrangement and representation over another, in the urban and architectural form (representational space) was internalized by written as well as verbal and institutional discourse (everyday life practices). In this manner, knowledge produced, was subservient to the goal of colonization and simultaneously, domination; as also reflected by Edward Said's concept of Orientalism (representation). Notions of perception of the individual were structured around imperialist identity which included but were not limited to racial background i.e. inferiority of the natives of India vs. the Englishmen. As Lefebvre states that identification of the "foundation" on which the space of a particular society is produced is the genesis of that space's development (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 188). Such was manifested in spatial terms, as seen in the case study of New Delhi and pre-partition Rawalpindi.

Second in focus, was to dissect how symbolic quality of a "new capital" served diverse intentions; that of general Ayub to "shore up" and "legitimize" his rule, and that of the imported expertise of a Greek urban planner, suffused in capitalistic agendas to design the city on a rational and scientific basis. After the Second World War the agencies like the UN helped in export of "Modern architecture" and a new cities including but not limited to Pakistan. Ayub Khan through his military takeover and reforms in the constitution gained a measure of power not unlike those who rule with absolute authority. Whereas, Constantinos Doxiadis was hired as the urban planner on the basis of Ekistics, his discourse on the "science of human settlements". This discourse as Pak suggests was granted "unquestionable status" on the basis of its rationality (2014). According to Lefebvre, global space is intrinsically effected by power and "its effectiveness rebounds upon the levels we have been discussing - the levels of the architectural (monument and building) and the urban" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 228). This effectiveness is a consequence of social constructs that give meaning and

legitimacy to symbols, as in this case the symbol for Pakistan in the form of a new capital, Islamabad.

After establishing a context for spatial practices, what lay ahead was their translation into conceptualization of the new capital. The representative aspect of Ayub's inaugural speech and the site's name selection; is a clear example of an idealized space conceived of as a transformable lived experience. By promoting this ideal representation, the regime found the basis to mold a desired spatiality. Conceptualization of a particular kind of nationality also surfaced in the criterion set for site selection. The wider grounding of the site was determined through a rational scientific process (hints of high modernism) tempered with political concerns. In the site's geo-spatial grounding, the importance of the strategic position of the capital on the Grand Trunk Road, a "centrality" which afforded proximity to other Islamic nations, discourse of how magnificent surroundings are more conducive to work, disjunction from "influence" of economic forces and a segregation of administrative functions, all are reflective of a focused desire. The area chosen was also an important regional center and Head Quarters for the Pakistan Army which was of great significance to the in rule General Ayub Khan. This desire for a particular spatial manifestation is found subservient to power and identity concerns. It may not be amiss to note that Doxiadis's conception of the city was based on "Entopia" which was neither a dystopia or utopia as Pak discusses (Pak, 2014) but an achievable representational space which could be formalized through a rational approach.

An analysis of how these representations cross over into the representational realm forms the crux of the last section. The role of Constantinos Apostolous Doxiadis' design for the "new city" is brought to light in a Foucauldian and Lefebvrian analysis of urban space. Similarly, in Islamabad's design the "reproduction of social relations" is helped through "mechanisms of sovereign and disciplinary power". According to Lefebvre the space of social order is hidden in the ordering of space (1991, p. 289). Sub chapter 3.3 discusses this in detail, where a systematic structuring and partitioning of space of the city of Islamabad seeks a regularization and specific order in society. The basic idea for the city of Islamabad which Doxiadis called "*dynapolis*" aimed to design a city with two foci, the old city center of Rawalpindi and the new administrative sector of Islamabad.

The particular usage of the grid in the urban structuring of Islamabad and systematic ordering and spatial allocation of the public based on a hierarchal economic system (See Appendix C), coupled with a disregard for organic urban pattern of Rawalpindi is analyzed in depth. There is a clear repugnance with the state of development Rawalpindi presents based on its urban layout. Plans and reports deliberately protect the idea and physicality of the “developed” Islamabad against unwanted infiltration from Rawalpindi.

Inside Islamabad’s grid each sector is allotted 2.2 km by 2.2 km. These parcels are divided into community classes with different amenities based on access to liquid means. This “idealized” dynamic city however was exclusive of Rawalpindi in many respects. The static layout of buildings and zoned uses were to be infilled later and experience growth. However, Doxiadis fixed the focus on to buildings of national administration and culture with rigidity affording them no expansion with that of the city. Hence the physical stationing, articulation of an axial and volumetric approach of the capital complex by urban and architectural design is dissected and found to be excessively dictative of social activities. This is a manifestation of Lefebvre’s surety of “representations of space having a practical impact, in that “they intervene in and modify spatial textures which are informed by effective knowledge and ideology” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 42). Such a focus is beneficial to the government so it can channelize movement, population growth, social activities and an individual’s conception of space and notion of identity.

This capital complex by virtue of its representational capacity and its effect on social order and simultaneous symbolic representation of Pakistan’s ideology was the focus of resources and much debate in Islamabad’s initial years. It afforded a spatiality in which to express and consolidate the “hopes and desires of the nation”. The national urge for self-expression sought a comprehensive solution through religiosity due to discordant ethnicities and cultures that composed its people. It came as no surprise, as the commonly understood ideological basis for the nation of Pakistan was religion. This urge led the people in charge, to identify with a specific historical building vocabulary which was deemed “Islamic”. Architecture became a tool for cultural appropriateness and expression of identity. The Mughal tradition of building was as the prime source of reference and inspiration on the basis of it as portraying Islam’s

power in the region, its grandeur and history of conquest. Perhaps the negation by the ruling British also helped it in becoming a symbol of suppressed and lost associations. The usage of the term “Islamic” and in its relation, usage of particular symbols facilitated this “metaphorization”. This process sets up a strange interplay between abstract spatialization and localization in a determinate expanse of Islamabad. According to Lefebvre, this is the representational space of representations (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 203) which is tied to social norms.

With the help of this “metaphorization” of Mughal architecture, the Capital Development Authority power echelons envisaged a very different concretization than that by Constantinos Doxiadis for Islamabad. Such a style did not exist in Western contemporary architecture except in religious buildings. When Doxiadis had first come to Pakistan in 1955 and observed the historic monumental buildings of the Mughals he had criticized them for their ego centric expression as opposed to a people centered one. His discourse for an appropriate expression of built form for the new country lay in his six principles presented as a process oriented solution rather than a product.

Contrastingly, Pakistan’s regime was most interested in its image. In 1961 (See appendix A) work on site for Islamabad started. The first building to be constructed was the governmental hostel, named Pakistan House. Appendix D statistically displays the stark contrast between the progress percentage and area allocated to the labour and displaced versus the government servants and their buildings three years later. Logically, those who were working on building capital should have been given precedent in provision of housing facilities but the opposite was true. This was not lost on Doxiadis who had repeatedly stressed on the importance of housing labour versus the government and its institutions. Moreover, the capital as an image for Pakistan was paraded in front of visiting foreign dignitaries in a theatre like setting. The Appendix also displays the sheer amount of space allotted to government office buildings totalling around 1 million square feet. By their positioning and scale they are clear indicators of the power exercised by the bureaucracy.

The first building to be built in the designated capitol complex was the Secretariat. While it neared completion, Ayub delegated powers to a committee of ranked officials to control architectural standards for the future buildings in the capitol complex. How façade as a representational tool surpassed other considerations of design is evident

through N.A Faruqi's letter and other official archival documented sources. By the same token the Secretariat buildings by Gio Ponti and Alberto Roselli which sought to negate "forms of the past" were found to be "unfortunate".

The sentimental idealization of an Islamic notion also resulted in the rejection of Arne Jacobsen and Louis I. Kahn by the committee. Jacobsen was invited to present a proposal for the National Assembly. As a European "modern" architect, Jacobsen did not yield his individuality in design to the "subjective" committee demands. Louis I. Kahn on the other hand was more sympathetic but his interpretation and various iterations failed to meet committee standards. As his successor, Edward Durell Stone, the architect of buildings as built, was appointed on the basis of using ample Islamic and Mughal references in his sales pitch. His interpretation resonated with committee's views in a kind of paste-on of historical Islamic decorative elements, though his mode of operation had nothing "Islamic" about it. Consequent buildings built in later years by other architects display a similar trend. Though this thesis does not delve into their detail, it hopes to open up new possibilities for exploration.

Even in contemporary practice in the country, architectural debates still get stuck in this cycle of discussion. New government institutional buildings constructed in the cultural section of the complex or elsewhere harken to the very same architectural vocabulary as set in the committee's criteria for analysis. This kitschy style seems to fall back repeatedly on the notion of Islam and national ideology as its defense.

Space is not established only by actions; its genesis also takes into account "a practice, images, symbols, and the construction of buildings, of towns, and of localized social relationships" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 245). This thesis attempted to understand Islamabad and its spatial genesis in a similar light. Islamabad, is a unique capital in the sense that it an important example of modern urban planning in a post-colonial context. It is one of the fastest capitals to be constructed; from the initial decision in 1960, ground breaking in 1961 and eventual inhabitation in 1962. Questions posed by the attempt were answered by looking at how political purposes of identity and power tie in with the project of the capital and capitol of Islamabad.

In this stead, Islamabad's spatial conceptualization, representation and representational aspects are discussed. In this discussion the built form of the capital

and capitol deserve the same amount of importance as its unbuilt proposals. This research's uniqueness lies in consultation of virgin archival data from a variety of sources. This data was cross examined with existing literature and contemporary accounts. This thesis thus, is not just the analysis of Islamabad's architecture and urban vision and its translation. It is also the inception of the story of Pakistan's experience with modernity in architecture that is yet to be told. By this initiation it hopes to open new lines of research into Islamabad's relatively young but important 56 year old architectural and urban history.



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APPENDIX A

Table 4:
Selected Timeline of Islamabad

Event	Date
Commission for Site Selection appointed	Feb 1959
Decision taken to build Capital at Islamabad	Jun 1959
Federal Capital Commission appointed	Sep 1959
The site was named Islamabad	Feb 1960
Capital Development Authority created	Sep 1960
Approval of Master Plan and Programme of Islamabad	Oct 1960
Commencement of work on ground	Oct 1961
Commencement of work on Pakistan House	Mar 1962
Shifting of the Ministries-Arrival of first batch	Oct 1963
Carpeting of Roads	Oct 1963
Termination of DA as chief consultants of Islamabad	Oct 1963
Foundation-laying of first private house in Sector G-6	Nov 1963
Development of roads in Diplomatic Enclave	Dec 1963
Completion of Third Office Block in Sector G-6	Jan 1964
Commencement of work on first mosque in Sector G-6	Jan 1964
Commencement of work on the Esplanade	Feb 1964
Commencement of work on Central Square	Mar 1964
Commencement of work on Govt. Hostel	Mar 1964
Establishment of Fire Extinguishing Services	Mar 1964
Commencement of work on Model School Building	May 1964
Commission of the Pakistan House	Jun 1964



APPENDIX B

Table 5:

Doxiadis Associates – Projects in Pakistan

Year	Project
1957	Academies for Village development in Comilla and Peshawar (1957-1962) Rawalpindi Government Polytechnic (1957-1968) Teacher student center, Dacca, East Pakistan (now Bangladesh)(1958-1962)
1958	Education Extension center Dacca, Pakistan (1958-1962) Home economics College Dacca (1958-1962) Greater Karachi resettlement housing Program (1958-1964), Korangi resettlement (1958), Settlement in North Karachi (1961)
1959	Islamabad the New Capital of Pakistan (1959-1969) University of Punjab, Lahore (1959-1973) Education Extension center, Lahore (1959-1961)
1961	Long term school building program in East Pakistan
1963	Lahore New Township: Lahore economic bade study(1965) Master plan community layouts, house type design (1963-1965) Master plan, layout plan of administrative center of the industrial area of Noakhli (1963-1964)
1964	Liaqat memorial, Rawalpindi (1964-1969)
1965	West Pakistan Agricultural University at Lyallpur
1966	Islamabad central Civic center (1966-1967)
1967	Diamond intersection between capitol avenue and extension of Islamabad highway

Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives, Athens, Greece



APPENDIX C

Table 6:

CDA Accommodation Standards

Plot	Income Group (in rupees per month)	Plot Size (Sq. yds.)	Plinth Area (Sq. ft.)	Accommodation Specifications
A	Up to Rs. 125	125.0	330	2 rooms, kitchen, verandah, bath & w.c.
B	Rs. 126-250	162.5	450	2 rooms, kitchen, verandah, bath & w.c.
C	Rs. 251-375	200.0	708	2 rooms, kitchen, verandah, bath & w.c.
D	Rs. 376-500	200.0	930	1 Drawing, 1 Dining, 2 Bed rooms, w.c., bath, verandah, kitchen and store.
E	Rs. 501-750	500.0	1250 + 300	1 Drawing, 1 Dining, 2 Bed rooms, 2 baths, verandah, kitchen, store and servant quarter.
F	Rs. 751-1250	1000.0	1750 + 550	1 Drawing, 1 Dining, Guest room, 2 Bed rooms, 2 baths, 1 kitchen, store, verandah, 1 servant quarter and garage.
G	Rs. 1251-1800	1000 - 1200	1900 + 750	1 Drawing, 1 Dining, 1 Guest room, 2 Bed rooms, 2 baths, 1 kitchen, Pantry, store, verandah, 2 servant quarters and garage.
H	Rs. 1801-2299	1200 - 1500	2250 + 750	1 Drawing, 1 Dining, 2 Bed rooms, 1 Guest room, 3 baths, kitchen, pantry, Verandah, 2 servant quarters and garage.
I	Rs. 2300-2999	1500 - 1800	3000 + 800	1 Drawing, 1 Dining, 3 Bed rooms, 1 Guest room, 4 baths, kitchen, pantry, store, verandah, 3 servant quarters and garage.
K	Rs. 3000 & above.	3000	3200+85 0	1 Drawing, 1 Dining, 3 Bed rooms, 1 Guest room, 1 Study room, 4 baths, kitchen, pantry, store, verandah , 3 servant quarters and garage.

Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives, Athens, Greece



APPENDIX D

Table 7:

Progress for major works under execution: Oct 1961 - Dec 1964

Development Area	Covered Area	Percentage completed
Diplomatic Enclave.	254 acres.	100
Residential Areas.	2,050 acres.	80
Commercial Areas	275 acres.	80
Industrial Zones.	1,050 acres.	100
Labor & D.P's Zone.	75 acres.	40
Institutional Area.	170 acres.	45
Recreational Areas.	2,600 acres.	100
Construction of Office Buildings.	1 million sq. ft.	60
Construction of Pakistan House.	275 rooms.	100
Construction of Houses.	6,300	80
Construction of Government Hostel	168 rooms.	31
Urban Roads (all grades).	About 100 miles.	64
Bridges (all grades).	About 100 miles.	72

Source: Maj. S. Zamir Jafri, *Islamabad takes shape* (Islamabad, CDA, 1964)



APPENDIX E

Table 8:

E. D. Stone – Projects in Pakistan

City	Project
Lahore	Water and Power Development Authority building (WAPDA)
Karachi	Mosque for the airport (PIA)
Islamabad	University of Islamabad Pakistan institute of Nuclear science & Technology (PINSTECH) Federal Complex including: President’s residence National assembly Building Foreign office building

Source: E.D Stone Archives, Special collections at The University of Arkansas