5 From Manhattan-ism to Bigness

Reconsidering an alternative urbanism of Rem Koolhaas

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In his book *Delirious New York* published in 1978, Rem Koolhaas alluded to "a new form of unknowable urbanism."[1] Alongside his mammoth compendium of the Office of Metropolitan Architecture (OMA)'s projects, Koolhaas's second book, *S, M, L, XL*, released in 1995, included a manifesto called "Bigness" intended to develop and restate this "new urbanism" with an emphasis on the relationship of architecture to the city. Even though scholars such as Roberto Gargiani and Ingrid Böck have discussed Koolhaas's idea of city planning in the general context of his architectural discourse,[2] there is rarely any analysis focusing on his urbanist predisposition in relation to corresponding architectural manifestations.

Yet, it is noteworthy that Koolhaas is the kind of architect who, in addition to the artistic part of being an architect, pays no less attention to intellectual issues of architectural creation.[3] Therefore, to interpret his urbanist thinking, it is crucial to explore both his theoretical assertion and architectural adaptions. In what follows, I will first explicate the formation of Koolhaas's urbanist ideas, namely, the idea of Manhattan-ism and Bigness, and its affinity to Russian Constructivism. I will then examine how Koolhaas translated these ideas into his architectural devices and later skyscraper projects, in particular, the China Central Television (CCTV) Headquarters in Beijing (2001–2012) and the Shenzhen Stock Exchange (SZSE) Headquarters in Shenzhen (2005–2013). Each embodies a model that addresses certain revelatory sources and principles of Koolhaas's "new urbanism," helping him win practical triumphs in present-day Chinese cities in their unique form of urbanization. Finally, I will argue that Koolhaas's urbanist idea, though subversive, can hardly become a formula to blur the distinction between urban and architectural design due partly to his faithful commitment to mainstream tradition of rationalist-functionalist modernism and partly to the sociopolitical situation of contemporary China.

Manhattan-ism

In *Delirious New York*, Koolhaas re-interpreted an ideal imaginary building scheme published by *Life* magazine in 1909. Drawing from this new organism generated upon the rectangular block within Manhattan city grids, Koolhaas revealed a "theorem" clarifying the potential of a new genre of architecture – the skyscraper.

By utilizing novel industrial materials and advanced building technology – specifically the steel skeleton and elevator – this fairy-tale-like structure permits the superimposition of platforms, each containing a fractured "life." The merit that Koolhaas saw in this proposal was that, given the possibility and potentiality of multiplying as many "aerial plots" as possible, an unpredictable and uncontrollable variety of programs could change over time to the point where the resultant structure becomes "a paradigm for the exploitation of congestion"[4] and further "the instrument of a new form of unknowable urbanism."[5] "From now on," Koolhaas – with his tendency to emphasize a sense of breaking away from the tradition when making assertions – proclaimed, "each metropolitan lot accommodates – in theory at least – an unforeseeable and unstable combination of simultaneous activities, which makes architecture less an act of foresight than before and planning an act of only limited prediction."[6] For Koolhaas, this new architectural typology has the potential to make traditional city planning, in which a particular site is matched with one single predetermined purpose, obsolete.

In Koolhaas's account, it was not long before the 1909 theorem from *Life* magazine was put into reality. The Downtown Athletic Club (DTAC) building (1929–1931), consisting of a series of thirty-eight superimposed floors that occupies a wide range of programmatic spaces, not only stands for the architectural manifestation of the 1909 theorem but also, to a great extent, justifies Manhattan-ism's most insistent themes. Koolhaas – repeatedly using his "from now on" opening – wrote, "from now on each new building of the mutant kind strives to be 'A City within a City.' "[7] The DTAC is important for Koolhaas because its underlying principle is analogous to the "aleatory"[8] form of metropolitan life. As Koolhaas proclaimed, "In the fantastic juxtaposition of its activities, each of the Club's floors is a separate installment of an *infinitely unpredictable intrigue* that extols the complete surrender to the definite instability of life in the Metropolis."[9] One can clearly see that, at this point, there was a premonition of the contradiction between the orthodox functionalist tenet of modern city planning and a somehow anti-functionalist idea derived from Koolhaas's metropolitan experience in New York City. Although Koolhaas's urbanist proposition at this stage still lacked further explication, it paradoxically relied on and at the same time countered the traditional planning means, whose problem, Koolhaas believed, lies in the systematic inability to anticipate, mobilize, and take precautions for the future.[10] It is thus safe to say that Koolhaas's "new urbanism" was evidently problematic because it was largely built upon the theoretical basis that it, in fact, tried to overthrow.

Big ess

Koolhaas has not explicitly described the research methodology that led him from the principles of Manhattan-ism to the theorems of Bigness; these two ideas are nevertheless inherently related. The idea of Bigness was intended to offer further explanation of Koolhaas's view on the relationship of architecture to the city. Koolhaas asserted that the building's "bigness" alone could constitute the urban character of our time: "Bigness no longer needs the city: it competes with the city;

it represents the city; or better still, it *is* the city."[11] Rather than offering a solution, Bigness can be seen as a dialectic statement that was largely derived from Koolhaas's understanding of the Manhattan skyscraper, which embodies a distinct yet homogeneous tension between architecture and the city. What he suggested was that professionals should retreat from the city and concern themselves solely with the individual "big architecture." Far from a systematic urbanism theory, Koolhaas's idea of Bigness can be understood as an alternate attitude toward city planning, for it aims to reconcile the conflict between architecture and the city by promoting "architectural city" or "urban architecture" that acquires the properties of Bigness.

Koolhaas, therefore, showed his faith in the kind of architecture whose sheer monolithic size could alter its nature. Specifically, the character of Bigness sets forth a problematic yet beneficial by-product: "size" is contrasted with the "will" of architects in terms of predetermined purposes designated for architectural spaces, which gives rise to the possibility of transforming quantity into quality. Koolhaas believed that "a paradox of Bigness is that in spite of the calculation that goes into its planning – in fact, through its very rigidities – it is the architecture that engineers the unpredictable."[12] Koolhaas, then, proceeded to offer the underlying mechanism of Bigness: "the promiscuous proliferation of events in a single container,"[13] namely, the "programmatic alchemy."[14] The major function of the programmatic alchemy in Bigness is to perform a complex string of dynamic and productive transmutations among predetermined programs in order to create new contents.

Similar to its innate deficiency of Manhattan-ism, the idea of Bigness is ostensibly against the tenets of urbanism, but it, in fact, covertly resides in the rationalist-functionalist conviction, simply because the programmatic alchemy would be impossible if there were no predetermined functions – performing as the basic ingredients – assigned and distributed in a rational manner. Furthermore, Koolhaas's alternate urbanism would not be as promising as he described in his writings because, in addition to its underlying association with functionalism, it does not adequately take into account the cultural and societal factors of the city, the imperatives that cause overwhelming complexity on a metropolitan scale.

Koolhaas, I suspect, was well aware of the problems of his urbanist thinking, for both the 1909 theorem and the DTAC are no more than sheer sizable containers merely ensuring a vertical accumulation of various discrete programs in an urban context. They are no closer to "cities" than any normal skyscraper building serving a singular purpose. Put differently, architectures qualified as Bigness are inadequate to become real "cities," whose essence is its extreme quantity, endless unpredictability, and intrinsic complexity.

Russian revelation

Nevertheless, the DTAC building plays an important role in the formation of the idea of Bigness, for Koolhaas deliberately associated the DTAC with the social condenser, an architectural paradigm rooted in Russian Constructivism in the

1920s . "In the Downtown Athletic Club, the skyscraper is used as constructivist Social Condenser: a machine to generate and intensify desirable forms of human intercourse,"[15] Koolhaas wrote. The concept of the social condenser, originally emerging from the vision of a new living environment compatible with the society that the 1927 October Revolution strove to build, presents the radical prospect of correlating architecture with the communist ideology of its era.[16] Here, rather than referring to the specific kind of architecture as Koolhaas suggested, the social condenser was to be understood as a fundamental idea of constructivist doctrine and practice. As Moisei Ginzburg claimed at the opening speech for the first OSA Group conference in 1928,

> Our work should essentially be based on a scrupulous and detailed study of the brief in the light of our political and social circumstances. Its essential aim should be the creation of Social Condensers for our time. This is the essential objective of Constructivism in architecture.[17]

The members of OSA, known as the constructivists, perceived architecture as existentially social, not aesthetic.[18] A social condenser could be a building, a complex, a district, or even an entire city. In addition to its immediate function, a social condenser would foreshadow the architecture and town planning for future users and would introduce a new way of life based on the social interaction beyond their individual habits. During the Constructivism movement, the social preoccupation and expectation expanded from architecture to town, and then to regional planning.[19]

Koolhaas had stated that his initial enthusiasm for architecture was mostly triggered by Russian Constructivism,[20] yet the underlying reason remained unclear. In a recent lecture, he explained why, for him, the early encounter with Constructivism was a life-changing event.[21] Koolhaas recalled his first visit to Moscow in 1967: "I saw the work of Soviet modern architects, and realized that architecture could be an art that shapes possibilities and the nature of human life. Once I realized that, I decided to become an architect."[22] Among constructivist projects, Koolhaas was particularly fascinated by a utopian communal housing proposal for Moscow in the late 1920s and early 1930s designed by Moisei Ginzburg, along with Mikhail Okhitovich, Aleksandr Zelenko, and Aleksandr Pasternak. What these visionary architects proposed were small, pod-like, single-cell housing units that could be mobile and collapsible. The intent of the design was to cultivate the personality of the occupant. Ideally, this new housing system would eventually transform the social system by giving each person the freedom to associate with others. Specifically, a person could "link" his or her pod to another's if he or she gets married. If the couple then has children, they could "plant" more pods for each child. Once a child reaches the age of maturity, it would be his or her right to dissociate from the rest of the natural family. These architects believed that their design could even help solve the post-divorce proprietary issue, because the two spouses could simply uncouple their pod-houses from each other.[23]

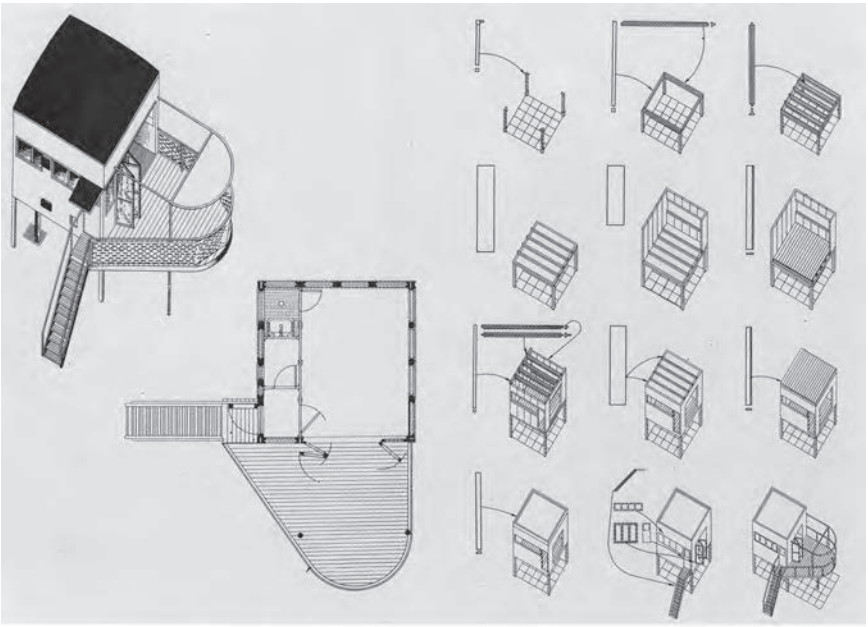

Figure 3 Individual housing unit proposal, 1929–1930, by Moisei Ginzburg, Mikhail Okhitovich, Aleksandr Zelenko, and Alexksandr Pasternak

Source: Khan-Magomedov, Selim Omarovich, Catherine Cooke, and Alexander Lieven, *Pioneers of Soviet architecture: the search for new solutions in the 1920s and 1930s* (New York: Rizzoli, 1987)

In addition to its simplistic form, what must have also inspired Koolhaas with respect to this project was the fact that these Russian architects called themselves "deurbanists," because what they opposed was the traditional, centralized city, as they viewed it as bound up with the capitalist social formation. This attitude was attuned to the idea of the social condenser, for which can be seen as a sort of mechanism for transforming habits, for transforming former man, who was a product of the capitalist system, into that "new man" in the political and revolutionary sense of the time.[24] Although it is unclear how much Koolhaas's later practice was influenced by these architects and their radical proposal, he was undoubtedly fascinated by their anti-urbanist attitude. Koolhaas, at that time working as a scriptwriter, very likely saw this proposal as a script – not a script for a movie – but for individuals, for the family life, for the city of Moscow, and for a new society and civilization. Through studying of Russian Constructivism, Koolhaas captured the possibility, under the communist regime, that the entire content of daily life could be "rewritten" by architectural instruments. For him, the social condenser and the "deurbanist" idea from 1920s Russian Constructivism are important for two reasons: (1) they, together with the DTAC building, formed one crucial thread linking Koolhaas's two stages of urbanist thought, Manhattan-ism and Bigness;

and (2) these radical ideas paved the way for his firm belief that there is a natural affinity between the values of architecture and those of socialist ideology,[25] which was also the main reason for Koolhaas, in early 2002, to turn down the invitation for the new World Trade Center in New York City in favor of the competition for the new CCTV Headquarters.[26]

Koolhaas nevertheless must have been aware that there are two missing components that are essential for a building to be considered a city in his discourse: the instrument to control the internal alchemical process and the factor to provoke external social involvement. Koolhaas, on the one hand, argued that Bigness, like "plutonium rods," dampens or promotes the "nuclear reaction," regulating the intensities of programmatic coexistence.[27] The floors within a skyscraper, on the other hand, are fundamentally schismatic. Without particular intervention, they can never perform "infinitely unpredictable intrigue,"[28] nor can they react with others to create unpredictable activities. Although Koolhaas believed that there would be moments when architecture and sociopolitical factors coincide, a building is nevertheless a singular entity and can hardly be involved in any social reform. When it comes to actual practice, Koolhaas thus has to rely on certain architectural devices, just as constructivists had hoped of the social condenser, to trigger the mystical process.

The idea of the social condenser was built upon the premise that architecture is one of the instruments that has the ability to influence human behavior. Therefore, public space plays an important role in creating a socially equitable environment with an intent to break down the existing system of social ranking. Koolhaas must also agree with the idea that the shared circulation throughout a building is key for a social condenser to create the environment where there is potential to allow for otherwise dispersed social communities to interact. As a result, we can discern two signature architectural devices, both largely inspired by the concept of the social condenser, reflecting Koolhaas's intention to transform a singular building into a "city."

Architectural manifestations

In many OMA's projects, the "loop-trick" acts as a dominant design strategy, in which a continuous topology traverses the entire structure to effectively intermingle different functional sections within a building to incite the "alchemical transmutation." The trajectory that consists of changing floors (e.g., ramps), is exemplified in works such as the Netherlands Embassy (1997–2003), the Kunsthal in Rotterdam (1987–1992), and the entry for the competition for the two Jussieu University Campus Libraries in Paris (1993), just to name a few. Koolhaas's intention of incorporating a "loop" in the structure that mainly consists of discrete floor slabs was most explicit in the description for the design of the Jussieu Libraries:

> The implantation (a trajectory) of the new library represents the insertion of a new core . . . Rather than being a single building it is a network . . . These new surfaces – a vertical, intensified landscape – are then "urbanized" almost like a city: the specific elements of the libraries are reimplanted in the new public realm like building in a city . . . Through its scale and variety, the effect of the

> inhabited planes becomes almost that of a street, a theme which influences the interpretation and planning of the Boulevard as part of a system of further supra-programmatic urban elements in the interior: plazas, parks, monumental staircases, cafes, shops.[29]

Thus Koolhaas's idea was, through manipulating floor plans rather than stacking one level on top of another, to connect all of the floors, forming a single trajectory – much like an interior boulevard that winds its way through an entire building. This continuous surface, Koolhaas hoped, would become a "social magic carpet" that, though enclosed within a building, may be read as the culmination of the surrounding city network. This particular element, from the early phase of his practice, remains as one of Koolhaas's formal signatures.

In 2002, OMA won the competition for the headquarters of China Central Television in the Beijing central business district (CBD). It was a 4.2-million-sqa re-foot monolithic building composed of two towers separated by an internal street. Instead of competing in the race for ultimate height within a traditional two-dimensional tower soaring skyward, Koolhaas formed a three-dimensional "loop" that was shaped by six approximately rectangular components that deviate by a few degrees.

The CCTV building was intended to house a huge organization and spaces where TV programs are being produced. Koolhaas conceived a strong adaptation of the loop idea because he believed that the production units of the television programs operate and circulate in the form of a loop. Therefore, a loop-shaped

Figu e 3 CCTV Headqa rters, Beijing, 2001–2012 by Rem Koolhaas and OMA. Exterior view.

Source: www.flickr.com/photos/eager/with/6243855650/, by Forgemind ArchiMedia

building would perfectly accommodate and facilitate the entire production process. According to Ole Scheeren, the former partner-in-charge of the CCTV project, "the coexistence of all functions involved in the process of television-making in one single building . . . not only reminding all parts of each other's existence, but clearly illustrating their mutual dependence: a system."[30] To do so, the design for the CCTV building incorporates two loops: the outer loop that formulates the overall gesture and the inner loop that serves as the communal circulation. On the one hand, similar to the core value of the DTAC and 1909 theorem, the outer loop accommodates various functional entities in a collective way rather than distributing them into different buildings in accordance with general programmatic distinction. On the other hand, the inner loop, despite its practical role, allows a certain degree of public access for touring the production of China's media through a designated circuit. The tour takes visitors on a dedicated route through the building, revealing everyday studio work as well the history of CCTV, and culminates at the edge of the cantilever, with spectacular views of the CBD, the Forbidden City, and the rest of the city of Beijing. The purpose of the inner loop was thus to present itself as a media organization to the public, the coherent integrity of CCTV's different departments as a whole, and to promote social activities among users and visitors on an architectural level and an urban level.

Similar to the employment of the loop, Koolhaas often conceives a dramatic cantilever to create a semi-outdoor space for public use, which can be, at the same

Figure 3 Shenzhen Stock Exchange Headquarters, 2005–2013, by Rem Koolhaas and OMA. Exterior view.

Source: www.flickr.com/photos/jayblue/, by Jay Sterling Austin

time, seen as part of the building's enclosed environment. The cantilever, too, appears in many of OMA's projects, such as the Milstein Hall at Cornell University (2006–2011), the Seoul National University Museum (2002–2005), the G-Star Raw Headquarters (2008–2014), the Pierre Lassonde Pavilion (2010–2016), the Seattle Public Library (1999–2004) , and many others. In the CCTV building, the three-dimensional volume generates a dramatic 75-meter cantilevering canopy. In the SZSE tower, the main design strategy is to defy the conventional building topology of tower-on-podium by lifting the base of the simplistic tower 36 m above the ground to generate public spaces both below and above the podium. The resultant cantilever is 64 m in one direction and 18 m in the other.

It is worth mentioning that the employment of the cantilever in both projects is not only to produce a visually striking effect, given the fact that CCTV should "become the icon of a new contemporary China,"[31] but also to encourage spontaneous social involvements. For instance, the cantilever of the SZSE building frames the view from the vantage point underneath the elevated podium, allowing the viewer to see a manipulated perspective of its immediate vicinity while remaining within a completely public space. What is more, the cantilevered volume generated by the overhanging podium was intended to function as a shelter for two plazas below and make the current base of the building publicly accessible. It was alleged that anyone can enter the building through the plinth on the plaza to visit the stock listing and exhibitions or use the conference center and other facilities in the raised podium. People can also go onto the roof garden to use the sports facilities, eat and

Figure 3 Shenzhen Stock Exchange Headquarters, 2005–2013, by Rem Koolhaas and OMA. Plaza view.

Source: www.flickr.com/photos/eager/with/6243855650/, by Forgemind ArchiMedia

drink in the restaurant and bar, or simply enjoy the view of the city of Shenzhen. The architect believed that the design is not only a new architectural topology, which is markedly distinguished from any other skyscraper in the city, but also a stage for extensive interaction between the building and the urban surroundings.

Another source for Koolhaas's fondness of the cantilever needs to be addressed. It is notable that the pedagogy of the VKhUTEMAS (Higher State Artistic and Technical Studios) established after the Russian revolution, an important component of the Soviet constructivist tradition, provided an impulse for Koolhaas's formal creation. Koolhaas was particularly interested in Nikolai Ladovsky's training program offered at the VKhUTEMAS. Ladovsky's studio focused on the spatial composition applied to an explosive interpretation of the skyscraper vocabulary.

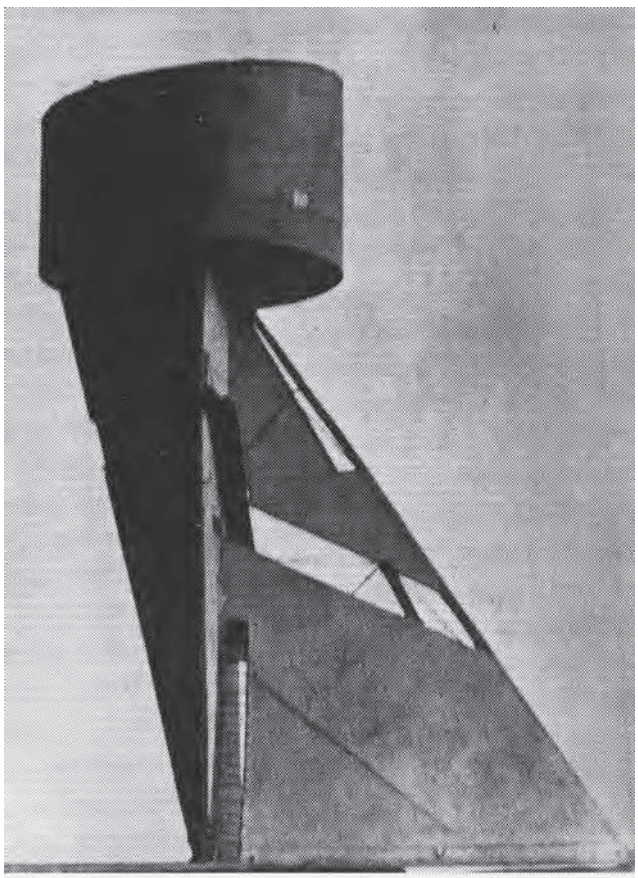

Figure 5 Water tower: functionally specific task in the demonstration of volume and space in a structure, by Lamtsov. Nikolai Ladovsky's course at the VKhUTEMAS, 1921, model.

Source: Khan-Magomedov, Selim Omarovich, Catherine Cooke, and Alexander Lieven, *Pioneers of Soviet architecture: the search for new solutions in the 1920s and 1930s* (New York: Rizzoli, 1987)

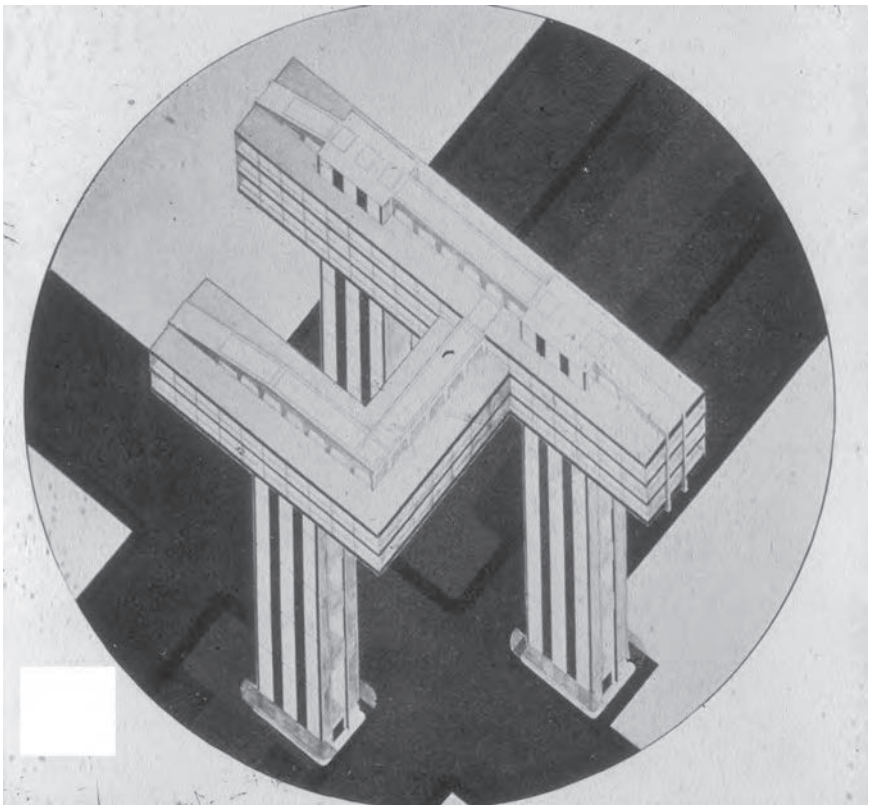

Figure 5 Wolkenbügel (skyhook), 1924, by El Lissitzky
Source: The Image Collection of the University of Pennsylvania

There was an "almost direct simplistic and even embarrassing relationship"[32] between Koolhaas's designs for both the CCTV and SZSE and works by students as well as teachers at the VKhUTEMAS. Specifically, the dynamic yet intimate spatial scenario produced by cantilevered volumes in Koolhaas's buildings is comparable to that of the psycho-spatial manipulation in the work by a student named Lamtsov from Ladovsky's studio in 1921. In addition, both the CCTV and SZSE buildings formally resemble El Lissitzky's horizontal skyscraper proposal, the Wolkenbügel (skyhook), which stands on grand elevated piers above intersections of radial and ring roads in Moscow.[33]

Instead of suggesting democratic tools for urban growth, the prevailing city planning produced in the traditional urbanist method reflects the preconceived theocratic vision of the planner. Koolhaas's criticism of this dogmatic urbanism – which entails distributing "single-use" functional programs over an either existing

or unprecedented city fabric – aimed at the fact that this system was built upon decisions that were possibly somewhat no better than arbitrary. It is safe to claim that Koolhaas's urbanist proposition, which was embodied within his ideas of Manhattan-ism and Bigness, is radical since it involves putting together ideas, notably a pair of most apparently incompatible political ideologies, from extremely distinct sociopolitical situations for the maximum clash. Koolhaas drew upon both the Manhattan skyscraper as the capitalist metropolitan product and the constructivist concept of the social condenser as the essence of communist collective life. He substituted the distribution of functional "single-use," which used to be executed in a horizontal manner within city fabric, with the superimposition of programmatic events for discrete floor installments within one city block. Apparently, Koolhaas did not want to be constrained by either ideological divergence or obsolete city planning doctrine.

Conclusion

Koolhaas seeks to work as an architect while also as a writer. He believes that the intellectual work, by definition, could not be accomplished solely through drawing. The concept, ambition, or theme that is put in words is so important to him that every project begins with a text that would unleash the design. As Koolhaas said, "all of our projects, or our best projects or maybe our most original projects, are first defined in literary terms, which then suggest an entire architectural program."[34] Given this working methodology, Koolhaas's own urbanist thinking is the only reference in assessing the corresponding architectural applications, that is, the CCTV and SZSE buildings, which we know now to be "failed" projects. My conclusion is supported mainly by two reasons with regard to the theoretical and practical aspects, respectively.

From the theoretical point of view, there exists an intrinsic irreconcilable contradiction in Koolhaas's urbanist proposition. Koolhaas's urbanist attitude and that of the traditional city planning, though seemingly antithetical, both in different ways embrace the notion of functionalism. Koolhaas's idea is fundamentally rational, whereas even many Russian constructivist architects have abandoned strict functionalism. On the one hand, it is evidently shown in many of OMA's diagrams that the programmatic functions for Koolhaas are inanimate and external objects that can be analyzed in a scientific manner. On the other hand, Koolhaas has argued that the vertical congregation of various programmatic contents would transform a building that meets the criteria of Bigness into a city through the mechanism of "alchemy." In this sense, Koolhaas views preconceived functions as if they were "living organisms" capable of commingling with others to create offspring. Therefore, the conflict between Koolhaas's conviction and criticism of rationalist functionalism produces diametric opposition, which somehow explains the many uncertainties and confusions that result in his urbanist vision.

From the practical perspective, there exists a big discrepancy between architect's initial intention for the project and the actual reality. The architectural design

for Koolhaas is a demonstration of a thesis or a question or a literary idea,[35] meaning some of his works can be read as texts. Then, in order to make built work readable he has to exclude some illiteracies of architecture, for example the sense of space that can only be grasped through bodily experience, while largely relying on the description of the programmatic function. When talking about the writing of his monograph work, *S,M ,L ,XL*, Koolhaas explained:

> we are trying to assert the idea that there is a genuine equivalence between text and plans, that plans can be *read* not as compositions, but more and more as partitions where programs are simply inscribed in proximities or distances or in relationships that are very similar to the way in which you compose a story.[36]

This statement shows the exact way in which not only Koolhaas prepares for a design but also how he and his team represent it. Thus it is not a coincidence that his methodology, to a great extent, conforms to his Chinese clients' understanding of the nature of architectural creation – promising a compelling life story that will take place in the postulated scenarios within the iconic building in formal novelty. In this sense, the design process is somehow less about architecture than about ideas that are accessible by both parties of a design agreement. Koolhaas stated that their projects in China were based on "an optimism about the intentions of the Chinese state."[37] By this he meant, first, that they were more convinced by the integrity of Chinese clients who, unlike the American ones, showed an ambition to run operations in a more legitimate, straightforward relationship between the initial intentions and the final realization. Second, he had been waiting for the moment when he could work with a city, state, even a country. Very different from working with a developer, who becomes a dictator in a certain way, architects in China can work together with a client who aims at the public good and has the power of execution to "do something in China"[38] with architecture in a socialist urban context. Koolhaas here tried to acknowledge a fundamental affinity between the intentions of the architect and a socialist ideology, that is, the greatest good for the largest number of people.[39] Koolhaas was confident in the sincerity of his Chinese clients and felt well prepared for this challenge because he was able to create his own understanding and body of knowledge beforehand through the "Harvard Design School Project on the City," a research program investigating changing urban conditions around the world.

Nevertheless, Koolhaas was only partly correct in his anticipation. His skyscrapers were constructed with faithful application of his concept. Yet, he failed to foresee their post-completion life. Largely due to a directive issued by the central government of China in 2014 saying no to architecture that is "oversized, xenocentric, weird," the planned way of using the building in both internal and public aspects are no longer effective. Almost five years after its belated completion, the CCTV building now accommodates only a very limited number of production departments, among more than fifty channels. To say nothing about the fact that neither the CCTV nor the SZSE building is now accessible to the public, as fences were built around the perimeters shortly after the buildings were put into use.

Author's note

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Notes

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3 Cynthia Davidson, "Rem Koolhaas: Why I Wrote *Delirious New York* and other Textual Strategies," in *Any* 1, no. 0 (May 1993), 42
4 Koolhaas, *Delirious New York*, 10.
5 Ibid., 87.
6 Ibid., 85.
7 Ibid., 89.
8 Ibid., 157.
9 Ibid. (italics added).
10 Rem Koolhaas, "The Invention and Reinvention of the City," *Journal of International Affairs* 65, no. 2 (2012), 113
11 Rem Koolhaas, Bruce Mau, Jennifer Sigler, and Hans Werlemann, *Small, Medium, Large, Extra-Large: Office for Metropolitan Architecture* (New York, NY: Monacelli Press, 1998), 515.
12 Ibid., 512
13 Ibid.
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15 Koolhaas, *Delirious New York*, 152
16 Anatole Kopp, *Constructivist Architecture in the USSR* (London: Academy Editions, 1985), 7.
17 Moisei Ginzburg, "Report on the First Congress of the Union of Contemporary Architects, Moscow," *SA*, no. 5 (1928).
18 Hugh D. Hudson, "'The Social Condenser of Our Epoch': The Association of Contemporary Architects and the Creation of a New Way of Life in Revolutionary Russia," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* Neue Folge, 34, no. 4 (1986), 558.
19 Kopp, *Constructivist Architecture in the USSR*, 62
20 Office for Metropolitan Architecture, Ole Scheeren, and Rem Koolhaas, *CCTV by OMA* (Tokyo: A+U Pub. Co., 2005), 12
21 Here I am referring to the conversation between Charlie Rose and Rem Koolhaas aired on January 16, 2016.
22 Rem Koolhaas's lecture "Russia for Beginners" on September 15, 2014, at the Garage Museum of Contemporary Art at Moscow.
23 Anatole Kopp, *Town and Revolution: Soviet Architecture and City Planning, 1917–1935* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1970), 171–172
24 Kopp, *Constructivist Architecture in the USSR*, 70.
25 OMA, Scheeren, and Koolhaas, *CCTV by OMA*, 16.
26 Ibid., 12. Also see Rem Koolhaas, *Content* (Köln: Taschen, 2004), 483
27 Ibid.
28 Koolhaas, *Delirious New York*, 157.
29 http://oma.eu/projects/jussieu-two-libraries.
30 OMA, Scheeren, and Koolhaas, *CCTV by OMA*, 5.

1 Ibid., 4.
2 Rem Koolhaas's lecture "Russia for Beginners."
3 Koolhaas was very upfront with the fact that the form of the CCTV draws inspiration from the work of Lamtsov and Lissitzky in his lecture, "Russia for Beginners."
4 Davidson, "Rem Koolhaas," 42
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid.
7 OMA, Scheeren, and Koolhaas, *CCTV by OMA*, 16.
8 Ibid., 10.
9 Ibid., 12