

to consider the roles of the architect and city planner. Perhaps revealingly, the role of the landscape architect is not mentioned, despite Sasaki's involvement in the course.³⁸ After mentioning the urban problems of pollution, traffic congestion, and so on, Sert's notes conclude, "What will the consequences of these unnatural conditions be on the urban population remains to be seen. This urban population has been steadily increasing, and it is time to consider the application of radical measures that can improve the urban environment, as it is only that environment as a whole that is going to count."³⁹ While the standpoint expressed here is clearly still a somewhat aristocratic one, based on the idea that urban designers can in themselves analyze and design the built environment for the general good, at the same time Sert and Sasaki's effort to synthesize Modernist urbanism with a new concern for both the pedestrian urban environment and natural environment laid the foundation for a new way of understanding the role of design in shaping metropolitan development.

As the contentious planning for CIAM 10 continued, Sert's teaching and practice occupied much of his time. Since 1953 he and Wiener had been deeply involved in formulating a national planning program for Cuba, similar to what they had made previously for Colombia. They proposed a regional plan to the military dictatorship of President Fulgencio Batista, who was interested in creating a new architectural image for his government. Sert worked in Havana during the entire summer of 1955, and he and Wiener began their Pilot Plan for Havana at this time. The plan included a comprehensive restructuring of the transportation, recreation, and public space of the city, as well as a proposal for the (later much-criticized) remodeling of the Old City with new high-rise interventions and a network of civic cores for democratic public assembly such as Sert had been advocating since 1944.⁴⁰ The irony of creating a "democratic" public sphere for an autocratic regime does not seem to have been discussed at the time.

In 1955, assisted by Tyrwhitt, Sert began the preparations for the First Harvard Urban Design Conference, a task he began while still president of CIAM and actively involved in his New York and Havana practice with Wiener and his small Cambridge office that he had opened in fall 1954.⁴¹ This event was centered on Sert's concept that "after a period of rapid growth and suburban sprawl," the centralized city remained a key element of American culture. Therefore,