

and planning would come together to deal with the problem of urbanism quickly gave way to a narrower architectural conception of urban design's role in the world.

It is also interesting that there was a definite attempt to deal with tangible design issues at this conference, and unlike at the first two conferences, abstract notions of the "forces" shaping cities were left off of the agenda. Indeed, in his opening comments, Sert speaks explicitly to this, stating that "after the second [conference] many of us realized that, though these conferences proved interesting and stimulating, it would be useless to continue discussions on general topics as we were tending to become repetitious."<sup>19</sup> Sert also speaks of his own frustration with the emerging urban design discourse, describing the previous conference results as a "fog of amiable generalities."<sup>20</sup> In the closing to his opening comments, Sert makes a remarkable statement that reinforces one of the defining aspects of urban design during this period and would certainly impact the emergence of urban design as an academic program in the GSD: "This is a conference upon Urban Design and upon a special aspect of Urban Design—the residential sector. I think I have already said enough to show that it is not a general conference upon city planning."<sup>21</sup> It is clear at this point that these projects were examples of how Sert imagined urban design in practice, and despite clear statements affirming urban design as a "common ground," we begin to see that urban design was starting to carve out a territorial claim that would eventually have consequences for the position of the urban design program within the school and certainly in the world: Urban design became an activity defined and practiced by architects.

At the third conference, five projects were presented and discussed: Washington Square, Philadelphia, by I. M. Pei; Mill Creek, St. Louis, by I. M. Pei; Gratiot Redevelopment (Lafayette Park), Detroit, by Mies van der Rohe and Ludwig Hilberseimer; Lake Meadows, Chicago, by Skidmore, Owings and Merrill; Don Mills, Toronto, by Macklin Hancock; and Vallingby, Stockholm, by the Stockholm Town Planning Office. The material for the discussions had been assembled in advance by an alumnus of the GSD, who then served as rapporteur for each panel, assisted by current students of the school. In most cases the architect of the project, the responsible developer, and the city planning director not only gave assistance in the assembly of information but also took part in the conference discussions.