Situating the postmodern: the delay of the architectural avant-garde beyond the Western world

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Postmodern tendencies in architecture have revealed the most palpable sense stakes in cultural politics in the 1970s. Tracing the trajectory of postmodern development in architecture and cultural thought of the West, this paper argues that the development of postmodern tendencies in architecture and the arts outside the West is a delayed development of both the radical avant-garde and the neo-conservative strains in cultural politics. This delay is not a negative time lag per se, but is directly a coincident alignment of postmodern strategies with the cultural politics of the self in post-colonial geographies that continue to provide a fertile ground for such expression at a larger scale. Hence, outside the West we have seen in the 1990s the blooming affirmative expression in Nationalist architecture, or large civic projects and other forms of collective or pocket collective cultural expression, in both highly mannered radical avant-garde or decidedly neo-conservative appearance.
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The 'postmodern' epithet has been bandied about so much that it has come to mean anything and everything that is vaguely different to a normal occurrence in the modern day. This is terribly unsatisfactory when the term is thrown about with a careless abandon, particularly in geographies that did not experience cultural modernity, at least not in contemporaneity or with the same impact, as the Western world. The assumption of synchronic cultural modernisation obscures understanding and this paper attempts to illuminate what the author will refer to as the delay of the avant-garde. This argument it is hoped will contextualise the interest in architecture with undeniably postmodern characteristics appearing, and in some cases thriving in large scale, in countries outside the Western world, when the scale of interest has all but died down in the West. Heinrich Klotz wrote a premature History of Postmodern Architecture in 1988,[1] and whilst this study does not pretend to be a history of postmodern architecture or cultural history, we can safely say that we now have sufficient historical distance to be gainfully reflective about postmodernism in the West, though it is my contention that we cannot necessarily do the same which the phenomenon beyond the Western world. We may begin by looking at Architecture's dalliance with the idea in America.

With the advent of Robert Venturi's book, "Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture" in 1966,[2] given academic sanction and blessing through the foreword of Vincent Scully, who called it the "most important writing on the making of architecture since Le Corbusier's "Towards a new architecture" of 1923, the American architectural community had to contend with a very serious proposal to deal with the then on-going Pop sensibilities in art, film, music etc.[3] In the ensuing years, Venturi and Denise Scott-Brown wrote "Learning from Las Vegas", in which they call for decorated sheds.[4] Robert Stern, too called for new directions in American architecture, where history and the use of classical elements would be depended upon.[5] Charles Jencks who had written "Modern Movements in Architecture",[6] was quick to realise the potential of this strain within modern architecture and began a series of journalistic chronicles that recorded the significant incidents and architectural acts.[7]

The proceedings from this moment on came to be christened "Postmodern", in that it was relational to modernism itself and sufficiently unique to be historically significant as a constellation of sensibilities requiring independent recognition. Of the architectural writers, Charles Jencks was amongst the first to use the term `postmodern', which had been used in avant-garde literature in the '60's.

But the question has to be raised: is this migratory term applicable to architecture at all? As much as the postmodern depends on the modern for its existence, how much does architecture depend on the contemporary arts' usage and definitions of the term? By the late 20th century in the fields of cultural politics and critical theory, postmodernism had even become a much-debated cultural idea. Is there a significant thread through all of these: dance, music, politics, sculpture, social structures, linguistics, architecture, philosophy, painting, film and prose?

Since modernism and modernisation though, these seemingly differing disciplines and activities have become intertwined with the influence of modern technology and modern media, with internationalisation and the cross pollination of cultures. As Marshall McLuhan put it "the world has become a Global Village"[8] . In the field of architecture, Jencks would not have been audacious in trying to identify homogeneity in design tendencies from North America, Europe, and Japan. Therefore, as postmodernism is a corollary of modernism, it inherits this characteristic of the international and multi-faceted discipline. Andreas Huyssen observed in 1982 that it is an antinomian moment as a precondition for the postmodern to exist at all:

> This latest trend in the trajectory of postmodernism, embodied for me in the Documenta 7, (Documenta is a periodic exhibition of artistic trends in Kassel, West Germany) rests on all but total confusion of codes: it is anti-modern and highly eclectic, but dresses up as a return to the modernist tradition; it is anti-avant-garde in that it chooses to drop the avantgarde's crucial concern for a new art in an alternative society, but pretends to be avant-garde in its presentation of current trends; and, in a certain sense, it is even anti-postmodern in that it abandons any reflection of the problems which the exhaustion of high modernism originally brought about, problems which postmodern art, in its better moments has attempted to address aesthetically and sometimes politically.[9]

Even with the historical distance afforded by the present time, it would be easy to join the mass chorus which lamented the loss of quality in postmodernism; asserting that it was nothing more than a fashionable but hollow spectacle, given the media hype for or against it. The development of the postmodern actually had a long and complex history, a part of a slow and emerging transformation of sensibilities in Western societies. It was borne out of critique and therefore has inherently, a critical potential. Excessive eulogy or ridicule would only serve to obscure this critical potential; salvaging the postmodern from its champions and from its detractors allows for a considered discussion of the idea. This is important if the postmodern is to be discussed as a cultural condition rather than a mere style or aesthetic form.

The term postmodern goes back to the 1950's when it was used in literary criticism by Irving Home and Harry Levin to lament the levelling off of the modernist movement, the lamentation being 'that there once was a richer past'.[10] Arnold Toynbee, who wrote in `A Study of History' in 1954, is credited to the first use of the epithet with any significance or relation to its current usage. He had used it to characterise the decline of Western civilisation into irrationality and relativism since the 1870's.[11] Leslie Fiedler and Ihab Hassan are credited with the first emphatic use of the term, although they held widely differing views of what postmodern literature was. It was the mid 70's that brought out a wider currency of the term, first in architecture, then dance, theatre, painting, film and music.[12] Nevertheless, it remains a relational term; one that is highly dependent on the user's particular definition or characterisation of modernism and modernity, and more importantly, what had gone wrong with it.

One characterisation of modernity in the cultural sphere comes from the writer Max Weber; he characterised modernity as the separation of the substantive reason expressed in religion and metaphysics into three autonomous spheres of science, morality and art. These came to be differentiated because the unified views of religion and metaphysics had fallen apart by the 18th century Europe. The problems inherited from the old views of the unified world could be arranged so as to fall under specific aspects of validity: truth, morality, taste, normative standards and beauty. Scientific discourse (which then set the standard for all other

forms of discourse), theories of morality, jurisprudence and the production and criticism of art could now be institutionalised. Each of these domains corresponded to their own particular group of experts. This professionalized treatment of the cultural tradition brought to the fore the intrinsic structures of each of the three dimensions of culture. These are the structures of cognitive-instrumental (science), of moral-practical (morality), and of aesthetic-expressive (art) rationality, each of which are in the control of specialists who seem to be more adept at being logical in these particular ways than ordinary folk. As a result, there exists a schism between the culture of experts and that of the larger public as observed by Jürgen Habermas,

> "What accrues to culture through specialised treatment and reflection does not immediately and necessarily become the property of everyday praxis. With cultural rationalisation, the threat increases that the life-world whose traditional substance has already been devalued, will become more impoverished."[13]

The crossing of the paths of modern architecture and the shock effects of modernisation became evident in the late 50's. Modern architecture was fast becoming 'alienating, dull, boring' and had typically 'inhuman' spaces. The critique of this situation from within the modern movement came from Team Ten architects such as Aldo Van Eyck, and quickly resulted in a form of revisionist modern architecture. The issues at stake here were place versus abstract space, variegated forms and polychromy versus a ubiquitous dull grey block and the like; the latter position being that of the modernist.

While the break of the postmodern with high modernism in the architecture of the 1950s and 60s, and the other visual arts is fairly visible, the parallels in the literary and critical arts are not as pronounced. At some point in the mid 70's, postmodernism migrated to Europe via Paris and Frankfurt, not without some American instigation.[14] Julia Kristeva, Michel Focault, Jean-François Lyotard supported the idea intellectually in France and Habermas opposed it in Germany. French Poststructuralism (Barthes, Foucault, Derrida, Etc.) and German aesthetic theory (Hegel, Heidegger, Nietzsche, Etc.) found fertile soil in American academia. And with the unchallenged assumption that there existed a necessity for the avant-garde in critical theory and avant-garde creative practice to be somehow homologous, a peculiar adaptation grew on both sides of the Atlantic. The issues of postmodernism in the arts and postmodernity in social theory became one of the most contested terrains in the intellectual communities of the West. The issues went beyond establishing a dichotomy or a "correct" reasoning.

Architecture gave the most palpable example of the issues at stake. Charles Jencks dated the 'death of modern architecture' (July 15, 1972, 3.32 p.m.) to the dynamiting of the Pruitt-Igoe Housing scheme, in St. Louis.[15]; it had degenerated from an award winning Modern design in the 50's by Minoru Yamasaki to a crime ridden vandalised slum. In a much later book, "Post-Modernism", he admitted that the date and time were a fabrication, adding a mythical dimension to the death of modern architecture, and constructed to clear the path for his phoenix to rise from the dynamited concrete - Post-Modernist architecture.[16] Jencks believed that many of his readers were mistaken that modernism suffered solely because of aesthetics, and that post-modernism was just another set of populist aesthetics. On the contrary, Jencks analysed the situation to find ten other 'causes ... cited as responsible for the death of modern architecture'. The bulk of Jencks' numerical analysis of the failure of modern architecture lay in the system of production of architecture itself. The system of financially motivated property development coupled with the avarice of money minded architects and planners meant that `a billion dollar chunk of the environment could be designed by one man and built within two years'.[17] That the same system financed and built corporate post-modern architecture was quite irrelevant to Jencks.

Aesthetically however, in the mid 70's, American architects such as Robert Stern and

Michael Graves began to show a similar line of work with European counterparts such as Aldo Rossi, Robert Krier and James Stirling, each in their own way showing a different aesthetic to the modern, often using classical and historical elements. Soon after, Hans Hollein and Arata Isozaki declared allegiance to the fold by way of working with unabashed historical eclecticism. Much of the controversy that surrounded the 'new' work of the avant-garde post-modernists was against them. Where postmodernism simply jettisoned modernism it yielded to the cultural apparatus' demands that it legitimised itself as radically new, and it revived the philistine prejudices that modernism faced in its own time. But when Philip Johnson joined in with a corporate client, AT & T; he literally brought down the secret meeting place of the avant-garde post-moderns. By tying corporate success to a movement founded on counter culture and adversary relations, this avant-garde then became part of the establishment, and at this point lost its critical potency.

Nostalgia was also apparent in the other arts, in product design, in cinema and in literature. And along with the passing of Elvis Presley in the mid 70's, that decade saw a sudden resurgence of 50's nascent Rock and Roll & American Diner culture - 'American Graffiti', ' Grease" in cinema and " Happy Days" on TV for mass cultural consumption.

The Rock and Roll of teenage rebellion - had evolved by the 70's into a big business ruled by the record company moguls. Each rock star was a predictable clichéd prima donna, with predictable excesses in lifestyle, sound, image and instrumentation. Countering this, from Britain and New York came Punk music in the late 70's: raw, offensive counter culture 'music'- the noise and lyrics were loud, crude and often vulgar. The sum of these was a postmodern reaction to the clean cut 70's teenyboppers (e.g. Osmonds, David Cassidy, etc.), adult oriented rock, and high art pompous glam rock's pretentious claims to the music of counter culture that is supposedly Rock and Roll.

In the early 80's, the inauguration of President Ronald Reagan in American politics brought forth, or rather brought back, the great White American wholesome suburban dream of the early 50's. But on a more sombre level, there existed a somewhat frustrating nostalgia, one for the 'good old days', prior to the advent of late capitalist corporate economics. For the reality had thrust unto the critical avant-garde in the creative arts a perplexing problem: on the one hand it wanted to achieve success at a level of mass popularity; on the other if this is achieved, it meant that it would have yielded to the establishment by becoming part of it.

These are the dialectical opposites which critical postmodern work had to contend with at the time: the sort of success described as one which would be durable enough to perpetuate itself as a useful and meaningful critical tradition, but which would not be unnecessarily widespread so as to be absorbed by corporate capitalism; and the other is the hidden agenda that the creative arts must renew itself continually to remain vital.

If the postmodern were to live up to its name, it would learn its lessons from modernism. Much of the work of the Bauhaus, Mies and Le Corbusier was part of an effort to rebuild war-ravaged Europe. A new enlightenment that demanded rational design for a rational society brought forth a distinct fervour with modernism and modernisation, so much so that it veered back into the realms of myth. But modernism produced its own classics, and did not the modern have its own artistic genius? And if so, why not work within the modern? Why has the production of modern classics become irrelevant to the post-Vietnam, post-Woodstock, post-60's era? Frederic Jameson speculated on a diagnosis:

> What is clear is that the older models - Picasso, Proust, T.S. Eliot - do not work any more (or are positively harmful, since nobody has that kind of unique private world and style to express any longer). And this is not merely a "psychological" matter: we also have to take into account the immense weight of seventy or eighty years of classical modernism itself. There is another sense in which the writers and artists of the present day

will no longer be able to invent new styles and worlds - they've already been invented; only a limited number combinations are possible; the most unique ones have been thought of already. So the weight of the whole modernist aesthetic tradition - now dead - also "weighs like a nightmare on the brains of the living", as Marx said in another context.[18]

The '... unique private world' which Jameson refers to requires explanation. Jameson saw two positions. Firstly, that individualism existed in the age of classic capitalism, in the hey-day of the nuclear family with a bourgeoisie as the hegemonic social class; and this has been replaced by the organisation man of corporate capitalism, a time of bureaucratic business as well as bureaucratic state. The other position is poststructuralist; it denies even that very individuality, in that it was merely a 'construct' and therefore a myth, one that was there to persuade people that they had "individuality".[19] It is unclear from this which is more productive or diagnostically accurate, but as Jameson contends, hence the postmodern's inherited perplexity:

What we have to retain from this is the aesthetic dilemma: because if the experience and the ideology of the unique self which informed the stylistic practice of classical modernism, is over and done with, then it is no longer clear what the artists and writers of the present period are doing.[20]

And therefore, pastiche: if stylistic innovation is no longer possible, then all that is left is to imitate dead styles, to speak in past languages through modern voice. The critical stance that was adopted initially appeared to have been lost in the dilemma to assert itself as a critical tradition. The early reactionaries of the 60's had rebelled against a codified high modernism, by the late 70's; this position itself had begun to exhaust its potential, even though it took some time for the various practices individually to reach this stage. By the early 80's, two strains began to surface: a confident culture of eclecticism had emerged, largely affirmative, abandoning any claims to critique, transgression or negation; and another, in which resistance, critique, negation were, and had to be, defined in non-modernist and non-avant gardist terms, a necessary development to address culture in the corporate capitalist/critical tradition dilemma in contemporary cultural politics.[21]

Critics of the postmodern tend to raise the question: if there are two strains of the 'movement', i.e. the anarchic, desperate strain and the visionary celebratory strain, both of which existed in modernism in the first place, what is new in the postmodern, and more importantly, could these not be seen as a form of original modernism as well? While it is correct that modernism had these traits, it is precisely the growth of certain forms of modernism into a 'high' or 'institutional' modernism that initiated a reaction. This revolt sprang precisely from the success of modernism, especially in the United States, where it had become the affirmative culture. And the beginnings of postmodernism are incidentally, an American phenomenon. It is argued that the phenomenon could have stirred in West Germany, but did not. Germany was rediscovering the moderns banned and modernist work burned by the Third Reich. It might seem surprising now, but Walter Benjamin was largely 'undiscovered' until 1968. There was a resurgence of the Left, a sort of shift in interest from Benn, Kafka and Thomas Mann to Brecht, from Heidegger and Jaspers to Adorno and Benjamin etc. It was a time to rebuild and redefine modernism in Germany, a self-assertion phase - to assert that Germany is modern, in international terms. Postmodernism did eventually emerge, via American cross-pollination, in Germany in the late 70's. Even then, it was quite irrelevant to her own social and political history in the 60's. It was more in tune to the developing social movements and a radical critique of modernity, and in some way also relevant to the architectural scene.[22]

In France, there was the development of the poststructuralist position in the 60's, which saw no emphatic use of the term 'postmodern' and has never seen the difference to modernism in quite dramatic outpourings, as did the Americans. It must be qualified however, that this is

because the French tend not to characterise "modernism" and proceeded to attack it; but have instead chosen to attack the "problems" where they had manifested themselves. For instance Lyotard attacks "metanarratives" in scientific knowledge rather than modernity.

Although the pop sensibilities in art, culture and music was perhaps as fertile in London as in New York, the existence of various traditions (and past high art) of her rich British history tended to obscure modernism as an "enemy"; it was but one of many "enemies". In any case, the conservative voice in Britain's politics, culture, and the arts has been a very strong half, almost essential to being British itself. The other half has been the `socialist' Labour position in British politics, and together these have prevented any sort of rampant commercialisation of culture. Lower taxes and `greener pastures' (less opposition from the conservatives) have lured many British artists, writers, filmmakers, musicians to operate in America; and they are hence participants and therefore constituents of the American scene. The distinction here is very subtle, as since modernism, what "happens" in London concurrently "happens" in New York and vice-versa; both are interchangeable capitals of the English speaking creative avant-gardes.

Postmodernism carried with it a sense of discontinuity, of rapture and new frontiers. It carried the spirit of avant garde that was strikingly similar to the various avant gardes of the 1920s in Europe. It targeted the institutions and the institutionalisation of culture. In many ways, postmodernism offered a chance to re-assert independence, identity and curiously and ironically a renewal of vows in the continual process of modernisation in the face of its dated embodiment – the stagnant modernism in various cultural practices.

Huyssen believed that American postmodernism had the makings of a genuine avant-garde and at the same time spelt the end of international avant-gardism. From an American perspective, the iconoclasm of the postmoderns, which probed the ontological status of art, was itself not yet an exhausted endeavour like it has become in Europe. From a European perspective, the actions had a semblance of the end game of the historical (European) avant-garde. And this distinction of subtleties is particularly significant because the culture of modernity is seen as internationalist, with its growth from Paris (19th century) to Moscow and Berlin (early 20th century) to New York (1940's).

The emerging postmodern strains in the earlier half of the 70's were experimental and not very well defined; in architecture there was a certain trend to return to historical pattern books, but what part of history is usable and why? Jencks attempted to define it in an anti-modernist diatribe called `The Language of Post Modern Architecture'; reinforcing a view of the adversarial stance, but leaving the postmodern quite open. Jencks used words like `syntax', `metaphors' and `words' to try to define an architectural vocabulary that theoretically, at least, was the whole history of architecture.[23]

What effect did this book have on architectural design? Its greatest effect on the architectural community, it is argued, is the focusing on the postmodern phenomenon and of the divergent creative postmodern energies. There were certain similarities between the work of say, Robert Stern and Robert Venturi, at the time, for one to be able to misidentify the author of a design. Similarly, the broken (choose: a. pediment, b. colonnade, c. column order, d. entablature, e. classical masterpiece Etc....) was a recurring element and theme. The irony was outright, and blatantly brash in its populist aesthetics. The postmodern was very much still in the adversarial phase, in its reaction to the modern. Yet the modern in the architecture can still be recognised: the steel and glass, the modern swimming pool, the electric lights, the lifts, and even `modernist' language of design. As one writer so cleverly put it, modernism "continues to live a kind of half life."

Only in the very late 70's and early 80's (some of the 80's work were conceptualised in the late 70's), did any sort of affirmative strain begin to emerge in architectural postmodernism. This can be seen in the work of Michael Graves' Portland building and the work of Terry Farrell in Britain's now forlorn TVam. There was a confidence in the colours and formal composition; there was no sign of fractured entablatures or the like. This was an assertive strain of postmodernism.

This was a time when the minority self assertion began to manifest itself elsewhere. There was also a focusing of feminism, for example, in women's art, literature and criticism. However, the minority/ emancipation/ equal rights issue tends to be obscured as part of the modern/ postmodern constellation of events. The priority of ends (i.e. recognition of equal status etc.), was more urgent than its participation in the postmodern, which quite rightly existed only in the theoretical sphere and was not very pertinent to the cause.

The period in the 60's and 70's brought to the fore an awareness of many other `cultures' to the West; pop music brought Eastern religions, the oil crisis in '73 brought Western industry kneeling to Arab whims, Japan emerged from a long struggle as an economic power, social migration on a large scale from the "colonies" to the "empires" brought a sizable proportion of an `other' ethnicity; nuclear powered America lost a war to a "bunch of peasant farmers" in Vietnam; in all there was an awareness of an `otherness' in the Western world.

Elsewhere in the world, postcolonial countries were also trying to assert their identity on the international scene; regardless of the political stance (which only affected the degree to which identity was asserted). This minority self-assertion strain also stood up to be counted in architecture. These were the regionalist arguments; for example, Islamic architecture, Scandinavian architecture, tropical architecture etc. in the 70's, but these became more focused in the 80's, and because of conservative styling, tends to be read as part of the modern continuum, late-modern, or regionalist (Kenneth Frampton uses `critical regionalism'); rather than postmodern.

This particular strain of a minority seeking recognition, was different from a situation where a `modern' had to be subverted in order to be recognised as `postmodern'; rather, it sought to be the establishment, and its assertion was devoid of the ironical, the populist etc. as in the iconoclastic postmodern visual or literal arts. On the contrary to subversion, it was a positive, affirmative, and conservative stance that had to be asserted. In a sense, it was seeking entrance into the sphere of `modernity', but was postmodern with a neo-conservative aim. The manifested "gain" in the 80's was, for want of a better example, instead of radical 70's `bra burning' feminism, was a turn to the overt display of `lace or silk lingerie' or in the case of Madonna and Jean-Paul Gaultier, Stainless Steel lingerie as an expression of feminism. One other architectural parallel to this thinking, besides critical regionalism, is what Jencks calls the "the third phase of post-modernism -- the classical phase". Architects like Quinlan Terry and Robert Stern were building in a conservative period style without the ironical broken bits and pieces.

The conservative in the postmodern brings attention to the work of the modern scholar, Jürgen Habermas.[24] In his prize winning acceptance speech, entitled " Modernity vs. Postmodernity" Habermas studied these questions: How does postmodernism relate to modernism? How are political conservatism, cultural eclecticism or pluralism, tradition, modernity and anti-modernity interrelated in contemporary Western culture? And to what extent is postmodernism a revolt against reason and, at what point does this revolt become reactionary? It is imperative however, to see Habermas' work in the light of his contextual interpretation, and that is Germany,

modernity and the influence of French theorists (Derrida and Foucault) on wayward German modernists.

There are distinctions necessary before carrying on: The problem when discussing the affirmative version of postmodernism is the difficulty in separating from itself, the modern. And as much as modernism had brought progress and destruction (more of which entity is irrelevant), the postmodern too, had gains and losses. To be able to consider the postmodern as a historical or cultural condition, oppositional practices must be located within postmodernism itself. The neo-conservative voice is such an opposition. Habermas, representing the Socialist/ Marxist view of the Left is another.

Habermas criticised neo-conservatism and postmodernism for not dealing with the exigencies of culture in late capitalism or with the successes or failure of modernism itself. Habermas also distinguishes between the difference in the basis of reasoning between cultural modernisation and societal modernisation: societal modernisation has an economic and organisational rationale, while cultural modernity has a communicative rationale, i.e. one that argues for its continuity, transformation etc. And the latter finds Habermas as its advocate against those who will collapse reason with domination, believing that by abandoning reason they free themselves from domination. The "enlightened modernity" of Habermas' critical social theory is quite different from that of aesthetic modernity. His critique therefore is directed at political conservatives and the cultural irrationality of nihilistic aestheticism like Dada and Surrealism. And with the poststructuralist opponents of Derrida and Foucault, he has a resurrected `Dada' in contemporary French theory.[25]

The Germany of the 60's went through a `second enlightenment' of modernism, rediscovering Adorno, Benjamin etc., but in the 70's Habermas observed that German art and literature had begun to abandon the political commitment that was essential to critical theory made in Germany. He also labels Derrida and Foucault as `conservatives', a view only possible from a German critical theoretician who feels that postmodernism and Poststructuralism betrays the emancipatory project of modernity.

The conservative/poststructuralist association drew fire from the concerned French academics, and resulted in Habermas himself being labelled as a conservative. As Rainer Nagele once observed, the name calling escalated into the ridiculous: "Mirror, mirror on the wall, who is the least conservative of us all?", a fight between `Frankfurters and French fries'. However, as Huyssen infers from this cross cultural argument, both sides were not only arguing from different interpretations of modernity, but were also drawing from their different stigmatised cultural histories (and Franco/Prussian animosity) as evidence. The French vision of modernity begins with Nietzsche and Mallarmé, and is quite close to the literary critics view of modernism. So, the French view is an aesthetic question relating to the destruction of language and other forms of representation. Habermas' modernism draws from the best traditions of enlightenment, which he tries to salvage and reinscribe into the academic arena. The American and European neo-conservatives meanwhile reject postmodernism, citing that it is a "dangerous popularisation of the modernist aesthetic". But neo-conservatives like Daniel Bell, hold a view of modernism that "only aims at aesthetic pleasure, immediate gratification and intensity of experience, all of which to him (Bell), promote hedonism and anarchy". In his book, `The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism', Bell argues that modernism and postmodernism together are responsible for the crisis of contemporary capitalism. Both Bell and Habermas agree on the imperative to reject the nihilistic and aesthetic trend of postmodernism. Huyssen was deeply scathing of Habermas: that he ignored modernism's own nihilistic strain:

"The critical deconstruction of enlightenment, rationalism and logocentrism by theoreticians of culture, the decentring notions of identity, the fight of women and gays for legitimate social and sexual identity outside the

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parameters of male, heterosexual vision, the search for alternatives in our relationship with nature, including the nature of our own bodies -- all these phenomena, which are key to the culture of the 1970's, make Habermas' proposition to complete the project of modernity questionable, if not undesirable."[26]

The postmodern is, as is argued, more than the sum of its many parts; and its response and initial critique of modernism is not so much what modernism really was, but more importantly, how it has come to be perceived at the time. Habermas' modernity means critique, human emancipation and enlightenment, and he is not willing to jettison this position; it would mean for him the end of the Leftist political impulse. The neo-conservatives, on the other hand, want to establish a tradition of standards and values that are immune to change and criticism. The only concurrence between the two is at Habermas' attack on Derrida and Foucault. However, this creates a problem, for did not Habermas label the two Frenchmen conservatives? Somewhere in the 70's, aesthetic postmodernism and poststructuralist criticism intersected in a particular American appropriation; and as the neo-conservatives (Hilton Kramer and `The New Criterion') would have it, this phenomenon has only infected American academia for the worse.

What can be learnt from all these intellectual skirmishes with regards to the postmodern phenomenon? Firstly, depending on whether the issue is the neo-conservative political vision of a postmodern society freed from all aesthetic i.e. hedonistic, modernist, postmodernist subversions, or whether the issue is aesthetic postmodernism; Habermas was both right and wrong on the collusion of neo-conservatism and postmodernism. Secondly, the question of postmodernism is not so much one of style, but more so as one of culture and politics. Thirdly, Habermas' and the neo-conservatives' attack on Poststructuralism raises the question of the intersection of postmodernism and Poststructuralism as an American fascination, and more importantly, what to make of it.

Poststructuralism is as amorphous as modernism and postmodernism; but besides collective hostility from Habermas and the neo conservatives, what grounds exist to establish a substantive link between postmodernism and Poststructuralism? On the superficial level, if New Criticism (predecessor to poststructuralist thinking) is the *ecriture* of modernism, it follows that a similar sort of relationship can exist between the contemporary avant-garde in the arts and the avant-garde in "critical theory". However, simultaneous occurrence does necessarily imply a homologous association or even a relationship; it is more likely that the barriers are intentionally dismantled, as they are in modernist and postmodernist literature and poststructuralist discourse. The evidence here is the appropriation of Theodore Adorno and Walter Benjamin, canonical critics of the modern, into the fold of the postmodern; without regard to historical consciousness. They are useful because they have taken similar positions in their time. And this is further ground to argue the case that the American poststructuralist discourse (Paul De Man, Jacques Derrida, and Roland Barthes) has more in common with modernism than it does with postmodernism. Huyssen remarked on the intersection:

> What we find time and again is that American poststructuralist writers and critics emphatically privilege aesthetic innovation and experiment; that they call for self-reflexiveness, not, to be sure of the author-subject, but of the text; that they purge life, reality, history, society from the work of art and its reception, and construct a new autonomy, based on a pristine notion of textuality, a new kind of art for art's sake which is presumably the only kind possible after the failure of all and any commitment. The insight that the subject is constituted in language and the notion that there is nothing outside the text have led to the privileging of the aesthetic and the linguistic which aestheticism has always promoted to justify its imperial claims. The list of `no longer possibles' (realism, representation, subjectivity, history, etc.) is as long in Poststructuralism as it used to be in modernism, and is very similar indeed.[27]

The appropriation of this French theory, most of which is politically intended, loses its political edge as the American postmodernists tends to welcome more readily the aestheticist trend within Poststructuralism itself. That Derrida and Barthes are of greater influence, than

more political thinkers like Lyotard, Baudrillard, Kristeva and Foucault, can now be better understood.

But the canonic modern in the poststructuralist is still present: Flaubert, Proust and Bataille in the thinking of Barthes; Nietzsche and Heidegger, Mallarmé and Artaud in Derrida; Nietzsche, Magritte and Bataille in Foucault, etc., the enemies are still the same: realism and representation, mass culture and standardisation, grammar, communication and the all-powerful homogenising power of the modern State. Huyssen believes that French theory embodied in the poststructuralist thinking can be seen, instead of offering a theory of postmodernity and developing an analysis of contemporary culture, as offering an archaeology of modernity, at its stage of exhaustion.

Despite its ties to the tradition of modernist aestheticism, it offers a reading of modernism that differs substantially from those offered by the New Critics, by Adorno or by Greenberg. It is no longer the modernism of "the age of anxiety", the aesthetic and tortured modernism of a Kafka, a modernism of negativity and alienation, ambiguity and abstraction, the modernism of the closed and finished work of art. Rather, it is modernism of playful transgression, of an unlimited weaving of textuality, a modernism all confident in its rejection of representation and reality, in its denial of the subject, of history and of the subject of history, a modernism quite dogmatic in its rejection of presence and in its unending praise of lacks and absences, deferrals and traces which produce, presumably, not anxiety but, in Roland Barthes' terms, *joüissance, bliss*.[28]

If Poststructuralism can be seen as the ghost of that modern spirit in the guise of theory, it is precisely what makes it postmodern. It is a postmodernism which works itself not as a rejection of modernism, but rather as a retrospective reading of the modern project, fully aware of its limitations and failed political ambitions. The failure to give a critique of bourgeois modernity and modernisation within modernism itself has been its chief problem. Dada and Surrealism, especially, had proven how modern art, even when it ventured beyond art for art's sake, was ultimately forced back into the realms of aesthetic subjectivity. Thus the gesture of Poststructuralism, in that it abandons all pretence to a critique that would go beyond language games, beyond epistemology and the aesthetic, for the moment seems at least plausible and logical.

The American appropriation of Poststructuralism is also seen in Ihab Hassan, who has claims to early American postmodernism. He likens the postmodernist impulse to `unmaking', which can be approximated as `deconstruction'; and observes:

> It is an antinomian moment that assumes a vast unmaking in the Western mind - what Michel Foucault might call a postmodern `epistmé'. I say `unmaking' though other terms are now de rigueur: for instance, deconstruction, decentring, disappearance, dissemination, demystification, discontinuity, difference, dispersion etc., such terms express the ontological rejection of the traditional full subject, the cogito of Western philosophy. They express, too, an epistemological obsession with fragments and fractures, and a corresponding ideological commitment to minorities in politics, sex and language. To think well, to feel well, to act well and to read well, according to this epistmé of unmaking, is to refuse the tyranny of wholes; totalisation in any human endeavour is potentially totalitarian.[29]

The movement against totalising reason and its subject is equally a movement against the autonomous work of art and its pretensions to unity and meaning; it is for this reason that the avant-garde impulse, in which postmodern consciousness chooses to announce itself, must call into question not only the subject and the unity of the work of art but also the concept of art -- in sociological terms; the process of differentiation of a sphere of art in the modern world, distinct from the technological system, from politics or the sciences.[30] Architects like Peter Eisenman and Bernard Tschumi have worked along this parallel, questioning architecture.

The "Deconstructivist Architecture" exhibition in 1988 at the Museum of Modern Art in New York is the physical showing of the architectural interest in poststructuralist thinking.[31] The seven architects and design groups, selected by Philip Johnson - the arbitrator of American architectural taste, are Coop Himmelblau, Peter Eisenman, Bernard Tschumi, Zaha Hadid, OMA, Frank Gehry, and Daniel Libeskind.

Of these, Eisenman and Tschumi, had even worked on joint projects with the deconstructionist *avant la lettré* Jacques Derrida. But the architectural public are suspicious of Eisenman, how has his work changed in the built form since he shifted from the influence of Noam Chomsky to Jacques Derrida? Bernard Tschumi's reworking of the (modern) constructivist visions of Chernikov as his follies at the Parc de La Villette has only encouraged the uninitiated `de-conned' public to enthuse in linguistic games of `de-Constructivist deconstruction'.

Daniel Libeskind's work up to that time in 1988 had been closer to the plastic arts than building, he had hardly built anything habitable. OMA, headed by Rem Koolhas, who once taught at the Architectural Association; had shown his thinking shown in his book `Delirious New York', a speculative urban study of New York, which displayed in its concluding pronouncements a tendential claim towards a sort of incomplete `modern' project of Mies, Corbusier and Gropius. His prize student, Zaha Hadid, who took over teaching duties of their unit at the AA and was erstwhile a partner in the Office for Metropolitan Architecture, blatantly titled her course, `modernism' and offered little else in explanation. It is possible, given Huyssen's insistence of the ghost of modernism in Poststructuralism to establish links in the work of Hadid and OMA in alignment with this thinking. Certainly the process of the OMA school of thought ignores many cultural concerns: it is almost a pure form for form's sake. In the description of her own work, Hadid speaks frequently of the compression and the manipulation of space, caused by "elements" strategically placed in a "landscape", a process of thinking and creating which ignores the tense urban, cultural and sociopolitical context of her schemes; some of the more published were ironically designed for the politically tense and anxiety ridden lands of Hong Kong and Berlin - topographies with deeply eventful cultural histories. This process of making one's work external to history and subjectivity, establishing architecture in its own right, in its own autonomy, is deeply problematic. The perennial problem lies in architecture's eternal marriage to representation. How does one conceptualise a design that is not invariably tied to one's own cultural milieu? Eisenman, who acknowledged the problem, chose often to work with the grid - the anonymous slate on which one builds the origin of one's work. These ideas are not new. The de Stijl movement, the cubists, the constructivists etc. have all dealt with this attempt to escape from representation. Tschumi has a slightly different fascination: he occupies himself with the concept of "Disjunction" - very literally by the placement of , for example, a stadium in Soho. His work is unquestionably seeking distance from the cultural and the sociopolitical, he prefers to preoccupy his mental energies on what he calls "Questions of Space". Indeed, Tschumi pleaded that "The merging of disciplines is too worn a path to provide a stimulating itinerary. Instead I would like to focus attention on the present paradox of space ....."[32] ; as if by ignorance the architect is able to reclaim the autonomy of his art.

Coop Himmelblau and Frank Gehry at the time worked more with the fragmentation of a physical building, and it is easy to see the fragmentation as `de-Construction'. But did not Hollein, Isozaki and Stirling work with fragmented classical elements and historical bits and pieces? Are they not, therefore "deconstructivists" as well? Or is Coop Himmelblau post-modern? The collusion of theoretical garlands on selected architects is therefore suspicious. Architects tend to look for techniques and methods, and Derrida, who was once pushed for the answer which would grant aspiring `deconstructivists' entry to his magic kingdom, denied that it was a method at all. But the wheels were in motion, there exists now a `deconstructivist'

aesthetic, courtesy of Philip Johnson. Jencks, hurt by the fall of the iconoclastic post-modern, has gone so far to predict the downfall of this `movement' when the firm of Kohn, Pedersen and Fox (a leading American commercial practice with an established corporate clientele) builds their first `deconstructivist' corporate skyscraper within three to four years of 1988.[33]

Despite ambiguous ties to Constructivism, its aesthetic of sculptural collage, what is perhaps more interesting is the verbally unstated but mutually collective and visually omnipotent "bent" nature of the work. In the search for autonomy, these architects have invariably debased an established form of work - by skewing, slanting, twisting, turning -it has chosen to present itself as anti-architecture. We can see in these forced architectural mannerisms, however, some kind of crisis of faith in the ability to be significantly creative. This is nothing different from the 'psychomachia' – the conflict of the soul – that appeared in the era of Michelangelo.[34]

In this crisis, we can see the idea that the threat to the autonomy of art under the conditions of a progressive commodification of culture. We can also observe that the inherently degenerative character of the dialectic of aesthetic modernism that is generated in defensive reaction to the perceived erosion of this autonomy in the face of commodification. Most of the reactionary work seems to be based on an insistence that the autonomy of art is a vital condition for any possibility of an authentic aesthetic experience. That Modern Art and Architecture was given suffrage to an increasing commodification of its own status, threatened perhaps not only its autonomy but its very existence and validity. Peter Osborne remarked that the "affirmative essence" of art as an autonomous sphere of value had become so 'insufferable' in the context of an unfree society that 'true' art, viz. an art that is true to the idea of truth, had been forced to challenge its own essence and revolt against itself.[35] It does this, according to Adorno, "by developing the aesthetic concept of anti- art."[36] The architectural interpretations of the modern avant-garde art in the 30's are evident in the Constructivists, the Rietveld/Shröeder House (De Stijl) and Corbusier (Cubism). That Surrealism and Dada never had its architectural equivalent then was an academic concession that architecture was rooted in its own truth and reality of building. Given the development of modern engineering, primarily in pre-stressed and post-tensioned reinforced concrete, the development of high stress steel and the subsequent confidence gained from the constructed steel and glass (high-tech)buildings inspired by the visions of Archigram, some of what was previously only imaginable could now possibly be built. The aesthetic concerns of modern architecture could now and has developed its own "anti-art" in deconstruction.

The architectural fascination with deconstruction can thus be seen as the other "affirmative" strain in the postmodern constellation, rejecting the initial negative adversarial stance which was bound to fail; i.e. it is "affirmative" in that it chooses within the capitalist/critical art problem to establish architecture on its own terms, external to history, culture, politics, sociology etc., appropriating the later Barthes and his ideas of `plaisir' (pleasure), `joüissance' (enjoyment) with the aim to establish its separate independence . But as Osborne reads from Adorno, the intransigence of this insistence for autonomy, premised on a precondition of authenticity, is a defensive reaction which builds upon an aesthetic of negative dialectics - a degenerative character of modernism. Hence by debasing the traditional firmitas (firm in construction) and utilitas (serving a practical function) in building, and making much of it venustas (it should be beautiful) on paper - it invests in modernity's nihilistic strain. If not for the cloak and hat of "Architect", one could conclude an aspiration to defy gravity in Hadid's, Libeskind's and Coop Himmelblau's work. The demonstration that Tschumi has given in his follies at Parc de la Villette that practical function has no meaning in his work, function in fact follows from form while space is paramount, is instrumental and vital to the notion architectural autonomy

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is actually achievable. And this is the position that Habermas is so vehemently decided against - it is easy to see his sense of betrayal and description of hedonism.

The theoretical defence from the deconstructionists' champions however, is that this situation is unavoidable: the nature of art and architecture has changed since Benjamin first explored the "The work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction".[37] It is no longer valid to ask "what in art is beautiful?" but it is to ask "what is art?". Duchamp has done this by presenting a ready-made urinal as `art'. And so has Tschumi, who re-presents unbuilt "Chernikov" variations at la Villette as architecture. Lyotard, the poststructuralist who has considered the postmodern writes:

> As for the artists and writers who question the rules of plastic and narrative arts and possibly share their suspicions by circulating their work, they are destined to have little credibility in the eyes of those concerned with "reality" and "identity"; they have no guarantee of an audience. Thus it is possible to ascribe the dialectics of the avant gardes to the challenge posed by the realisms of industry and mass communication to painting and the narrative arts. Duchamp's "ready made" does nothing but actively and parodistically signify the constant process of dispossession of the craft of painting or even of being an artist.[38]

There are two positions which sketch the characteristics of current architectural practice including the many postmodernisms, and which in their own way deal with the notion of representation in architecture.[39] One sees architecture as an epiphenomenon; that is, one that is dependent on the socioeconomic, political and cultural processes to justify and evaluate itself. It reconstructs the environment which produces the architectural object and seeks to establish an optimum relationship between the culture to be represented and the architecture which represents it.

Here, there is a dichotomy in the creative practice of producing objects: there are the architects designing buildings and there are the critics who discuss the architecture. The other position differs fundamentally in this respect, it sees criticism and production as one and the same.

This other position, sees the former practice as contaminating the practice of the pure architectural process, and seeks to establish architecture as an autonomous activity; it seeks to establish the discourse of architectural objects as a separate discourse distinct from other objects. This position has sought a sort of "form for form's sake", and has gained its confidence of a disengaged activity from the spiritual legacy of Roland Barthes.

Roland Barthes "The Pleasure of the Text" has become almost a major canonical formulation of the poststructuralist postmodern. Though Susan Sontag has called for the erotics of art before, Barthes, differs in that he is not politically radical: instead he "positions himself safely within high culture and the modernist canon, maintaining equal distance from the reactionary Right which champions anti-intellectual pleasures and the pleasure of anti-intellectualism, and the boring Left which favours knowledge, commitment, combat and disdains hedonism."[40] Or as Barthes himself claims, "The Left may indeed have forgotten the cigars of Brecht and Marx".[41]

Poststructuralist notions of `the death of the subject(ivity)' and the rejection of authorship: declaring `Who is speaking?' and `What is an author?' as no longer valid questions; are not different in essence from modernist critique, where the targets are the traditional idealist and romantic notions of authorship and authenticity, originality and intentionality, self centred subjectivity and personal identity. But by choosing to do so, poststructuralists lose the chance to challenge the ideology of the subject by developing other notions of subjectivity. "It merely duplicates on the level of aesthetics and theory what capitalism as a system of exchange relations produces tendentially in everyday life: the denial of subjectivity in the very process of its construction."[42] Poststructuralism thus attacks the appearance of capitalist culture but misses its essence; like modernism, it is in sync rather than opposed to the real process of modernisation. But Huyssen

notes that the postmoderns have recognised this dilemma. They counter the modernist litany of death of the subject by working toward new theories and practices of speaking, writing and acting subjects.

> "The question of how codes, texts, images and other cultural artifacts constitute subjectivity is increasingly being raised as an already historical question. And to raise the question of subjectivity at all no longer carries with it the stigma of being caught in the trap of the bourgeois or petit-bourgeois ideology; the discourse of subjectivity has been cut loose from its moorings in bourgeois individualism. It is certainly no accident that the questions of subjectivity have resurfaced with a vengeance in the postmodern text. After all, it does matter who is speaking or writing."[43]

The popularity of poststructuralist thinking in architecture offers therefore a re-reading of modernism; in a fresh and exciting way. In a way then it responds to some of the pressures that postmodernism is dealing with. But t it is not postmodernism, and neither is postmodernism - poststructuralist. It is easy to see the facile conflation of postmodernist/poststructuralist and the same sort of facile conflation exists in `Deconstructivist' architecture.

Yet, was not postmodern-architecture a facile conflation of terms and ideas to begin with? Whither *"La condition postmoderne"?*

In the West this might be so. However if we consider the situation outside the Western world, a more curious development has been taking place. As has been noted earlier, the affirmative strain with a Neo-Conservative axis can be seen in various locations outside of the Western world. James McQuillan has recognized its appearance in South Africa and Finland.[44] In South East Asia, this neoconservative and affirmative strain can be seen. The extension to the famous Raffles Hotel in Singapore, was done such that the modular facade was replicated in the extension and can now not be distinguished from the original building. This was done completely without irony, without consideration of tampering with time and history. Latterly, the Australian National Museum, designed or rather eclectically assembled by Ashton Raggatt and McDougall, was built recently without a scale of controversy that would have accompanied the designs had it been done in the Western world in the 1970s. Famously, the wing that houses Aboriginal artefacts, a chance to be uniquely original if nothing else, was built upon the published footprint of Daniel Libeskind's Jewish Museum in Berlin. (figure 1) If there was any irony to the work, it was that the Australian National Museum was actually completed before the Jewish Museum in Berlin. This curious situation is a mutant historicism only possible in late 20c media where something is already copied before an original has been made.

The assessment of these actions can be understood if we look into the interests of nationalism in Architecture. When the idea of a nation first surfaced in 18c Europe, it was not long after that architecture pursued this value in its representation. Europe's dalliance with nationalism can be seen to flourish in the 19c, culminating in various National Romantic movements.[45] In the early 20c, this idea of nationalism had all but died with the advent of a trans-national value – that of an international architecture.

If we looking beyond morphology, in the late 20c and onwards, in the post-colonial world, architecture and nationalism resume a conflated relationship that had long receded as a European value of aspiration. From the 1980s onwards, some rumblings of Nationalism began to occur in various places around the world, from Australia to Taiwan, from South America to South Africa. A new sense of regionalism emerged which Frampton identified as Critical regionalism. What is common in all of these is a concern for identity, a concern for a postcolonial contextual and historical acknowledgement. Often the historical and revisionist programmes are coupled with a nationalistic drive, and in some cases the zeal confused memory with historical invention.
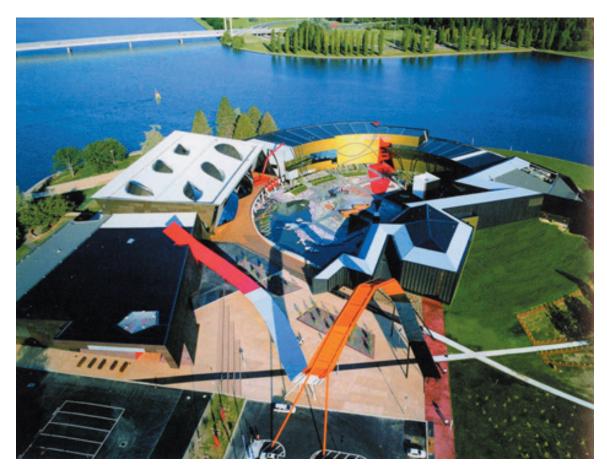
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Figure 1
National Museum of Australia
National Museum of Australia, Canberra - Aston Raggatt McDougall; aerial photo showing plagiarised footprint of the Jewish Museum in Berlin (Daniel Libeskind)

Singapore for example, in the words of Rem Koolhas, " …is the only Chinese city in the world with its own Chinatown". Whist the statement is not accurate as Singapore is not a Chinese state but independent, in her in independence she has a complex colonial history which has created this rather bizarre identity problem. The complexity of situations do not end there, Taiwan for example, has severe difficulty defining an architectural identity as it is a state whose nationality is contested. The search for National identity, separate from colonial histories is being defined as the cutting edge of cultural expression, and is asserted in the cultural aspirations in Architecture. The mushrooming of National buildings from New Zealand to Egypt, Malaysia to Chile, seen in the new museums to civic centres ad nauseam certainly underscores this.

Nationalism in Australian architecture is best documented by the work of Robin Boyd, who championed a suburban vision of Australiana. Since his heyday in the 1950's Australia's architectural identity has hovered somewhere between the image of Sydney Opera House and the outback sheds of Glen Murcutt. It is no surprise therefore that Ashton Raggatt McDougal has had difficulties in immediate original expression. Much of postmodern theory, post structuralist ideology, and the intellectual skirmishes noted above re-surface in combinations. Hence it is possible to have a conservative ideology but an avant-garde expression, or an avant-garde ideology with a conservative expression.

The appearance of these assertive and affirmative tendencies in architecture and the city in the post colonial world can be understood as a delay in the avant-garde, emerging at a time when many of these issues have run their course, but reappearing in various combinations. The state of the art of architecture is certainly not a synchronised event. This delay is not a negative

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time lag per se, but is directly a coincident alignment of postmodern strategies with the cultural politics of the self in post-colonial geographies that continue to provide a fertile ground for such expression at a larger scale. Hence, outside the West we have seen in the 1990s the blooming affirmative expression in Nationalist architecture, or large civic projects and other forms of collective or pocket collective cultural expression, in both highly mannered radical avant-garde or decidedly neo-conservative appearance.

Notes

1   Heinrich Klotz, *The history of postmodern architecture* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1988).

2   Robert Venturi and Museum of Modern Art (New York N.Y.), *Complexity and contradiction in architecture. With a introd. by Vincent Scully* (New York: Museum of Modern Art; distributed by Doubleday, Garden City, N.Y., 1966).

3   Ibid. p.9.

4   Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown and Steven Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas; [by] Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown and Steven Izenour* (Cambridge: (Mass.), London: M.I.T. Press, 1972).

5   Robert A. M. Stern, *New directions in American architecture* (London: Studio Vista, 1969).

6   Charles Jencks, *Modern movements in architecture*, [1st ed. (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press, 1973).

7   The popular journal, Architectural Design, known popularly as *AD*, has Jencks contributing regularly; it has served as `the' mouth organ for the Post-modern. For a time, it was the avant garde journal, and the publishers Academy Editions handled the prolific works of Jencks.

8   Marshall McLuhan and Quentin Fiore, *The medium is the massage* (New York ; Toronto: Bantam Books, 1967).

9   Huyssen, Andreas "Mapping the Postmodern", *NEW GERMAN CRITIQUE 33* (fall 1984) P.7.

10   Huyssen, A. ibid., p.11

11   Toynbee, Arnold "A Study of History" Vol.IX. London OUP: 1954.

12   Huyssen, A. ibid., p.11.

13   Habermas, Jürgen "Modernity vs. Postmodernity", *NEW GERMAN CRITIQUE 22* (Winter 1981) pp.3-14.

     N.B. also published under the title of "Modernity - An Incomplete Project". This was his acceptance speech for the prize that the city of Frankfurt conferred upon him, the Theodore W Adorno prize.

14   Huyssen, A. ibid., p.11.

15   Charles Jencks, *The language of post-modern architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1977). p.9. There are several revised editions since the first, and Jencks has curiously and continually updated this book as a chronicle.

16   Charles Jencks, *Post-modernism : the new classicism in art and architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1987)., p.29.

17   Ibid., p.29

18   Jameson, Fredric "Postmodernism and Consumer Society", *Postmodern culture* Pluto Press, 1987 p.115

19   Jameson, F. ibid., "Postmodernism and Consumer Society" p.115

20   Jameson, F., ibid., "Postmodernism and Consumer Society", p.115.

21   Huyssen, A., "Mapping the Postmodern". This is a sort of quasi-conclusion that Huyssen makes. It is taken up more forcefully by Hal Foster, editor of *Postmodern culture*, and more recently Michael Hays from the Graduate School of Architecture, Harvard University. Not surprisingly, the polarities are more obvious in Architectural practice.

22   Huyssen, A. ibid., "Mapping the Postmodern" p.18

23   Jencks, Charles op. cit., *The language of postmodernism* This is the thrust of the book's model for post-modern architecture.

24   Habermas, Jürgen, "*Modernity vs. Postmodernity*"

25   Habermas, Jürgen, "*Modernity vs. Postmodernity*"
     I have attempted here to present in a few short lines Habermas' main grouse.

26   Huyssen, A. "The search for Tradition: Avant garde and Postmodernism", *New german critique* 22 (Winter 1981) p.38. Rorty, Richard "Habermas and Lyotard on Postmodernity". *Praxis international* 4 (1984-85). Jay, Martin "Habermas and Postmodernism". *Praxis*

international 4 (1984-85).
The critiques offered against Habermas are drawn from the numerous texts written in angst as replies to Habermas' "Modernity vs. Postmodernity". Habermas has also replied to these texts., "Questions and Counter Questions", in *Habermas and modernity,* Bernstein, R; Habermas, J. Polity Press, Cambridge 1985

27   Huyssen, A. op. cit., "Mapping the Postmodern" p.38

28   Huyssen, A. ibid., "Mapping the Postmodern" p.39

29   Hassan, Ihab quoted in Wellmer's "On the Dialectic of Modernism and Postmodernism" p.338

30   Wellmer, Albrecht "On the Dialectic of Modernism and Postmodernism" *Praxis international* 4 pp.338-340

31   Exhibition Catalogue "Deconstructivist Architecture", June 23-Aug 30 1988 MOMA, New York, directed by Philip Johnson, guest curator Mark Wigley.

32   Tschumi, Bernard *Questions of space - lectures on architecture* Architectural Association, TEXT 5, London 1990 p.12

33   Charles Jencks and Peter Eisenman in Conversation "Deconstruction in Architecture", *Architectural design,* Academy Editions, 1988. p. 60-61.

34   Quek, R "The phenomenon of Mannerism in the late 20c", unpublished thesis, University of Cambridge.

35   Osborne, Peter, "Adorno and the metaphysics of modernism", p.24.

36   Adorno, T W. *Aesthetic theorY* Routledge and Kegan Paul, London 1984 pp 2, 43

37   Benjamin, Walter "The work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction" , *Illuminations* Shocken Books NY pp 217-251

38   Lyotard, Jean François *The postmodern condition: a report on knowledge* Manchester University Press, 1984
N.B. this first appeared in 1979 in the original French as `La condition Postmoderne: rapport sur le savoir'

39   Hays, Michael "Critical Architecture: Between culture and form", *Perspecta* 21, The Yale Architectural Journal, 1984. pp 16-29

40   Huyssen, A op. cit., "Mapping the Postmodern"

41   Barthes, Roland *The pleasure of the text* Hill and Wang, 1975

42   Huyssen, A., "Mapping the Postmodern" p.56

43   Huyssen, A ibid., "Mapping the Postmodern" p.56-57

44   McQuillan, James - Paper submitted to South African Journal of Art History

45   See for example recent books by Mitchell Schwarzer, Barbara Lane etc

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