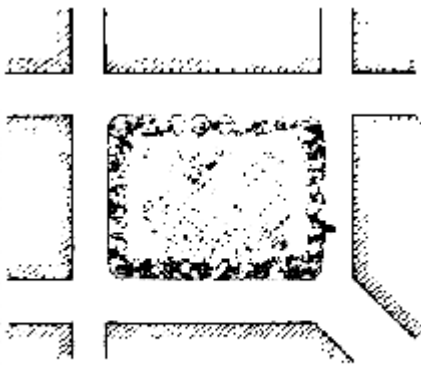


Articles

Speech delivered by C. A. Doxiadis during the 5th Working Conference on Urban Renewal, NAHRO, at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, U.S.A., March 21, 1960. Document R-GA; 190, Doxiadis Associates, 1960, 40 p.: 23 fig.

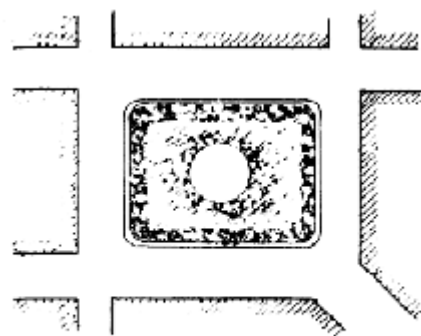
The Death of Our Cities

SYNOPSIS: During the last four decades, many changes have taken place which have created a deterioration of conditions in human cities. Three big events are responsible for these changes. These are: an unprecedented increase of population, the socialization encompassing all political systems and social classes and the emergence of the machine in our lives. Architects, planners and administrators are unable to deal with this triple growing of urban units, unless they proceed to remodeling and demolition. The aim is to orientate ourselves to a new conception of the city and of the policies prevailing the growth of the city. Modern cities should accommodate the machine to the benefit of man.



c. Forty years ago

Fig. 1a. THE STORY OF A SQUARE



b. Thirty years ago

Fig. 1b. THE STORY OF A SQUARE

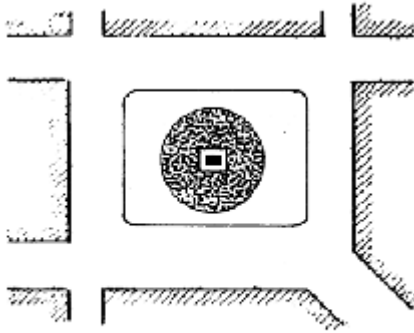
1. When I was a six-year old child and escaping from home, I was going down to the square in front of our house which was full of pine trees; I was playing undisturbed with my friends. When I was sixteen, I saw the first gang of workers coming to cut down 50 per cent of the trees of the square, in order to open up a space for streets and cars. When I was 26, I saw another gang paving streets all around the square, putting a monument in the middle of it for a statesman and cutting down the last trees. When I was 36, I could see the monument of the statesman only as a traffic agent in the middle of cars. When I was 46, I saw the monument taken away, a wide street cutting the square in the middle and everything else paved as a parking place.

2. In the meantime the small, two-floor and three-story houses which were around the square were replaced by multi-story buildings, and today the square has nothing at all which would allow me to call it my square; this square where I grew, which I considered part of my home. When I pass through the same square I feel like a displaced person and this is what most of the urban dwellers all over in the cities are. We all are displaced persons.

3. If we understand it or not, the fact remains the same. Many changes have taken place. Changes for the better? No. Changes for the worse - everywhere. I have not seen a city where the gradual change has created an amelioration of conditions during the last forty years. Why? Why have we this common phenomenon everywhere? Because three big events have happened during these forty years, during the last four decades.

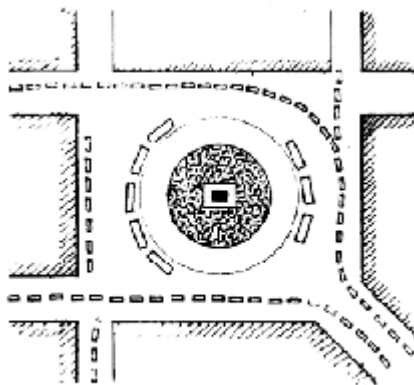
4. The first was an unprecedented increase of the population all over the world. It took humanity thousands of years to reach this point, until the beginning of our century; and it took it only sixty years to jump up and double the population.

5. And this increase is in the cities even worse. The rate of increase is higher and the larger the city, the more so. We have now to deal with an unprecedented increase in population which is continuing.



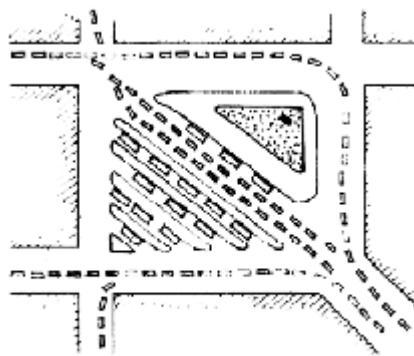
c. Twenty years ago

Fig. 1c. THE STORY OF A SQUARE



d. Ten years ago

Fig. 1d. THE STORY OF A SQUARE



e. And now

Fig. 1e. THE STORY OF A SQUARE

6. The second big phenomenon of our century is a gradual socialization which takes place irrespectively of political systems. Where architects and planners were thinking forty years back of monuments, cathedrals, big hospitals, civic centers, perhaps of some villas for the privileged classes, now there is no municipality anywhere in the world which dares to think of supplying water only to the privileged classes or to pave the streets of only some neighborhoods. Everywhere the governments are thinking in terms of public housing, of many schemes which are meant for the whole population. This was again a big change, because if in the past our interest was limited practically to a horizontal line of civic centers, of temples, of palaces; if we were only building for gods and kings, now during our century we have to think and build for the whole population. The content of our subject has changed.

7. And then we have the third factor, the machine. The machine has entered into our lives. The cars have taken over our cities. They had taken over in the beginning only the central part of our streets. Now they have taken over all the streets and pushed on the buildings. Gradually they are taking over the buildings because for the sake of the highways we are demolishing many buildings. This has had many effects. Where the unit of our cities was in the past man; now the unit is the car. Even when idle, it is providing the basic scale of our cities because it covers a lot of space.

8. The unit has changed in three ways. Man is small and car is big. Man is soft and car is hard. Man moves at three miles an hour and car moves at a hundred miles an hour. This makes everybody very unhappy.

9. Don't believe that only people are unhappy. The last time I talked with cars - it happened last week in England - they told me they are doomed to cross Glasgow at six miles an hour and London at eleven to twelve miles an hour. But they are meant for a hundred miles. If we speak about our employment, if we ask economists, they have to know that cars are the great underemployed ones and this is the most uneconomic thing to do. We create machines which cannot run. We get nervous when we sit at the wheel, we get nervous as pedestrians. We cannot walk freely any more; we are not free persons in our cities. We are completely under the control of the machine which we have created to become our slave and now the situation has been reversed: We are the slaves.

10. Let us now see how we could present all these three phenomena together. This is the increase of the population. This is socialization, that's the increase of the content it will be the same population. To this we have to add the increase of income which you forget. If this is 3 to 4 per cent, the average city increases in the world by 3.4 per cent per year. If socialization means an increase by 3 to 6 per cent on the basis of cities I know, and income increases by another 2 to 6 per cent, if you add to this all other forces of urbanization, we will discover that our subject in urban areas is changing at the rate of 12 to 30 per

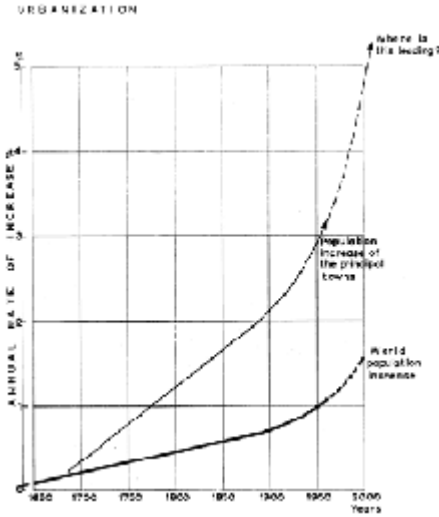


Fig. 2. URBANIZATION

cent per year. It is wrong to think of the increase of population only. We have to think of the increase of our subject and this is the figure for the average city. As we move at present we cannot catch up with developments. The result is we have an increasing demand for new goods. You remember when the first nylon stockings were produced. Everybody was demanding them. The demand was higher than the supply. The same thing happens now in the demand of urban goods. The demand for better living conditions is high; and the supply is low. We are probably at the point where we face the largest gap between demand and supply.

11. This is our problem. This is why we are here all of us talking about this problem. This is why we are unable to face the situation. Never before has humanity had to face such a difficult situation in urban development. And now we can state that we are not prepared for it. We don't have the machinery, the administration, the legislation, the people. We are few and we are inexperienced in the difficult situation we have to face.

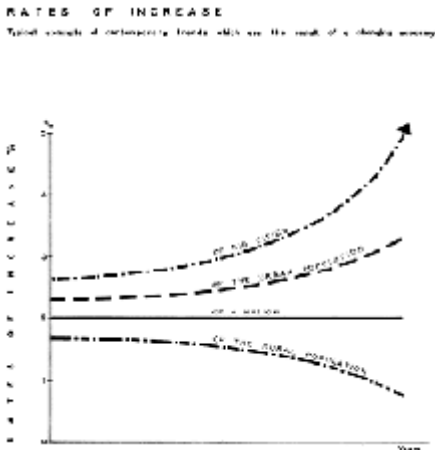


Fig. 3. RATES OF INCREASE Typical example of contemporary trends which are the result of a changing economy

12. What is the most characteristic of this situation? I think that we can easily find it. Our cities which up to now had three dimensions, the length, width, height and depth, especially at the beginning of our generation, have now acquired a fourth dimension much more important than these three. It is the dimension of time. The change, the continuous changes are much more important than anything that we do.

13. In my city, in Athens, every hour we have an increase of nine dwellings and two thousand square feet of roads. This happens every hour of our day. So, if we think of the future of Athens, we have to reckon how many buildings are going to be added of how much the surface of the streets has to be increased. The important thing is to know how different at a certain time for which we make considerations, Athens is going to be.

14. Why are we always trying to solve a certain problem in a static way when the problem has become dynamic? It is much more important now to understand the dynamics of a changing situation than its static form. These dynamics are the dynamics which are creating the problems we are talking about. Let us look for a moment what happens in our cities.

RAPID SOCIALIZATION

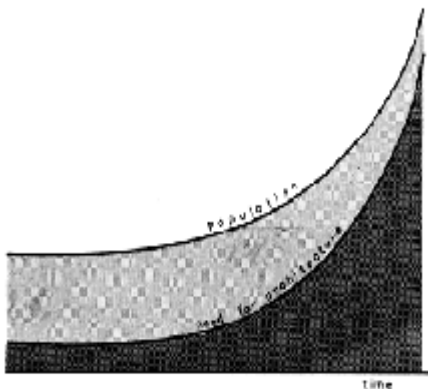


Fig. 4. RAPID SOCIALIZATION

15. For many thousands of years our cities were static - so static that they were surrounded by walls. Many cities in the other continents especially, have been surrounded by walls for centuries. I know cities which have been surrounded by walls for thousands of years. Thus we had to live in and to deal with a walled city; a three dimensional city. Then came the era when the walls broke and the cities spread out. This is the big change we have to reckon with. And now we cannot follow the spread of the cities.

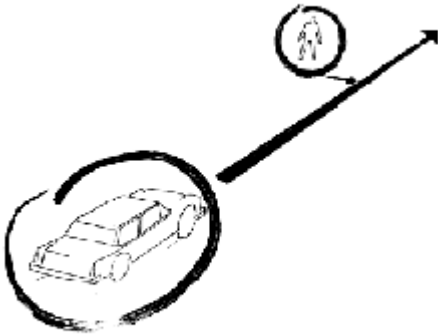
16. Recently Tokyo decided through its taxation services to follow the spread of the cities and the new buildings built every year by airplanes and air photos. There was no other technique to catch up with the growth. The city, now which was small and had its

THE OLD AND NEW UNITS

continue

to

grow.



The unit of magnitude, man, was replaced in our cities by the new unit, the machine. The machine unit covers a proportionately much larger space, drives at much higher speed and brings into conflict its hard surface with the soft human body.

Fig. 5. THE OLD AND NEW UNITS The unit of magnitude, man, was replaced in our cities by the new unit, the machine, which covers a proportionately much larger Space, drives at much higher speed and brings into conflict its hard surface with the soft human body.

17. Of all problems of the growing city what happened to the heart of it was the worst. Because the heart has to grow within the body of the city. Can you think of a child at the age of six, the heart of which is surrounded by a steel casement? Would this child grow normally? No, it would be choked to death. This is what is happening to our cities.

18. Where we have the most narrow streets in the old city we need the largest streets for traffic. Where we have the smallest plots in the old city, we need the largest plots for the new buildings for the expanding centers. Where we have the highest values of land and buildings we need most the expropriation. We have to face a very difficult problem indeed.

THE DEMAND FOR CITY BUILDING ACTIVITY

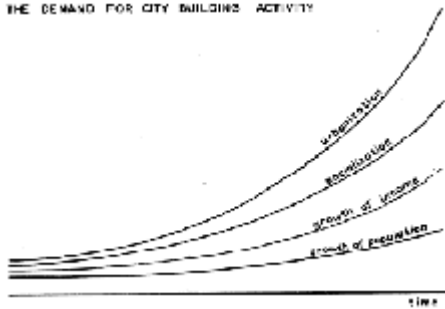


Fig. 6. THE DEMAND FOR CITY BUILDING ACTIVITY

19. This problem is causing and is going to cause many difficulties in our lifetime. How can we face it? Before answering that I would like to make a confession. I have been working with cities for twenty-five years - and I had promised to myself not to speak on certain problems up to now because I wanted to be completely sure that I have checked what I am going to tell you in every possible way. I have tried this conclusion in every possible occasion in every possible technique and it is with great sorrow that I have to announce to you the death of our beloved cities. They are dying. They cannot survive. They have already been condemned to death. You only have to visit such cities as Caracas, and see that you need two hours by car to go from one point of the government center to the other. You have only to go between eleven a.m. and one o'clock p.m. in order to discover that what's happening there is happening already in a different tempo - in a different process to all our cities. You'll tell me perhaps that you will not agree. The reason you'll not agree - if you don't - is that you are thinking as men and you cannot think as cities.

DEMAND AND SUPPLY OF NEW GOODS

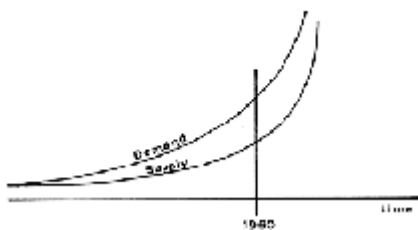
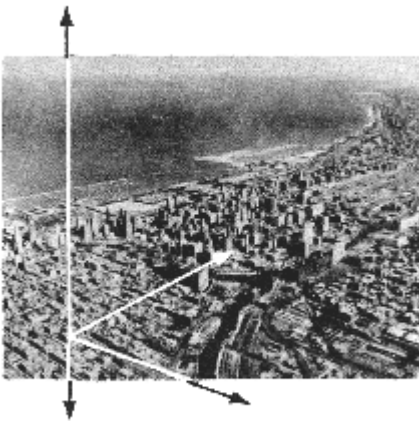


Fig. 7. DEMAND AND SUPPLY OF NEW GOODS

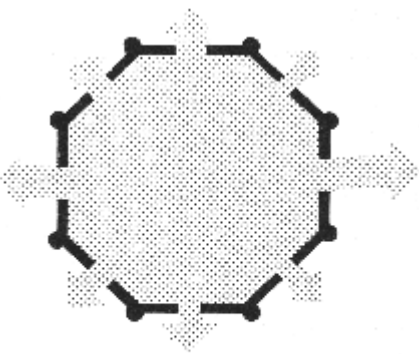
20. I'll tell you an old story: A saint came on this earth many centuries back and he found himself in the middle of a big desert. He stopped the caravan which was passing by and asked the leader of the caravan how long the desert had been there. He was told, "Oh, since the days of my father, and my grandfather, and great grandfather, well, always. The desert was always here". And then the saint came back again on this earth at the same point a thousand years later and he found himself in the middle of a big city, at the crossroads of two big roads. He stopped a passer-by and asked him how long was the city there, and he was told, "Oh, since the days of my father, and my grandfather, and my great-grandfather - well actually, this city was always here". And then he came back a thousand years later at the same point and he found himself in the middle of a big forest. He stopped a wood cutter and asked him about the forest. He answered, "Well, the forest was always here. My grandfather was cutting timber and my great-grandfather, and my great-great-grandfather. There was nothing else here but a wood. This story shows why men cannot understand the age of cities. Their

CITY DEVELOPMENT



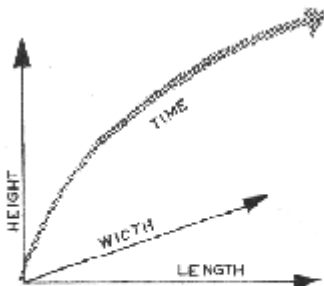
The city conquers the third dimension: it expands to height and depth

Fig. 8. CITY DEVELOPMENT The city conquers the third dimension: it expands to height and depth.



The typical fortified city of the middle ages. Growing population breaks through the walls and spills over into the countryside. The old fortified town is no more.

Fig. 9. CITY DEVELOPMENT The typical fortified city of the middle ages. Growing population breaks through the walls and spills over into the countryside. The old fortified town is no more.



The old city was three-dimensional. The new has acquired a fourth dimension, time, whose role is often more important than that of the other three.

scales are different. We think in years, but cities grow in generations. Our story is a very old one, conceived when the average age of human beings was thirty-three or thirty-four and a thousand years meant the average age of a city in generations.

21. Now if we want to look in the perspective of generations we will understand that all our growing cities are already condemned to death within a year or two! Unless we reverse the process - unless we understand that our cities cannot grow anymore within themselves.

22. It is impossible to let this situation go on. It leads into an impasse; it means that we move into a vicious circle. Let us now assume that we have the ability and all the money to start schemes here in areas A and B which have already been blighted by the pressure of the center to expand within the residential areas of the past. By the moment we have finished the new schemes in areas A and B, area C will have the same problems as areas A and B because the city will be larger and the center needs a much larger space. There is no way out, if we continue to let our cities grow as they are growing. We cannot let the three-dimensional city impose its own characteristics on our thinking about the city of the future which is four-dimensional. If we think in terms of urban renewal alone, then there is no doubt at all that we are going to have continuous never-ending difficulties.

23. To this type of problems we have now to add another category of problems due to the traffic situation and the way it is met. What we usually do in order to relieve a center from its traffic pressures is to try and open highways. We proceed as surgeons and cut through the city in order to facilitate the traffic to the center of the city and from the center of the city. Because we have a congested area we open new wide highways to facilitate traffic. Well, if we facilitate traffic then we facilitate the growth of the heart of the city at this point. More functions, higher density, more traffic. If we do so, we need new highways in order to facilitate people to come to the new functions. If we open new highways, we demolish more buildings, and we create for a moment relieved conditions. This moment - moment in human minds, years in the minds of the city - is used by someone who comes and brings new functions in. If we continue this policy, we have condemned the center of the city to remain some day without buildings and be covered by highways only.

24. There is no way out. If we think of it logically, if we use a computer, we'll be led to the same conclusion; that by necessity the process of opening highways to the hearts of the cities leads to the elimination of the heart of the city. So we have the heart of the city choked to death by its growth within the city. We have it condemned to death by the opening of the highways. The situation is very bad. Our patient dies.

25. But now we have a new weapon - urban renewal. Let us not believe that we have a small weapon in our hands; it is a very big one if we use it properly. And people not only in the USA begin to feel that it may show a way out of the vicious circle. Everybody,

Fig. 10. CITY DEVELOPMENT The old city was three-dimensional. The new has acquired a fourth dimension, time, whose role is often more important than that of the other three.

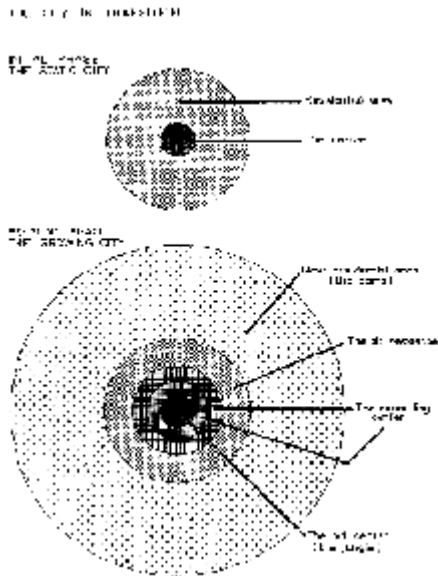


Fig. 11 THE CITY IN TRANSITION

everywhere that I talk wants to know about it. Two weeks back in Scandinavia where I was talking about the city of the future, one week back in London where I was addressing the architects on similar problems, I was asked "What happens in America with the urban renewal program?" Your problem is not only of interest to you; it is of interest to the whole world because you are facing, first of all the others, the most difficult problems; you will have to devise techniques and approaches and everybody else looks at you in expectation of solutions.

26. What can we do? How can we face this difficult problem? We have a weapon, a new weapon in our hands, the conception of urban renewal. Let us look at it for a moment.

27. Urban renewal was happening always. It is an age-old solution actually, but it was always in the hands of private people who, when the time came, were replacing old houses by new ones - one by one. As long as the city was static with the same population the same traffic, this was quite a normal process. The city was always fit, always corresponding to its needs. But now that the city is growing, now that the city is four-dimensional, this process in the hands of private people doesn't work anymore because more and more functions have come into the same place and the private people cannot catch up with such rapid developments. The government had to devise, therefore, new means and we came to the urban renewal conception.

28. How can we use this weapon? To say that we are going to save the situation by urban renewal alone is not realistic. This could be the ideal solution for static cities of the past. Urban renewal is the most important weapon we have, but in order to be effective it has to be used with proper strategy and tactics in order to defeat the situation created by the fact that the centers of our cities are now besieged - because the cities are four-dimensional. What is the solution then?

29. There is only one solution. To let the city grow in one direction. Instead of letting the center grow all around where the most valuable of land is, where there are the most narrow streets; let the center grow in one direction towards the outskirts, towards the areas of less pressures and lesser resistance. Then the city will move around the new center. Thus later we reach the outskirts and protect the area for the next phase of growth of the center, not anymore within the city but out of it - in the areas of less or no resistance at all. Thus we can create a city which is four-dimensional, a parabolic city. This will be a dynamic city - Dynapolis.

30. By necessity if our economy develops, if our population continues growing, we cannot escape but only in one direction. The enemy is all around. As in every such case we have to break throughout into the open in order to let our city grow. In this way we will face today's problems, but in solving them we will not be creating new ones. In this way we can respect the past and the future. Why do we think always that what the past generations have done in city building is wrong, and we are the ones who are wise, that we are better architects, we create better styles, better

THE GROWING CITY
we need

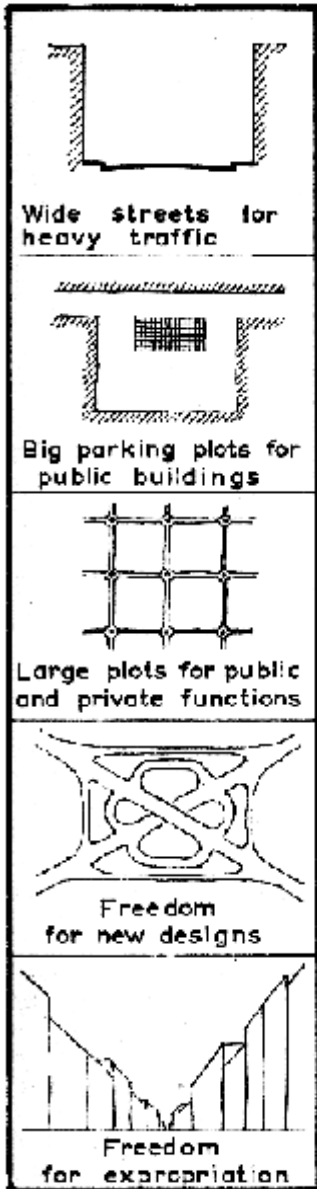


Fig. 12 THE GROWING CITY we need

buildings and we want to demolish everything else. Certainly we have to demolish certain houses and buildings because we have already blighted areas, but we should not make demolition a target and a policy to continue forever.

31. We have now cities with very bad situations created over one, two, or three generations. These situations have to be faced, by remodeling and demolition. We cannot avoid it, but we have to have a certain policy in order to avoid even worse problems ten years from now. Because when one day the councilmen of our cities and the statesmen at the federal level will discover that the funds which are spent on solving problems which existed before are not helping to avoid new problems to be created and that the amount to be spent will be much greater than thought we will witness a resistance to these programs, and this will become very dangerous for our own targets.

32. We should, therefore, orientate ourselves to a new conception of the city in order to create thereby new policies and programs and get the best result out of what we do.

33. This alone is not enough. We should decide for another basic change imposed by the dynamic growth of cities and by the motor car which has entered our lives. Now we are living with the cars in an abnormal way - mixed up, men, and machines. This cannot continue anymore. We have to separate these two functions completely. We have to make men and machines work together without getting mixed. That means let men control a certain part of the city corresponding to the human scale and to their size and let the cars enter up to a certain depth within it without breaking through. In the past, the city block was the unit, the modulus the city, a unit which had been conditioned by the walking man - let us say 200 yards - so that he could go around the block.

34. Now that the car has also entered our cities, we need a new unit. We need this unit so that the car can go around from one point to the other at any speed, whilst people will remain in control within their sector, and will be served by car in any depth they like. But the cars here are not going to develop a speed that is going to be disastrous to the people. They are going to be under control because they will move in cul de sac. The people can move in the central part of the sector, and towards it, the children can go to school, people can walk to the park, to the playgrounds, without having to think about cars. And cars can serve all these functions without killing or disturbing people.

35. We have to decide that the unit of the city block belongs to the past and the unit of the city of the future is the sector - until the car is going to be replaced by another machine, let us say the airplane, within our cities, and then the sector may be remodeled or replaced by a new conception, by some new unit for city buildings.

36. It is only such a human sector which can at present create the basic unit for a balanced and happy community life. It is

we have



Fig. 13. THE GROWING CITY we have

within this sector as a basic unit that we can plan properly from the social point of view.

37. Let us now try and see the total problem which is created in every city. If we change the notion of the city from static to dynamic, in order to foresee developments and avoid new problems, if we change the scale of the city from the modulus of a block to the modulus of a sector - is this enough? We have still the areas which need anyhow renewal and they need it now. In this area we have two alternatives. One alternative is if we demolish this part of the city, and we change its density. If we change the density by increasing it, then we have new problems around this area. We have saved this area but we increased its density. Thus we need more traffic toward this area. We need changes here and there. These changes mean changes also in the methods of construction, in densities, etc. So this alone is not a solution.

38. If we don't change the density, then we have not allowed the new functions to come into it - and they enter the next zone. How can we face this problem? It is only by accepting the fact of continuous dynamic growth that we can face this difficulty. The projects which may sometimes look logical, if seen without any relation to the city, they are not justified because they may create around them more problems than the ones they are helping to solve. By necessity we have to change our whole approach, and I would like to look at it in a systematic way.

39. First, I would like to discuss a point which is of the greatest importance. Who takes the decisions about the city of the future? I think the answer is only one - there is only one authority which can take all decisions, and this authority should be the local authority if it is one municipality or more. The people who are elected have to decide to save their cities. The experts have to serve them. It is very dangerous to leave the decisions to the experts as it is dangerous to leave the responsibility for recommendations to non-experts.

40. Think of a problem to be decided by the average architect. I am an architect. I am entitled to tell the truth. I don't think the average architect alone can take decisions about the city. He usually thinks about architecture only. Who will care about architecture if we cannot save our cities and we will have to abandon them?

41. Can we leave this to the planners only? Being a planner, I am entitled to say "No" because planners have not yet adjusted themselves to the requirements of the era. The average planner, through all his work, works for the city of the past and of the present. There are few people who have considered the city of the future. They have not considered our new task which is not to serve the city as a whole and not the civic center, not to create the Place d' Etoile or monumental buildings and squares, but to serve the whole population.

42. Well, if we serve the whole population, we have to think first of economics. Even if we save one brick per house, we can build



Fig. 14. THE VICIOUS CIRCLE

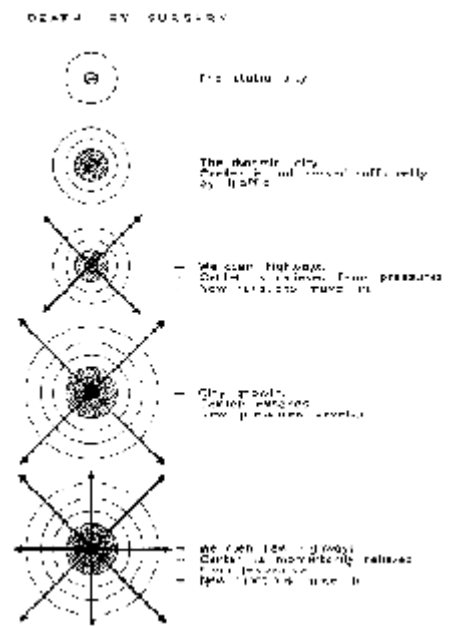


Fig. 15. DEATH BY SURGERY

a hundred houses in the city of Athens. We cannot afford to tell people "Wait three generations to get your services", as they must have done when building the cathedrals, saying, "We don't have the money. We will finish the cathedral in a few generations" this was a monument built just once. Now we have the conception of public service. We think of economics first. It is the basis of our thinking, even in designing, in architecture. We have to think of the social problems, we have to think of the political and administrative problems. The solutions cannot be imposed - they have to be accepted by the people, understood by the people, wanted by the people, serve the people as a whole.

43. We must provide the best technical services to everybody. We cannot afford to spend for materials more than necessary by using old time techniques. We have to create the best architectural and cultural surroundings. Only if we serve all purposes simultaneously can we serve our community. Therefore, we need a new approach, an approach which we call Ekistics (the Science of Human Settlements), the approach of creating a new human habitat. This cannot be the approach of one technician thinking in a certain field only. It should be a new approach for the creation of the best type of habitat.

44. Our approach should also be different. In another respect also. We cannot any more serve anyone by designs and plans only. I beg any architects and planners present to think of institutions for which they designed buildings ten, twenty years back, and the program they have served. Think of the same institutions now. Are not the functions by now at least one to three times larger? Is there any building any more having the meaning of a monument, a cathedral, which was a symbol only. The building now are expanding, colleges, industries, schools, hospitals, institutions, administrative buildings are growing. They have acquired the fourth dimension - time.

45. Therefore, instead of making designs and plans, we must learn from the economists the technique of long-term planning, long-term programming, and see our plans and designs only as three-dimensional projections of our long-term programs. Instead of thinking in terms of master plans which are static, we have to think in master development programs, and at the end of every year, have our plan of the year, as a three-dimensional projection of the thinking of the community, of the ability of the community to develop itself. We have acquired new techniques. The economists know them best. We have to learn from them, we have to be able to re-adjust our thinking every year exactly in the same way in which a budget office takes a long-term economic program and prepares the annual budgets a year ahead. We have to prepare the annual plans only as illustrations of long-term programs. The economists on the other hand have to learn from the physical planner the technique of projecting their one dimensional and therefore general programs into the three dimensions of space.

46. Don't believe that all these have a meaning only for the city as a whole or for broad programs or conceptions. They go down to the very essence of the details of our living space, to the very

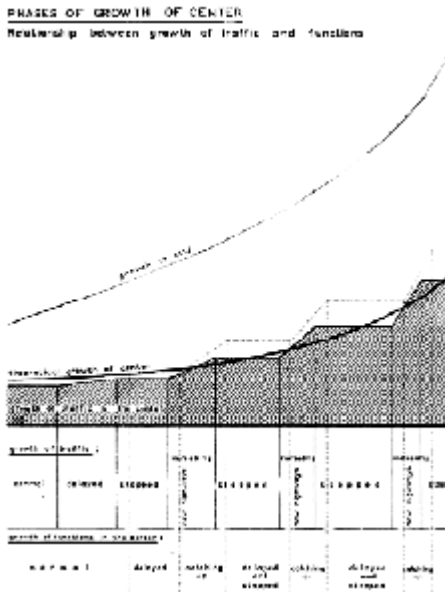


Fig. 16. PHASES OF GROWTH OF CENTER Relationship between growth of traffic and functions

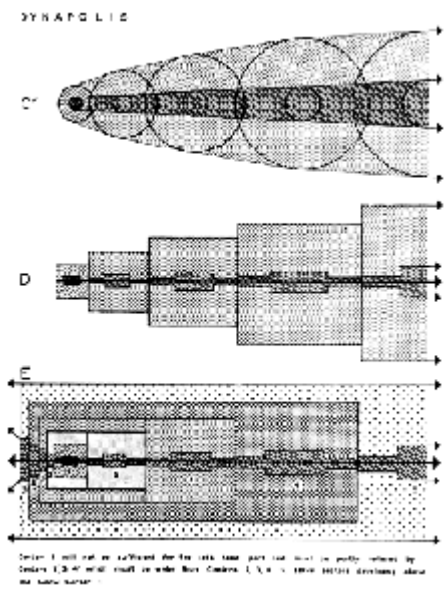


Fig. 17. DYNAPOLIS Center 1 will not be sufficient for the left hand part and must be partly relieved by Centers 2', 3', 4' which must be wider than Centers 2, 3, 4 to serve sectors developing above and below Center 1

essence of architecture. There was a love affair between man and building, man and architecture. This has been broken by a third party - by the car, by the machine. There was a love affair between our habitat and ourselves. This has been broken by the continuous change around us. We know now that the change has been lately following the wrong road. Why don't we face the problems as they really are? We don't create any more in our cities architectural space. The squares you are hearing about - the Place Vendome in Paris or the big piazzas in Italy or Greece - do not exist anymore. You cannot see the monuments. You have to wake at five o' clock in the morning and be lucky enough to see the monuments and the conception of the square. Otherwise the cars make every monument look like a traffic agent - or like nothing at all.

47. The very essence of architecture has changed and we have to re-establish the lost values, create human sectors, be left alone for some hours of our day with our architectural surroundings.

48. You will ask me perhaps how these things can be done. They are both difficult and easy. It all depends where you look. We usually say, oh, you know, my city has grown four times in the next thirty years. Why don't we say my city will grow four times in the next thirty years? It's only a matter - as I discovered one day - of where you look. I was looking back, and I had simply to turn and look ahead, and when I turned and looked ahead, I discovered that many things were easy because when I thought of my city in the future, I discovered that in Athens of the year 2000, forty years from now, three quarters of the city is going to be new, just by normal process of evolution. Why do I worry so much about this problem? Why don't I have the ability to turn my mind to the future, consider the city of the future, then turn back and see how I remodel my present city to serve myself, my children, my grandchildren in the future. It's only a matter of where you look. Because life continues in spite of architects, engineers, planners and administrators.

49. I had the occasion to demonstrate few days back in London that the only part of the built up areas in this world, which is influenced by planners and architects is a very small segment which starts from zero in many countries and goes up to 40 per cent in England, where I found the largest influence of architects on what is built (see my lecture at RIBA delivered on the 10th Marc 1960). If we estimate this white surface, we will find that it is more than 90 per cent of the human creation in our era. So anyhow life is going on in spite of us. Why don't we stop for a moment to think how we can organize it better, how can we contribute more to those expanding physical creations of man? I think if we want to be honest with ourselves we will have to come to the point, to the necessary conclusion, that we'll have to re-establish many values. We have to reconsider our action and we have to open a new road. It is easy. Twenty years from now our cities will look different. Forty years from now, they can be completely changed, completely satisfactory, provided that what we do from now on will be in the frame of the city of the future.

50. It is now that I feel that the existence of such a group of

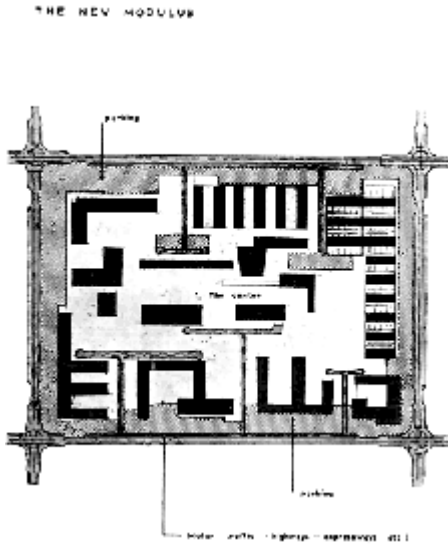


Fig. 18. THE NEW MODULUS

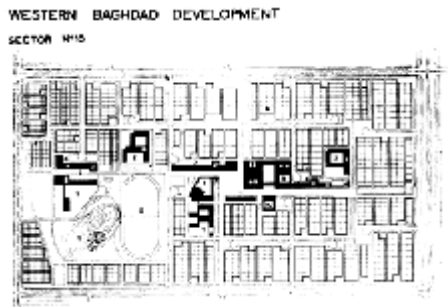


Fig. 19. WESTERN BAGHDAD DEVELOPMENT SECTOR NR. 10



Fig. 20. URBAN RENEWAL AT THE CENTER OF THE CITY

people like yours in such a meeting as this is very important. I have been very much encouraged by participating today in your meeting.

51. First, because it is not a single technical group. You have many groups of people interested around your problem, public offices and private people and personalities of all types of talents which have to be brought together for the conception of the city of the future, which has to be coordinated by the master builder as in the past, by a man, if he's a mayor, a councilman, or if he's a city manager who can see the whole, who can then guide everyone else exactly as the conductor is guiding his whole orchestra.

52. Second because I have been encouraged by the type of discussions going on. I know they are difficult - I feel that. The problems are big, but if the understanding exists, and I see it existing, that all this talent must come together, and join forces, then it can develop a new policy and a new program. If by discussions we can help each other to discover the truth, and we decide not to lose our courage, because for five years empty lands existed in a certain city and they have not yet been built, although this may make some citizens angry, as this is nothing in relation to the life of the city, if we can have the patience to project into the future, to acquire the knowledge of the proper scale of events, then I am sure that it is here by such groups of people, coming together confessing the truth, that a new approach can be developed and a new road can be opened.

53. And then, and only then, if we open a completely new road, our cities will not die.

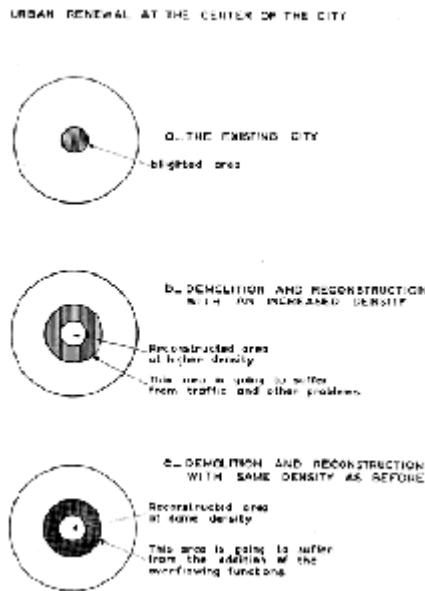


Fig. 21. THE NEW CONCEPTION OF THE PHYSICAL PLANS

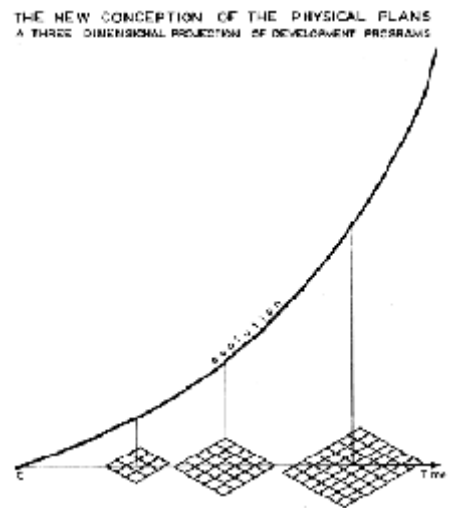


Fig. 22. A THREE DIMENSIONAL PROJECTION OF DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

THE INFLUENCE OF THE ARCHITECT
ON THE TOTAL ARCHITECTURAL CREATION

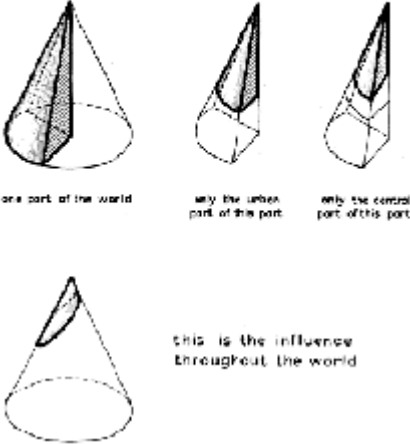


Fig. 23. THE INFLUENCE OF THE ARCHITECT ON THE TOTAL ARCHITECTURAL CREATION