

C.A. Doxiadis' early career and the birth of ekistics

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The author (23 January, 1915 - 3 February, 2000) was an architect, planner, ekistician, environmentalist and musicologist. Among his many governmental and private posts, he was Vice-President and Director of Research of the Athens Center of Ekistics until 1972 and thereafter senior consultant. He was co-author with C.A. Doxiadis of Ecumenopolis: The Inevitable City of the Future (Athens, Athens Center of Ekistics, 1974; New York, Norton, 1975). He was President of the World Society for Ekistics from 1991-1993.

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The development of the concept of ekistics in C.A. Doxiadis' mind was a slow, gradual, but also tenacious, obstinate, and eventually brilliantly successful process. Imaginative and forceful, endowed with both a surprisingly clear view of the most complex facets of human affairs and an admirable capacity for their simplification to the barest essentials, Doxiadis was able to follow an almost straight and totally consistent path throughout his career (starting at an early age). His main target was the formulation of the idea of ekistics as a new science of human settlements, its development, enrichment, amplification, refinement and, what seemed most important to him, implementation.

Although I first met Doxiadis in October 1931 when we both entered the Athens Technical University (*Ethnikon Metsovio Polytechnion*, Polytechnic School), Faculty of Architecture, I will trace the evolution of his thinking to earlier phases. Before that date, as I know from Doxiadis himself and from mutual friends, he was an active and vivid high school student in the "Varvakeion," the most demanding Athenian high school for specialization in science. He managed to be among the six or seven top students in his class, although he devoted a lot of time and enthusiasm to extracurricular activities, like excursions, sports, and participation in the boy scout movement.

Passing the entrance examinations of the Athens Technical University was something of a feat: out of many hundred candidates only a handful were accepted. Doxiadis initially failed, having taken the matter rather lightly. Then the following year he passed brilliantly. Our class of architecture started with some 45 students and ended up with some 25 obtaining their degree. Doxiadis emerged consistently as the first one in his class. Time for extracurricular activities was more restricted than at high school, since the university curriculum was clearly more demanding. I recall, among such activities, a daring excursion in very bad weather to Mount Parnes near Athens, notorious for the similarity in appearance of many of its peaks so that mountaineers often got lost on it. Rather than return feeling defeated by nature, Doxiadis, with a handful of friends, continued ahead, got lost in the thick snow, and the daring

group was only found two days later by a rescue team.

During our first days at the university I happened to be scolded by a rather irresponsible professor of design for something I had not done. Doxiadis came to "console" me and was very warm and humane. That occasion marked the beginning of a relationship which became closer and closer. He was open-hearted and truly helpful in many ways to his fellow students, and his personality radiated both among the student body and among the faculty and administration of the university.

The breadth of his interests and his eagerness to extend them into ever new fields was shown by the fact that, although he obtained very good grades in the "main" courses revolving around architecture, he got even better ones in the courses considered as secondary or marginal, especially those with a more pronounced scientific content. What is more, he read privately and instructed himself in other fields not covered by the university curricula.

This tendency towards broadening the range of his knowledge took a more concrete shape as soon as he graduated from the Athens Technical University in the summer of 1935 as "architect-engineer." Doxiadis then went for two years to Berlin for studies in town planning. This led to his Ph.D which was granted "With distinction." His thesis, on geometric properties in the layout of larger groupings of public buildings in Ancient Greece (*Architectural Space in Ancient Greece*, in a later English translation), was quite original and unexpected. Neither architects nor archeologists had ever suspected that precise mathematical relations were consciously used by ancient Greeks in the layout of their sanctuaries and other public spaces. This thesis raised both warm admiration and fanatic reaction among specialists, both in Greece and abroad, until the second English edition (MIT Press, 1972, edited by J. Tyrwhitt) still more carefully documented than the original one, brought a final, conclusive proof of its basic assertions.

Although this work showed Doxiadis' tendency towards learning from the past, the main result of his studies in Berlin was to familiarize him with concepts which broadened his interests in large-scale planning and multidisciplinary interrelationships. The first step was town planning (*Städtebau*), extending in scale from parts of cities to whole cities, and including a multidisciplinary point of view. A second step, just emerging then, was represented by the terms *Raumordnung* and *Landesplanung*, which seemed to fascinate Doxiadis. For him, they implied, first, a further extension in space, that is from the city boundary to the region and even the whole country: a conquest of space of paramount importance in his view. Second, they implied a multidisciplinary amplification, bringing in geographic concepts and all sectors of economic activity and, though to a much lesser extent at that time, social, po-



Fig. 1: C.A. Doxiadis as a university student.

litical and other nonphysical considerations. It is characteristic that Doxiadis used both terms in the original German title of his Ph.D thesis, *Raumordnung im griechischen Städtebau*.

Upon his return from Berlin, Doxiadis' first major job in Greece was that of Director of Town Planning Studies at the "Administration of the Capital" (1938-39), a newly created major unit, conceived and promoted by the mayor of Athens, C. Kotzias. This unit, for the first time, covered the entire built-up area within the Basin of Athens with some 50 municipalities (Athens being one of them) and communes. This concept of the "broader capital area" as a new administrative unit seemed to satisfy Doxiadis' conception of the "first step" (i.e. "town planning"). Still, it only just touched the "second step" (regional planning), and Doxiadis longed for a further broadening that could lead to a fuller conceptualization of this step. Thus in 1939 he persuaded the then powerful A. Dimitrakopoulos of the Ministry of Public Works to create a small, independent office within the unit to cover research at both steps. This was called *Grafion Chorotaxikon kai Poleodomikon Meleton kai Erevnon* which means "Office for National, Regional, and Town Planning Studies and Research." The term *poleodomia* (Greek for town planning, or city planning), though still rather new in Greece, was nevertheless sufficiently well established; but the German terms *Raumordnung* and *Landesplanung* had no official equivalent in Greek. Doxiadis was passionately trying to establish and promote them, so he coined the word *chorotaxia* with the willfully ambivalent meaning "bringing order (*taxis*) to space (*choros*)," implying space at any scale, and also "bringing order to the country (*chora*)," that is, national planning. This was meant as an exact translation of the German *Raumordnung* with a side glance at *Landesplanung*. Doxiadis fought to propagate *chorotaxia* in Greece while another group tried to promote *choronomia*. Eventually Doxiadis' term was adopted and he put it as the first word of the title of the new office. He also added "Research," another favorite of his, in order to bring in scientific methodology.

Under Doxiadis' leadership, this office actually started operating in the spring of 1940. I was among the first planners he called upon to collaborate with him. A few more were soon added, including many who now occupy key posts in Doxiadis

Associates. The first studies were mostly at the town planning level, although regional considerations were also partly covered.

The war temporarily interrupted the activities of this office (October 1940 to May 1941). Its work was resumed during the grim period of the German and Italian occupation of Athens (May 1941 to October 1944) in spite of occasional interference by the occupying forces. Through collaboration with other departments the office grew considerably, exceeding 200 employees in one period.

Doxiadis and I used to walk back and forth from the office every day for most of the period 1940-44. This 20- to 25-minute walk gave us the opportunity to discuss many issues of common interest and to bring us closer together. During the 11 years, 1940 to 1951, I was the one among Doxiadis' collaborators who was dealing most pronouncedly with the theoretical elaboration of his ideas within the framework of the research we carried out: something similar also took place later on, from 1959 to the middle 1960s and, to some extent, also till his death. Thus these daily discussions helped both of us to develop and promote the ideas of ekistics (though not called by this name at that time) of which he was the initiator and I was his closest assistant.

Since action in these fields was unthinkable during the period of the occupation, the Town Planning Office could concentrate on theoretical studies and basic research in human settlements. These activities spanned a very broad spectrum, including quite original types of research. To give a few examples: Doxiadis had been able to persuade the government to undertake, for the first time in Greece, a complete "housing" census included in the general census (1940) that took place just before the war. Indeed, this was more than a housing census as it included very detailed information on many aspects of human settlements. Doxiadis obtained the census sheets from the Statistical Office and organized a large team (mainly university students but also social workers and others) to extract information from the sheets in the form of large, multi-dimensional tables; many of the results being also drawn on detailed regional maps of Greece. This activity absorbed the energies of a large fraction of the staff for several years, and gave a highly interesting, original, and very detailed picture of ekistic conditions in Greece.¹

Another activity was the creation of an Archive of Greek Settlements. Each of the some 11,000 settlements of Greece was given a special file where all sorts of available information was gathered: census results, documentation from scanning historic documents at the National Library by a special team, documentation from ad hoc surveys and studies, information on war destruction, and so on. Many other original studies, often quite specialized (e.g. microclimatic studies of settlements, research on new building materials, global theoretical studies on settlement structure and distribution, including various mathematical models) were carried out, at various degrees of detail and sophistication.

There was also time for more private activities. For a period a few of us, including Doxiadis, made a point of starting our day (7 a.m.) at a public swimming pool, an invigorating habit before the start of the office work (8 a.m.). Still, work at the office was unusually intensive, and many of us worked often until late at night, over weekends and holidays, since one of Doxiadis' main talents was to inspire enthusiasm in his collaborators for whatever they undertook.

The concept of "ekistics" was already clearly inherent in most of these wartime studies, especially in the team work and group discussions within this town-planning office, generally under the leadership of Doxiadis. What emerged was a tendency towards a *global* approach:

- First, in space, from the smallest area unit, the room or the building, through the region, to the largest (the whole of

Greece, and beyond);

- Second, in a multidisciplinary approach including the physical aspects familiar to planners to concepts from geography (e.g. W. Christaller's central place theory), economics (which Doxiadis viewed as the primary driving force in the creation and development of human settlements) and the social sciences;
- Third, in several other dimensions of human settlements, studying such properties as densities (i.e. fantastically detailed maps of cities like Athens were prepared, with densities by building block established from air photos, and were used as a basis for various density models), time (from prehistory through history to the present and – with special emphasis on novel ad hoc methodologies – projected into the future), and structure of settlements in terms of neighborhoods or communities (based on Abercrombie's studies adapted to Greek conditions);
- Fourth, in abstract models, which were important for the development of ekistic concepts;
- Finally, in a vast and systematic documentation effort, including the Archive of Greek Settlements mentioned above, an ekistic library, which was not only respectable in size but was probably the first scientific library in Greece to be organized according to modern principles of librarianship, and a special archive was constituted to record all war and occupation destructions throughout Greece, not only in settlements, but in all other fields (agriculture, cattle breeding, forestry, transportation, industry, shipping, population – including special groups, like the story of the some 60,000 Greek Jews exterminated by the Nazis – etc.). This "underground" documentation was accomplished through a variety of networks, like Red Cross informants, ad hoc visits, semi-official documents, and many other channels. Its objective was to assemble as clear a picture as possible of the total amount of destruction in Greece for when the country would be liberated, so as to have a firm basis on which to base its subsequent reconstruction.

Immediately after the occupation of Greece, in 1941, a semi-underground "Circle of Technologists" was created led by Doxiadis. Most of his staff from the Ministry of Public Works participated, as well as others. They held weekly gatherings at private homes where the members gave papers on the results of special studies they were undertaking on a variety of subjects, mostly related to ekistics. These papers were published in an underground journal, with the title *Chorotaxia* (in Greek). This appeared approximately weekly throughout the occupation period of Greece and both the title of this publication and its subject matter showed Doxiadis' great interest in the ekistic approach (although this was not yet precisely formulated), as well as his interest in a global and large-scale approach. This was the first of three journals sponsored by Doxiadis: the two later ones being *Battle for Survival*, in Greek and *Ekistics*, in English.

Another wartime activity was straightforward resistance to the occupying powers. Doxiadis became engaged in several underground organizations. Like several other members of his staff at the Ministry, including the writer of these lines, he participated in resistance groups dealing with such activities as information, contacts, spying, direct resistance, and such, often in quite complex and dangerous networks, so that the participants had to hide for various periods. Apart from their political aspect, these activities also helped Doxiadis and his staff to gather more information on the destruction and other matters that would affect Greece's reconstruction and recovery after its anticipated liberation from the "Axis."

When liberation took place (October 1944) the material was ready and available, so that several publications on Greece's

destructions and its recovery problems could appear (including a very large, multilingual publication, with color illustrations, issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs). What is more, an overall plan, both for settlement reconstruction and for the more general economic recovery of Greece, had been prepared by Doxiadis and his friends. This was presented in a series of publications (Reconstruction Publications, in Greek) that were issued almost immediately after Greece's liberation.

From 1946 to 1948 some 40 volumes were published of which no. 1 was significantly called *Ekistic Analysis* and was written by Doxiadis himself. Conceptualizing and presenting this overall plan for Greece was a major accomplishment for the team who worked on it under Doxiadis' leadership, given the conditions then prevailing. It can also be justifiably considered to express the "birth of ekistics." Its roots went back to the beginnings of the Office for National, Regional, and Town-Planning Studies and Research (1940) and the Circle of Technologists (1941) mentioned above, when the foundations of the whole theory of ekistics were being laid. The formulation of the plan itself as a consistent whole was based, to a great extent, on entirely new ideas and was the product of the end of the occupation period, that is, 1943 and 1944. The further elaboration of this plan, and its actual implementation, was undertaken in the subsequent periods. In 1945-48 ekistic reconstruction was under Doxiadis' own leadership. It continued, following his principles, until about 1953, by which time the original plan was virtually completed. In 1948-52 the general economic recovery of the country took place under the Marshall Plan. From 1948 to 1951 this was under Doxiadis, who then laid the foundations for Greece's further development. How thoroughly conceived this plan had been, was confirmed by the success of its predictions for the coming 20 years. These had seemed totally out of scale when first enunciated by Doxiadis, but, during the next 20 years, actual events followed his curves for ekistic development with surprising precision.

Although the concept was firmly there, the term "ekistics" had not yet been invented. The terms that Doxiadis was struggling with in the early 1940s were the Greek equivalents of the German *Raumordnung* and *Landesplanung*. *Chorotaxia* was conceived as covering many human activities, and it was subdivided by Doxiadis according to different types of activity: he would speak of the "chorotaxia of production," of the "chorotaxia of transportation," and so forth and, among others of "ekistiki chorotaxia," that is, *chorotaxia* as related to human settlements. He used this term first in 1944, as I recall, and it was a very close approximation of the use of the term "ekistics" as it later evolved. During the period 1945 to 1951, Doxiadis was trying to promote the use of *ekistiki chorotaxia* into current Greek parlance. But the civil servants at that time preferred to use the unorthodox Greek term *ekismos*. This originally meant "settlement," but was being forced to mean "activities around settlements," or "planning settlements," or "science of settlements." In a way it came to adopt the meaning of the subsequent term "ekistics." Doxiadis, although he disliked this corruption, did not fight at first against this use of *ekismos*. From the late 1940s he himself used the term *ekistiki* ("ekistics"), but timidly at first, and it was only in the middle 1950s that he came to insist on its consistent use.

The postwar reconstruction and recovery activities can be separated into two main periods, as far as Doxiadis' participation in them is concerned. The first period was the *Reconstruction Period* (1945-48). This was concerned with the reconstruction of settlements throughout Greece and was led by Doxiadis, initially under the Office for National, Regional, and Town-Planning Studies and Research of the Ministry of Public Works; then as Undersecretariat of State for Reconstruction, 1945-46 (the only time in his career that Doxiadis moved out of the civil service proper into a political post); then as *Ypiresia*

Ekismou, i.e. Department for Ekistics (now the term got officially into the title), again within the Ministry of Public Works. In fact it was always the same unit, with more or less the same staff and located on the same premises since 1942. In the second period – the *Recovery Period* (1945-51) – Doxiadis was leading the economic recovery of his country under the Marshall Plan.

In 1946, Doxiadis participated in the San Francisco Conference that was the origin of the UN. In the same year he attended a housing conference in Brussels and, in the 1946-48 period he met repeatedly with the housing subcommittee of the ECOSOC of the UN in Geneva. I was also present and I remember on one occasion, when Doxiadis was unable to attend, R. Fitzmaurice of England told me: “We really miss him, especially his extraordinary capacity to find a solution acceptable to all, whenever our committee reaches an impasse.”

A multitude of international contacts kept Doxiadis and his group abreast of the latest developments in fields related to reconstruction, in many countries and in many international organizations. Still, the central ideas remained his own – clear, original, powerful, and perfectly workable – and they evolved unmistakably from what was his first, still unripe, conception of them in 1940-41 to a systematically organized body of knowledge, capable of being applied with success for facing situations as complex and difficult as that of reconstructing the entire war-ravaged country of Greece. Some of these ideas were presented in the *Reconstruction Publications* (for example *Ekistic Analysis*, *Ekistic Synthesis*, and others), but this presentation was far from reaching an integration of the entire system. This had to wait until much later (1968), when his book *Ekistics: An Introduction to the Science of Human Settlements* was published.

This reconstruction effort was applied under the terribly difficult conditions of the civil war in Greece, that raged until 1949, especially in the remote areas where the reconstruction needs were more pressing.

The reconstruction of the destroyed settlements of Greece was a formidable task: 1,500 villages, out of a total of 11,000 for the entire country, were totally destroyed and several towns, large and small, had suffered extensive destruction. The total loss of building wealth in Greece amounted to more than 450,000 units, or more than 25 percent of the total (this being the heaviest toll, along with Poland, suffered by any European country during World War II). What had immediately to be provided was about half the total number of destroyed houses, that is, about 200,000.

Providing 200,000 houses throughout the country, as quickly as possible, was an overwhelming task, especially for a country so heavily destroyed, poor, and disorganized as Greece immediately after World War II. It meant an entirely new overall conception of the multifarious problems of Greek settlements, that was not to be found in any textbook on planning, engineering, economics, or any other traditional discipline. And implementing the corresponding program meant facing and solving even more insurmountable problems.

The department that undertook it (whatever its changing name) soon grew to a large size, with a central office in Athens, responsible for the conception, planning, programming, and coordination of implementation, and an impressive network of regional offices covering the entire country to its remotest corners, responsible for the implementation at the local or regional scale and for feedback to the central office. The work was carried out at a frantic pace, partly to cope with the unbelievably pressing situations, but also as a consequence of the enthusiasm inspired by Doxiadis in all levels of his staff.

Programming for a multitude of specialized tasks had to be carried out in detail. To give just a few examples: a first task was the relocation of those destroyed settlements which had



Fig. 2: C.A. Doxiadis in his early thirties. (Photograph: Courtesy of the Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation).

been located in unfavorable sites high up on mountains in places remote, inaccessible, insecure, and far from their fields (for historic reasons, protection from pirates, etc.). Multidisciplinary committees were organized, comprising, typically, a geologist (for earthquakes, landslides, etc.), a hydrologist (for floods, water supply), an agriculturist, an architect, a civil engineer, an economist, a social worker, and often a few more specialists. These committees surveyed about 1,000 settlements that seemed to require relocation. Eventually, after long consultations with the inhabitants, they recommended the displacement of about 300 of them. After adoption by the central office, new discussions took place, and eventually over 100 settlements were rebuilt on new locations. In spite of all precautions, a few failures could not be avoided: some inhabitants who had declared to be in favor of the displacement eventually changed their minds, so that when the new village was rebuilt, in a few cases only half of the inhabitants moved there, the rest remaining in the old, destroyed village. Nevertheless, the operation was a brilliant success as a whole: indeed, few other countries have been able to do anything comparable.

The reconstruction was mainly concerned with the rural areas of the country, where war destruction was by far the heaviest. In this rural reconstruction one should first keep in mind the disproportionately large dimensions of the problem, then the destruction, dismemberment and disorganization of post-war Greece (one of the poorest European countries at that time, except Albania), and third the complexity of the task. Viewed in this light, the program of rural reconstruction can be said to have been highly successful: (a) it was able to provide in their totality the necessary number of houses (about 200,000) for the bulk of the rural inhabitants whose houses were destroyed; they were thus kept in their villages or helped to return to them if in the meantime they had fled to the cities as refugees; (b) the houses provided were wholly permanent; no temporary houses, and consequently no slums, were left over

at the close of the reconstruction period (about 1953); (c) the houses provided corresponded well with the actual needs of the peasants housed: although the first ones provided immediately after World War II were inevitably smaller than what was needed, soon after they increased in size and became much better adapted to what the peasants wanted, so that, by and large, the bulk of the houses provided could be said to serve their purpose well enough; (d) the cost to the state per house was kept to a minimum, thus allowing the extremely limited funds available in the budget to suffice for building the total number of necessary units; this necessitated an ingenious approach to financing, acquisition of building materials, research and other organizational measures; (e) the owner's contribution was maximized, especially in the "self-help" phase (also, to a lesser extent in the initial "nucleus" phase); (f) through adequate self-help techniques and public participation measures, the owner was induced to love his house, and consequently to improve, embellish, keep up, enlarge, and otherwise better his house and make it more livable and better adapted to his needs; (g) the regional approach (for example, relocation and redistribution of settlements, increased regional productivity of building materials, social organization within the region) from the local to the national scale, helped to place the whole program in the proper perspective; (h) the research carried out and the theoretical approach developed helped to conceptualize the program correctly, and unifying it; as important by-products of this theoretical effort we might single out, first, the creation and development, in its first stages, of the new discipline of ekistics, and second, the training of a large number of specialists in these new techniques, so that they could become an important asset in helping their country in other subsequent programs.

Although this program may appear merely as "housing," or as "rebuilding of villages," its scope was actually much broader. In fact, it meant a reorganizing of the entire country from the point of view of settlements, and Doxiadis was right in regarding this venture as the first large-scale ekistic program, in fact the one within which ekistics itself was born.

In 1948, when the Marshall Plan started being implemented in Greece (1948-52), Doxiadis took over, organizing a new group within the Ministry of Coordination, in the form of a department called *Ypiresia Syntonismou Epharmogis Schediou Anasyngrotiseos* (YSESA), i.e. Department for the Coordination of the Implementation of the Recovery Plan. This department, under Doxiadis himself had the task of supervising and coordinating the capital investment programs of all Greek ministries and public agencies, thus orienting Greece's recovery program in a systematic and consistent way. A great deal was achieved in the areas of agriculture, transportation, commerce, settlements (ekistics), public health, reorganization of the public services, education, fisheries, mining, power and other activities. One of the major outcomes was the establishment of a unified power network throughout the country, involving both thermoelectric and hydroelectric power generation.

Inside the changing Greek governments Doxiadis continued vehemently to push forward his ideas, first as the Coordinator of Greece's Recovery Program and later as permanent (i.e. nonpolitical) Undersecretary of State for Coordination. He also convinced the US Marshall Plan to adopt the solutions best suited to Greek realities, again obtaining brilliant results. In so doing he achieved recognition from the top leaders of this program, P. Porter, K. Iverson, R. Drake, P. Hoffman, W. Cisler, and others. Doxiadis was particularly successful in bridging the gaps between the views of these representatives of the US Mission and the members of the Greek government and Greek high officials, and in promoting those ideas that were in line with the plan he had evolved himself, with the assistance of his main staff. He recruited high caliber persons, partly from

the government, and, to a greater extent, from private business. These, out of sheer enthusiasm, devoted themselves to the highly demanding and quite novel tasks he was entrusting them with. The whole department was organized according to a matrix system, having "horizontal" branches according to the types of economic or other activity and intersecting "vertical" ones according to levels of coordination.

Although human settlements – ekistics – were just one out of some 25 sectors of activity under this recovery scheme, Doxiadis did not forget his baby: he kept his special interest for it and contributed to it a markedly larger share of his entire energy, in terms of personal effort, thinking, theorizing, even affection. In spite of Doxiadis' later frantic preoccupation with the Recovery Program, he was still able to instill ideas into the continuing Reconstruction Program. He constantly managed to fertilize it with basic thinking and to help it grow as efficiently as possible. Indeed the attacks of economists on his priorities for settlements made Doxiadis think harder and develop new weapons for securing even higher priorities for them. In so doing, he was able to develop the concept of ekistics more methodically and more efficiently.

Some side activities of the Recovery Program included a new publication series, following immediately upon the Reconstruction Publications of 1946-48. The Recovery Publications (1948-50) comprised some 85 volumes, in three series, on various theoretical or applied aspects of the Recovery Program. They were published in Greek, but a handful of volumes also appeared in an English version. In addition, Doxiadis started a weekly periodical, *Struggle for Survival*, in Greek, that gave all interested people a cross-section of the progress of the recovery effort.

In 1951, when the Marshall Plan was in full swing and nearing its completion (three years had elapsed out of the four of the entire plan), Doxiadis fell ill with a stomach ulcer, due to excessive stress and overwork. He was taken to hospital and operated on. At the moment when he was most helpless, the Minister of Coordination quite unjustly feared that Doxiadis might have political aspirations, and that his own power might diminish. He therefore decided to get rid of him. Since a permanent civil servant cannot be fired under Greek legislation, the only way was to abolish his post. This was done by secretly arranging with 30 members of parliament (out of 300) to stay late at one of the parliamentary sessions, so that, when all the other members had left (it was 3 a.m.) these 30 could pass a law abolishing the post held by Doxiadis.

Doxiadis was deeply hurt at this treatment – as were his Greek and his American friends. As soon as he was in sufficiently good health, he left for Australia, to start another stage of his career there by forming "Doxiadis Associates."

At the Ministry of Coordination about 30 of his friends resigned, out of indignation. Greece's Recovery Program came into different hands, but its foundations had already been so firmly laid by Doxiadis that its future course was secured in its essentials.

Ekistics had been born. The slow process that started in the early 1940s evolved more rapidly in the late 1940s. Its name had not fully crystallized then, but it was coming close to final adoption, which took place in the mid-1950s. But by then its concepts already existed as a respectable body of knowledge. Organized into a coherent system, it represented an emerging new discipline, that seems to be called upon to play an increasingly important role in the future of our world: ekistics.

Notes

1. Unfortunately most of this material, as well as many other excellent studies, were lost in a fire that ravaged the premises of this office toward the end of the occupation period.