

THE FUTURE AS A PROJECT  
Doxiadis in Skopje

# THE FUTURE AS PROJECT

# **THE FUTURE AS A PROJECT**

Doxiadis in Skopje

HELLENIC INSTITUTE OF ARCHITECTURE

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Exhibition Curation and Design:  
Kalliopi Amygdalou, Vladimir Deskov, Ana Ivanovska Deskova, Jovan Ivanovski, Kostas Tsiambaos

Curating Assistant: Christos-Georgios Kritikos

Catalogue Editors: Kalliopi Amygdalou, Kostas Tsiambaos, Christos-Georgios Kritikos

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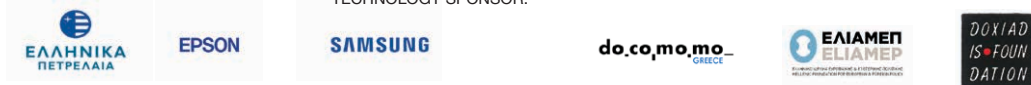
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# THE FUTURE AS A PROJECT

## Doxiadis in Skopje

EXHIBITION CATALOGUE EDITED BY:

Kalliopi Amygdalou

Kostas Tsiambaos

Christos - Georgios Kritikos

HELLENIC INSTITUTE OF ARCHITECTURE

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ADDRESS BY THE PROJECT MANAGER  
OF 'ATHENS 2018 WORLD BOOK CAPITAL'

«Athens 2018 World Book Capital», a distinction that the City of Athens received from UNESCO with pride, celebrates for a whole year, from April 2018 to April 2019, the many different forms of books, narration and reading, while promoting creativity and supporting access to knowledge.

As the mayor Georgios Kaminis has underlined, “one of the AWBC 2018 main goals throughout this year’s program, is to promote collaborations and creative synergies, with the intent to infuse this legacy thereafter.”

That is why we are particularly proud of this collaboration, which highlights both the results of cooperation between cultural organisations and academic stakeholders and the resilience of Cities and Cultures when they team up and act together.

Erifili Maroniti  
*Athens 2018 World Book Capital*  
Project Manager

Fifty-five years after the 1963 earthquake that demolished 80% of the city of Skopje, the contribution of Constantinos A. Doxiadis in the redesign of the city is still largely unknown. Meanwhile, the history of the modernist buildings that dotted the new cityscape, after Kenzo Tange's office took on the task of redesigning the city center, remains relatively unappreciated. Many excellent examples of metabolism and brutalism have been suffering from decades of neglect, while in recent years a number of them have come under attack because of new developments and refurbishments in the city. *The Future as a Project | Doxiadis in Skopje* brings the story of Skopje's reconstruction and its modern heritage into the spotlight, and presents Doxiadis' work in Skopje, which includes a detailed survey of the affected areas, a series of reports, housing studies, and thoughts and diagrams for a new master plan. Furthermore, it features the work of Kenzo Tange for Skopje's city center, and showcases a series of modernist buildings authored by leading Yugoslavian architects that still stand in the city today. In addition to the texts of the curating team (Kalliopi Amygdalou, Vladimir Deskov, Ana Ivanovska Deskova, Jovan Ivanovski, Kostas Tsiambaos and curator assistant Christos Kritikos), the volume has benefited from the valuable contributions of Ines Tolić, Vlatko P. Kobobar, Maroje Mrduljaš and Zoran Petrovski, to all of whom we are very grateful.

Doxiadis was one of the international experts invited by the UN to participate in Skopje's replanning process. His archive reveals a strong commitment to and belief in the project, and a personal interest in the reconstruction of the city that goes beyond professional commitment and reveals empathy for his neighboring nation. His work reveals a gradual compromise between his often idealist visions and the reality on the ground, a reality that was very complicated due to financial difficulties, the involvement of many parties and experts, and the urgent need for immediate reconstruction that did not allow for a linear, step-by-step planning process. This complexity only increases the interest of the whole project.

The collaboration between Athens and Skopje back in the 1960's is very significant, given that the relations between Greece and Yugoslavia went through important ups and downs. In this exhibition we have felt motivated and inspired not only to bring to surface this historical moment, but in a way to revive it – albeit at a much smaller scale – through a new collaboration between academics from both sides of the border, a collaboration that has proved extremely fruitful and rewarding. We hope that the content of the exhibition will resonate with academics, students and citizens beyond the fields of architecture and planning, and that the possibility of constructing a new future, a 'future as a (positive) project', will remain alive.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The exhibition, its accompanying events and the catalogue in your hands would not have been possible without the support and contribution of a number of individuals and institutions. First, we would like to thank the institutions that became involved as co-organizers in this collaborative project and gave a 'home' to the ideas of the curating team; the Hellenic Institute of Architecture, the Museum of the City of Skopje, the Benaki Museum and 'Athens 2018 World Book Capital'. The Constantinos A. Doxiadis archives and archivist Giota Pavlidou generously opened their doors to our research team and contributed a lot of the material that you will find inside this volume. Moreover, we would like to thank Tasos Telloglou and Eleni Petroula who encouraged and supported the project from the very start. Also, we extend our special thanks to all the donors who made this possible – most notably the Ministry of Culture and Sports, Athens 2018 World Book Capital – City of Athens, the City of Skopje and Hellenic Petroleum.

Kalliopi Amygdalou – Kostas Tsiambaos – Christos-Georgios Kritikos

# THE EARTHQUAKE

Christos-Georgios Kritikos



Newspaper clipping from *Acropolis* (28 July 1963). Source: Parliament Library Newspaper Archive, Athens.

## THE DAYS AFTER: SKOPJE'S FIRST STEPS TOWARDS RECONSTRUCTION

Frozen timepieces have often marked disasters. Usually it is a pocket watch indicating the moment that some kind of tragedy hit, a small piece of machinery that is more valuable broken than fixed, serving as a unique memento of the moment when time figuratively stopped for somebody. In other cases, these timepieces are of a different scale and significance, such as town clocks positioned on clock towers or public buildings, which have digressed from setting the rhythm of the city to immortalizing a pause that could not be avoided.

Such is the case of the clock on the facade of the Old Railway Station in Skopje, stopped at exactly 05.17 on July 26<sup>th</sup>, 1963, when a 6.9 Richter earthquake occurred in the city. Twenty seconds of tremor followed by another twenty-six minutes of smaller aftershocks were enough to change the urban history of Skopje forever. The catastrophic earthquake has often been compared to a stroke, leading to the temporary paralysis of a whole city, with thousands of buildings appearing intact while structurally being dangerously damaged and uninhabitable. The Old Railway Station, now functioning as the Museum of the city of Skopje, is a healed and completely functional part of the city, but preserves the frozen clock and part of its destroyed facade as a testimony to and memorial of the event that left the deepest mark on the city. Anyone unfamiliar with monuments of large-scale catastrophes may wonder if keeping such a 'wound' in plain sight has helped the city with leaving that tragedy behind and moving on.

It is safe to say that this is not a case of aestheticized admiration of ruins but rather a transformation of the landmark that the clock used to be into a monument that serves a very particular purpose. Monuments are there to commemorate persons or events, serving as signs in the urban fabric, where history can be traced by its physical marks. In this case, this clock holds the tragic memory of an earthquake that destroyed 16,000 homes and damaged some 30,000 more, leaving 1,070 people dead, 3,300 people injured and around 200,000 people homeless. Understanding the way this monument functions in this city may lead to a better understanding of the city itself, through the way its citizens interact with a painful memory that was so significant to the urban history of Skopje.

In the introduction of the book *Materializing Culture, The Art of Forgetting*, edited by Adrian Forty and Susanne Kuchler, Forty explores the role material objects can play in the process of forgetting. Monuments are examined as factors in handling the memories of societies and individuals. Forty suggests that ‘charging’ a material object with memory may be the first step to letting that memory disappear.<sup>1</sup> Could it be that the clock is there to constantly absorb all the negative significations floating around the collective memories of Skopje’s citizens? Could that tragic moment in time be enclosed in a frozen clock, trapped there until forgotten? The answer lies within a detail that cannot be missed while gazing at the Museum’s facade, as there is a second, functioning public clock a few meters from the broken one. This could be the result of a simple precaution to not misinform guests and tourists, but conceptually, it functions on a very different level. The expression

1. Forty, Adrian and Kuchler, Susanne. *The art of forgetting*. Oxford: Berg, 2001, p. 5.

‘even a broken clock is right twice a day’ gains a deeper meaning; every twelve hours, one can be reminded that the moment when that particular clock stopped working was as real as any other moment on any given day. But most importantly, the comparison of the broken clock with the functioning one reminds the citizens of Skopje that the Old Railway Station clock has been *left* broken, juxtaposing its state with the rest of the city that has moved on. Moreover, not forgetting the earthquake may also be a way of remembering its aftermath; an unprecedented manifestation of international solidarity, a moment in history that is important not only to the citizens of Skopje, but to the whole world as well.

#### THE CITY OF INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

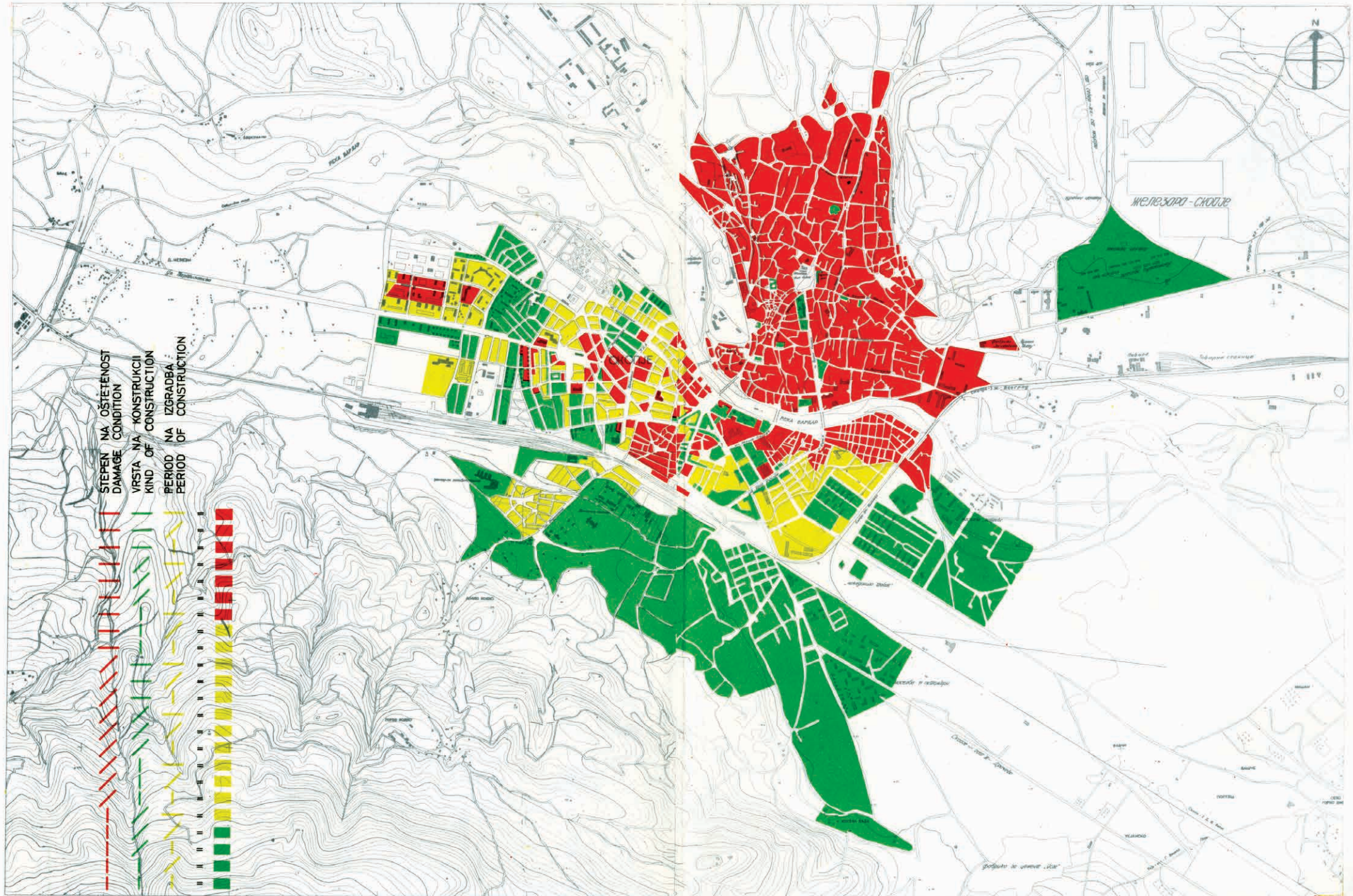
A much more explicit memento, also featured on the facade of the Museum of the city of Skopje, is a quote by former Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito: ‘Skopje was struck by an unseen catastrophe but we will rebuild it again. With the help of our entire community, it will become our pride and a symbol of fraternity and unity, of Yugoslav and of global solidarity.’ This statement was made just one day after the earthquake struck Skopje and was later incorporated on the facade of the Old Railway Station that became the museum of the city. In 2001, the quote was removed by the VMRO DPMNE government, seemingly temporarily, as part of the building’s renovation. However, the letters were not placed back for years, and the message’s restoration was decided only very recently, in light of the 55<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the earthquake.<sup>2</sup>

This message is of great significance for various reasons, but mainly because it promised something that largely became reality.

2. Marusic, Sinisa Jakov. “Macedonian Capital Restores Tito’s Message for Quake Anniversary”. *BalkanInsight*, July 16, 2018. <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/macedonian-capital-brings-back-tito-s-solidarity-message-07-13-2018> [accessed on November 12, 2018].



PROSECNA SOSTOJBA NA ZGRADITE PO BLOKONI  
 AVERAGE CONDITION OF BUILDINGS PER BUILDING BLOCK



Map of Skopje depicting the average condition of buildings per building block.  
 Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.

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Photograph of a company of elderly people sitting on the rubble. Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.

Panoramic view of the city of Skopje from mountain Vodno, showing prefabricated structures in the foreground. Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.



The city of Skopje was often referred to as “The City of International Solidarity” as it was rebuilt from ruins with the aid of almost 90 countries.<sup>3</sup> This is evident even by looking at a map of Skopje, as many streets still bear names commemorating the countries that assisted in the city’s reconstruction in the years that followed. Already in the first days after the earthquake, when Tito appealed for aid to the foreign governments and to the International Red Cross, the response was immediate and aid came from a surprisingly high number of countries. Basic needs of citizens were covered within the first thirty-six hours thanks to supplies sent from Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Eastern Germany, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the United States of America.<sup>4</sup>

In the following days, Skopje became a field of coexistence and collaboration that reversed the existing negative preconceptions of the Cold War era. The United Nations served as the most important funding body and coordinator of the whole process. While the U.S. Army was assembling a 120-bed field hospital, French specialists were detecting survivors under the wreckage that a battalion of army engineers from the USSR would start clearing away a few days later. Prefabricated houses, Dexion structures

3. Peleschuk, Dan. “The devastating earthquake that brought the world together”. *Ozy*, July 27, 2018. <https://www.ozy.com/flashback/the-devastating-earthquake-that-brought-the-world-together/88111> [accessed on November 26, 2018].

4. United Nations Development Programme. *Skopje Resurgent: The Story of a United Nations Special Fund Town Planning Project*. New York: United Nations, 1970, p. 31.



Extension of the cemetery on Butej Hill, bulldozed in 1963 to bury the victims of the earthquake. Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.

and Nissen huts started springing up on the periphery of the town, provided by the United States, the United Kingdom and Denmark. Simultaneous visits were paid by Premier Khrushchev of the USSR, the United States Secretary of Agriculture and delegates from an Interparliamentary Union Conference meeting in Belgrade.<sup>5</sup> By mid-1964, the replanning of the city had been assigned to a large group of experts that included Yugoslav personnel, Doxiadis Associates (Greece) and Polservice (Poland).

It is hard to fully grasp how important this international collaboration at so many levels was, given the fact that only nine months earlier the world was on the brink of nuclear war, as the Cuban Missile Crisis had led the U.S. and the Soviet Union in a tense, 13-day political and military standoff.

Skopje’s earthquake struck at a very particular moment in history, leading a few people to even believe that it ultimately played a significant role in preventing a completely different kind of disaster on a global level.<sup>6</sup> The fact remains that, despite the possible geopolitical motives behind the mobilization of all these different nations, the city became the scenery for an act of universal solidarity and became a symbol of global unity. The question whether Skopje should be rebuilt on a different site due to the original site’s seismic sensitivity was raised by the Yugoslav federal authorities

5. *Skopje Resurgent*, op.cit., p. 32.

6. Rukaj, Marjola. “Skopje, The bastard city” (interviewed by Milan Mijalkovic). September 9, 2011. <https://www.balkanicaucaso.org/eng/Areas/Macedonia/Skopje-the-bastard-city-100551> [accessed on November 15, 2018].



Part of the DA team (among them A. Collaros, V. Katsaros, N. Deliyiannakis and C. Andritsos) observing the view of the city of Skopje from a location on mountain Vodno. Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.



Faculty of Technology under construction and among the debris; its construction had begun before the earthquake. Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.



Tower in the residential settlement Karpoš 2 (left) and the Faculty of Technology (right). Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.



Towers in the city center which are now part of the City Trade Center. Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.

Building located in the city center, photographed after the earthquake, now demolished. Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.





View towards residential settlements; hundreds of prefabricated homes are visible in the background (Skopje Survey, March 1964). Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.

in August 1963 and was thankfully soon answered by experts who confirmed that there was no valid reason to proceed with that option.<sup>7</sup> Apart from the obvious reasons concerning its citizens and their connection to their urban history, the symbolic value of ‘The City of International Solidarity’ would not have been the same if it had not been rebuilt on the same site.

THE EARTHQUAKE AS PERCEIVED AND DISSEMINATED BY THE GREEK PRESS

Access to newspaper archives of that period shows that the tragedy that had befallen Skopje was disseminated in very empathetic tones by the Greek press, featuring daily reports and updates. Front page titles such as ‘Skopje exists no more’, ‘These ruins were once Skopje’ and ‘Skopje; an endless graveyard’ were not part of an effort to sell more copies, but representations of a reality that would be difficult for the Greek public to grasp in any case. Due to the communication breakdown that followed the earthquake, information reached Greek newspapers via telegrams and possibly came from just a few sources, such as the Yugoslav agency TAN-YUG.

Apart from information concerning the tragic numbers of casualties and injuries, there was a focus on the condition of the city itself. The same details were recycled on the front pages of various newspapers until the end of July. Along with reports informing that eighty percent of Skopje’s buildings were destroyed, one phrase was repeatedly mentioned, exactly as used in a telegram from TAN-YUG, claiming that ‘recent modern buildings fell like houses of cards’.<sup>8</sup> In a few cases, longer articles pointed out how much

7. *Skopje Resurgent*, op.cit., p. 52.

8. “Seven to ten thousand dead in Skopje”. *To Vima* newspaper, July 27, 1963, p. 1.



'TAN YUG emissary reports he witnessed hundreds of households that have turned into shapeless masses of ruins. The same reporter adds that the residents of hotel 'Macedonia' were sleeping when the destruction occurred.'

Newspaper front page clipping from *Athinaiki* (27 July 1963): “Skopje does not exist anymore. Over 1000 pronounced dead. Hotel “Macedonia” collapsed. Hundreds of tourists met their death”. Source: Parliament Library Newspaper Archive, Athens.



Newspaper front page clipping from *Acropolis* (28 July 1963): "Pictures sent by the "Acropolis" emissary depicting Skopje, city of death and lament". Source: Parliament Library Newspaper Archive, Athens.

*'Elderly woman, 70 years of age, persistently refused leaving the ruins under which eight members of her family were buried.'*



Newspaper clipping from *Ethnos* (27 July 1963): "Did Vardar too play its part in the horrible destruction? It had corroded the foundations of most buildings". Source: Parliament Library Newspaper Archive, Athens.

*'Yet, Skopje was a big and beautiful city, propelled by its citizens and the authorities towards becoming the center of south Yugoslavia.'*



Newspaper front page clipping from *Kathimerini* (28 July 1963): "Commander Tito in Skopje, supervising the difficult mission of rescuing the survivors". Source: Parliament Library Newspaper Archive, Athens.

*'On behalf of the Greek nation; The King expresses his sympathy towards Commander Tito for the destruction; new Greek help towards the wounded city'*



Newspaper front page clipping from *Apogevmatini* (30 July 1963): "Greek field hospital functioning since today in Skopje. The first foreign medical unit to arrive in the earthquake-struck city". Source: Parliament Library Newspaper Archive, Athens.

*'In order to bring the hospital to full function within the shortest amount of time, the staff worked on Sunday until late at night, almost in the dark.'*



Newspaper front page clipping from *To Vima* (30 July 1963): "Skopje will be wiped from the map. New city on a different site". Source: Parliament Library Newspaper Archive, Athens.

*'Soon the clearing of the wreckage will begin and the new city of Skopje will be built from its foundations in a new, safer location, that is now investigated by experts.'*



Newspaper clipping from *Ta Nea* (29 July 1963): "Skopje, the city that faded. In a single moment, the creative work of 8 years was destroyed". Source: Parliament Library Newspaper Archive, Athens.



Street View in one of the residential neighborhoods. Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.

Photograph of a little girl on unpaved road. Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.



Photograph of little boy close to Bit Pazar. Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.



Skopje had developed in terms of urban infrastructure in just ten years prior to the earthquake, focusing on the misfortune of all that progress perishing in a few moments.<sup>9</sup> Many articles even featured a photograph of what the modernised city of Skopje looked like right before the earthquake, juxtaposed with pictures of wreckage. A few reporters also commented that recent floods of the Vardar river might have played a role in weakening the foundations of Skopje's buildings, something that can also be found in the scientific reports of local and international experts.<sup>10</sup>

Many newspapers focused on the testimony of air pilot Alexandros Blagojević who described the immediate collapse of the railway station and 'Macedonia Hotel',<sup>11</sup> followed by the collapse of the Post office and hotel 'Skopje'. The tragedy of 'Macedonia Hotel' received special coverage as its collapse killed almost all of its three hundred residents; there were only three survivors, one being a young French woman who was found in the wreckage after sixteen hours.<sup>12</sup>

Images of despair were circulated, picturing people still in their nightwear grieving their losses in the streets of Skopje, while a picture of a father holding his dead daughter's body was featured in most papers on July 30<sup>th</sup>.<sup>13</sup> Updates on the efforts to collect the bodies from the wreckage were coupled with fears of an epidemic, as July's heat accelerated the decay of the dead bodies.<sup>14</sup> No shocking details were spared, including the fact that the bodies

9. "Skopje, the city that faded; in a single moment, the creative work of 8 years was destroyed". *Ta Nea* newspaper, July 29, 1963, p. 9.

10. "Did Vardar too play its part in the horrible destruction? It had corroded the foundations of most buildings". *Ethnos newspaper*, July 27, 1963, p. 3.

11. "The city of Skopje already in ruins". *Kathimerini* newspaper, July 27, 1963, p. 1.

12. "Sixteen hours buried under the wreckage of hotel 'Macedonia'". *Athinaiki* newspaper, July 31, 1963, p. 3.

13. "The tragic citizens of the dead city are fleeing Skopje". *Ethnos* newspaper, July 30, 1963, p. 1.

were buried in groups of ten, without coffins, covered in bed sheets. Almost two decades after the end of WWII and only fourteen years after the end of the Greek Civil War, the Greek public was not unfamiliar with such scenes of despair. The newspapers provided realistic images coming from a neighboring country, images that the public empathized with. Unfortunately, this also led to a few cases of fake news, such as the seeming disappearance of a train that had left Athens for Skopje on the previous day or a case of two missing buses from Greece that were said to have fallen into Vardar after the collapse of a bridge.<sup>15</sup> As these stories were proven inaccurate, what was left was a feeling of solidarity towards a country with which Greece shared strong ties.

The newspapers did not focus so much on the immediate help the Greek government and organizations sent, but rather mentioned it in passing, as the least that could be done. In the way these details were given, it was as if people demanded that their government take action. Two thousand bed sheets, fifty tents, twenty thousand cans of food, five tons of raisins and a few tons of flour were the first supplies to be sent.<sup>16</sup> Medication followed and on the 28<sup>th</sup> of July, Greece set up the first mobile hospital unit in the earthquake-struck area, featuring fifty beds and staffed by the Greek Red Cross and volunteers.<sup>17</sup> On July 31<sup>st</sup>, a few newspapers announced that the Greek Royal Care under Frederica of Hanover, Queen consort of Greece, would accommodate a hundred chil-

14. "As the searing stench of the bodies poisons the atmosphere, new earthquakes in Skopje complete the disaster and the bane". *Athinaiki* newspaper, July 29, 1963, p. 3.

15. "Pictures sent by the 'Acropolis' emissary depicting Skopje, city of death and lament". *Acropolis* newspaper, July 28, 1963, p.1.

16. "Universal solidarity shown towards the earthquake victims of Skopje". *Ethnos* newspaper, July 27, 1963, p.10.

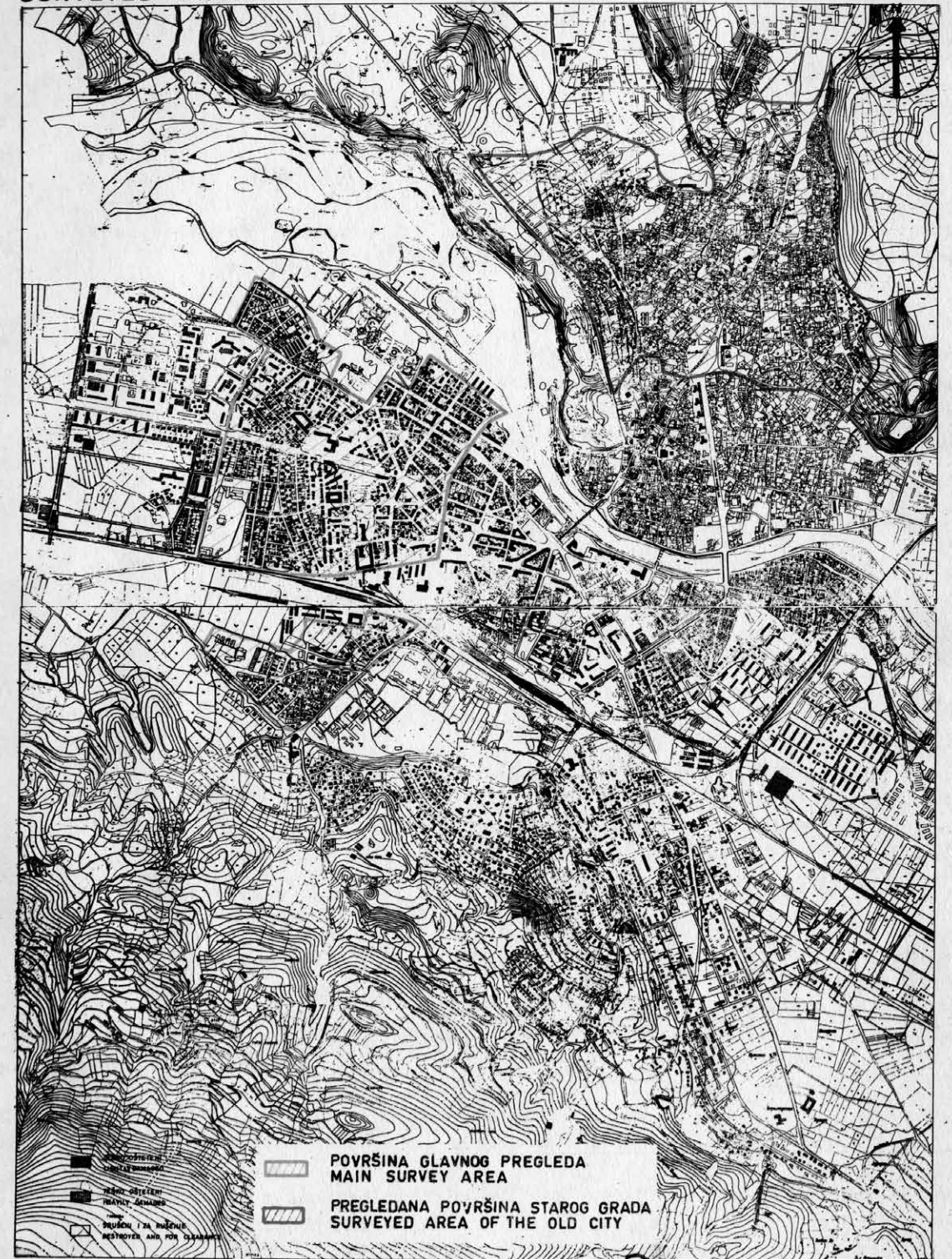
17. "Greek field hospital functioning since today in Skopje; The first foreign medical unit to arrive in the earthquake struck city". *Apogevmatini* newspaper, July 30, 1963, p. 1.

Map of Skopje depicting the two areas included in the built survey undertaken by the Doxiadis team. Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.

Part of the multi-ethnic team surveying Skopje, observing a map, from left to right: L. Pota (Director of the Town Planning Department, Institute of Urban Planning), A. Collaros (DA), Nada Milovlavievic, C. Andritsos (DA), and G. Nez (U.N. Chief Advisor to the Directorate of Reconstruction in Skopje). Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.



## PREGLLEDANE POVRŠINE SURVEYED AREAS



0 500 1000 m

D-YUG-A 30201/1

ZAVOD ZA URBANIZAM I ARHITEKTURA — SKOPJE  
INSTITUTE OF URBAN PLANNING AND ARCHITECTURE — SKOPJE

ZDRUŽENIE DOKSIADIS — KONSULTANTI ZA RAZVITOK I EKISTIKA  
DOXIADIS ASSOCIATES — CONSULTANTS ON DEVELOPMENT AND EKISTICS



Photograph taken on November 30, 1965 at DA Offices in Athens, depicting Constantinos A. Doxiadis receiving the Medal of the City of Skopje from his colleague P. Papamattheou. Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.

(Right) Photograph from the ceremony of October 7, 1967 in which the Ambassador of Yugoslavia Michaelo Yavorski decorated Constantinos A. Doxiadis, Kirkos A. Doxiadis and Alexandros Collaros. Other members of DA that worked on the Outline Plan for the City of Skopje are also present, along with officials from the Yugoslav Embassy.

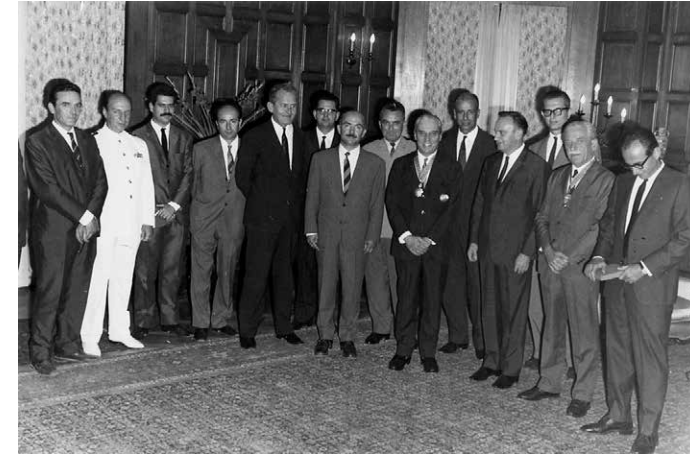
dren from Skopje.<sup>18</sup> All of the above is indicative of a sense of solidarity that seems to have gone beyond any geopolitical motives. Proximity to one's tragedy may easily lead to a shared feeling of hope concerning the future. Skopje would be rebuilt and the Greek people seemed motivated to assist in this reconstruction. Based on archival material such as correspondence (see Kostas Tsiambaos's contribution in this volume), it is safe to assume that this feeling also underscored the work of Doxiadis Associates Architectural Office, the team of Greek architects who collaborated with Skopje's Institute of Town Planning and Architecture (ITPA) and other Yugoslav experts to prepare an Outline Plan for the City of Skopje.<sup>19</sup> The Doxiadis team began conducting their field work in Skopje in March 1964, after being invited by the United Nations as consultants, and then returned in November 1964 as official contractors, together with Polservice, to take up different tasks of the planning process under the supervision of Adolf Ciborowski.<sup>20</sup> The final master plan was submitted in September 1965. On 30 November 1965, Constantinos Doxiadis received a medal of the City of Skopje for his office's work on the reconstruction of Skopje<sup>21</sup> and two years later, on 7 October 1967, the then Ambassador

18. "The destroyed city of Skopje is menaced by sedimentation of the ground". *Kathimerini* newspaper, July 31, 1963, p. 8.

19. "An outline plan for the city of Skopje". *DA Newsletter*, vol. 4, March 1964, p. 31.

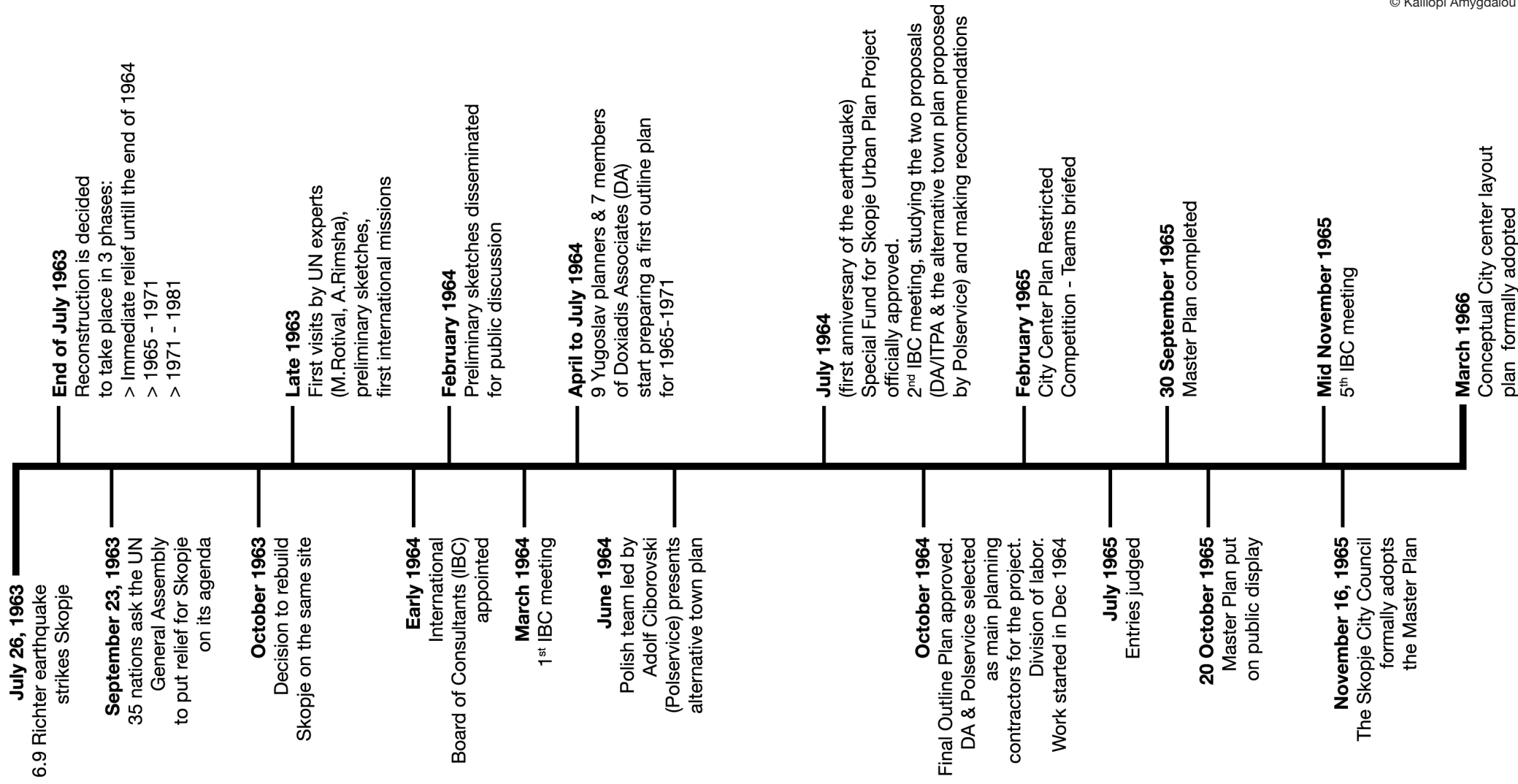
20. *Skopje Resurgent*, op.cit., p. 102-104.

21. Constantinos A. Doxiadis receiving the Medal of the City of Skopje from his colleague P. Papamattheou. Photograph taken on November 30, 1965 at the DA Offices. Doxiadis Archives ref. code: 28652.



of Yugoslavia Michaelo Yavorski decorated Constantinos A. Doxiadis, Kirkos A. Doxiadis and Alexandros Collaros with Yugoslav Medals in a ceremony held in the Yugoslav Embassy in Athens.<sup>22</sup> As a result of this involvement, the Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives of the Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation has in its hands extensive material from the reconstruction and replanning processes. Especially the unpublished photographic material of the earthquake damage is very interesting in that it brings to the foreground the protagonists of this long and extraordinary process, whether planners or citizens. What is most striking is the optimism in the eyes of all persons comprising the multi-ethnic team of engineers; after the dust had settled, it seems that the future could look even brighter than before.

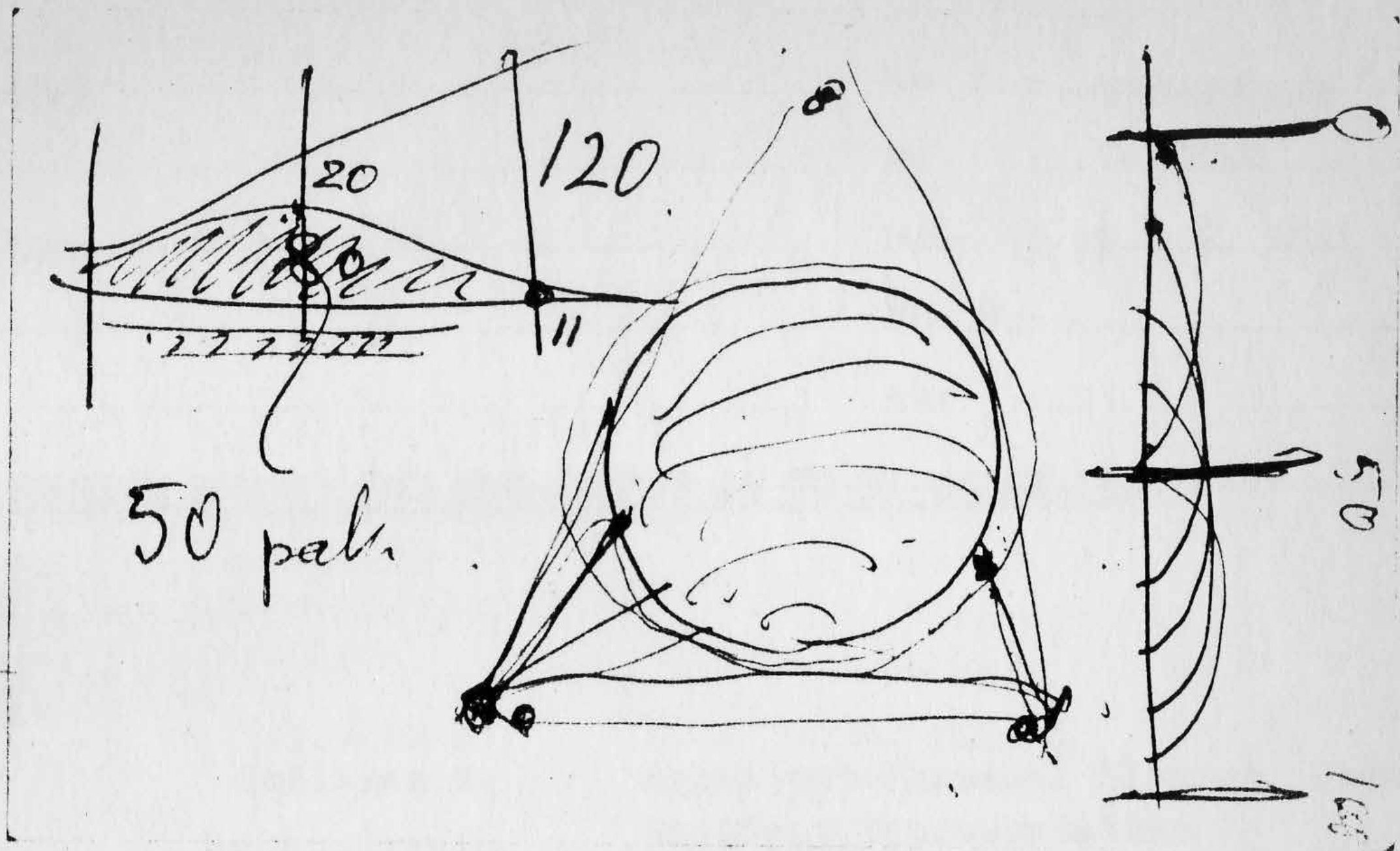
22. "Doxiadis Receives Yugoslav Decoration". *DA Review*, November 1967, p. 9.



Timeline depicting key events concerning the post-earthquake reconstruction planning process of Skopje, the supervisory meetings and the different teams and organizations that participated in the process of designing the city's future.  
© Kalliopi Amygdalou

# THE SKOPJE URBAN PLAN PROJECT AND DOXIADIS ASSOCIATES

Detail from first sketches on the future evolution of the city of Skopje.  
Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.



## THE PROTAGONISTS OF SKOPJE'S RECONSTRUCTION

On July 26<sup>th</sup>, 1963, the city of Skopje was struck by a powerful earthquake that left behind almost nothing but ruins.<sup>1</sup> The news “came as a terrible shock on the whole country. Grieved beyond words, the whole nation seemed to come to a standstill at that moment, thus paying a homage to those to whom that ghastly dawn had brought death”.<sup>2</sup> Estimates undertaken in the following months showed that 1.070 people had died and more than 3.300 were injured. Josip Broz Tito, the president of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and certainly a protagonist of Skopje's reconstruction, arrived in the city on July 27<sup>th</sup>. Even though the situation appeared desperate, Tito proclaimed a visionary reconstruction without hesitation: “Skopje survived an unseen catastrophe, but we shall build the city again with the help of our entire society, thus making it our pride and the symbol of our brotherhood and unity, both for Yugoslavian and international solidarity.” Tito's words, which officially started the reconstruction process, might be still read today on Skopje's former railway station, a building which became the symbol of the devastation and which today serves as the City Museum.

The transformation of Skopje into a universal symbol of solidarity is to be understood as a strategic move, made necessary by the Cold War context. Because of its difficult economic situation, Yugoslavia could not have rebuilt the city without foreign assistance. But on the other side, the country valued its political neutrality so

1. A detailed account of Skopje's reconstruction might be found in Tolic, Ines. *Dopo il terremoto. La politica della ricostruzione negli anni della Guerra Fredda a Skopje*. Reggio Emilia: Diabasis, 2011.

2. Ščekić, Jovan (ed). *This was Skopje*. Belgrade: Federal Secretariat for Information, 1963.

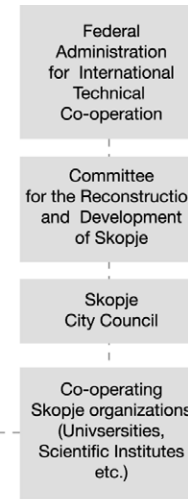
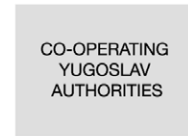
much that it could not accept any assistance that would compromise its non-aligned position on the global stage. Therefore, a careful strategy was envisioned in order to transform the city into an international symbol of cooperation, thus bypassing any kind of Cold War inspired interpretation. The campaign started with images of Soviet and American soldiers working side by side and, soon enough, in the eyes of the international public opinion, the reconstruction process became a powerful metaphor of cooperation between East and West.<sup>3</sup> The message was further articulated and the city, once rebuilt, was supposed to show to governments worldwide that only through unconditioned collaboration and through the sharing of knowledge would it become possible to create an environment suitable for the entire humankind. In this sense, it might be undoubtedly said that the Cold War itself can be considered as one of the key players of Skopje's reconstruction process.

Financially precarious, technically unprepared and politically non-aligned, the Yugoslav government needed a neutral, long-term and specialized technical assistance if the city was to be rebuilt. One of the first to understand the potential of Skopje's situation was Ernest Weissmann, a pioneer of Croatian modernism who, at the time of the earthquake was covering the position of vice-director at the United Nations' Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). Weissmann, who became another key figure in the reconstruction, committed himself to transforming the city into a place where it would be possible to bring together the most successful international experts; and this would show that the only alternative to

3. Jordanovski, Kole and Watts, Kenneth. *Skopje, catastrophe-renewal-experience*. Skopje: Matica makedonska, 2004 [1993], p. 58.

The international network of experts involved in the reconstruction of Skopje and the distribution of work among them. © Kalliopi Amygdalou

SUPERVISION  
COLLABORATION  
BUREAUCRATIC ISSUES  
PROVISION OF EXPERTS



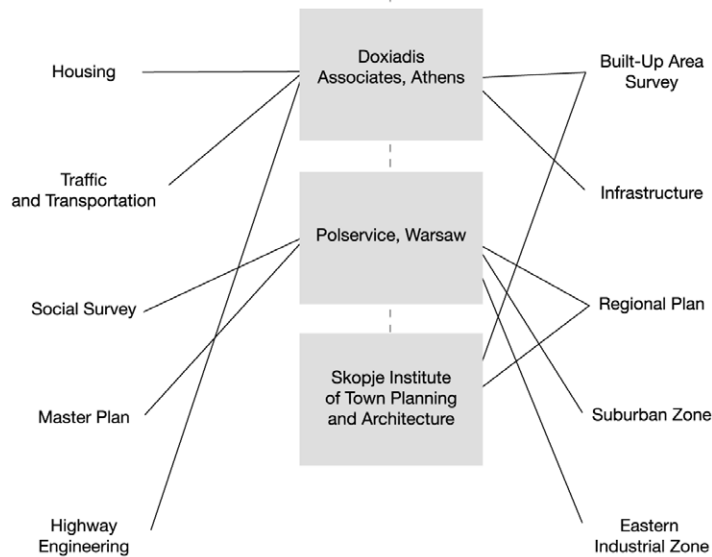
SUPERVISION  
COLLABORATION  
PROVISION OF EXPERTS  
APPROVAL OF DESIGN PROPOSALS

## THE FOUR MAIN PARTIES IN THE RECONSTRUCTION

DESIGN WORK  
WHO DID WHAT?\*



CONSULTING WORK  
PROVISION OF EXPERTS



### CITY CENTER PROJECT (RESTRICTED INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION)\*\*

Kenzo Tange, Tokyo:  
A.Isozaki, S.Watanabe, J.Sheerin, K.Sone,  
Y.Taniguchi, Sh.Watanabe, T.Iyama,  
S.Inaoka, A.Arata, A.Murai, T.Matsumoto,  
G.Kato, J.Onuma

R.Miscevic and F.Wenzler, Croatian  
Institute of Town Planning, Zagreb:  
I.Tomicic, B.Lucic, A.Marinovic, B.Ancic,  
V.Bubas, V.Franic, J.Jelic, V.Belfin

\*In all sub-projects, other Yugoslav Personnel was also involved (Universities, Experts)

\*\*S.Furman, Traffic Engineer from Polservice and V.Mackic, Architect from Skopje ITPA also participated in the final City Center Planning Team

any war was collaborative planning. In Weissmann's opinion, a city built on such premises would eventually become the highest expression of world civilization, which, moreover, would bring benefits that only peaceful coexistence could create. In a couple of words, Weissmann wished "to modernize" Skopje and to turn it into a "world city", in order to show to the international community how planners can achieve "a better life for the many".<sup>4</sup>

The United Nations joined the reconstruction on October 14, 1963, deciding "to bear in mind the immediate and long-term needs of the Yugoslavian Government in connection with its plan for the reconstruction of Skopje".<sup>5</sup> Thanks to the support of the UN, a key player in the reconstruction process and its main sponsor, in the following years some of the most renowned contemporary architects and urban planners were invited to present their vision for the new Skopje of the future. It was anticipated that once the reconstruction would be completed, and given the engagement of such eminent designers, the city would provide solutions to the contemporary "urban crisis", would prescribe a cure for "sick cities", and show the way for the "humanization" of the built environment. Even though mostly unattained, these ambitious goals gave life to an international debate about the future of both cities and planning, which was determining for the definition of UN's later interventions.<sup>6</sup>

In February 1964, three town-planning firms submitted to the UN their proposals for drawing up Skopje's new master plan. Among them the Greek town-planning office led by Constantinos A. Dox-

4. Tollic, Ines. "Ernest Weissmann's 'World City'. The Reconstruction of Skopje within the Cold War Context". *Southeastern Europe*, vol. 41, 2017, pp. 171-99.

5. United Nations - Archives and Records Management Section New York. F: General Assembly, Measures in connection with the earthquake at Skopje, Yugoslavia, New York, October 8, 1963. SO540 - YUGO, p. 2.

iadis proved to be the most adequate because of its "considerable experience in many parts of the world".<sup>7</sup> Despite that, when Doxiadis arrived in Skopje for the first meeting of the International Consultative Board, formed by UN and Yugoslavian experts in order to guide Skopje's reconstruction and chaired by Weissmann, he found a bitter surprise; he came face to face with Adolf Ciborowski, the chief architect of Warsaw. After the earthquake of 1963, the Polish government had declared itself particularly moved by the tragedy and decided to offer assistance. In their eyes, it was stated, Skopje's post-earthquake situation resembled that of Warsaw after World War II and thus the government decided to send a planning team to the city in order to make all their gained planning experience available to the wounded capital. Hence the Polish team too presented their work at the meeting.

The Board, whose members were mostly Yugoslavs, diplomatically praised the achievements of both planning teams, noting that each had contributed with original and important ideas to city planning. However, in the end the decision was taken to appoint Adolf Ciborowski as project manager of the entire project, while Constantinos Doxiadis was asked to take care of specific analyses or plans, such as those concerning the built-up area survey, housing, traffic and transportation, and highway engineering. The presence in Skopje of both Doxiadis and Ciborowski was called by a contemporary observer as the politics of "parts and counterparts", a strategy aimed at maintaining a balance between conflicting political line-ups.<sup>8</sup>

6. United Nations Development Programme. *Skopje Resurgent: The Story of a United Nations Special Fund Town Planning Project*. New York: United Nations, 1970.

7. United Nations - Archives and Records Management Section F: Yugoslavia, Skopje plan, February 20, 1964. TE 322/1 YUGO (240-3).

8. Rotival, Maurice. "Letter to Nick, Skopje September 11, 1964." Box 145, Maurice E. H. Rotival Papers, Manuscripts and Archives - Yale University Library, New Haven (CT), 5.



Between December 1964 and June of the following year, a closed competition for the city center took place. It might be argued that, without doubts, this represented the peak of the entire reconstruction process. Participating on behalf of Yugoslavia were the planning institutions of Belgrade (with Aleksandar Đorđević), of Zagreb (Radovan Mišćević and Fedor Wenzler), Skopje (Slavko Brezovski with the Makedonijaproekt) and Ljubljana (Edvard Ravnikar). The UN chose to also invite Kenzo Tange (Japan), Luigi Piccinato (Italy), Van den Broek and Bakema (Netherlands) as well as Maurice Rotival (USA). An international jury led by Ernest Weissmann evaluated the projects and announced the result on 26 July 1965, commemorating the second anniversary of the earthquake.

As is well known, the competition produced a twofold result: 40% of the first prize went to the Zagreb group, while 60% was awarded to the Kenzo Tange and his team. The jury declared that the projects were to be merged into a new one – later called ‘The Ninth Version’ – that was supposed to take into consideration all the best solutions that had emerged through the competition. But given the differences between the two winning projects, the merging process promised to be difficult, if not impossible. In terms of balancing different sides, it was already clear in 1965 that the winner of the competition was Tange, a name that became the synonym of the reconstruction itself. His City Gate, an out-of-scale administrative and commercial center comprised of “shops, offices, hotels, meeting rooms, a touristic center and a cinema,” was supposed to act as an access point to city.<sup>9</sup> It was organized as an ‘open structure’ which would provide Skopje with the possibility of (an

9. Weissmann, Ernest et al. “Report of the Jury of the Restricted International Competition.” Box 145, Maurice E. H. Rotival Papers, Manuscripts and Archives - Yale University Library, New Haven (CT), p. 11.



DA experts in Skopje. From left to right: C. Maniotis, C. A. Doxiadis, A. Kollaros, V. Katsaros, N. Deliyianakis, C. Andritsos. Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.



Photograph from the visit of Adolf Ciborowski at the DA offices in Athens. Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.

endless) growth over the regional territory. From the architectural point of view the City Gate was based on a modular prefabricated system whose units ('cells') were organized around giant vertical tubular elements hosting services and connective functions. While this mega-structure was allowed to expand towards the east, on the opposite side it ended with the so-called Republic Plaza, a place meant to become the new civic center of Skopje. An edifice dedicated to the City Assembly and a more generic 25-floor office tower were located on the Plaza, which was connected to the northern bank of the Vardar river with a bridge carrying shops (an element that recalled Florentine Ponte Vecchio to the jury). The City Wall, instead, was conceived as a residential complex that was disposed to embrace the old city center almost in an attempt to protect it from future disasters. Just like the City Gate, it was structured following a Metabolist logic, which left open possibilities for future growth. Developed on both banks of the Vardar river, it comprised 2,200 apartments while hosting commercial functions on the lower floors. The City Gate and City Wall might seem to evoke an idealized medieval past, revealing Tange's sensibility and awareness of local history's importance. Unfortunately, even though suggestive, this interpretation is unsupported by the project itself. In fact, the most disturbing feature of the entire proposal might be identified in the lack in Tange's vision of almost any architectural or urban reference to local history or tradition.

From 1966 onwards, when the final master plan for the city was submitted in which Tange's proposal appeared changed and greatly adjusted to the local economical possibilities, a feeling of

disappointment arose among citizens and international observers alike. Tange himself stated that what remained of his vision for Skopje "was only a shadow, hardly visible in the moonlight".<sup>10</sup> Indeed, a process of downsizing was undertaken after the competition, making eventually the original project almost unrecognizable: both the City Wall and the City Gate were only partially accomplished, while the works on the Republic Plaza never began. However, Skopje should not be considered an unaccomplished Kenzo Tange project, nor is it useful to keep focusing on the degree of similarity of the built city to Tange's visionary proposal.

From the very beginning, because of the control Yugoslavia wanted to preserve on the reconstruction process, it was almost evident that any proposal that would not match the real local possibilities would not be adopted and that Skopje would never become a Brasilia or a Chandigarh. It was just not the aim of Yugoslavia to build a monument to itself by building a new city; rather, as it might be deduced, its aim was to diffuse the benefits of economic and urban planning to a range as wide as possible, and to create the conditions for Skopje and the Republic's self-sustainability. In brief, the last protagonist of Skopje's reconstruction is Yugoslavia itself, which acted according to its Cold War policy, trying to balance media strategies and real possibilities, Eastern and Western political aspirations, local needs and global ambitions, avant-garde architecture and economic realism. More than anything else, it promoted an original modernization process, which, because of the growing tensions that would eventually lead to the dissolution of the Federation in the 1990s, was left unfinished.

10. Kunihiro, Goerge. "Tange, Skopje i japonskiot duh [Tange, Skopje and the Japanese spirit]." *Kulturen život*, no. 3, 2005, p. 27.

## DESIGNING ON A MOVING TERRAIN: DOXIADIS ASSOCIATES AND THE RECONSTRUCTION OF SKOPJE

According to Constantinos A. Doxiadis, the science of *Ekistics* was born in 1941 while he, returning from the war front, came face to face with the destruction of the villages of northern Greece.<sup>1</sup> One could argue that Doxiadis himself was ‘re-born’ at that same moment as it was through this experience that he decided to become the Doxiadis of the future, the urban planner who would have as his main goal to analyse and solve the problems that were common in human settlements around the globe. Indeed, most of the methods, tools, and techniques used in his *Doxiadis Associates* (DA) office during the 1950s and the 1960s were developed during the destructions survey that he and his colleagues did during the Second World War. The work of the ‘Circle of Technicians’ (Κύκλος Τεχνικών) that he founded, was impressive and defined the future technologies both in scientific as well as in rhetorical terms; for Doxiadis the success of every project was not only based on the value of the scientific methods used but also depended on the rhetoric supporting these methods.

The research of the ‘Circle of Technicians’ – presented in a number of texts, reports, and public lectures – was collected in a series of volumes published by the Ministry of Reconstruction, of which Doxiadis was head. The first volume of the series titled *Ekistic Analysis* (Οικιστική Ανάλυση) was published in 1946, and was dedicated by 33-year-old Doxiadis to his father. However, the most important publication of 1946 was the one titled *The Sacrifices*

1. Kyrtis, Alexandros-Andreas (ed.). *Κωνσταντίνος Α. Δοξιάδης. Κείμενα, σχέδια, οικισμοί*. Athens: Ikaros, 2006, p. 342.

2. Doxiadis, Constantinos. *The Sacrifices of Greece in the Second World War*. Athens: Graphic Arts Aspioti - Elka, 1946. The book, with text in Greek, English, French, and Russian, was printed in July 1946. It followed an international exhibition titled *Such*

*of Greece in the Second World War* (Αι θυσίαι της Ελλάδος στον Δεύτερο Παγκόσμιο Πόλεμο), an impressive quadrilingual hard-back edition and a perfect example of Doxiadis’ thinking.<sup>2</sup> The amount of information included and the stunning colorful maps, charts, tables and ISOTYPE diagrams through which the information was presented did not leave the slightest doubt about the concreteness of the analysis.<sup>3</sup> His next book published in 1948, titled *A Simple Story* (Μια απλή Ιστορία), was somewhat closer to a fictive narrative but also confirmed Doxiadis’ belief that any effort to describe the technological aspects of the reconstruction [of Greece] should be expressed in a language that “the ordinary people can understand”.<sup>4</sup>

The destructions of Skopje after the earthquake of July 1963 were not of the same scale as those of Greece after the Second World War, but there were many similarities in terms of their form, the nature of the problems that emerged and the type of human needs. Doxiadis was a technocrat very well known to the United Nations since the 1940s and already had good knowledge of the Balkans as the relevant material at Doxiadis Archives confirms.<sup>5</sup> In 1963 – the year of the earthquake – he had just created the *Athens Center for Ekistics* (ACE) following the establishment of the *Graduate School of Ekistics* (GSE) in 1959. Together with his multidis-

*was the War in Greece* which presented World War II destructions all over the country. The exhibition travelled from Paris to San Francisco where Doxiadis participated in the Founding Conference of the UN as a member of the Greek delegation.

3. Tsiambaos, Kostas. “Isotype diagrams from Neurath to Doxiadis”. *ARQ*, vol. 16, no. 1, 2012, pp. 49-58.

4. Doxiadis, Constantinos. *Μια απλή ιστορία*. Athens: Ikaros, 1948.

5. Folders from the 1947-1948 period found in the Doxiadis Archives contain reports on the reconstruction in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Hungary, details on the five year-plan for reconstruction in Yugoslavia, copies of newspaper clippings on Yugoslavia, reports from the Greek Embassy in Belgrade on technical works executed in Yugoslavia, an excerpt from Tito’s speech on recovery in Yugoslavia, etc.

DOXIADIS ASSOCIATES • CONSULTANTS ON DEVELOPMENT AND EKISTICS - ATHENS

To : Mr. John Brasel, UN, New York No : C-YUG-A240  
 By : O-INT-A2  
 For : Date : 12 Feb. 65  
 Copy to: O-YUG-S, O-USA-W, 2, 401 File No:  
 Atts :  
 Subject: Skopje Contract

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MR JOHN R BRASEL  
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DA telex to the UN regarding their negotiations about their planning services. Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.

DA colleagues photographed on the rooftop of DA offices in Athens. First row, from left to right: M. Giannas, I. Maggioros, A. Savvakis, P. Papamattheou, A. Poupoura, F. Aliferis, T. Kouravelos, C. A. Doxiadis, P. Ninios, C. Andritsos, I. Dokoumetzidis. Second row, from left to right: I. Palaiokrasas, B. Roe, N. Deliyiannakis, A. Tsitsis, A. Deimezis, K. Maniotis, I. Nitsos, I. Frantzeskakis, B. Nikitopoulos. Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.

ciplinary team – including A. Collaros (architect-physical planner), C. Andritsos (civil engineer), P. Cavadias (economist-planner), N. Delygiannakis (architect-planner), V. Katsaros (structural engineer), C. Maniotes, architect-planner, and A. Pouboura (lawyer-reporting expert) – they arrived in Skopje on late March 1964 as consultants on behalf of the UN.<sup>6</sup> Meanwhile a Polish planning team (named Polservice) headed by Adolf Ciborowski was already in Skopje<sup>7</sup>, working in collaboration with Kole Jordanovski, head of the General Directorate for the Reconstruction and development of Skopje, independently of the UN.<sup>8</sup> A December 1964 clipping from the magazine *Poland* makes clear that the geopolitical game was already unfolding:

In April 1964 the authorities of Skoplje came out with the proposition that the Poles present a general plan for Skoplje [...] Earlier a Yugoslav-Greek team, by order of the United Nations, began to work on the same project [...] Undertaking the job to produce a general plan of Skoplje we realized that the Yugoslav-Greek team had the upper hand. To their advantage was a thorough knowledge of the terrain, the ability to work on the spot, a broad background study provided by the City Planning Office of Skoplje. We had to our credit the Warsaw experience, the modern Polish method of making general plans... and the same competitive spirit as in sports event - not to be beaten [...] The fact that both plans were to

6. Doxiadis Archives Ref Code: 24766. Yugoslavia vol. 1, 1964 - Outline plan for the city of Skopje. Item DOX YUG-A1, p. 2.

7. United Nations Development Programme. *Skopje Resurgent: The Story of a United Nations Special Fund Town Planning Project*. New York: United Nations, 1970, p. 95.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

9. Doxiadis Archives ref. code: 24775. Yugoslavia Reports vol. 10, 1965-1966. Clipping from the article titled "The Polish Plan for Skopje". *Poland Magazine*, no. 12 (124), December 1964.

be judged [...] provided an occasion for confronting Polish city planning with the work of Doxiadis [sic] Associates, a well-known Greek firm, buttressed by Yugoslav projects.<sup>9</sup>

On June 1964, the official approval of the UN Special Fund for Skopje Urban Plan Project was finally given. On August 1964 DA sent 500 copies of their 'Outline Plan' (a total of 94 drawings) to ITPA in Skopje.<sup>10</sup> At the end of October the UN selected both DA<sup>11</sup> and Polservice as their main contractors and they both started working, officially, at the end of 1964.<sup>12</sup> This collaboration between multiple parties (the two contractors, Skopje's Institute of Architecture and Town Planning, local and international experts, the project supervisors and governmental institutions), coupled with the emergency of the process, involved an extremely demanding and complicated exchange of reports, proposals, and discussions and led to a "circulatory process of progressive clarification".<sup>13</sup> The complex issues of methodology, the work on different levels and scales and without a specific order, the diverse teams working in parallel (e.g. the Housing study had to progress while the Social survey was still ongoing) etc.,<sup>14</sup> all these had to be pragmatically solved on a moving 'Neurathian boat'.<sup>15</sup> Besides the top-down

10. Doxiadis Archives ref. code: 24769. Yugoslavia Reports vol. 4, 1964. Letter by A. Papandreou to Sudhir Sen (UNTAB representative at Belgrade). C-YUG-A126, August 14, 1964.

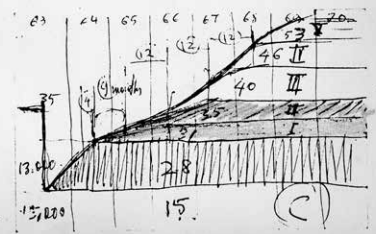
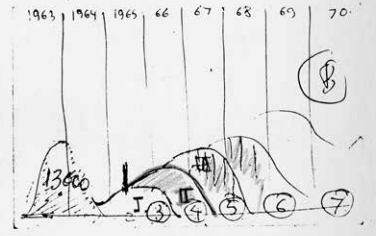
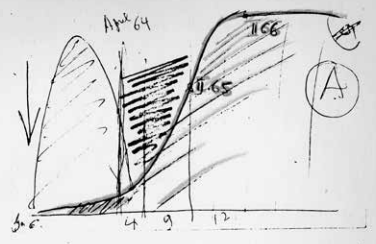
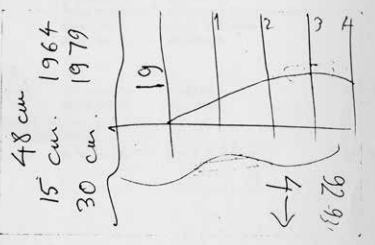
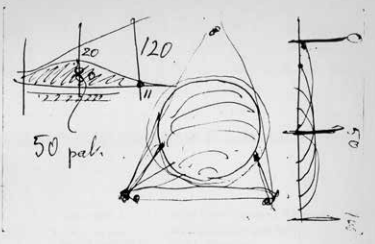
11. Signed contract between UN and DA no. CON 117/64. See: Doxiadis Archives ref. code: 24770. Yugoslavia Reports vol. 5, 1965.

12. *Skopje Resurgent*, op.cit., p. 103.

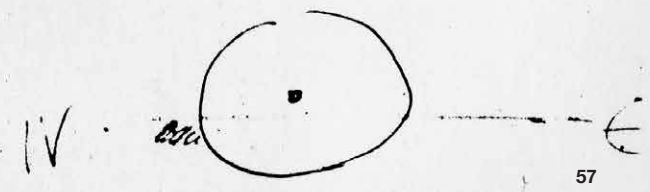
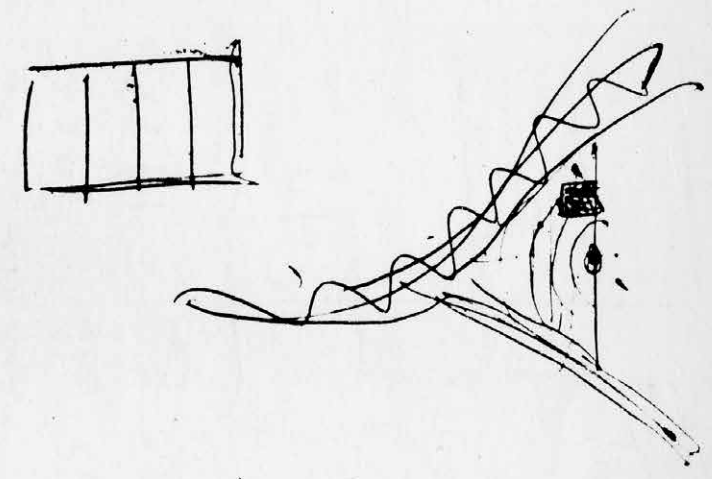
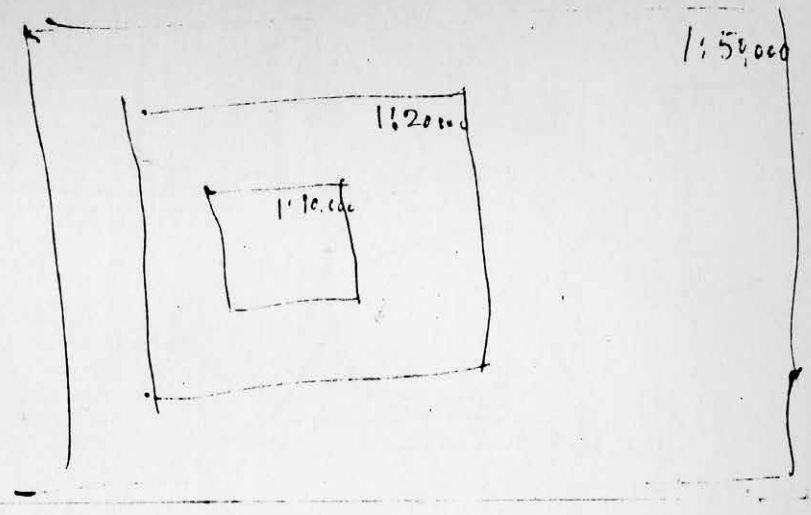
13. *Ibid.*, p.110.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 109-110.

15. I have in mind the following quote by the philosopher and social scientist Otto Neurath: "We are like sailors who have to rebuild their ship on the open sea, without ever being able to dismantle it in dry dock and reconstruct it from the best components." See: Cartwright, N., Cat, J., Fleck, L., Uebel, T. "On Neurath's Boat" in *Otto Neurath: Philosophy between Science and Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp. 89-166.



First sketches on the future evolution of the city of Skopje. Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.



guidelines given by the experts a bottom-up procedure was always active as proposals for specific projects came to the office and were solved on the spot, feeding into the master plan.<sup>16</sup>

The master plan that was the end result of this international collaboration included a short-term master plan with projected growth up to 1971, a medium-term master plan up to 1981 and a longer-range study for further development until the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and beyond.<sup>17</sup> DA were mainly responsible for three areas of study of the master plan: networks and infrastructure, traffic and transportation, and housing. As Doxiadis was hoping to be responsible for the initial social survey, on which his proposal would be based, he collaborated with Louis Miniclier asking him to serve as Head of DA's Social Planning team.<sup>18</sup> In search for other experts who could join his team, Miniclier sent a letter to Joel Halpern<sup>19</sup> from the Department of Anthropology of Brandeis University in Massachusetts, asking him to suggest a few "bright young, imaginative behavioral scientists who are capable and willing to face up to the realities of

16. *Skopje Resurgent*, op.cit., p. 164.

17. The master plan work was completed by September 30, 1965. Ibid., p. 119.

18. Louis Merlin Miniclier (1911-1977) studied social service administration at the University of Chicago and served with the International Red Cross in North Africa, Italy and Greece during World War II. He later served as chief of public welfare for the American military government in Bavaria before being appointed a foreign service officer in 1951. He was considered as an early pioneer in the concept of community development working in 60 countries in Africa, Asia and South America.

19. Joel Martin Halpern (1929-) obtained his B.A. in History from the University of Michigan. He continued his studies at Columbia University, where he earned his Ph.D. in Anthropology. There he met the famous Serbian ethnologist Milenko Filipović and focused his research on Orašac, a village in central Serbia. The dissertation was later published as *A Serbian Village* (1958). He published and presented a number of papers on peasant communities, historical demography, kinship, and social change in the Balkans. He later accepted a position as a Junior Foreign Service Officer with the Community Development Division of the U.S. International Cooperation Administration. Halpern taught at UCLA and Brandeis before joining the Anthropology faculty at University of Massachusetts Amherst.

operational situations" as well as a few bibliographical references regarding the general social situation in Yugoslavia.<sup>20</sup> However this social survey by DA was not meant to move forward. On November 1964, Miniclier wrote again to Halpern sharing the bad news:

I was informed this week that Doxiadis Associates has not been awarded the social survey contract for Skopje. Therefore we shall not be in need of your services [...] Like politicians and administrators, many physical planners seem to prefer to rely on personal experience and intuition rather than invest in essential research and studies. Dr. Doxiadis in developing the science and art of ekistics has recognized the importance of research.<sup>21</sup>

Obviously, the actual conditions on the ground did not favor the kind of thorough scientific research that Ekistics demanded. Only a more pragmatic way of thinking seemed relevant.

Regarding the housing problem, a first attempt to evaluate it had been carried out by Skopje's Institute of Architecture and Town Planning (ITPA) just after the earthquake, followed by a second one by ITPA and the DA team (Dionysios Aliferis, Basil Coitsanos, and Frosso Aliferis) in August 1964.<sup>22</sup> A mix of low rise (1-2-storey), medium rise (4-5-storey), and high rise (>8-storey) residen-

20. Doxiadis Archives ref. code: 24769. Yugoslavia Reports vol. 4, 1964. C-YUG-A23, April 4, 1964.

21. Ibid. See: letter sent by Miniclier to Halpern. C-YUG-A177, November 27, 1964.

22. Doxiadis Archives ref. code: 24768. Yugoslavia Reports vol. 3, 1964. An exterior associate to DA was Anthony Rodoflos Tomazinis (Larissa 1929-). In 1949 Tomazinis was decorated the medal of Meritorious Acts by the King of Greece. He studied civil engineering at NTUA and received his Master on City Planning at the Georgia Tech in 1959 and his PhD in Planning from the UPenn in 1963. He was a faculty member of the University of Pennsylvania since 1962 (Professor in city and regional planning and civil engineering since 1977). He also served in many professional and academic positions (director Transportation Studies Center, chairman of the faculty senate at the University

tial buildings in various types (central core, gallery type, corridor type and tower type) was considered ideal. Standardization was everywhere, from the doors and windows (designed in multiples of 30cm), stairs and elevators, to the size of the rooms (bedrooms of min. 2.1 m by 4.2 m, kitchens of min 1.8 m, bathrooms of min 1.5 m, etc.). For this reason, two distinct systems of prefabrication were to be used, based on technology offered by Yugoslavia and the USSR. The *Karpos* factory, donated by the USSR to the city of Skopje just after the earthquake, would produce concrete wall prefab houses. Its capacity was an impressive 1,200 4-storey plus basement dwellings per year. The erection of each unit would take 20-40 days and their cost would be 85,000 dinars per square meter.<sup>23</sup> Another Yugoslavian system, the *Yugomond* prefab system, would be used for the 1 to 2-storey apartments.<sup>24</sup> Both systems would provide perfect orientation and ventilation, high construction quality and adaptability according to future needs:

One of the most basic principles in the study of dwellings is the possibility of variations [...] In this case, the building consists of two types of elements, the stable ones, the position of which cannot be changed (such as kitchen, bathroom, bearing elements, outside walls), and the movable ones the position of which is determined by the requirements of the family. Thus, the rearrangement of the dwelling or the combination of two dwellings into a bigger one, become easy.<sup>25</sup>

of Pennsylvania, president at Arista Foundation Inc., Consultant at Institut de Recherche des Transports in Paris, 1973-1974, etc.).

23. Yugoslavia Reports vol. 5, op.cit.

24. Doxiadis Archives ref. code: 24768. Yugoslavia Reports vol. 3, 1964.

25. Yugoslavia Reports vol. 5, op.cit., p. 100.

26. According to a "physical pattern" that followed the social organization the smallest unit was the family, 20-40 families formed a class I community; 400-450 families a class II community; 4,500 inhabitants a class III community; 13,500 inhabitants a class IV

The following design principles were also set from the beginning: (a) every family to have its own dwelling (b) every dwelling to be above minimum standards (c) every new construction to be anti-seismic. A balanced distribution of the families based on their income was also essential; 30% low income, 50% medium income and 20% high income in each case was described as the best ratio, although there were concerns that high rises would not be suitable for low incomes since these buildings could end up becoming slums. Following DA's typical Ekistic Grid, the groups of buildings would be organized into communities, according to a pattern developing from the smaller to the larger scale.<sup>26</sup> Of course, it was crucial for every dwelling to be connected with the city networks as the "structure of human communities" was vital both in functional terms.<sup>27</sup> The time was rather limited and DA had to use the already established methods, types, and patterns either established internationally or developed by DA themselves. The French edition of "Neufert", a *Time Saver Standards* copy, some data on insulation from the "Architectural Graphic Standards", and drawings for a hostel designed for Tema (Ghana) by DA in 1962 were used as 'ready-mades'.<sup>28</sup>

However, designing a human community was not just a technical project but also an endeavor with various economic, demograph-

community (with gymnasium, market, administration, recreation, public health services, etc.), and more than three class IV communities formed a class V community. As an example, the four 'Aerdrom' communities were the following: Aerdrom 19C (18,000 inhabitants), Aerdrom 19D (9,000 inhabitants), Aerdrom 19E (13,500 inhabitants), and Aerdrom 19F (13,500 inhabitants). See: Yugoslavia Reports vol. 5, op.cit.

27. Yugoslavia Reports vol. 3, op.cit.

28. Doxiadis Archives ref. code: 24775, Yugoslavia Reports vol. 10, 1965-1966. See: report by G Carayorgis to O-YUG-S, no. C-YUG-A211, January 7, 1965 and cable by A. Collaros to O-YUG-S, no. C-YUG-A217, January 13, 1965.



ic, social, and cultural aspects. The various ethnic groups living in Skopje with their strong mentalities and customs, the raising inward and outward migration, and the traditional family structure that was not familiar with a modern way of life (and dwelling), were some of these issues.<sup>29</sup> The question on how the new housing would embrace Turks, Shiptars and Gypsies whose “pattern of living” was rather different to the rest of the population was an important one as

“it would not be realistic, when studying traditional types of houses in the old part of the city, to draw the conclusion that new dwellings should necessarily follow the old pattern of living. Social habits in Skopje have changed in the last decades.”<sup>30</sup>

Considering the plans of apartments, the main goals were the following: (a) one family per dwelling, (b) beds only in bedrooms, and (c) separation of sexes over 10 years of age.<sup>31</sup> In any case the planning was expected to consider all these parameters while suggesting future scenarios and balanced projections to the 1980s and beyond.<sup>32</sup>

Another demanding area of study for DA was that of the networks and communications infrastructure.<sup>33</sup> The re-design of the

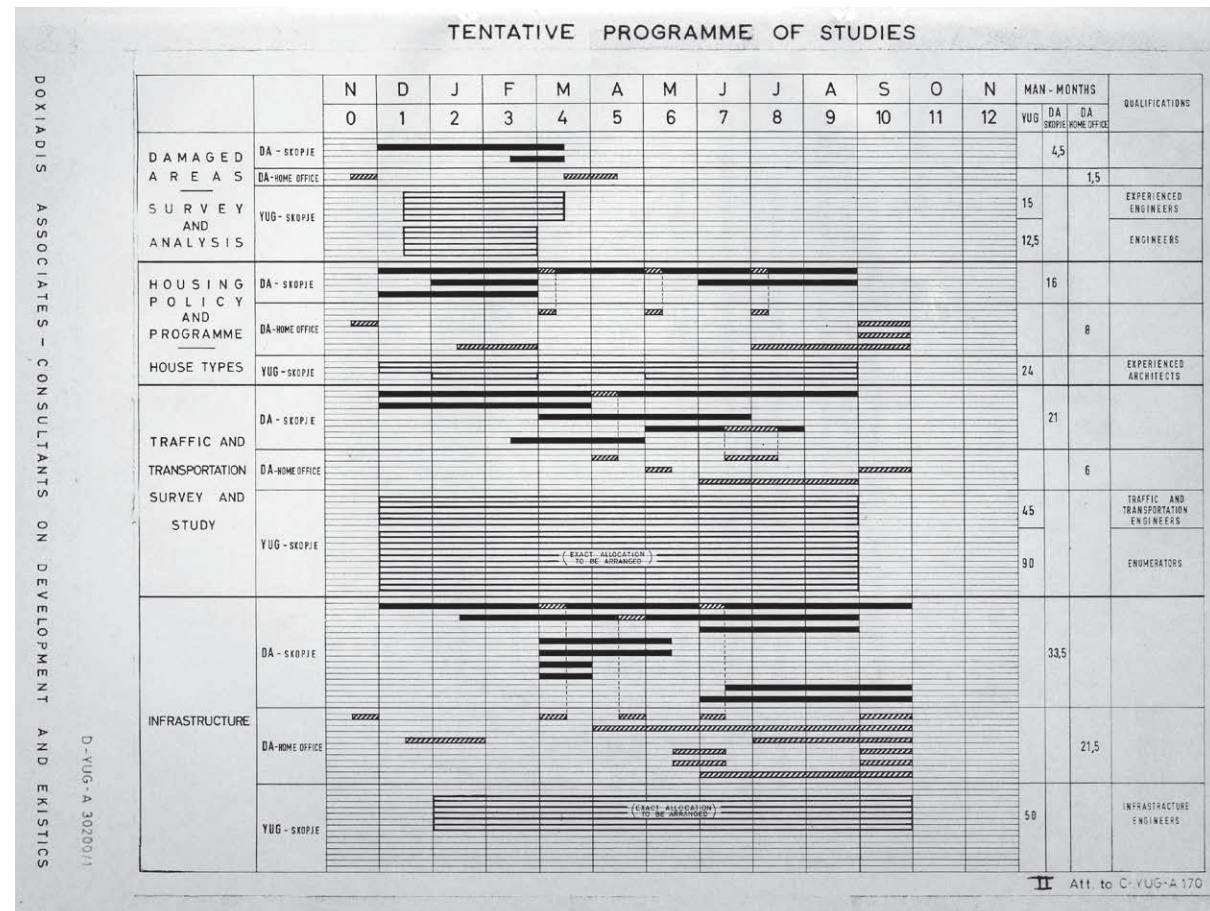
29. Yugoslavia Reports vol. 3, op.cit.

30. Yugoslavia Reports vol. 5, op.cit., p. 98.

31. Yugoslavia Reports vol. 3, op.cit. Eventually, DA had to suggest 4 alternatives considering traditional dwelling habits. Thus, according to alternative no.2, different sexes over 10 years old could share the same room while, according to alternative no.4, beds could also be in the living room. See: Yugoslavia Reports vol. 5, op.cit.

32. The estimated production was that of 3,900 apartments up to 1970, 8,500 up to 1975, and 13,000 up to 1980.

33. Traffic studies were also assigned to DA. The specific calculations, computer work, etc. was subcontracted to Wilbur Smith and Associates (New Have, CT). Wilbur Smith was also known for his Athens Basin transportation study of 1963.



The programming of studies to take place.  
Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.

DA and local experts during field work in Skopje. Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.



THE FUTURE AS A PROJECT Doxiadis in Skopje



telephone network proved to be the most challenging as a considerable amount of computer work, unavailable in Skopje, was needed. DA suggested ITPA to rent a computer in Sweden to do the work.<sup>34</sup> The cost of 1,500 US dollars was substantial and it was not even clear if this had to be covered by Skopje (according to DA), or by DA, according to ITPA. Other options for data processing included a *Control Data 1604* computer located at the "Zurich Technical School" (ETH) and the machines at the "London Computer Centre". In the latter case, frequent travels between London and Skopje would be necessary in order to carry out the computer analyses.<sup>35</sup>

While this strict professional framework involved hard and competitive work, more personal incidents and private events were not rare. Several such moments are chronicled in Doxiadis Archives, either as parts of a formal, intended public relations strategy or as instances of an informal, interpersonal communication: invitations to Blagoja Popov (President of the Town Assembly of Skopje)<sup>36</sup> and Adolf Ciborowski<sup>37</sup> to visit Athens Technological Institute (ATI) and the DA offices in Athens, books travelling between Greece and

34. See: letter by A. Tsitsis to Dr. Y. Rapp of Ericsson *Telephonaktiebolaget* about the Skopje telephone system and the data to be processed by a computer. See: Yugoslavia Reports vol. 10, op.cit. Letter by A. Tsitsis to Y. Rapp, C-YUG-A380, June 26, 1965.

35. Doxiadis Archives ref. code: 24776. Yugoslavia Reports vol. 11, 1965-1966. Letter by A. Papamattheou to A. Ciborowski, C-YUG-S225, June 24, 1965.

36. Doxiadis Archives ref. code: 24769. Yugoslavia Reports vol. 4, 1964. C-YUG-A54, April 28, 1964.

37. Yugoslavia Reports vol. 11, op.cit. Report by H-YUG-S to H-2, no. S-YUG-S362, 6 June 1966. The programme of the official visit of A. Ciborowski to DA headquarters in Athens was the following: June 17, 1966 arrival by car; June 18, visit to DA; June 20, Excursion to Olympia; June 21, visit to DA; June 23, departure to Skopje. A large maintenance service of his Mercedes 190 was also planned with "valve check and adjustment and checking of petrol beck with probable replacement." Moreover, Doxiadis and Ciborowski discussed the UN book on Skopje as well as the new project for the development of the Adriatic Coast of Yugoslavia, sponsored by the UN.

C-YUG-A54

28. 4. 64

Mr. Blagoja Popov  
President of the  
Town Assembly of Skopje  
Skopje

Dear Mr. President,

Following the discussions we had together during my recent visit to Skopje and the invitation I have verbally extended to you, I wish with the present to invite you officially on behalf of the Athens Technological Institute and Doxiadis Associates to visit Athens as our guests with some of your collaborators and see the work that is carried out both at the Institute and our office for various other cities of the world. I believe that such a visit would interest you and your colleagues, especially since you are directing the effort for the future of the city of Skopje.

We shall be very pleased if you and your colleagues may respond to our invitation. I would appreciate your letting me know the dates that would be more convenient to you for coming to Athens so that we may make the necessary arrangements.

With sincerest greetings,

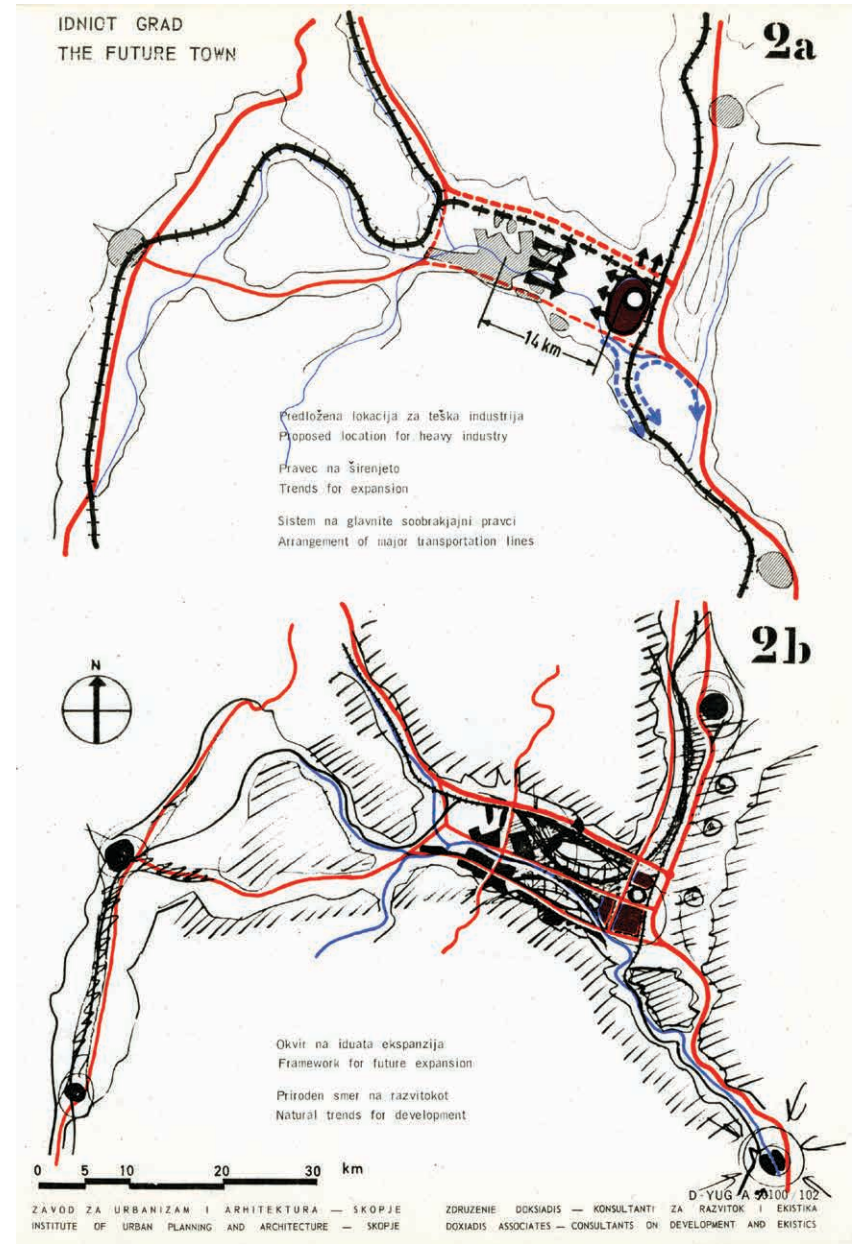
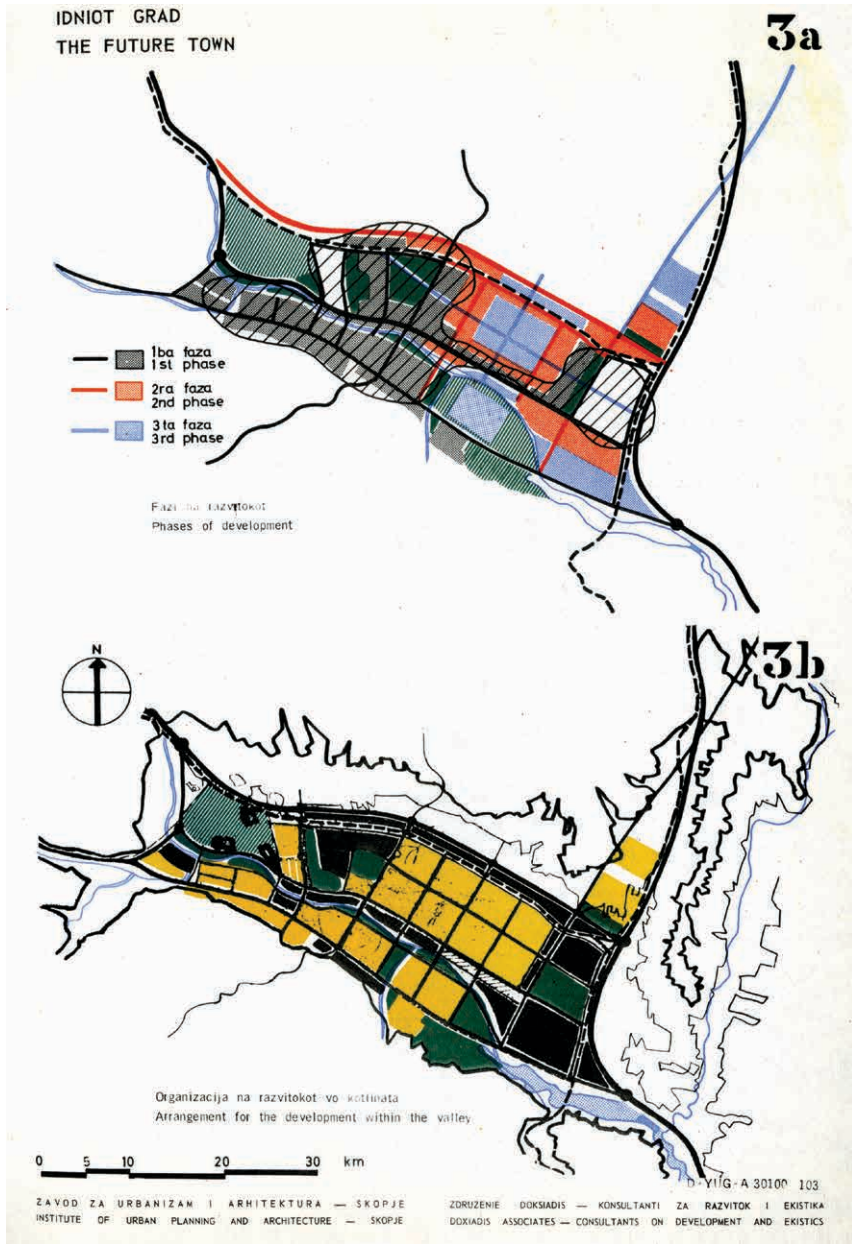
Yours very truly,



C. A. Doxiadis

bc: O-YUG-S  
ATI, GSE  
2, 3, 401

AK/ns



Projections on the future expansion of the city of Skopje. Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.

Yugoslavia as presents,<sup>38</sup> scholarships offered by DA to Yugoslav engineers for post-grad studies,<sup>39</sup> even medicines prescribed for the relatives of colleagues in Skopje.<sup>40</sup>

Nowadays, there is the impression that all this work done by Constantinos Doxiadis and his team at Skopje is “forgotten”.<sup>41</sup> Doxiadis himself was indeed afraid of this negative prospect. In a letter he wrote to A. Goldsmith (of the UN Office of Special Fund Operations) he expressed his concern regarding UN’s intend to publish only the results of the last phase of the reconstruction and not the whole project. He underlined that this would be “wrong and misleading” as the Skopje project went through three phases.<sup>42</sup> That is why the publications should instead “present the whole effort on the Skopje project, as this is one of the first rational and comprehensive approaches in town development and illustrates the great difficulties people all around the world are confronted with when attempting to construct better towns.”<sup>43</sup> As much as this argument sounds like another one of Doxiadis’ efforts to establish himself and promote the interests of his office, there is, certainly, an honest argument in his words. Even in a period were the bilateral diplomatic relations between Greece and Yugoslavia were not the best and the cold-war strategies were determining

38. Doxiadis thanked B. Maksimovic (Professor of Architecture at the University of Belgrade) for his book *Esthétique d’ Urbanisme de Camillo Sitte* that he sent to Doxiadis. G. E. Perpinias, in his turn, offered 4 copies of *D’s Architecture in Transition* “to be given to various people in Skopje”. See: Yugoslavia Reports vol. 4, op.cit. Items C-YUG-A26 (April 6, 1964) and C-YUG-A80 (May 25, 1964).

39. See: Dimitris Iatridis’ correspondence with K. Jordanovski (General Director of the General Directorate of Reconstruction in Skopje) and R. Galic (Main Director of the ITPA). Iatridis offered a 7-scholarship ‘pack’ to each person: 1 in Traffic for 3 months at UPenn, 1 in Infrastructure for 3 months in Germany, 1 in Regional [planning] for 9 months at UPenn or Berkeley, 1 in Town Planning for 12 months in Athens [GCE], 1 in Central Area Planning for 6 months in France, 1 in Industrial Estate for 3 months in France (plus trips to other countries), 1 in Ekistics for 12 months in Athens [GCE]. See: Yugoslavia Reports vol. 4, op.cit. Items C-YUG-A92 (June 8, 1964) and C-YUG-A93 (June 8, 1964).

attitudes, actions and policies on many levels, dividing states in ‘Eastern’ and ‘Western’ camps, the good old positivist-humanist spirit of global modernism was still alive. The moral content of the technical assistance was present even in the most difficult parts of the collaboration between Athens and Skopje,. As A. Tsitsis was emphasising in one of his reports: “However, we have a moral obligation to assist these people in order for them to advance as fast as they can”.<sup>44</sup>

The shock of the total destruction of Greece in the Second World War that made Doxiadis direct all his efforts to the study and design of human settlements was too strong for him to forget. Working on a terrain ‘trembling’ by geostrategic ‘tectonic’ movements of multiple scales and origins, Doxiadis tried to act in a constructive and responsible way. The destruction of Skopje after the earthquake was maybe a kind of a déjà vu that impelled Doxiadis to go back to his professional origins and recall this, unforgotten, moral promise to himself.

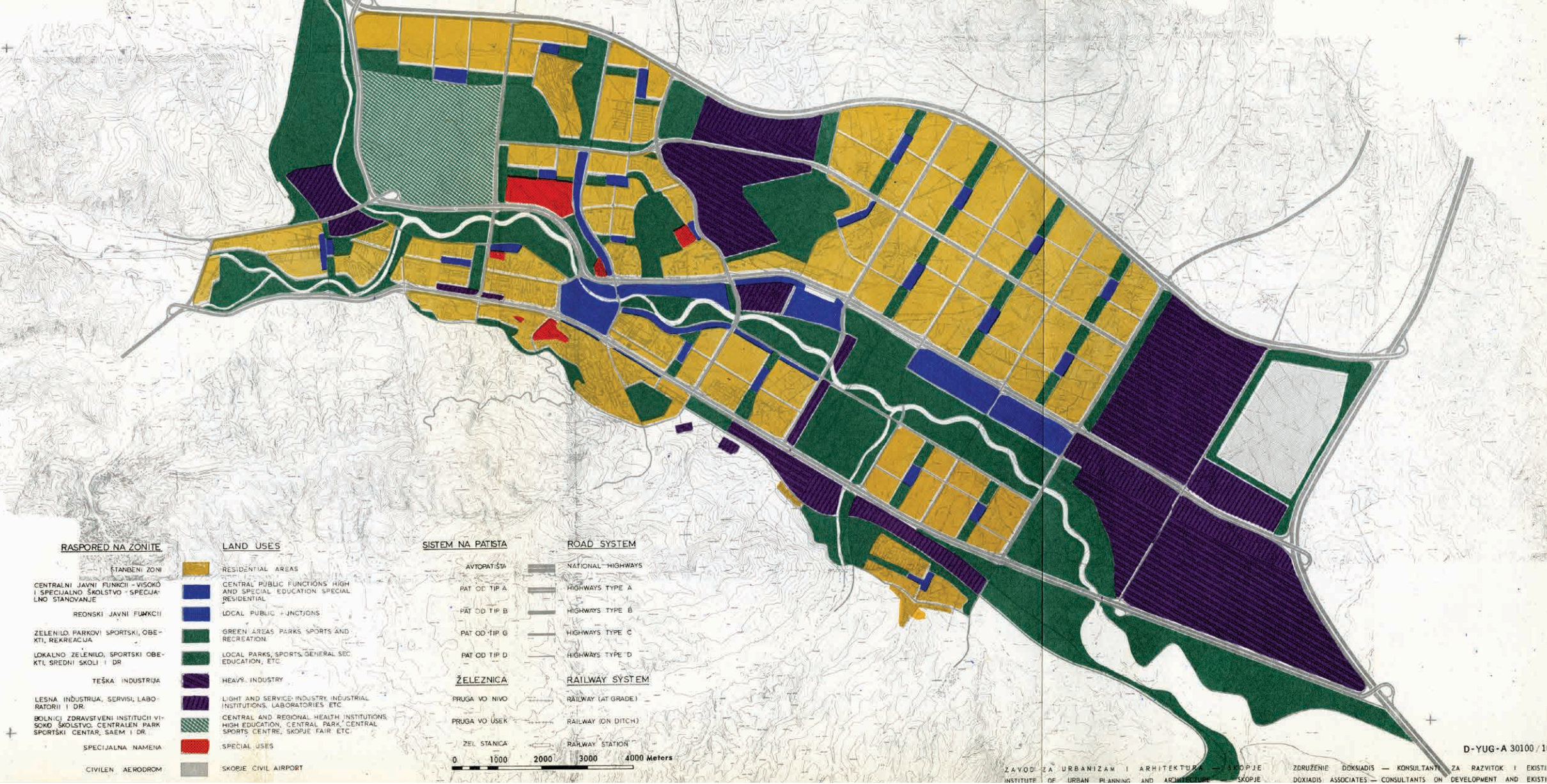
40. A. Collaros sent a message to Kole Jordanovski asking him the name of medicine needed for Jordanovski’s mother. See: Yugoslavia Reports vol. 4, op.cit. Cable sent by A. Collaros to Ing. Kole Jordanovski, no. C-YUG-A124, July 28, 1964.

41. Filippides, Dimitris. *Κωνσταντίνος Α. Δοξιάδης (1913-1975): Αναφορά στον Ιππόδαμο*. Athens: Melissa, 2015, p. 95.

42. The three phases being: a. The initial mission assigned to Maurice Rotival b. the UN Technical Assistance with DA as consultants and Polservice as an exterior initiative and c. the UN Special Fund plan by Polservice and DA. Ciborowski had informed Doxiadis about this exclusion of DA from UN’s report.

43. Yugoslavia Reports vol. 10, op.cit. Letter by D to A. Goldsmith, C-YUG-A532, July 27, 1966, p. 2.

44. Doxiadis Archives ref. code: 24774. Yugoslavia Reports vol. 9, 1965-1966. Letter by A. Tsitsis to Maggioros, Papamattheou, and Koitsanos, no. R-YUG-A4, May 4, 1965.



**RASPORED NA ZONITE**

- STANBENI ZONI
- CENTRALNI JAVNI FUNKCIJE - VISOKO I SPECIJALNO ŠKOLSTVO - SPECIJALNO STANOVANJE
- REGIONALNI JAVNI FUNKCIJE
- ZELENILO, PARKOVI, SPORTSKI, OBEKTI, REKREACIJA
- LOKALNO ZELENILO, SPORTSKI OBEKTI, SREDNI ŠKOLI I DR.
- TEŠKA INDUSTRIJA
- LESNA INDUSTRIJA, SERVISI, LABORATORII I DR.
- BOLNICI, ZDRAVSTVENI INSTITUCIJE, VISOKO ŠKOLSTVO, CENTRALNI PARK, SPORTSKI CENTAR, SAEM I DR.
- SPECIJALNA NAMENA
- CIVILNI AERODROM

**LAND USES**

- RESIDENTIAL AREAS
- CENTRAL PUBLIC FUNCTIONS, HIGH AND SPECIAL EDUCATION, SPECIAL RESIDENTIAL
- LOCAL PUBLIC FUNCTIONS
- GREEN AREAS, PARKS, SPORTS AND RECREATION
- LOCAL PARKS, SPORTS, GENERAL SEC. EDUCATION, ETC.
- HEAVY INDUSTRY
- LIGHT AND SERVICE INDUSTRY, INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTIONS, LABORATORIES, ETC.
- CENTRAL AND REGIONAL HEALTH INSTITUTIONS, HIGH EDUCATION, CENTRAL PARK, CENTRAL SPORTS CENTRE, SKOPJE FAIR, ETC.
- SPECIAL USES
- SKOPJE CIVIL AIRPORT

**SISTEM NA PATISTA**

- AVTOPATISTA
- PAT OD TIP A
- PAT OD TIP B
- PAT OD TIP C
- PAT OD TIP D

**ROAD SYSTEM**

- NATIONAL HIGHWAYS
- HIGHWAYS TYPE A
- HIGHWAYS TYPE B
- HIGHWAYS TYPE C
- HIGHWAYS TYPE D

**ŽELEZNICA**

- PRUGA VO NIVO
- PRUGA VO USEK
- ŽEL. STANICA
- RAILWAY STATION

**RAILWAY SYSTEM**

- RAILWAY (AT GRADE)
- RAILWAY (ON DITCH)



SKOPJE GRADSKO PODRAČJE - PRELIMINAREN DOLGOROČEN PLAN  
 SKOPJE METROPOLITAN AREA - PRELIMINARY LONG-RANGE PLAN

FASI NA RAZVITOK  
 PHASES OF DEVELOPMENT



RASPORED NA ZONITE

- 1. TANSKI ZON
- CENTRALNI JAVNI FUNKCII - VISOKO I SPECIJALNO ŠKOLSTVO, SPECIJALNO STANOVANJE
- REGIONSKI JAVNI FUNKCII
- ZELENILO, PARKOVI, SPORTSKI OBJEKTI, REKREACIJA
- LOKALNO ZELENILO, SPORTSKI OBJEKTI, SREDNI ŠKOLI I DR.
- TEŠKA INDUSTRIJA
- LESNA INDUSTRIJA, SERVISI, LABORATORII I DR.
- BOLNICE, ZDRAVSTVENI INSTITUCII, VISOKO ŠKOLSTVO, CENTRALNI PARK, SPORTSKI CENTAR, SAEM I DR.
- SPECIJALNA NAMENA
- CIVILNI AERODROM

LAND USES

- RESIDENTIAL AREAS
- CENTRAL PUBLIC FUNCTIONS, HIGH AND SPECIAL EDUCATION, SPECIAL RESIDENTIAL
- LOCAL PUBLIC FUNCTIONS
- GREEN SPACES, PARKS, SPORTS AND RECREATION
- LOCAL PARKS, SPORTS, GENERAL SEC. EDUCATION, ETC.
- HEAVY INDUSTRY
- LIGHT AND SERVICE INDUSTRY, INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTIONS, LABORATORIES, ETC.
- CENTRAL AND REGIONAL HEALTH INSTITUTIONS, HIGH EDUCATION, CENTRAL PARK, CENTRAL SPORTS CENTRE, SKOPJE FAIR, ETC.
- SPECIAL USES
- SKOPJE CIVIL AIRPORT

SISTEM NA PATISTA

- AVTOMOBILA
- PAT OD TIP A
- PAT OD TIP B
- PAT OD TIP G
- PAT OD TIP D
- ZELEZNICA
- PRUGA VO NIVO
- PRUGA VO USEK
- ŽEL. STANIČA

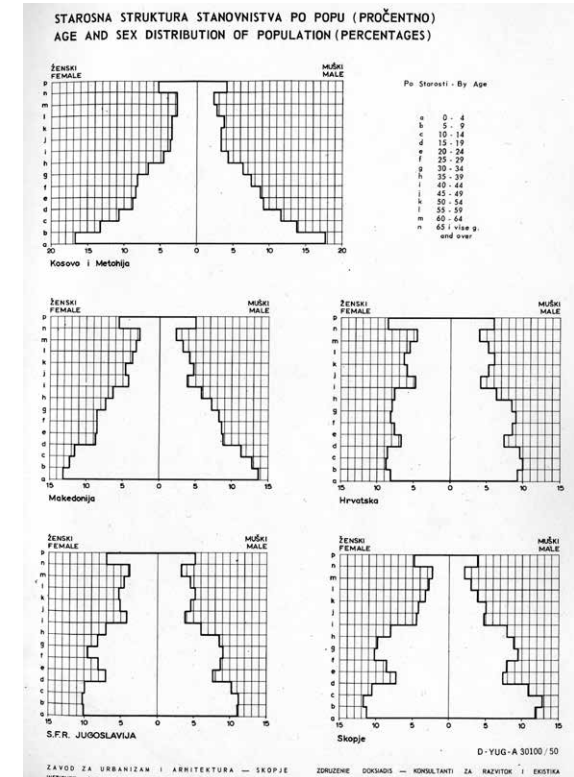
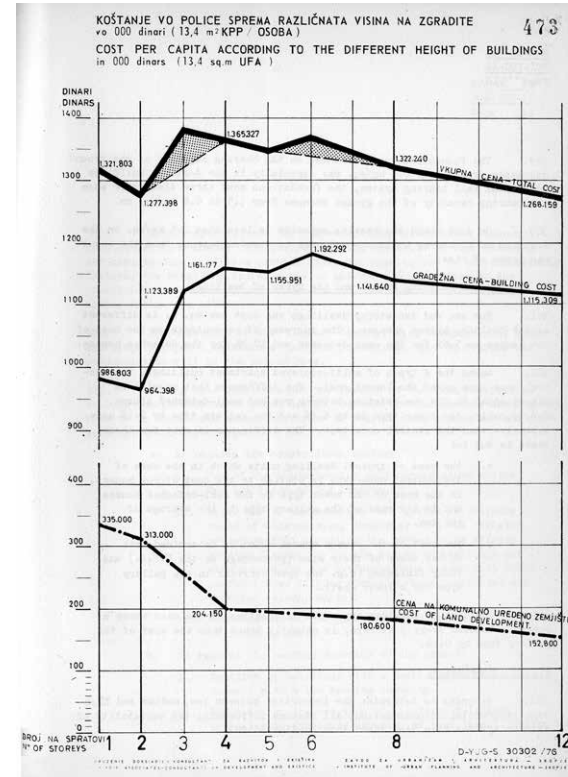
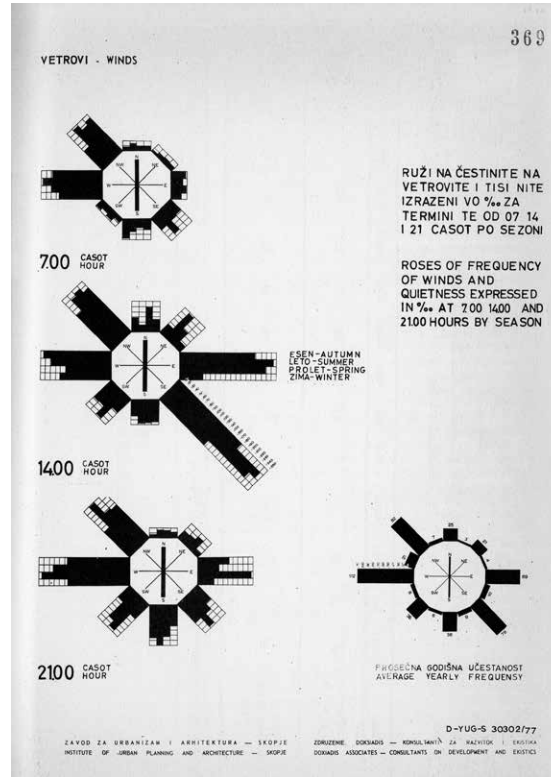
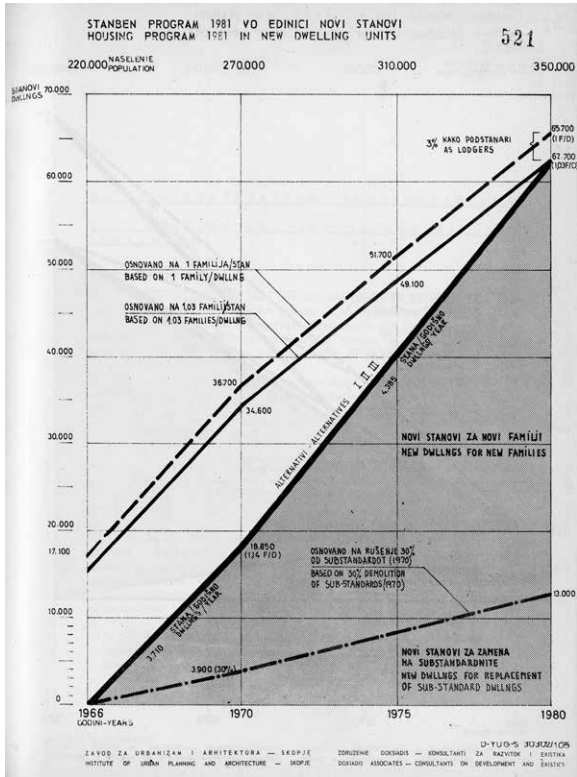
ROAD SYSTEM

- NATIONAL HIGHWAYS
- HIGHWAYS TYPE A
- HIGHWAYS TYPE B
- HIGHWAYS TYPE C
- HIGHWAYS TYPE D
- RAILWAY SYSTEM
- RAILWAY (AT GRADE)
- RAILWAY (ON DITCH)
- RAILWAY STATION

ZAVOD ZA URBANIZAM I ARHITEKTURA - SKOPJE  
 INSTITUTE OF URBAN PLANNING AND ARCHITECTURE - SKOPJE  
 ZDRUZENIE DOXIADIS - KONSULTANTI ZA RAZVITOK I EKISTIKA  
 DOXIADIS ASSOCIATES - CONSULTANTS ON DEVELOPMENT AND EKISTICS

D-YUG-A 30100/108

Phases of development according to the preliminary long-range plan of Skopje. Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.



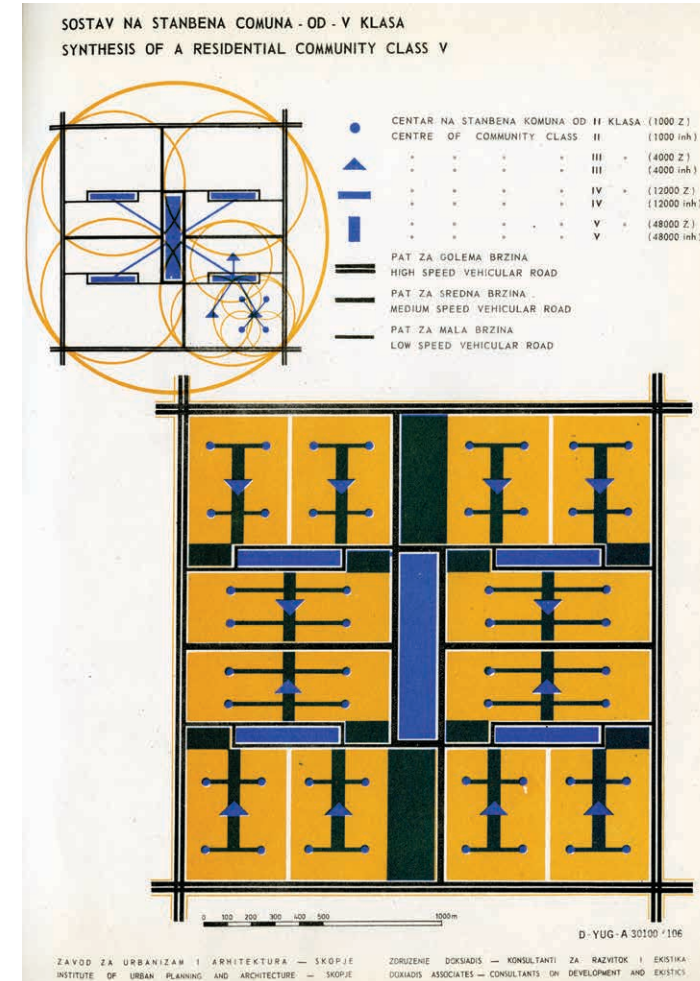


Organization and structure of residential communities. Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.

**GROUPING OF RESIDENTIAL COMMUNITIES AND CORRESPONDING FUNCTIONS**

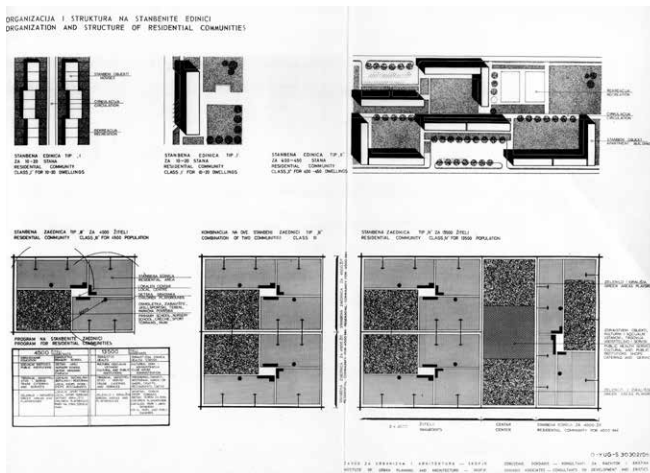
FUNCTIONS	PURPOSE	Nº OF INHABITANTS	COMMUNITY	CLASS
		100-200		I
1. CULTURAL & SOCIAL ESTABLISHMENTS 2. TRADE, CATERING AND SERVICES	PARLOUR AUTOMATS, KIOSKS PUBLIC TELEPHONE BOOTH POST BOXES	1000		II
3. OPEN SPACES, GREEN AREAS & PLAYFIELDS	SMALL PARK WITH CHILDREN'S PLAYGROUND	4000		III
1. PUBLIC EDUCATION 2. SOCIAL WELFARE ESTABLISHMENTS 3. TRADE, CATERING AND SERVICES	PRIMARY SCHOOL NURSERY (AGE 0-3) KINDERGARTEN (AGE 3-7) SHOP CENTRE SHOE STORE SERVICES OFFICES PUBLIC W.C.	12000		IV
4. OPEN SPACES, GREEN AREAS & PLAYFIELDS	MEDIUM SIZE PARK SMALL ATHLETIC FIELD (CONNECTED WITH THE PRIMARY SCHOOL)	48000		V
1. PUBLIC HEALTH 2. CULTURAL AND SOCIAL ESTABLISHMENTS 3. TRADE, CATERING AND SERVICES	HEALTH STATION PHARMACY CULTURAL CLUB (MEETING HALL) CINEMA SHOP CENTRE Cafe RESTAURANT PUBLIC BATH, LAUNDRIES AUTO SERVICE, E.T.C. SERVICES			
4. OPEN SPACES, GREEN AREAS & PLAYFIELDS	PARK			
1. ADMINISTRATION 2. PUBLIC EDUCATION 3. CULTURAL & SOCIAL ESTABLISHMENTS 4. PUBLIC HEALTH 5. SOCIAL WELFARE ESTABLISHMENTS 6. TRADE, CATERING AND SERVICES 7. OPEN SPACES GREEN AREAS & PLAYGROUND	COMMUNITY HEADQUARTERS OFFICES FIRE PROTECTION POST OFFICE PUBLIC MILITIA INSURANCE INSTITUTE BANK BRANCH GYMNASIA (YM) CULTURAL CLUB LIBRARY PIONEER'S CLUB HEALTH CENTRE PHARMACY HOUSE FOR PENSIONERS SHOPPING CENTRE LARGE PARK ATHLETIC CENTRE (CONNECTED WITH THE GYMNASIA)			

D - YUG - A 30100 104  
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INSTITUTE OF URBAN PLANNING AND ARCHITECTURE — SKOPJE



Organization and structure of residential communities. Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.

(Lower right) Cost analysis of urban blocks. Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.



**ZAKLJUČCI - CONCLUSIONS**

REZULTIRANO OD ANALIZITE NA CENI RESULTING FROM COST ANALYSIS		REZULTIRANO OD ARHITEKTONSKITE SINTEZI RESULTING FROM PLANNING CRITERIA	
DOE TO CONSTRUCTION SYSTEMS REZULTAT OD KONSTRUKTIVNI SISTEM	DOE TO BUILDING TYPES REZULTAT OD TIPOVI NA ZGRADI	DOE TO TYPE OF COMMUNITIES REZULTAT OD TIPOVI NA ZAJEDNICE	REZULTAT OD ARHITEKTONSKITE SINTEZI RESULTING FROM PLANNING CRITERIA
1-2	poveke more	poveke more	1-2
1	pomalku less	pomalku less	3-4
8			5-6
12			7-8
1-2			9-10
4			11-12
8			13-14
12			15-16

D - YUG - A 30100 106  
ZAVOD ZA URBANIZAM I ARHITEKTURA — SKOPJE  
INSTITUTE OF URBAN PLANNING AND ARCHITECTURE — SKOPJE



Prefab apartment buildings under construction. Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.

ALTERNATIVA 2 (KORISNA PLOŠNA PLOŠČINA 15,04 m<sup>2</sup>/OSOBA .1,21 OSOBA / SOBA)  
STANDARD NA STANOVANJE PREMA ANALIZI ZA MINIMALNI STANBENI PLOŠČINI I STRUKTURA NA SEMEJSTVA VO SKOPJE VO 1981  
ALTERNATIVE 2 (USABLE FLOOR AREA 15,04 sq. m / PERSON .1,21 PERSONS / ROOM)  
OCCUPANCY STANDARDS ACCORDING TO THE ANALYSIS OF MINIMUM HABITABLE SURFACES AND THE STRUCTURE OF FAMILIES IN SKOPJE 1981

SAMIŠČI SOBI PERSONS/FAMILY	OSOBI / SEMEJSTVO PERSONS/FAMILY	SOBA + KUPATELO ROOM + BATHROOM	ZAJEDNIŠI SANITARNI ČVOR COMMON SANITARY INSTALLATION	ZAJEDNIŠI PROSTOR m <sup>2</sup> /OSOBA COMMON SPACES sqm/PERSON			KUPNE LPA/LP	KUPNE LPA/LP	KUPNE LPA/LP	KUPNE LPA/LP	KUPNE LPA/LP	KUPNE LPA/LP	KUPNE LPA/LP	KUPNE LPA/LP
				1	2	3								
9,6	1	10,5	1	16	16	10,3								
4,8	2	10,5	1	22,5	11,2	0,54								
2,4	4	10,5	1	22	22	0,53	1	2,8	0,03					
11,2	2	10,5	1	35	17,5	1,96	1	13,1	0,3					
20	2	10,5	1	51	17,6	3,52	1	23,4	0,23					
26	2	10,5	1	53										
16	3	10,5	1	70,5	14,6	2,34	1,25	18,7	0,24					
10	4	10,5	1	73										
100	100	10,5	1	76	11,8	1,8	1,56	11,6	0,18					

16 / 3002 / S - 30302 / 81

PREDPSTAVKA ASSUMPTIONS  
A SEMEJSTVO / STAN 1 FAMILY / DWELLING  
B SAMO KREVIČI VO SPALNI SOBI BEDS ONLY IN BEDROOMS  
C ODSEJENOST PO SPOL NA 10 GOD STARI SEPARATION OF SEX OVER 10 YEARS  
D NASTANILNA PLOŠČINA PREMA ANALIZI ZA MINIMALNI STANDARDI HABITABLE SURFACES ACCORDING TO THE ANALYSIS OF MINIMUM STANDARDS  
ZABELEŠKA NOTE  
C NE VABI NOT VALID

437

Apartment types, standards, and alternatives. Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.

MONTAŽNI POVEKESPRATNI STANBENI ZGRADI  
PREFABRICATED MULTI STOREY APARTMENT BUILDINGS  
"KARPOŠ," TIP TYPE

421

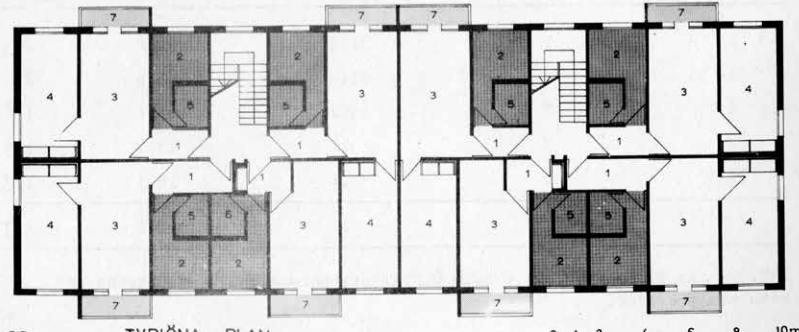


ZAVRŠENA ZGRADA  
A BUILDING COMPLETED



ZGRADA VO IZGRADBA  
A BUILDING UNDER CONSTRUCTION

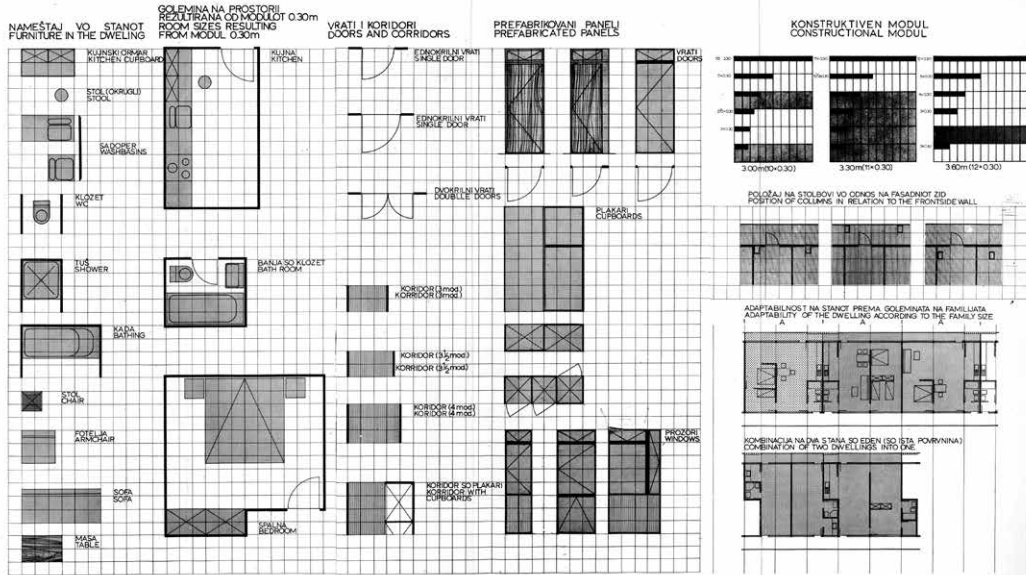
- 1 PREDSOBJE CORRIDOR
- 2 KUJNA KITCHEN
- 3 DNEVNA SOBA LIVING-ROOM
- 4 SPALNA SOBA BED-ROOM
- 5 KUPATILO BATHROOM
- 6 OŠTABA STORE ROOM
- 7 VERANDA VERANDAH



TIP TYPE A \* TYPICAL PLAN  
D - YUG - S 30302/88  
ZAVOD ZA URBANIZAM I ARHITEKTURA - SKOPJE INSTITUTE OF URBAN PLANNING AND ARCHITECTURE - SKOPJE  
ZDROZENJE DOXIADIS - KONSULTANTI ZA RAZVITOK I EKISTIKA DOXIADIS ASSOCIATES - CONSULTANTS ON DEVELOPMENT AND EKISTICS

Prefab Karpoš apartment buildings under construction. Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.

MODULARNA KOORDINACIJA - FLEKSIBILNOST  
MODULAR COORDINATION - FLEXIBILITY



461

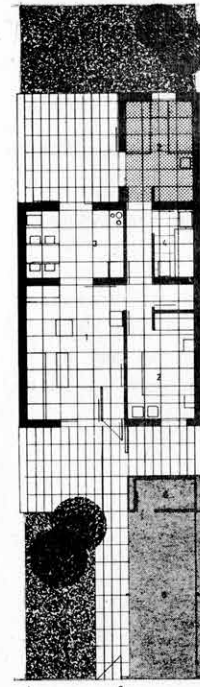
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ZAVOD ZA URBANIZAM I ARHITEKTURA - SKOPJE ZDRUZENIE DOKSIADIS - KONSULTANTI ZA RAZVITOK I EKISTIK  
INSTITUTE OF URBAN PLANNING AND ARCHITECTURE - SKOPJE DOXIADIS ASSOCIATES - CONSULTANTS ON DEVELOPMENT AND EKISTICS

Modules of fixed and flexible parts of the apartments. Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.

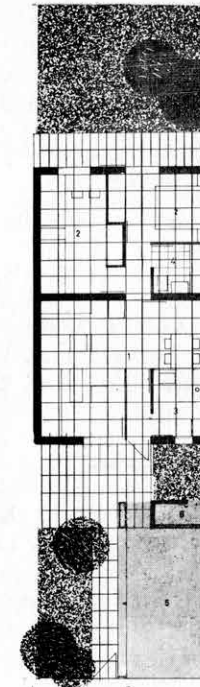
1 SPRATEN STANOVI - KUĆI VONIZ  
1 STOREY DWELLINGS - ROW HOUSES  
TIPOVI TIPOVI L1 - 01, 02, 03, 04

MALA VIŠOČINA  
LOW RISE  
485



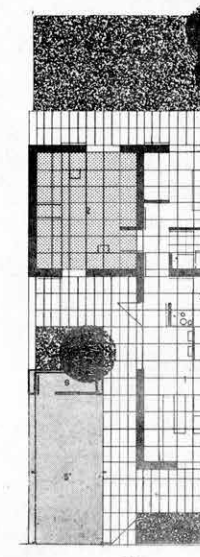
L1-01

KPP 49,8<sup>m<sup>2</sup></sup>  
UFA 37,7  
PROSTOR ZA ŽIVEENJE  
LIVING SPACE 37,7  
POMOŠNI PROSTORI  
AUXILIARY SPACE 12,1  
ZIDOVNI WALLS (21% KPP UFA) 10,5  
VPP 60,3  
TFA



L1-02

KPP 53,0<sup>m<sup>2</sup></sup>  
UFA 40,9  
PROSTOR ZA ŽIVEENJE  
LIVING SPACE 40,9  
POMOŠNI PROSTORI  
AUXILIARY SPACE 12,1  
ZIDOVNI WALLS (15,1% KPP UFA) 8,0  
VPP 61,0  
TFA



L1-03

KPP 53,0<sup>m<sup>2</sup></sup>  
UFA 42,0  
PROSTOR ZA ŽIVEENJE  
LIVING SPACE 42,0  
POMOŠNI PROSTORI  
AUXILIARY SPACE 11  
ZIDOVNI WALLS (20,2% KPP UFA) 10,7  
VPP 63,7  
TFA



L1-04

KPP 53,8<sup>m<sup>2</sup></sup>  
UFA 42,0  
PROSTOR ZA ŽIVEENJE  
LIVING SPACE 42,0  
POMOŠNI PROSTORI  
AUXILIARY SPACE 11,8  
ZIDOVNI WALLS (18,4% KPP UFA) 9,9  
VPP 63,7  
TFA

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 M

D-YUG-A 30202/6

ZAVOD ZA URBANIZAM I ARHITEKTURA - SKOPJE  
INSTITUTE OF URBAN PLANNING AND ARCHITECTURE - SKOPJE

ZDRUZENIE DOKSIADIS - KONSULTANTI ZA RAZVITOK I EKISTIK  
DOXIADIS ASSOCIATES - CONSULTANTS ON DEVELOPMENT AND EKISTICS

Types of 1-storey row houses. Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.

C-YUG-S 225  
24. 6. 65

To : Mr. Adolf Ciborowski,  
United Nations Project Manager,  
SKOPJE.

Dear Sir,

Computer Work for Transportation Study

1. We hereby wish to draw to your attention the following matters related to the computer work, outside Yugoslavia, required for the transportation study.

A. Computer work in Zurich

2. As you know, Messrs. Pearson and Wildermuth travelled to Belgrade on June 11 to examine computer capabilities there. After determining that the project time schedule did not permit utilizing Belgrade facilities for remaining computer work, Mr. Wildermuth proceeded to Zurich. There he checked the possibilities for further data processing, and found that a Control Data 1604 computer was available at the Zurich Technical School. This is a machine with capacity comparable to the IBM 7094, with available time, for which substantial cost savings could be expected due to a lower service rate.

3. To take advantage of these computer services, Mr. Wildermuth undertook to complete the remaining base year tabulations in Zurich last week. He was to have finished them on 21 June and proceed to the London Computer Centre for processing the further work. No multiple regression analysis programmes were available for the Zurich computer; hence London facilities must be used for this phase.

B. Travel for computer work

4. We foresee travel between Skopje and the London computer centre on two occasions in the next few weeks. These trips will be necessary to carry out the computer analyses in an efficient manner and, in accord with our time schedule. The first trip will be made by Mr. Pearson early in July, probably during the first full week. Mr. Pearson expects that a stay of four or five days in London will be required. The purpose of this trip will be to complete and verify the base year calibration of the traffic models, the most critical step in transportation analyses. At the same time, the forecasting of future trip generation will be initiated. To take advantage of this trip and eliminate several days of mailing time, Mr. Pearson will carry with him the 1981 data required for the computer work.

5. The second occasion for London-Skopje travel will be during the last week of July, when Mr. Wildermuth will return from London to Skopje. He will bring with him the final results of the traffic assignment phase, including 1981 network loadings. These will be jointly evaluated here in Skopje.

Letter by DA to A. Ciborowski on computer work needed.

Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.

Skopje  
DOXIADIS ASSOCIATES • CONSULTANTS ON DEVELOPMENT AND EKISTICS - ~~ATHENS~~

To : H-2 No : 6-YUG-S 362  
By : H-YUG-S  
For : Information and Action Date : 6 June 1966  
Copy to: H-3, O-401, O-YUG-S File No:  
Atts :  
Subject: OFFICIAL VISIT TO OUR HEADQUARTERS OF Mr. A. CIBOROWSKI

1. The United Nation Project Manager for our project, Mr. Adolf Ciborowski, will visit officially our Headquarters in Athens in order to certify the fulfillment of our obligations according to the contract.

2. During his trip he will be accompanied by his wife and by me.

3. The schedule of visit, defined by himself is the following:

17.6.66 Arrival in Athens by his car in the evening.

18.6.66 Visit to our Headquarters

19.6.66 Excursion to Olympia, return at night of 20th.

20.6.66

21.6.66 Visit to our Headquarters in the morning.

22.6.66

23.6.66 Departure from Athens to Skopje in the morning.

4. He would like to meet our President sometime in the morning on 21st or <sup>22<sup>nd</sup> or 23<sup>rd</sup></sup> any other time convenient to D.

5. He would like to ask you for the following:

a. To make a reservation for his wife and himself in some hotel of Athens.

b. To make a reservation for the night of 19th in some hotel of Olympia.

c. To notify the Mercedes workshop in Athens that his Mercedes Diesel 190 will be taken there by some of our drivers on the 21st and the 22nd for the so called large maintenance (10000 klm) and furthermore for valve check and adjustment and checking of petrol beck with probable replacement.

d. To notify the Representative of the United Nations in Athens Mr.

Programme of A. Ciborowski's official visit in Athens.

Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.

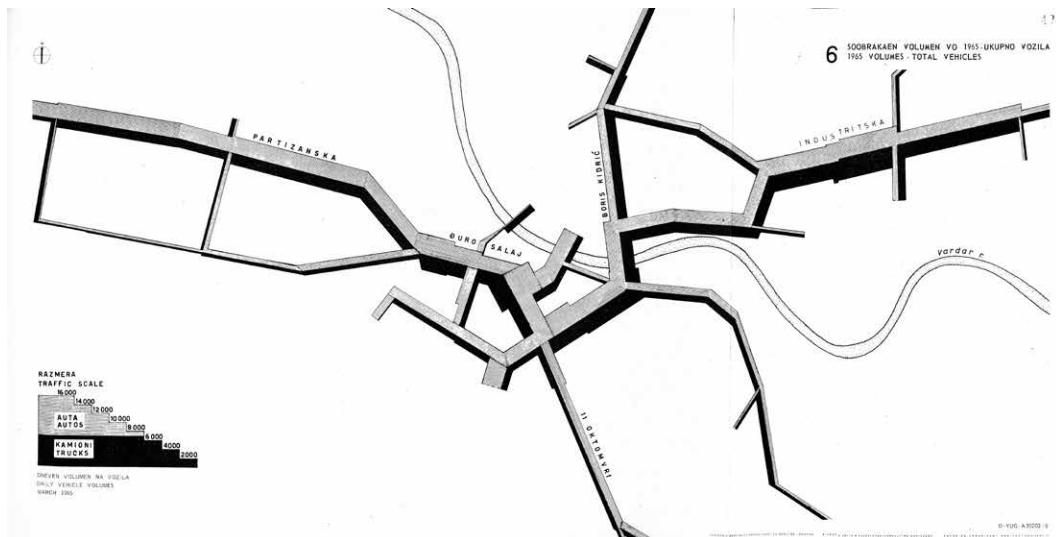
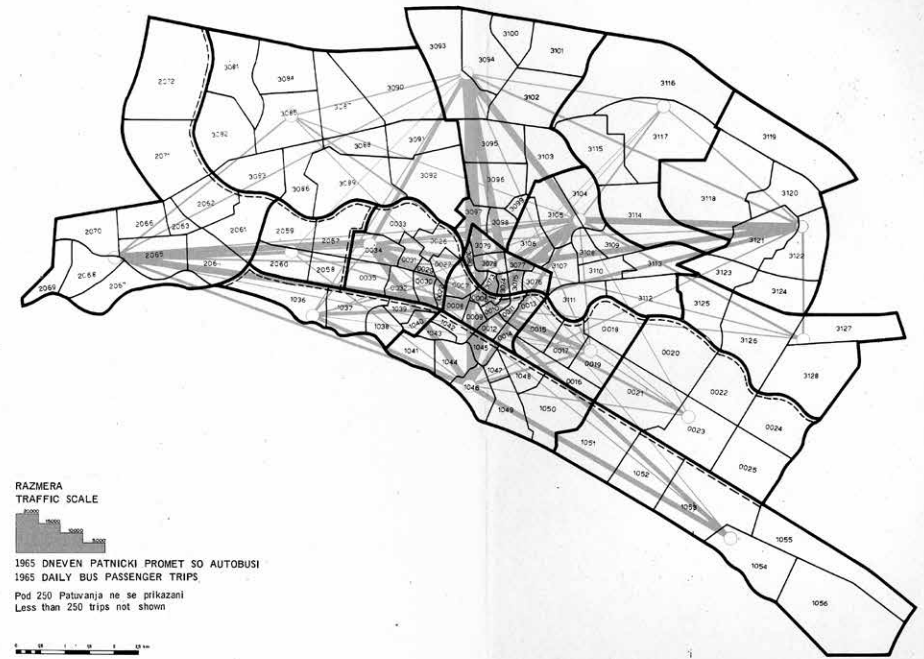


Diagram of vehicle traffic volumes.  
Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.

14 LINII NA SOBRRAKAJNI POTREBI ZA AUTOBUSI - 1965  
BUS PASSENGER DESIRE LINES - 1965



The network of bus lines.  
Source: Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives. © Constantinos and Emma Doxiadis Foundation.

# THE CITY CENTER AND POST-EARTHQUAKE ARCHITECTURE

Telecommunication Center, Skopje.  
Photo: Kalliopi Amygdalou, 2017.



## THE CITY THAT COULD HAVE BEEN

Skopje was placed on the world map of urban planning following the comprehensive planning efforts that took place after the earthquake of 1963, and especially after the selection of Kenzo Tange's plan for the city center as the basis for its future development. However, upon a closer look at the planning process, can we assume that all this took place in a time of crisis in the field of urbanism, a crisis that influenced the outcome of the planning efforts? Could we consider the results of the 1965 Skopje City Centre competition - including Tange's plan - to be a reflection of the crisis in urbanism in the sixties of the last century? Certainly, yes. Is there a better confirmation of this crisis than the existence of four different urbanistic paradigms in the eight competition works? They were not merely the result of different ideas and spatial solutions within the limits of a shared dominant paradigm, which could be considered as a regular condition for a mature phase of the development - in this case - of the art and science of town building. Rather, they represented different ways of looking at the city in general.

On the two opposite poles representing these different approaches were the plans by Maurice Rotival from the U.S. and Luigi Piccinato from Italy. The first one placed almost all central city functions in a three sided pyramidal mega-structure with overblown dimensions compared to everything surrounding it. The second altered the competition brief in order to accommodate as wide an area as possible that would resemble, at least in urbo-morphological terms, the pre-earthquake Skopje city structure.

The Tange plan and the ones by van den Broek and Bakema and

Edvard Ravnikar shared similar features that would, with a large amount of imprecision, label them as early 'late moderns'. Tange's plan won 3/5 of the first prize, but it represented new Skopje at a hundred per cent. Through its seducing images that promised "glory" for Skopje and through the uncontested authority of Tange, the plan has seldom been considered to be a consequence of the crisis in urbanism. However, a closer look at the plan will expose several misconceptions of the time, such as the proposed road network, the City Wall concept and the symbolic features of the plan, although the list could be longer.

First, the traffic system that follows the priorities set in the City Master Plan was a manifestation of the illusions and prejudices of Buchanan's 1963 report. But, before even drawing connections to the report, if one takes a close look at the streets around the City Gate in Tange's competition model, one will notice the hierarchical traffic networks, the distinctive segregation of vehicular and pedestrian movement, as well as the complex large scale architectural objects with emphasized transportation needs. All these elements were combined into a unique whole through Buchanan's vision that in the immediate future nearly everybody would need their own vehicle and would have a right to use it. The conclusions in his report only reinforced the conviction that, just like more hospitals, apartments or schools, the larger width and greater number of streets was a synonym for progress. Tange's plan and the features of its traffic network were based on these premises. Given that this approach and its consequences left deep scars in the urban fabric of a large number of European cities, the fact that Tange's entire planned expressway network with its corresponding



Skopje master plan. Kenzo Tange (1913–2005). Competition model. Wood, (225 × 225 × 17 cm). Source: Museum of the City of Skopje. Photo: Osamu Murai



intersections was never completed can be considered as an unexpected advantage for Skopje.

The second characteristic element is the prevalent architectural gestures of the time, namely the robust physical structures that follow and underline part of the street network. In the Skopje plan this was achieved through the string of apartment buildings composing the so-called City Wall. This type of solution can also be encountered in Peter and Allison Smithson's Plan for Berlin of 1958 or Bakema's Plan for Tel Aviv of 1963. But, although the Smithsons started to doubt the performance and the logic of such undertakings as early as the beginning of the sixties, as Kenneth Frampton has put it, neither they nor Bakema were aware of the consequences of such large-scale interventions on the local environment.

I will not attempt to delve on the influence of the City Wall on the microclimate, which has been repeatedly recorded through local citizens' impressions. Instead of the air flow, I would like to concentrate on the pedestrian flow and point out that the City Wall area, initially conceived as a pedestrian zone, was compromised as a concept because it ended up following the axes of the vehicle road network, disregarding the main pedestrian flows leading to the city center. Thus the City Wall was turned into an obstacle for the pedestrian flows that followed the traditional radial road network, for which evidence exists even in today's patterns of pedestrian behavior. To be fair, it should be noted that even Tange mentioned in his recollections that, much to his surprise, their teams' model and 1:500 sketches turned immediately into buildings, depriving them from the opportunity to involve in further design that would have resulted in a more harmonious urban space.

The third and the most impressive element of the plan that failed the test of time was the artifice regarding the symbolic meaning of the City Wall and the City Gate. In ancient times, when building new settlements, inhabitants used to bring fire from the old ones they left behind as a sign of continuity and duration. A similar need for self-fabing could also account for the old names colonizers gave to the new cities they established. This perpetual need for the preservation of memory – even a fictitious one – was shrewdly instrumentalized through the treatment of the earthquake as a reason to start from *tabula rasa*, yet with the added bonus of a symbolic fable. Of this naïve semantic game, for a case similar to Skopje, the famous architect and theoretician Bogdan Bogdanović once wrote:

“We bare witness to nearly indecent attempts in modern cities, and all this in the name of some ‘neosymbolism’, to imitate city walls of the past, of course augmented to the scale of a caricature with the help of the most banal city structures (business and apartment buildings), or to replace the image of city gates with high-rise business buildings [...]. Unfortunately, the crisis of symbols is but a visible evocation of the crisis in cities: in the domain of our own contemplation it is an expression and a consequence of the disrupted hierarchical chain universe-nature-city-man. Therefore, a formal search for lost symbols and the return to all sorts of illustrated symbological encyclopedias can do nothing about it”.

Was Tange's plan destined to fail? Probably, yes. It underestimated the stubborn nature of the urban edifice. Whatever was not total-

ly demolished in the earthquake or was not destroyed afterwards continued to exist and evolve with time. Skopje continued to exist as a collection of distinct parts, even in the area, or better, especially in the area that was covered by the international competition for the city center. What might come as a consolation is that the built segments of Tange's plan have somehow blended into the mosaic as distant memories of a city that could have been...



(Left) Skopje master plan, City wall, fragment. 1965. Kenzō Tange (1913–2005). Competition model. Wood, (225 × 225 × 17 cm). Source: Museum of the City of Skopje. Photo: Osamu Murai.

Skopje master plan, City gate, fragment. 1965. Kenzō Tange (1913–2005). Competition model. Wood, (225 × 225 × 17 cm). Source: Museum of the City of Skopje. Photo: Osamu Murai.

Skopje master plan, City gate, fragment. 1965. Kenzō Tange (1913–2005). Competition model. Wood, (225 x 225 x 17 cm). Source: Museum of the City of Skopje. Photo: Osamu Murai.



## THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE POST-EARTHQUAKE RENEWAL OF SKOPJE

On July 26<sup>th</sup> Skopje suffered a catastrophic earthquake; more than 1.000 victims were identified, over 3.300 people were injured, while approximately 70-80% of the total built stock was either destroyed or damaged beyond repair. The city was literally reduced to rubble.

Vastly devastated, the city of Skopje was built anew under the patronage of the United Nations and with the support from more than 80 countries worldwide. As Yugoslavia was one of the leaders on the non-aligned movement, help started to “pour” into Skopje both from the East and the West. In the middle of the Cold War, at a time when the polarization between the two conflicting political blocks was at its peak, Skopje’s post-earthquake renewal process defined solidarity and cooperation as its leading principal. Soon after the earthquake, the federal government asked the United Nations for assistance; on the one hand, it was obvious that the scope and complexity of the whole endeavor was far beyond the capacities of the local planners and architects. On the other hand, it was a huge opportunity to bring together international experts (both from the East and the West) and envision a new “city for the future”.<sup>1</sup>

The Croatian architect Ernest Weissman was appointed by the UN

1. “The world now expects that the New Skopje will become a model city, built not for the present but for the future. Any less eloquent result of the work done by the leadership of the United Nations (...) will tell that a great opportunity has been wasted. For the world’s sake, Skopje has to be not just a city to live in, but also a monument to the hope in a better world” – Maurice Rotival, UN Expert.  
Tolic, Ines. “Japan looks West, The Reconstruction of Skopje...” in Mrduljaš, M., Kulić, V. *Unfinished Modernizations, Between Utopia and Pragmatism*. Zagreb: Udruženje Hrvatskih Arhitekata, 2012.

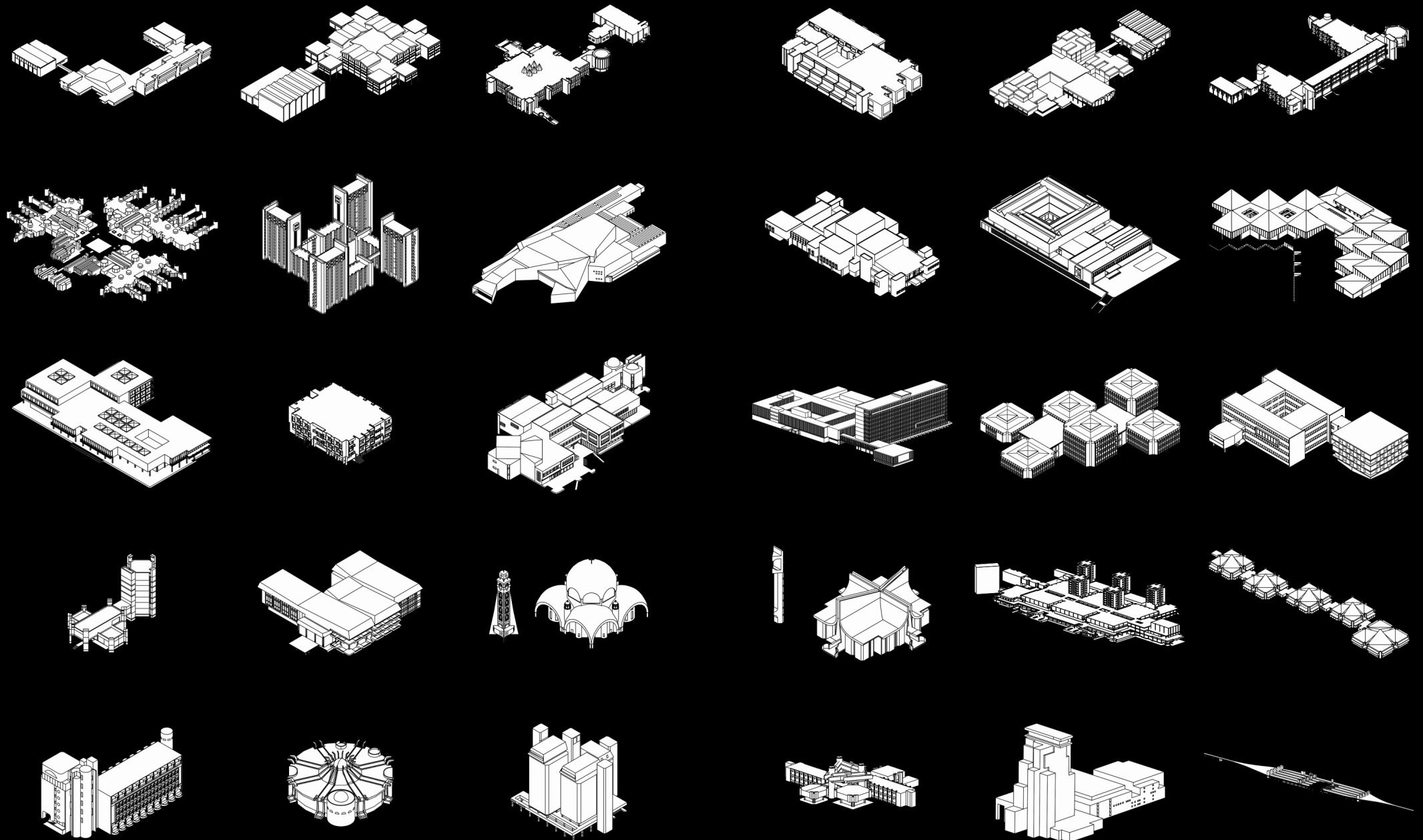
to coordinate the process. The planning efforts were led by Adolf Ciborowski, the chief planner of the post-war reconstruction of Warsaw, and Doxiadis Associates from Athens. Such a choice of leading figures – one from the East and one from the West – reflected the efforts to balance the impact of the Cold War blocs.<sup>2</sup> The majority of the work was done locally, by the newly established Institute for Town Planning and Architecture in Skopje.

The Master Plan intentionally left blank the territory of the city center, an area of 2x2 km, as a territory of highest importance that should be the subject of an invited competition. Once again Weissman headed the international jury and the prize was divided; 60% was awarded to Kenzo Tange, and 40% to Croatian planners Radovan Mišečević and Fedor Wenzler. However, Tange’s visionary concept, even though exceeding the economic resources and probably even the needs of Skopje, eventually prevailed.

Much has been said about the planning process,<sup>3</sup> and much less about the actual architectural result. Considerable amount of the plans (both the Master Plan and the plan for the City Center) was built, and again a lot of it wasn’t. However, the renewal of Skopje after the earthquake in 1963 remained undoubtedly the most powerful segment of the recent architectural history of the city. The architectural segments that were finished give us insight into the anticipated late-modern city. Although Modern architecture was modestly introduced in the pre-war period, followed by intense

2. More information on the political dimensions of the reconstruction in: Tolic, Ines. *Dopo il terremoto. La politica della ricostruzione negli anni della Guerra Fredda a Skopje*. Reggio Emilia: Diabasis, 2011.

3. One of the most extensive publications explaining the planning process was published by the UN in: D. Senior, United Nations Development Programme. *Skopje Resurgent: The Story of a United Nations Special Fund Town Planning Project*. New York, United Nations, 1970.



Axonometric view of the selection of buildings. From left to right, 1<sup>st</sup> row: 'Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi' elementary school, 'Mirche Acev' elementary school, 'Nikola Karev' high school, Josip Broz Tito' high school, 'Orce Nikolov' high school, 'Panche Karagjovov' medical school. 2<sup>nd</sup> row: Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje, Student Dormitory 'Goce Delchev', National Theatre (now: Opera and Ballet), Theatre of nationalities (now: Albanian theatre), Museum of Contemporary Art, 'Museum of Macedonia'. 3<sup>rd</sup> row: National and University Library 'St. Klement of Ohrid', 'Brakja Miladinovci' City Library, Youth Cultural Center, Military hospital (now: City Hospital), Central Committee

of the Communist Party (now: government building), State Archive. 4<sup>th</sup> row: City Archive, Academy of Sciences and Arts, Cathedral church 'St. Clement of Ohrid', Catholic Cathedral 'Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus', City Shopping Center, Skopje Fair. 5<sup>th</sup> row: Telecommunications Center, Telecommunications Center – Counter Hall, National Bank, Hydrometeorological Service Building, Public Broadcasting Company Radio and Television Skopje, Transportation Center Skopje. Source: Ivanovska Deskova, Ana. Architecture of the post-earthquake renewal of Skopje (unpublished PhD dissertation), Skopje, 2015. © Ana Ivanovska Deskova.

modernization after WW2, it was the post-earthquake renewal that transformed previously unknown Skopje into an area of global collaboration and a late-modern urban test ground.

The internationalism on the planning scale was replicated on the architectural level as well and a previously peripheral city was transformed into a prime late-modern urban laboratory. Several important buildings came as donations from different countries. To name the most notable ones: Switzerland donated an elementary school designed by the Swiss CAIM luminary Alfred Roth (“Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi” elementary school, 1967-1969), while Poland organized a competition for the Museum of Contemporary Art. The growing collection of modern artworks was situated on top of the historical hill (1969-1970), making a reference to a cultural Acropolis, in an elegant building designed by a Polish group of architects named “Tigri”. Despite his omnipresent aura, there is only one architectural design developed by Kenzo Tange in Japan – the bold elevated structure of the Skopje Railway Station (1971-1981).

Some buildings were designed by renowned architects from other Yugoslav Republics, such as the functional complex of the Military hospital (1969-1971) by Josip Osojnik and Slobodan Nikolicj, the highly conceptual University Campus (1970-1974) by Slovenian architect Marko Mushich and the expressive fragmented geometry of the Cultural Center (1972-1981) by the young group of Slovenian architects “Biro 71”.

However, most of the buildings were designed by local architects, educated in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana or the first generations of students that came from the Faculty of Architecture and

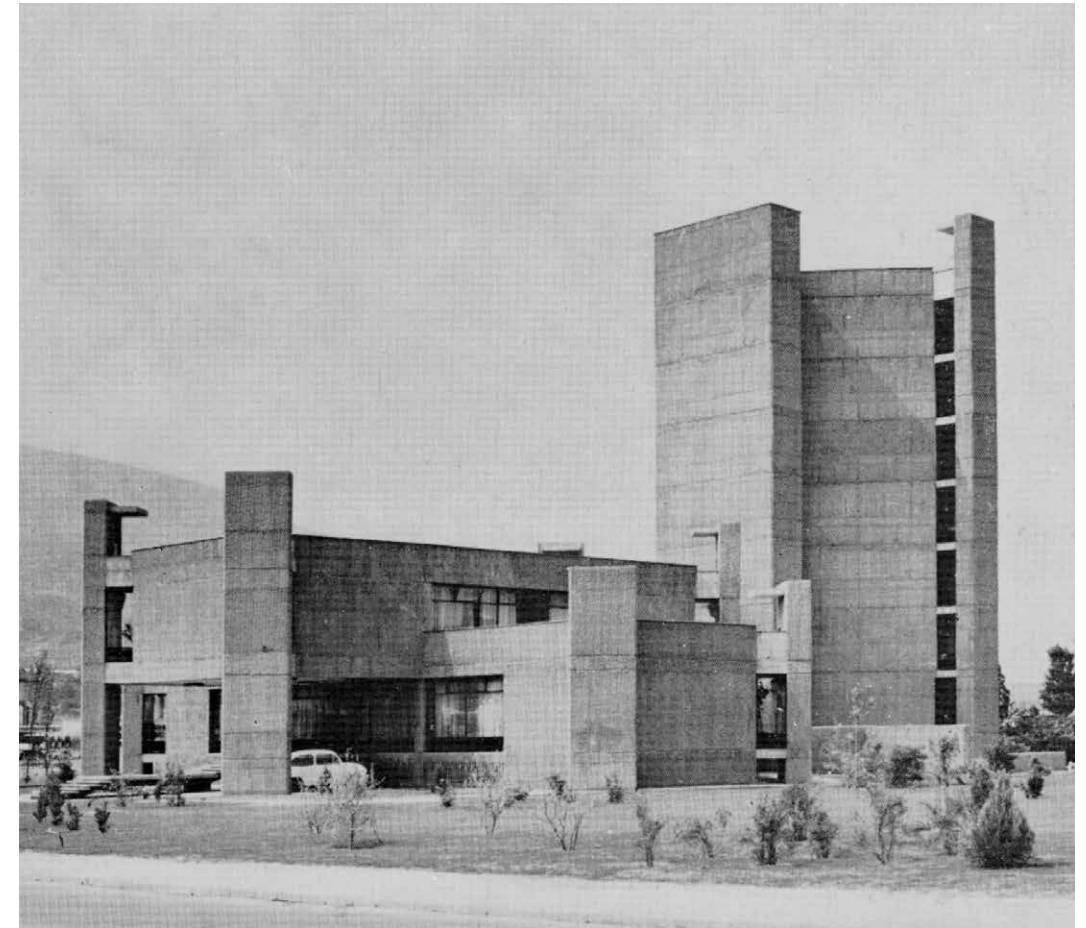
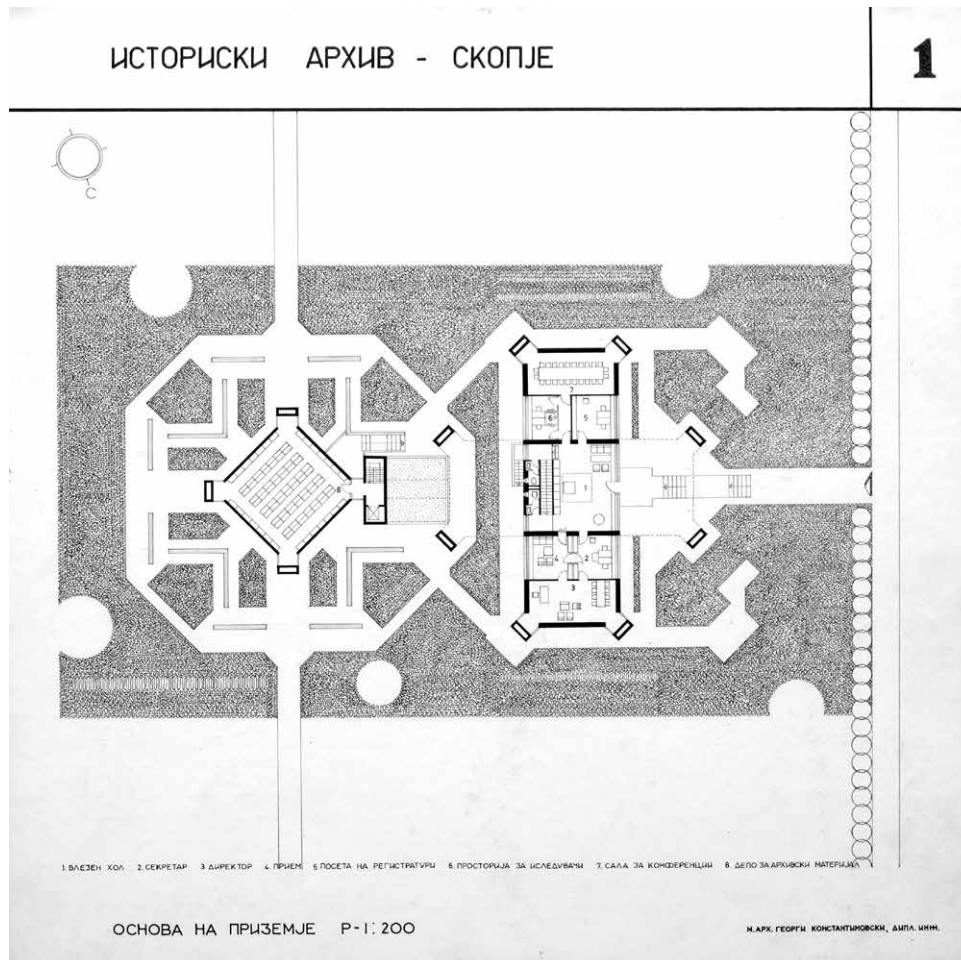


Engineering in Skopje. Speaking of the post-earthquake renewal of the city one must mention Zhivko Popovski – who worked with Van den Broek and Bakema, returned to Skopje and designed one of its most iconic structures – the City Shopping Center (1969-1973). Combining the historical typology of the Old Bazaar with the western typology of the shopping mall, he created a “social condenser” in the very heart of the city center.

Georgi Konstantinovski’s story fits well within the narrative of world solidarity. The United States, besides giving Skopje a huge

Ss. Cyril and Methodius University Campus, Skopje. 1970–74. Marko Mušič (b. 1941). Exterior view. Marko Mušič Archive. Source: Delchev, Goce. Skopje 1963-1973. 1973

City Archive, Skopje. 1966-68.  
Georgi Konstantinovski (b.  
1930). Ground Floor Plan.  
Source: Georgi Konstanti-  
novski archive



City Archive, Skopje. 1966-68. Georgi Konstantinovski (b. 1930). Exterior view. 1969. Source: Delchev, Goce. Skopje 1963-1973. 1973.

City Archive, Skopje.  
1966–68. Georgi Kon-  
stantinovski (b. 1930).  
Exterior view. Photo:  
Damjan Momirovski,  
2008.



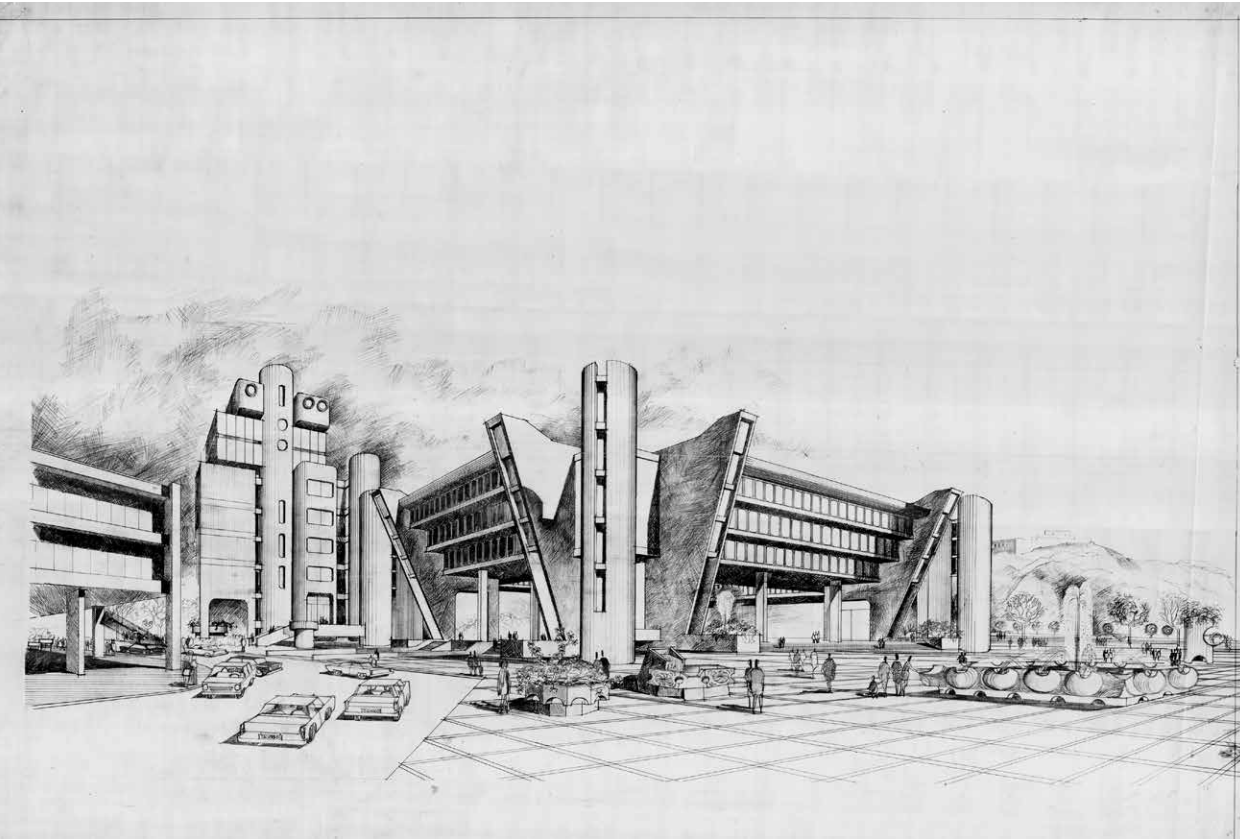


amount of material aid, invested in education, sponsoring Master Studies of young architects at prestigious American Universities. Konstantinovski received his Master of Architecture Degree from Yale University in the class of Paul Rudolph and Serge Chermayeff. Upon his return to Skopje, with the buildings of the City Archive (1966-1968) and the Student Dormitory “Goce Delchev” (1969-1977), he introduced American brutalism, combining the influences of both his American mentors – the sculptural, textured concrete – a direct appropriation from Paul Rudolph’s Yale Art and Architecture Building – and the strict geometries of Ie Ming Pei.

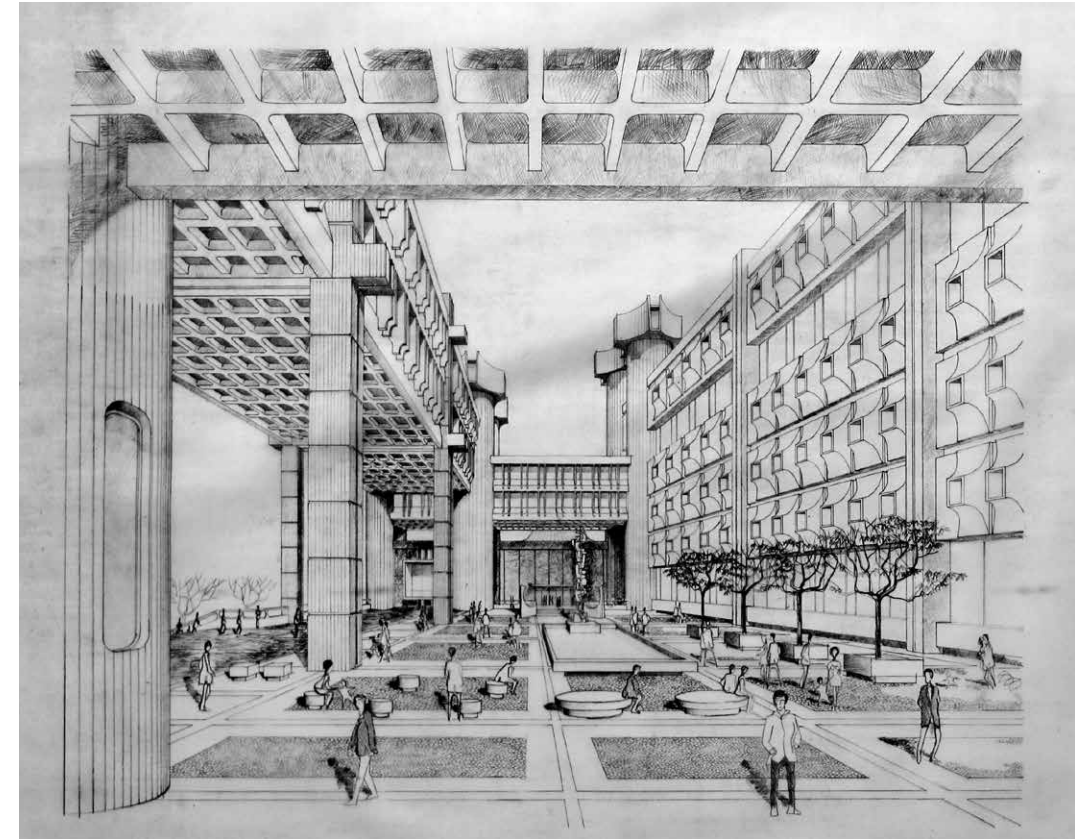
Janko Konstantinov’s Telecommunication Center (1972-1981) is yet another urban and architectural compound that “brands” the city center. Konstantinov worked with Alvar Aalto in Finland and Victor Gruen in the United States. He returned to Skopje after the earthquake to take part in the reconstruction, first as a member of one of the teams in the competition for the city center, then with his most prominent and almost life-long design project for the Telecommunication Center. Though unbuilt, the first version of the design clearly illustrates the influence of Japanese metabolism, with its giant structure of cylindrical service cores and suspended horizontal blocks – a quite direct reference to Isozaki’s *Joint Core System* (1961) or an exaggerated version of Tange’s *Yamanashi Press Centre* (1962-1966). In the final version, the main building became an asymmetrical fortress structure serviced by utility cylinders, while in the Counter Hall he brought to the extreme the sculptural capacities of the raw concrete with elements that are archaic and futuristic at the same time.



Student dormitory “Goce Delchev”, Skopje. 1969–77. Georgi Konstantinovski (b. 1930). Exterior view. 1979. Photo: Martin Guleski



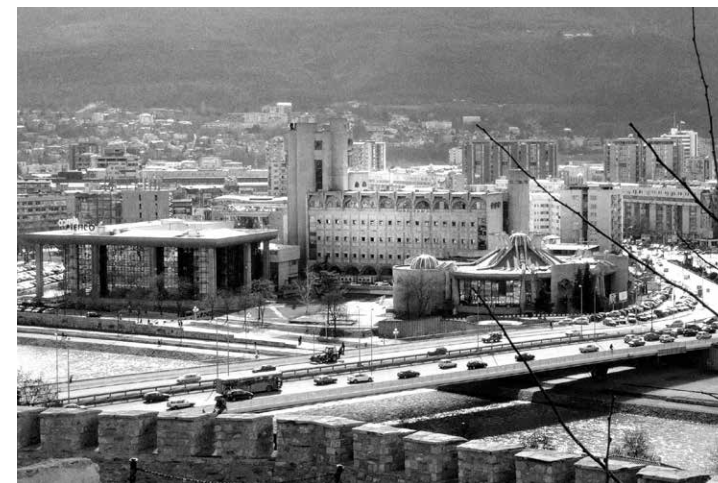
Telecommunication Center - Administrative building, Skopje. 1968-81. Janko Konstantinov (1926-2010). Perspective drawing. Source: © Jovan Ivanovski



Telecommunication Center, Skopje. 1968-81. Janko Konstantinov (1926-2010). First Design Proposal, Perspective drawing. Source: © Jovan Ivanovski



Telecommunication Center, Skopje. 1968–81. Janko Konstantinov (1926–2010). Exterior view. Photos: Jovan Ivanovski, 2008.



The post-earthquake renewal of Skopje resulted in a collection of high quality, and in certain cases, conceptually and aesthetically exceptional buildings. They “speak” a multitude of architectural languages – from the continuation of High Modernism and the International Style to various attempts of critically reinterpreting the local vernacular traditions by searching in the archives of tradition motifs that are cultural, regional and ethnic symbols and that could become material for modern interpretation.

The “sincere” and low-priced concrete structures with un-plastered brick infill (very much in line with Alison and Peter Smithson’s New Brutalism and use of materials “as found”) was widely used in the design of educational institutions. On the other hand, most of the public buildings were designed as iconic structures that used concrete, mainly for its expressive and sculptural capacity. The architectural responses continue to speak different languages, such as the complex but rigid spatial structures, that in an attempt to establish distance from the “orthodox” principles of functionalism explore various typological matrices, mainly based upon “structural” principles of fragmentation of the volume in units. Finally, the fragmented and faceted expressive geometry of the Opera and Ballet building anticipated an architecture that would become mainstream only decades later – such as deconstructivism and architecture as topography.<sup>4</sup>

The post-earthquake renewal of Skopje came as a result of an exceptional effort and commitment that by far exceed the local borders. It belonged to a period in the architectural history when

4. Ivanovski, J., Ivanovska Deskova, A., Deskov, V. *Findings, Macedonian pavilion 14<sup>th</sup> International Architecture Exhibition, La Biennale di Venezia 2014*. Skopje: Youth Cultural Center, 2014

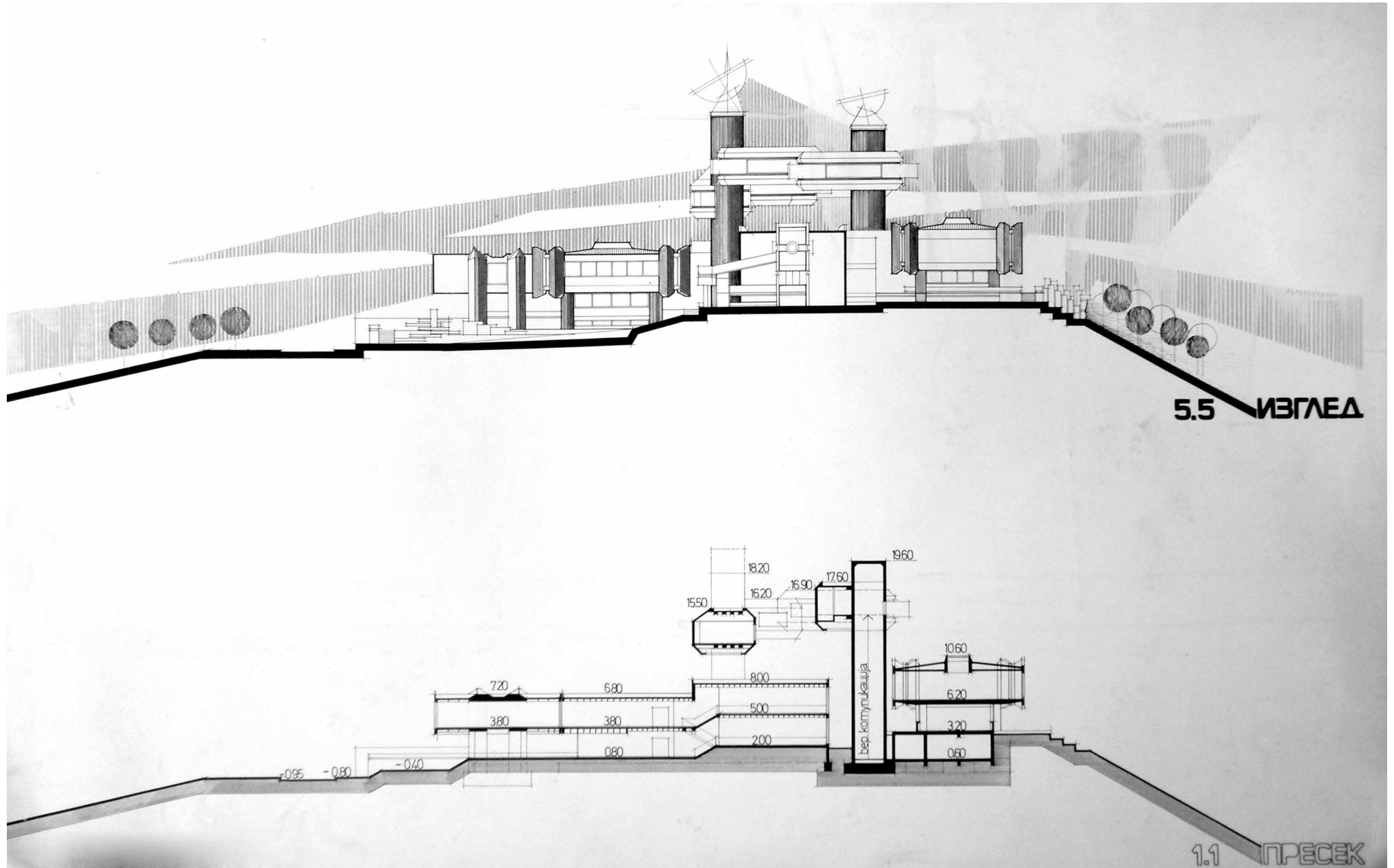
the city in general and the architecture within it was still understood as a “collective endeavor” and a “public matter”, and an important tool for both social and cultural improvement; a time of large projects and wide-ranging utopias.

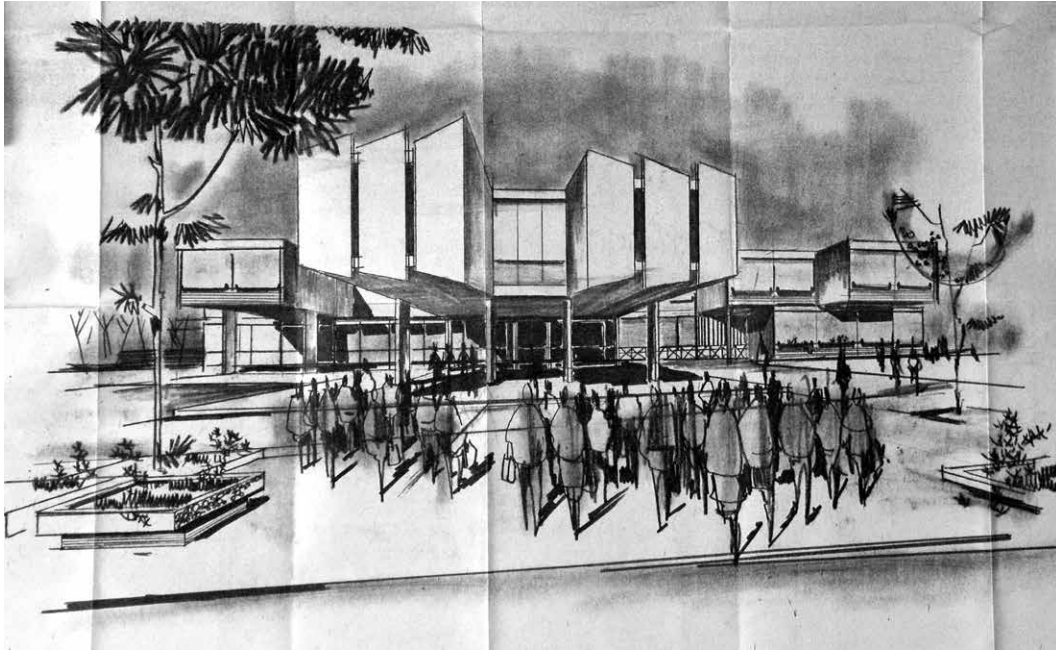
One might find interesting that the whole process of planning and building lasted less than 20 years; it ended somewhere in the beginning of the 1980’s when most of the funds were used up and the political context started to change. Built rapidly and to certain extent pragmatically, its execution often slowed down because of economic or technical limits, the architecture of Skopje’s post-earthquake renewal intrinsically aimed in reaching the utopian horizon of a better future (in the long term), addressed to all the segments of society. This architectural output can certainly not be described solely as an interpretation of the universal language or the paradigm of modernity. Along with the general tendency towards modernization, both in a social and programmatic way, it has absorbed and digested various influences and architectural paradigms, some of which modest, others novel, radical and visionary.

After the violent dissolution of Yugoslavia, each republic followed its own path, creating its own and individual specificities under which the modernist legacy survives or struggles. In the last decade, Skopje fell victim to an absurd, surreal, quasi-historical “project”. Although the architecture was probably not the main target, the (so called) “project Skopje 2014” did its best to erase the modernist (socialist) past. The underappreciated modernist heritage came under attack; it was reshaped and concealed.



State Hydrometeorological Institute, Skopje.  
1972–75. Krsto Todorovski (1936–2016). Exterior  
view. Photo: Damjan Momirovski, 2008.





“Orce Nikolov” High School, Skopje. 1969–71. Nikola Bogachev (1933–1969), Aleksandar Smilevski (b.1939). Perspective drawing. Source: High school Orce Nikolov archive

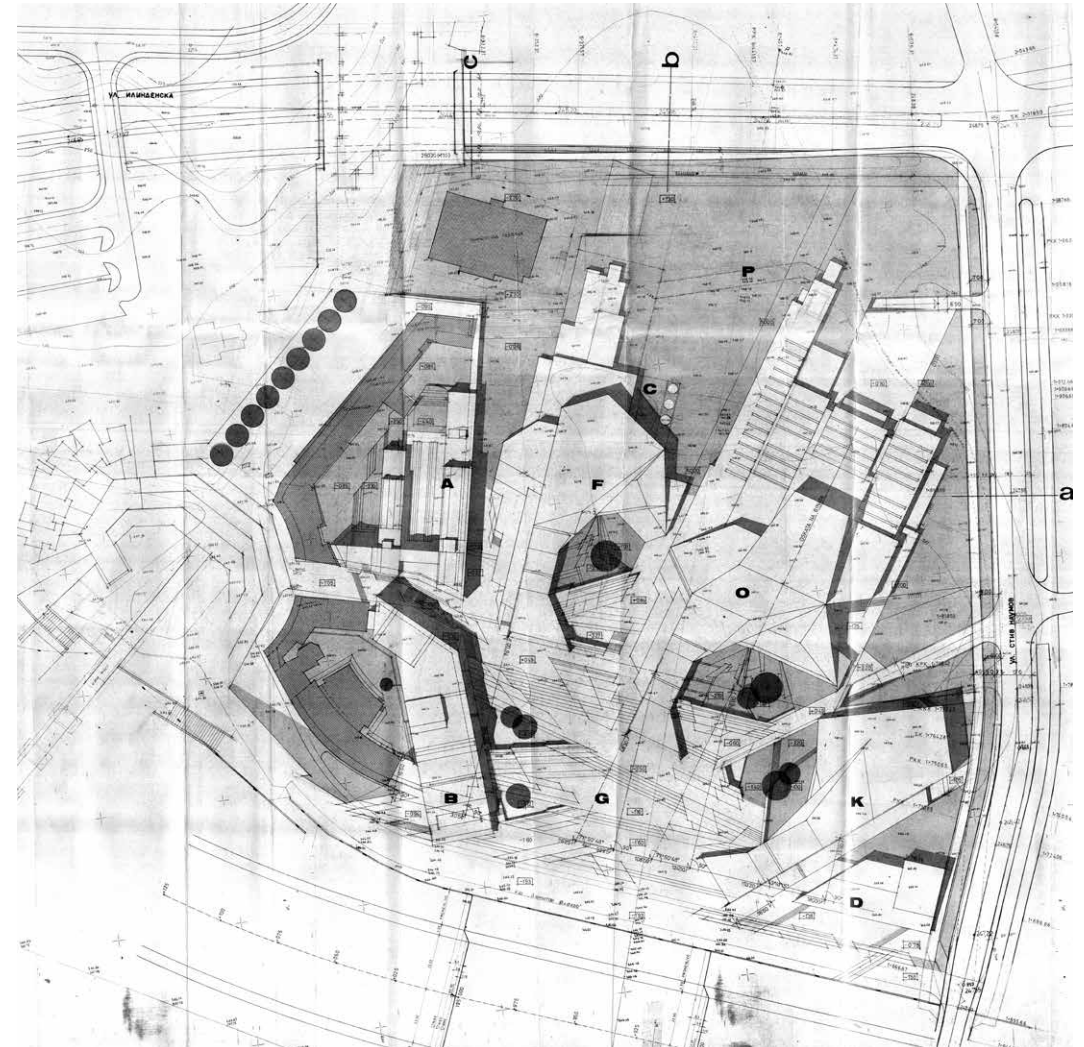
Finding itself in a situation where “...the past appears more modern than the present (...), not only in an aesthetic, but also in a more general, intellectual sense”,<sup>5</sup> we believe that the architecture of the post-earthquake renewal of Skopje has more conceptual strength, originality of form, aesthetics, materiality etc. than the more recent architectural achievements. Apart from being exceptional in their architectural quality, some of the buildings also form an invaluable collection of late-modern artefacts that shaped and gave character to a city that recovered from devastation.

5. A. Moravanszky in the Preface of Thaler, W., Kulić, V. and Mrduljaš, M. *Modernism In-Between: The Mediatory Architectures of Socialist Yugoslavia*. Berlin: Jovis, 2012

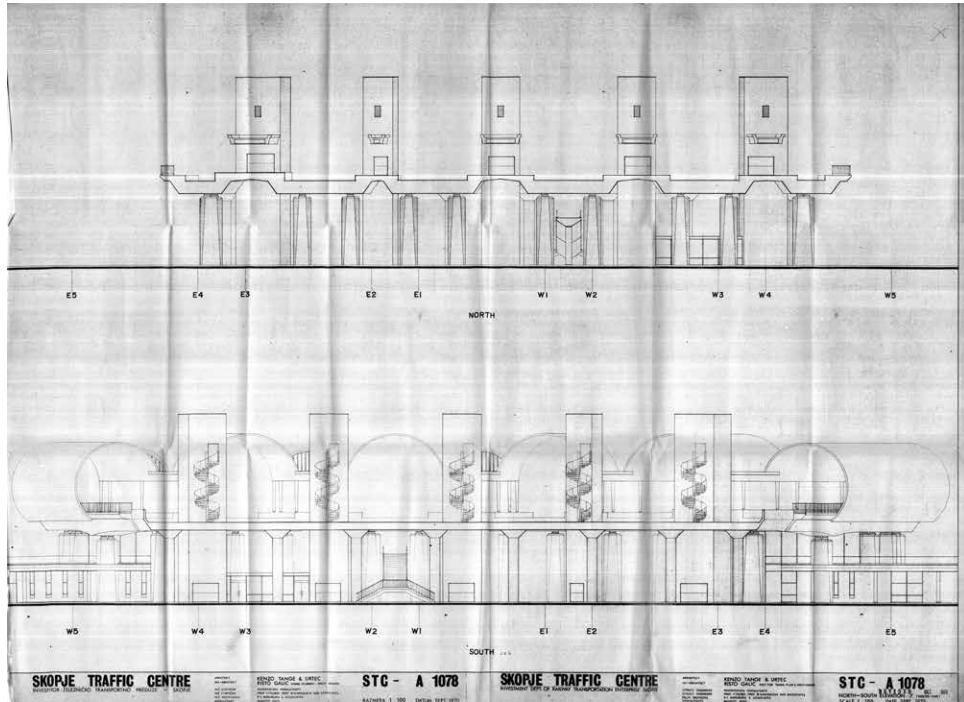


Cultural center - Opera and ballet, Skopje. 1972–81. Biro '71. View of the Foyer. Photo: Adolph Stiller, 2017.

Cultural center - Opera and ballet, Skopje. 1972–81. Biro '71. Site Plan. Source: Jovan Ivanovski archive







Transportation center, Skopje. 1971–81. Kenzō Tange (1913–2005). North & South Elevation. Source: M. Railways

Transportation center, Skopje. 1971–81. Kenzō Tange (1913–2005). Exterior view. Photo: Vladimir Deskov, 2017.



### **BETWEEN UTOPIA AND PRAGMATISM: A SYNOPTIC OVERVIEW OF ARCHITECTURAL MODERNISM IN SOCIALIST YUGOSLAVIA**

The modern architecture of socialist Yugoslavia did not come out of nowhere, and has its clear origins in the architecture of the 1920s and 1930s, created under the strong influence of international exchange and through the training of Yugoslav architects next to leading world architects: of Jože Plečnik and Viktor Kovačić next to Otto Wagner, Zlatko Neumann and Hugo Ehrlich with Adolf Loos, Josip Pičman and Drago Ibler with Hans Poelzig, Ernst Weissmann, Juraj Neidhardt, Edvard Ravnikar, Milorad Pantović and others with Le Corbusier. Most of the other key architects of the pre-WWII period also studied in European centers, returning home with an important understanding of modern architecture, which additionally contributed to the overlapping of international tendencies and local imagination. Seldom did modernism alight upon fertile ground. Advanced and radical proposals were not an aesthetic statement of a real condition of societal modernization, but a projection of its future or utopian modernity.

Nevertheless, these well worked out experiments had a feedback effect on the mainstream architectural culture. For example, Josip Pičman and Josip Seissel as early as 1932 proposed a programmatic hybrid mega-block in the center of Zagreb. While its aesthetics remained within the framework of mainstream modernism of the time, this exacting amalgamation of

urban programs focused on events instead of forms, and is comparable with the New York Downtown Athletic Club that Rem Koolhaas used as a well-known retroactive manifesto for urban density. In its realization, the project was downgraded and reduced (or “balkanized”) to a merely stylistic modernist block, in which the concept of the integration of various programmes had vanished.

Despite the change of socio-political system, lineage between pre- and post-WWII architecture was uninterrupted. More so, most of the architects were leftist and found in the socialist project potential for developing their ideas to its full social ambitions. The self-initiated project for a flexible swimming club in Rijeka by Vladimir Turina and associates in 1948 pushed the limits of architecture even further. These projects, which emerged within the framework of post-WWI reconstruction and in the socio-political turmoil of initiating the development of socialism, no longer saw architecture as physically fixed but as a sophisticated and transformable large-scale device, the historical source of which was hard to find. The project addressed “new man” and the vision of more advanced society, both in terms of technology and its social performance.

Until the socialist operations, Yugoslavia was mainly rural, with only few urban centers and an undeveloped industry. According to Marxist doctrines, these shortfalls needed urgently to be reversed. The vast impetus of urban modernization after World War II was motivated by a class transition from a rural society towards the

creation of an urban proletariat. The socialist system considered this socio-demographic transition, alongside with industrialization, to be necessary preconditions for the development of a new society. Without doubt, significant modernization improvements were made in collective spirit and with lots of enthusiasm and optimism, shared by citizens and establishment alike.

Thus the twin extensions of the biggest towns – New Belgrade and New Zagreb – came into being in parallel, as well as a number of newly planned cities or urban neighborhoods. As the decades advanced, a number of modern town planning morphologies were tried out, mostly on tabula rasa territories, while the many problems of the older urban areas remained unresolved. An egalitarian housing policy led to a more harmonious and a richer social fabric in the new estates. The vast energy put into these operations partially paid off: the basic planning concept of the “Radiant City” of sun, space and greenery was perfected over the decades by introducing more complex and varied urban layouts. One of the most notable examples of advanced “design for the largest number” is the vast residential district Split 3 where a mega-structural scheme included cozy pedestrian streets and variations of scales and architectural articulations.

The reconstruction of Skopje after the disastrous earthquake of 1963, co-financed by the United Nations, clearly showed Yugoslavia’s geopolitical in-between position. After an international competition held in 1964, the leading Japanese architect Kenzo Tange and his team were commissioned to design the downtown

area of Skopje; this was the first important export of modern urban planning concepts from Japan to the international context. A number of Skopje’s public buildings were donations from the various countries of the world, such as an elementary school designed by the Swiss modernist Alfred Roth and the Museum of Contemporary Art designed by the Polish Group ‘Tigers’. Tange’s plan was designed in accordance to UN’s ambition of creating a “world city” which far surpassed Yugoslav financial resources. As a result, the plan was only partially realized, resulting in a fragmentary and unfunctional city structure. This is also true of the project for Skopje’s cultural center by Ljubljana-based Studio 71, from which only the formally impressive Opera (1967-1981) and some adjunct facilities were built. The Opera remained a fragment of the metropolitan vision for Skopje, albeit today is hardly recognizable because of neo-baroque developments carried out as a part of the ‘Skopje 2014’ project, launched by populist VMRO-DPMNE party.

The representational aspect of Yugoslavia’s architecture appeared after the Tito-Stalin split of 1948, when the ideas of socialist realism were determinedly rejected and the aesthetic freedom of art was embraced. Modernism became the leading architectural expression of the particular Yugoslav socialist project situated between the Eastern and Western blocks, between capitalism and state socialism.

The architects and artists skillfully used the representational-ideological role of architecture and in the 1950s and 1960s



Elementary School "Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi", Skopje. 1967-69. Alfred Roth (1903-1998). Exterior view. Photos: Ana Ivanovska Deskova, 2009.

introduced an expanded neo-avant-garde concept of “synthesis of visual arts” as a sign of differentiation from both East and West. The Yugoslav pavilion of Vjenceslav Richter for Expo 1958 in Brussels offered an idealized image of modern socialist Yugoslavia, interpreting the synthesis of arts, science and technology as constituent elements of new society. The pavilion had no doors and unfolded in a sequence of platforms and stairs, showing the openness of an independent country. The project was acclaimed by international media, and Architectural Review classified it as one of the ten best pavilions at the Expo. But the staff that managed the pavilion noted that it was “too modern” and hard to control. Also, the Yugoslav press was reluctant.

Because of these complaints, folk costumed dolls were later interpolated in the exhibition set-up in order to generate a more picturesque setting. This reintroduction of folk tradition and the hybridization of identity were even more dramatic in comparison with Richter’s eccentric original project, which was inspired by constructivist concepts. The formal elegance and exciting spatial organization of the executed pavilion were for Richter side-effects of the downgraded radical structural experiment. A kind of a paradox is that the institutions of power like the Yugoslav People’s Army were patrons of some of the most advanced buildings of their time, like the building of the Ministry of Defense and General Staff in Belgrade, by Nikola Dobrović (1954-1961), damaged by the NATO bombing, or the Army Culture Club in Šibenik (1961), by Ivan Vitić, daringly inserted on the renaissance city wall, and today functioning as a public li-

brary. These buildings show the readiness of socialist system to identify itself as indisputably modern and superior to historical models.

A completely unquestionable contribution to modernization is represented by the buildings of the welfare state: the kindergartens, schools, hospitals and universities, through which the progressive inheritance of socialism was passed over to future generations. Such projects are for example those by Stanko Kristl for a Primary School in Kranj (1968) and the Kindergarten Mladi Rod in Ljubljana (1972), the Children’s health resort by Rikard Marasović in Makarska (1961), the Workers Educational Centre by Radovan Nikšić and Ninoslav Kučan (1955-1961), all of which showed an outstanding sensitivity to the users and formed a kind of enclaves of advanced modernism.

Yugoslavia was a place of common exchange between its constitutive distinctive cultures, just as it was a heterogeneous collection of particular inheritances. On the one hand, the common denominator for architecture and town planning was the modernizing process of development of a new urban environment. On the other, each of six federal republics and their respective cultural scenes developed individual schools with different sources of references; Ljubljana with Scandinavia, Zagreb with Netherlands and Skopje with Japan.

There were also achievements of completely authentic authors like Belgrade-based architect Bogdan Bogdanović, who came



(Left) Cultural center - Opera and ballet, Skopje. 1972-81. Biro '71. Exterior view. Photo: Martin Guleski, 1979.

Cultural center - Opera and ballet, Skopje. 1972-81. Biro '71. Exterior view. Photo: Damjan Momirovski, 2008.

to prominence with the design of surreal memorial architecture. Modern architecture was thus in a somewhat ambivalent position. On the one hand it was based on the ideology of international and universal modernization, and it did not aim at any literal representation of the national. On the other hand, architectural schools cultivated rather different approaches and poetics, following their own cultural traditions. A particularly fine example of a response to the local culture is the White Mosque in Visoko (1971-1980) designed by Zlatko Ugljen, an entirely authentic reinterpretation of a religious space. Some singular projects like the National Library in Priština (1971-1982) by Andrija Mutnjaković excite confusion among international critics. Udo Kultermann, for example, interpreted the building as being orientalized, although it owes its regional character to a hybrid between a simplified understanding of structuralism and a reinterpretation of the Byzantine spatial model of the cube-and-dome.

The informal or unregulated building that is rampant throughout the former Yugoslavia today, started during socialism and is in fact an ancillary factor of incomplete modernization. Here we have two utopian promises of the socialist system: the right of all to work, and the right of all to live in the city. Both promises proved in the mid-sixties to be impracticable and were addressed by avoiding to face the core of the problems; by opening the borders for the economic emigration of the population and by tolerating unplanned and unregulated construction on the edges of the cities, where the citizens, through their own initiative, settled their housing problems. The process was to a considerable degree financed by eco-

omic emigrants, who were excluded from the system of governmental distribution of dwellings.

The complex relationship between architecture and ideology is illustrated by Vojin Bakić's and Bersislav Šerberić's project for the Petrova Gora Monument to the Uprising of the People of Kordun and Banija (1971-81), one of the peaks of Bakić's long-lasting and consistent sculptor career. The monument's internal spatial organization bridges high-modernism and contemporary investigations of fluid, non-Euclidean spaces. It has been conceived as a large 'inhabitable sculpture', which unfolds as a vertical sequence of organically shaped and juxtaposed exhibition spaces. After the death of Josip Broz Tito, the 1980s in former Yugoslavia proved to be turbulent years, characterized by gradual deconstruction of socialism and the vanishing of the utopian horizon. The socialist system entered an ideological crisis, while the cultural landscape was marked by post-modern tendencies, which reflected cultural and political doubts and uncertainties. It is indicative that an excessively expensive artistic exploration in futuristic free-form architecture, spectacular even today, remained distant from the much-needed debates about the immediate future of Yugoslav society. Instead of opening up the critical debate about its evolution, the Yugoslav system lived in denial, still monumentalizing its heroic past. As a symbol of a declining ideology, the Petrova Gora Monument remained unfinished has been left in neglect and decay. Nowadays it has been revalued as an astonishing art piece, both internationally and in Croatia; yet, it's future is still uncertain.

While the future of the former Yugoslav states, with the exception of Slovenia and Croatia who joined the EU, is still in a state of geo-political interregnum, architecture plays a heterotopian role providing symbols and devices of modernization still in front of the social reality. The high school in Koprivnica in Croatia by Studio UP (2003-2007) that won the Mies van der Rohe award for emerging architects shows that in the post-Yugoslav context it is possible to pull off radical architectural experiments hardly conceivable elsewhere. But, instead of singular outstanding architectural objects, the key issue is the transformation of models and institutions from a socialist to a capitalist socio-political system. We are witnessing a decline of urban planning institutions and a deregulation and lack of strategic planning both in the realms of informal construction and in the big speculative developments. But is not the history and current state of urbanization in the region of Yugoslavia merely the symptom of the gradual extinction of architectural utopia and the strengthening of neo-liberal models, seen everywhere in the world and brought to an extreme pitch?



## **THE WHITE SWAN: THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE MUSEUM OF CONTEMPORARY ART**

Immediately after the disastrous earthquake on 26 July 1963, the German artist HAP Grishaber, the Italian Giuseppe Santomaso, the Greek Vasso Katrakis and several other participants at the 7<sup>th</sup> International Graphic Biennial in Ljubljana sent their works as donations to Skopje as a sign of solidarity with the ruined city. At the same time, a larger group of donations came at the initiative of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts, as well as through the Croatian Artistic Association, while the renowned Montenegrin and Serbian artist Petar Lubarda donated all the works from his large traveling exhibition, which in those days was ending its tour through Yugoslavia. In October of the same year, the International Art Association (IAA) at the New York congress invited artists around the world to donate works to Skopje. The Italian section of the IAA, under the leadership of Mario Penelope Gallery in Rome and the artist Enrico Paulucci, was particularly active and by the end of 1963 collected over 300 donations, including representative and important works from artists such as Alberto Burri, Gianfranco Baruchelo and Ettore Colla.

These donations, already significant in number and quality, prompted a group of senior political officials - who were also art collectors familiar with the current artistic practices - along with several prominent artists to formulate the idea of establishing a Museum of Contemporary Art, and to initiate an acting board for the implementation of that plan. The Initiative Board, which was expanded with the participation of a large number of prominent

Yugoslav artists, architects and intellectuals, was officially established on October 13<sup>th</sup>, 1963. In setting up the programming and organizational structure, the Board used the experiences of New York's MoMA and of several other Yugoslav museums of contemporary art that had been established in the previous years (the Museum of Modern Art in Ljubljana, Slovenia, founded in 1947, the Museum of Contemporary Art in Zagreb, Croatia, founded in 1954 and the Museum of Contemporary Art in Belgrade, Serbia, founded in 1958).

Based on the testimony of Professor Boris Petkovski, an art historian, who was the main motivator in the founding of the new museum and its first director, the frequent meetings and work of the Initiative Board took place in almost surreal circumstances given the city's landscape, surrounded by ruins, continuing earthquakes, and residents struggling to barely survive. But they worked also with a great enthusiasm precisely due to those circumstances and also due to the continuous arrival of works of art that were an essential contribution to the vision of a new modern city and to the role of the future museum in the city's renewal. Therefore, only six months after the disaster, on February 12<sup>th</sup>, 1964, the Assembly of the City of Skopje officially founded the new institution named Museum of Contemporary Art - Skopje.

In the next few years the new museum started its regular exhibition activity in temporary gallery spaces in Skopje, as well as by intensifying its actions for expanding the collection. Donations of important artists of 20<sup>th</sup> Century art, such as Pablo Picasso, Hans Hartung, Christo, David Hockney, Alexander Calder, Jasper Johns, Pierre Soulages, Zoran Mušič, Alechinsky, Claude Vialla,



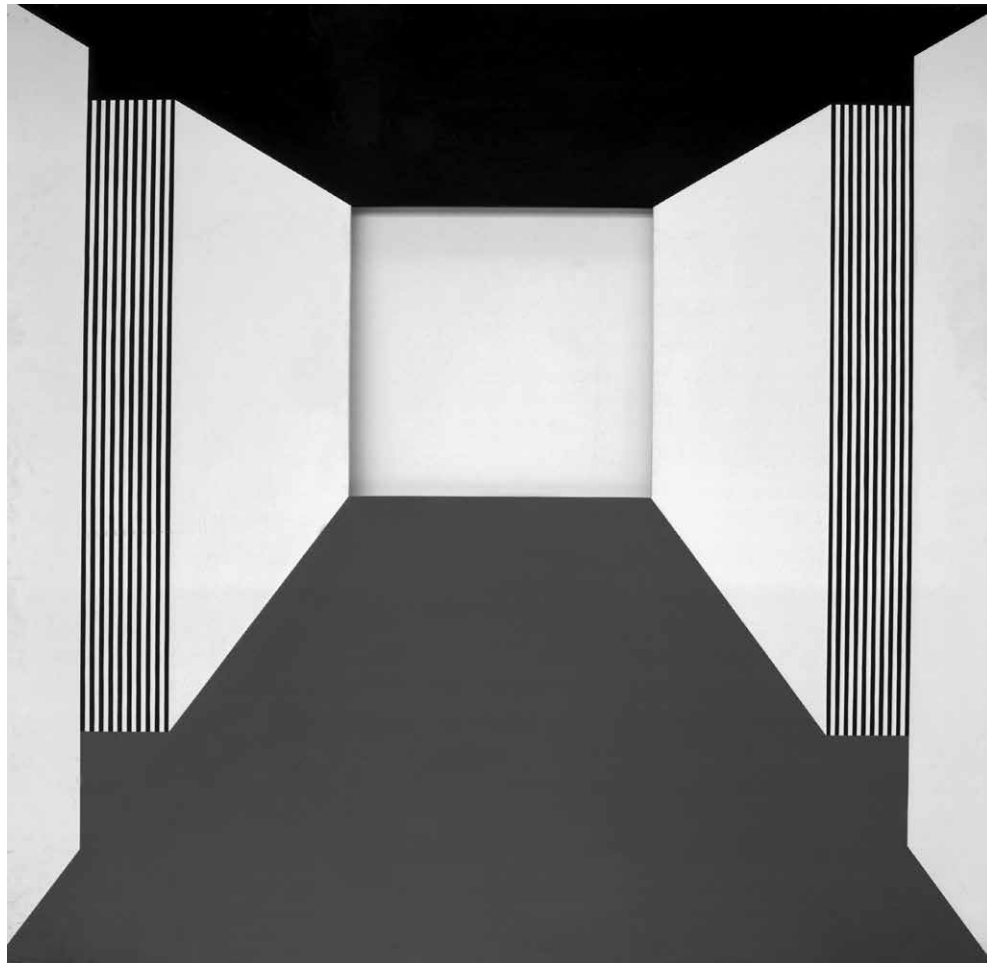
Museum of Contemporary Art - Skopje. © Museum of Contemporary Art Skopje.

Hamaguchi, Vasarely, Sol LeWitt and many others contributed to the creation of one of the most significant collections of post-war European art in the region. This trend continued almost with the same intensity, although not always with the same quality until the mid-1980s. Today, the international collection includes works of artists from over 60 countries, most notably artists from France, Italy, the former Yugoslav republics, Poland, Great Britain, Brazil, and the United States. In addition to the early gifts of Katrakis and Emanuel Piladakis, the Greek art in the Museum's collection is represented by 34 artists with 47 works, obtained for the most part at the end of the 1970s, owing to the friend of the Museum Yannis Gaitis and the action he initiated after his solo exhibition in 1978. Besides the seven paintings, objects and graphics by Gaitis, Greek donors also included Opy Zouni, Diohandi, Yannis Michas, Achileas Drungas, Alexandre Fassianos, Bia Davou and others. In 1966 the Association of Polish Architects announced a national competition supported by the Polish government for the construction of the Museum of Contemporary Art. There were 89 ideas submitted at the competition and the narrowest choice included the designs of the architectural group "Tigers" and one of the great architects of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Oscar Hansen. However, due to the radical, financially and technologically unfeasible concept,

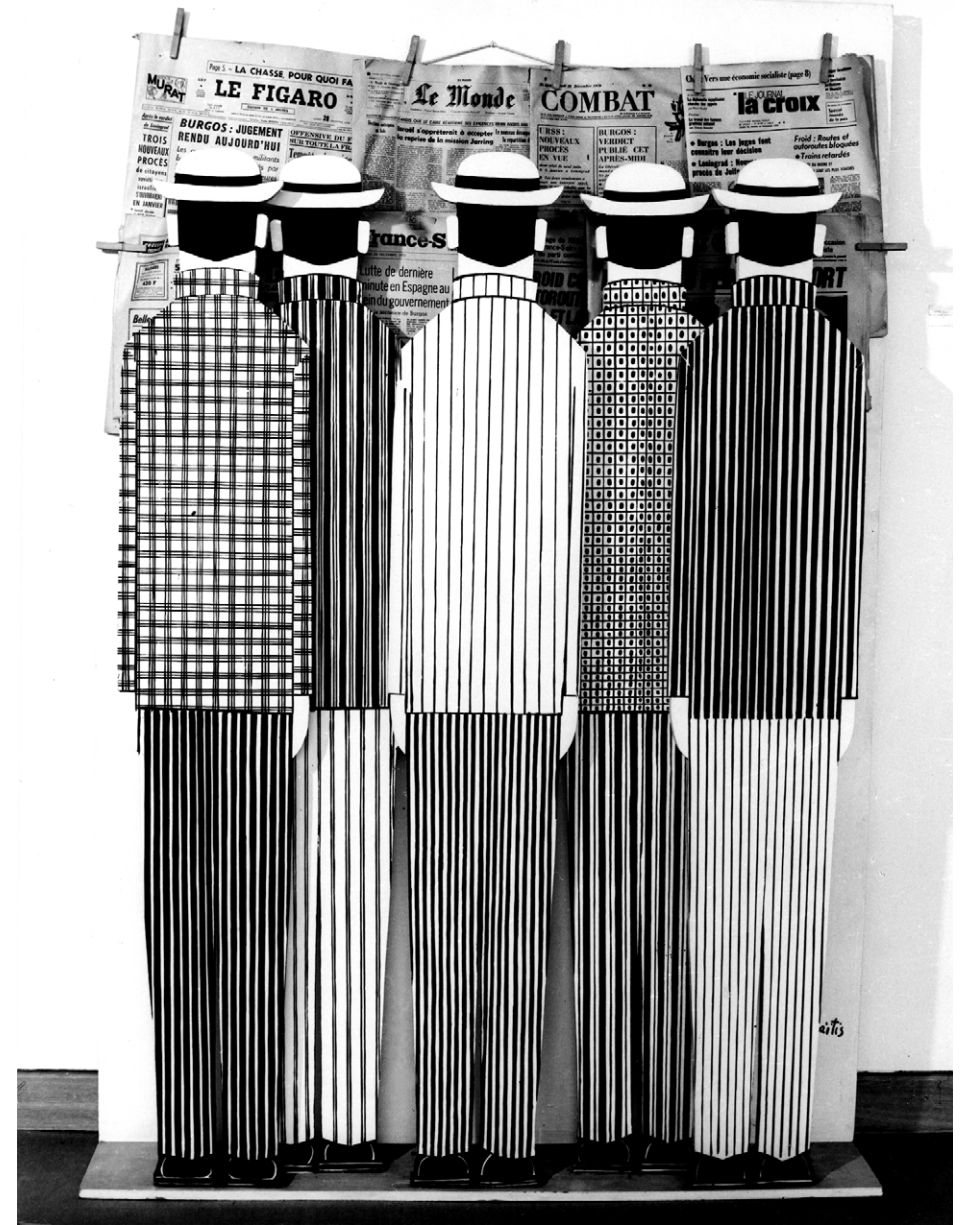


the proposal of the creator of *Open Form theory*, Oscar Hansen, won only a special award; the main prize and the realization of the museum building was awarded to the design of the "Tigers"; that is, architects Mokrzyński, Wierzbicki and Klyzewski. The design of the building, which is in the best tradition of high modernism, remarkably fits well in the configuration of the terrain on the top of the Skopje acropolis. It is surrounded by a wide green area, offers a panoramic view of the city landscape and, as it is near the medieval fortress, it makes a powerful juxtaposition of old and new Skopje. The balance of the masses of the two white marble cubes of the Museum building, supported only by transparent glass walls and colonnades on the ground floor, gives the impression that the entire complex easily floats above the cap of the central Skopje hill, and probably provoked the image of a white swan, to which the poet, linguist, and codifier of the standard national language Blazhe Koneski compared the museum building in his speech at its grand opening in October 1970. However, the metaphorical image of Koneski referred not only to the purity and beauty of the architectural form, but also to the significance and role of the collection, the museum and its art in the liberation from the parochial mentality, and in the building of a modern and open society, which is and remains the main mission of the Museum of Contemporary Art.

Opy Zoyni, *Expanding of a Surface*,  
1978, painted wood, 190x183 cm.  
© Museum of Contemporary Art  
Skopje.

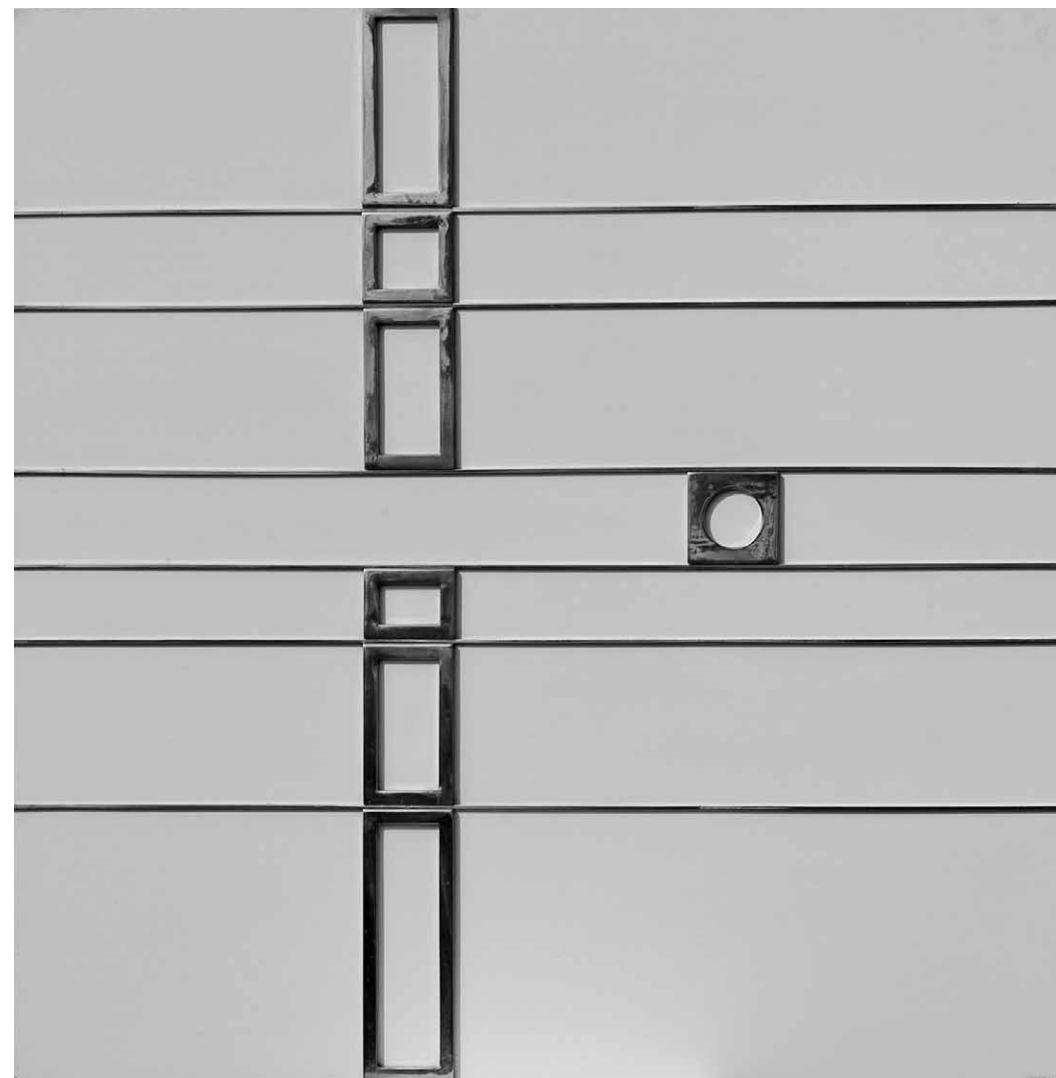
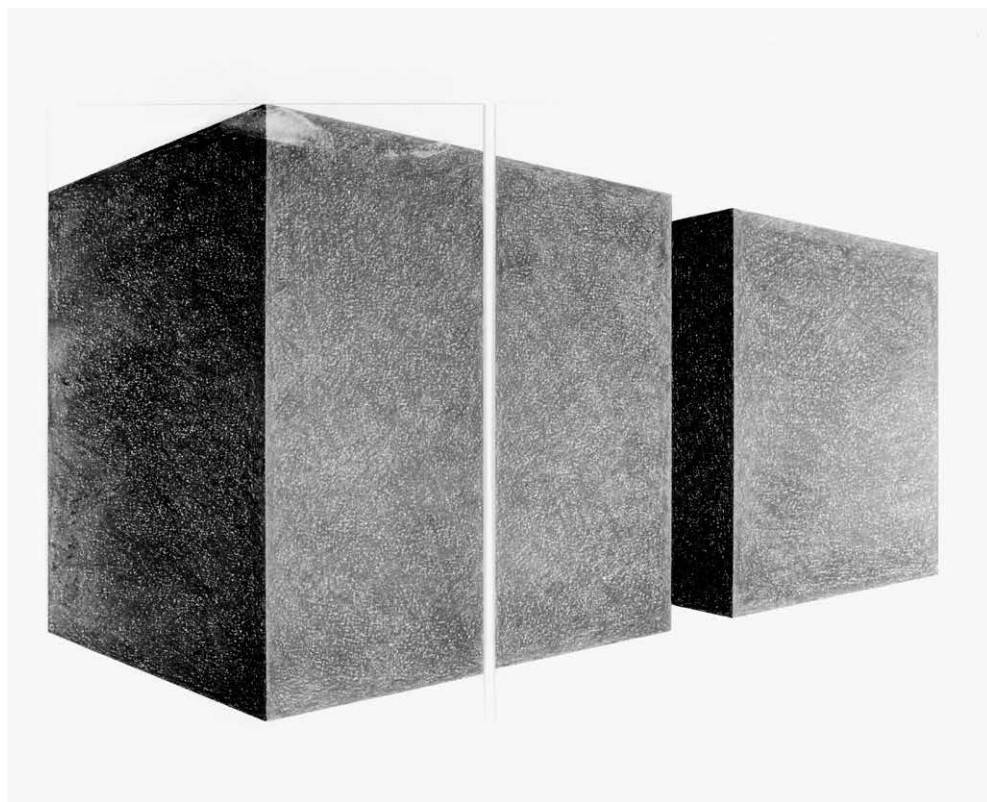


THE FUTURE AS A PROJECT Doxiadis in Skopje



Yannis Gaitis, *Last News*, 1969,  
painted wood, newspapers,  
180x120x25. © Museum of Con-  
temporary Art Skopje.

Diohandi, *Drawing 1*, 1979, 70x50 cm. © Museum of Contemporary Art Skopje.



Yannis Michas, *Composition A 58*, 1976, wood, chromide bronze, 100x100cm. © Museum of Contemporary Art Skopje.

# THE LEGACY AND ADVENTURES OF SKOPJE'S MODERN HERITAGE

Kalliopi Amygdalou



Looking across the river from the terrace of the reconstructed National Theatre. To the left is the reconstructed Officers Hall, in the middle is the Electricity Operator's building (MEPSO), which has been dressed with a classical facade, and to the right is a new parking lot. Photo: Kalliopi Amygdalou, 2017.

## 'SKOPJE 2014' AND THE RETURN OF HISTORY

Skopje's extraordinary modernist heritage did not enjoy continued appreciation for long. February 4<sup>th</sup>, 2010 marked a different kind of earthquake for Skopje, this time a human generated one; the project 'Skopje 2014' for the embellishment of the city center was unveiled on national TV, causing shock waves among architects, academics, historians and heritage experts. 'Skopje 2014' promised a new, white future for the city; dozens of new buildings drawing from historic styles, monuments, statues of ancient and national warriors and pieces of furniture promised to materialize the city's true identity, against the greyness of socialist modernism. Sidelining the heritage of the 1960s and 70s as well as the Ottoman past, the VMRO-DPMNE government at the time strove to resuscitate – and sometimes reinvent – other historical layers: the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and antiquity. While neighboring countries adopted a simplifying, generalizing discourse against the project, one that conflated the project with the whole society, the reality on the ground was much more complicated.

Confrontation with selected layers of the past and prioritization of others is barely new or exclusive to the region. All countries in the region, including Greece, Bulgaria, Turkey and others, conscripted architecture in the service of national politics at various historical moments, especially in the early years after their establishment. It has been pointed out that both in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and in Socialist Yugoslavia, the Ottoman built environment was largely marginalized.<sup>1</sup> For example, the Officers Hall that has been reconstructed today on the main square of the

1. Mattioli, Fabio. "Unchanging boundaries: the reconstruction of Skopje and the politics of heritage". *International Journal of Heritage Studies*. vol. 20, no. 6, 2014, pp. 599-615.

Skopje was initially constructed in late 1920s, to replace the 15<sup>th</sup> century Burmali mosque.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, ‘Skopje 2014’ is probably the first time in the history of the city that such an extensive human-led transformation is taking place in such a short period without the participation of the country’s leading experts and intellectuals.

The project intervened onto the city space in four distinct ways. First, by erecting dozens of new buildings (such as the Archaeological Museum, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and many others) especially along the Vardar waterfront. These buildings are loose interpretations of eclectic styles, making references to baroque and neoclassicism but severely distorting their proportions and rationale. Together they serve to create a new panorama of the city on the river, one that aims to remind of a ‘European’ atmosphere, conveying nostalgia of not what the city was, but of what it could have been.<sup>3</sup> At the same time, they hide the modernist buildings behind them, and the ottoman bazaar further back, reclaiming the waterfront.

Second, the project has included the ‘dressing up’ of existing modern buildings, whether public institutions or residential. Most notable examples are the National Electricity Transmission System Operator building (MEPSO), and the main government building (Vlada). In these cases, despite lack of permission by the original designers, classical facades have been attached to the bodies of the buildings, giving them a drastic facelift. This has been the most direct attack on the modernist heritage of the city, a heritage that, in the discourse of the authors of the project, is identified with an undemocratic, suppressive period that should be forgotten.

2. Based on its pre-existence, the construction of a mosque on the main city square has been a strong request by the Albanian and Turkish communities, especially after ‘Skopje 2014’ was announced.

3. Boym, Svetlana. *The Future of Nostalgia*. New York: Basic Books, 1991, p. xvi.

Third, the project entailed the reconstruction of buildings that did actually exist in the past, such as the National Theatre and the Officers Hall, and were destroyed in the 1963 earthquake. These buildings serve as the most tangible testimonies of the lost European spirit of the city, a spirit that can now be resurrected. Their emergence in the city as restored evidence of its true identity and destiny legitimizes the other parts of the project; the past, now restored, can guide new construction. The built replica does not just replace the original – it is the prerequisite for the replacement of the whole city.

Last, Skopje 2014 involved the erection of dozens of monuments and statues that have flooded the streets and square of the city. These are combined with other urban furniture, such as boats, a viewing wheel, bridges, new railings, streetlights and more. Most statues refer either to the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century independence efforts, to religious figures (Mother Teresa, Saints Cyril and Methodius), or to ancient macedonian history (Alexander the Great, Philip II etc). Interestingly, while these monuments are the least violent spatial interventions from an architectural perspective – in the sense that they can easily be removed – they are the ones that caused louder reactions inside and outside the country. Inside the country, citizens often argued that while new buildings were necessary in order to house national institutions, statues and monuments were often waste of taxpayer money. Meanwhile outside the country, statues of historical figures claimed by neighboring countries (such as Greece and Bulgaria) caused huge reactions, as different national narratives clashed with each other.

What brings antiquity to the foreground, leaving the socialist era



The MEP SO building under refurbishment. Photo: Maja Janevska-Ilieva.



The MEP SO building after refurbishment. Photo: Kalliopi Amygdalou, 2017.



A lion sculpture on the edge of a bridge. Photo: Kalliopi Amygdalou, 2017.



The Telecommunication Center as seen through the pavilion on Skopje's central square. Photo: Kalliopi Amygdalou, 2017.



The new Archaeological Museum, standing in front of older buildings. Photo: Kalliopi Amygdalou, 2017



The new Archaeological Museum as seen through a construction site on the Vardar river. Photo: Kalliopi Amygdalou, 2017.



View from the historical bridge towards the central square. Photo: Kalliopi Amygdalou, 2017.

The Warrior monument on the Central Square, with the Telecommunication Center far at the back. Photo: Kalliopi Amygdalou, 2017.



Pavilion on the Central Square. Photo: Kalliopi Amygdalou, 2017.

behind? Undoubtedly, as many researchers have pointed out, ‘Skopje 2014’ was linked to a renewed effort of nation building, as well as to neoliberal agendas. At the same time however, it reflects deeper issues that expand beyond the last 10 years. After the extraordinary reconstruction of the 1960s and ‘70s, economic stagnation and complete lack of building activity in the 1980s and 1990s left the center unappreciated, with a great lack of density.<sup>4</sup> In 1991 a new City Center Competition (won by Miroslav Grchev, Vlatko Korobar and Mirjana Penchik) took place, which led to a new Urban plan for the Centre in 1997. This plan guided some interventions in the western part of the right bank, but a lot of space remained empty. The government hence capitalized on this underdevelopment of the center, promising to give back to the city – and the country – a city center that it deserved.

At the same time, ethnic tension within the country but also with neighboring countries fuelled the need for a reformulation of a strong national identity. Conflicts with Greece over the name issue, with Bulgaria over the language and with Serbia over the church created the need to defend and protect a distinct identity firmly grounded in an immemorial past and in a historical land. In this sense, architecture offered its services in order to form a new national space and to rearticulate the historical narrative, underlining an identity that is both intrinsically European and continuous. The new architecture of the city aims to disseminate this message to both a local and international audience.

4. Grcheva, Leonora. *Reshaping the Skopje City Centre as a National Agenda: Skopje 1965 vs. Skopje 2014* (Unpublished Masters Thesis). Leuven: Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 2011, pp. 49-52.



Protests against the refurbishment (in classical style) of the City Shopping Center (GTC). Photo: Tomislav Georgiev, 2014.

Despite these real concerns, the public far from embraced the project. Many protests erupted by citizen groups and experts alike, raising lively debates and initiating discussions on core issues of public space and architecture. Opponents to the project accused the project of reflecting populism and nationalism, of being an implementation of neoliberal agendas,<sup>5</sup> of marginalizing the Albanian identity in favor of an exclusively Christian and Slavic one, and of bypassing democratic procedures. The project moved forward in a speed that severely compromised quality and caused great controversy. Moreover, these citizens and experts pointed out that it involved extensive privatizations of public space, since many of the new buildings occupied green areas or the public waterfront.

One of the most successful demonstrations, in April 2014, saved the City Shopping Centre (GTC) of being refurbished with classical façades. Asking for a stop in the ‘antiquization’ of the city and the dressing up of the modern buildings, thousands of protesters created a human chain surrounding the building, shouting for the preservation of one of the city’s major landmarks. But the widest protests that combined a very distinct character with international coverage took place in 2016, when protesters attacked the new whiteness that dominated the city with buckets of color, popularizing the name ‘Colorful Revolution’ in the media. Although these demonstrations were driven by much wider social and political problems than Skopje 2014, it is remarkable that the built objects and the white scenery they created served as the strongest material symbol of all that the demonstrators fought against.

5. Graan, Andrew. “Counterfeiting the Nation?” *Cultural Anthropology*, vol.28, no. 1, 2013, pp. 161-179.



Building facade after the 2016 protests.  
Photo: Maja Janevska-Ilieva, 2016.

What does the future hold? On the one hand, the antiquization process left deep wounds onto the urban fabric, which need to be addressed. Another process of erasure of the past is largely unrealizable; to a large extent, experts and citizens need to come to terms with a new architectural layer in the city, one that can be intervened on but not completely undone. On the other hand, this dramatic conflict of perspectives regarding what the city means and what it should look like, what heritage is and whom it represents, has triggered important debates and has mobilized an active body of citizens, academics and architects. The discussion about Skopje's modern heritage is now livelier than ever, and Skopje's extraordinary modernist history is increasingly embraced as an integral part of the city.

Demonstrations in front of the newly built triumphal arch. Photo: Maja Janevska-Ilieva, 2016.



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## BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

**Kalliopi Amygdalou** is an architect, currently a Marie Skłodowska-Curie Fellow at the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy, carrying out post-doctoral research on the politicization of architectural heritage in southeastern Europe. Between 2015-2017 she was a Lecturer at the School of Architecture of Izmir Institute of Technology in Turkey. She received her PhD from the Bartlett School of Architecture, U.C.L. (2014) with a thesis on the politics of heritage and modernization in early-20th century Izmir and Thessaloniki. She also holds a M.Sc. in Culture and Society from London School of Economics (2010) and a Diploma in Architecture from the National Technical University of Athens (2009). Until now her work has been mainly funded by the M.S.C. Actions, the Alexander S. Onassis Foundation, and the Foundation for Education and European Culture (IPEP). She speaks Greek, English, Turkish, and French.

**Vladimir Deskov** was born in 1977. He graduated from the Faculty of Architecture of the University "Ss. Cyril and Methodius" in Skopje in 2004. His main research interest is the city of Skopje and its architecture, the influence of economic, political and social transformations on the way in which the city changes, and their impact on architecture. As a co-founder and member of the informal architectural group SCArS (Studio for Contemporary Architecture Skopje) he participated in and won a number of awards in international and local architectural competitions. Author of numerous research projects and exhibitions on architecture. He was one of the curators of the National Pavilion at the 2008 and 2014 Venice Biennale of Architecture. Member of the curatorial advisory board of the New York's Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) exhibition "Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948-1980". Currently a PhD candidate at the Faculty of Architecture in Zagreb; since 2007 he works at the School of Architecture and Design at the University American College Skopje.

**Ana Ivanovska Deskova** was born in 1978. She studied Architecture in Skopje. She holds a Master of Architecture and a PhD from the Faculty of Architecture in Skopje, University “Ss. Cyril and Methodius”. Her main research interest is the Modern Architecture in Skopje, and in particular, Skopje’s post-earthquake renewal. As a co-founder and member of the informal architectural group SCArS (Studio for Contemporary Architecture Skopje) she has participated in and won a number of awards at international and local architectural competitions. Author of numerous research projects and exhibitions on architecture. She was one of the curators of the National Pavilion at the 2008 and 2014 Venice Biennale of Architecture. Member of the curatorial advisory board of the New York’s Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) exhibition “Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948-1980”. She currently works as Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Architecture in Skopje, teaching History of Modern Architecture and Protection of Cultural Heritage.

**Jovan Ivanovski** was born in 1976. He studied Architecture in Skopje. He holds a Master of Architecture from Dessau Institute of Architecture in Germany and a PhD from the Faculty of Architecture in Skopje, University “Ss. Cyril and Methodius”. He practiced architecture in offices in Switzerland and Germany. As a co-founder and member of the informal architectural group SCArS (Studio for Contemporary Architecture Skopje) he participated in and won a number of awards at international and local architectural competitions. Author of numerous research projects and exhibitions on architecture. He was one of the curators of the National Pavilion at the 2006, 2008 and of the National Pavilion on the 2014 Venice Biennale of Architecture. Member of the curatorial advisory board of the New York’s Museum of Modern Art exhibition “Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948–1980”. He currently works as Professor at the Faculty of Architecture in Skopje, teaching Architectural Design.

**Vlatko P. Korobar** Professor of Urban Planning and Design at the Faculty of Architecture, Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje. He has been dean of the Faculty from 2001 to 2009. He has headed the International summer school organized by the Faculty and conducted numerous workshops home and abroad. He has curated the national pavilion at the Venice Architecture Biennale in 2004 and exhibited in the national pavilion in 2008. He has been on the editorial boards of national and international reviews for architecture and planning. He is a licensed architect and planner and has won several national awards for his architectural work.

**Christos Kritikos** was born in 1989. He is an architect and a PhD student (NTUA) based in Athens. His research focuses on the way heritage practices inform architectural historiography and the general perception of the built environment. He holds a MA in Architectural history from the Bartlett School of Architecture, U.C.L. (2016), a M.Sc. in Methodology of Research in Architecture from the National Technical University of Athens (2017) and a Diploma in Architecture from the same university (2014). Until now he has been working as an architectural historian, teaching assistant (NTUA), researcher and urban designer. He speaks Greek, English, French and Spanish.

**Maroje Mrduljaš** is an architect, critic and curator based in Zagreb. He authored or edited the books: *Tadao Ando: Transcending Oppositions*, *Modernism-in-Between: Mediatory Architectures of Socialist Yugoslavia* (with Vladimir Kulić), *Design and Independent Culture, Unfinished Modernisations: Between Utopia and Pragmatism* (with Vladimir Kulić) and others. Maroje’s writings have appeared in leading international magazines including *A+U*, *Archithese*, *Bauwelt*, and *Domus* and collective volumes such as *Team 10 East*, *SOS Brutalism*, *Holidays After the Fall* and others. He is

editor-in-chief of *Oris* magazine. Maroje's curatorial activities include contributions and projects for MoMA NY, Museum of Contemporary Art Zagreb, Swiss Architecture Museum Basel, Venice Architecture Biennale and others. Maroje filmed (with Saša Ban) two seasons of the award-winning documentaries *Concrete Slumbers* about post-WWII architecture in the region of ex-Yugoslavia. Maroje is an independent expert of the EU Mies van der Rohe Prize for Architecture. He is lecturer at the Faculty of Architecture, University of Zagreb.

**Zoran Petrovski** is an art-historian and curator based in Skopje. From 1993 until 2000 he was director of the Museum of Contemporary Art in Skopje. He was one of the founders, and a member of the editorial board of the *Large Glass Magazine* published in Skopje (1995-2010). In 1993 and 2010 he curated the National Pavillion at the Venice Biennial, the 23<sup>rd</sup> Sao Paolo Biennial (1996), and was a national commissioner at the 16<sup>th</sup> Architectural Biennale in Venice (2018). He works as a senior curator in the Museum of Contemporary Art in Skopje.

**Ines Tolić** is Assistant Professor in History of Architecture at the University of Bologna. She graduated in Architecture from the *Iuav* University in Venice (2004), and received a PhD in the History of Architecture and Urban History at the School of Advanced Studies in Venice (2009). She wrote about the representation of architecture in movies, about the role of United Nations as a planning agency, about post-war architecture and urban design in Japan, as well as about contemporary architecture in the so-called Third World countries. Her main area of focus is the architecture of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, with particular attention to the urban context and the processes of 'globalization'.

**Kostas Tsiambaos** is Assistant Professor in History & Theory of Architecture at the School of Architecture of the National Technical University in Athens (NTUA). He studied in Athens (NTUA) and New York (GSAPP Columbia University). His research interests focus on the promotion and use of concepts and interpretative tools borrowed from philosophy, political theory and psychoanalysis in the history and theory of modern and contemporary architecture. His research has been published in international journals and collective volumes (*The Journal of Architecture*, *Architectural Research Quarterly*, *Architectural Histories*). His recent book titled *From Doxiadis' theory to Pikionis' work: reflections of Antiquity in Modern Architecture* (London & New York: Routledge, 2018) reexamines the historical boundaries of interwar modernism and restructures the ground of an alternative modernity that looks towards the future through a mirror that reflects the ancient past.





*The Future as a Project | Doxiadis in Skopje* brings into the spotlight the story of Skopje's reconstruction after the 1963 earthquake and its modern heritage. It presents Constantinos A. Doxiadis' work in Skopje, which includes a detailed survey of the affected areas, a series of reports, housing studies, and thoughts and diagrams for a new master plan. Furthermore, it features the work of Kenzo Tange for Skopje's city center, and showcases a series of modernist buildings authored by leading Yugoslavian architects that still stand in the city today.

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Kalliopi Amygdalou, Kostas Tsiambaos, Christos - Georgios Kritikos

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Kalliopi Amygdalou, Vladimir Deskov, Ana Ivanovska - Deskova,  
Jovan Ivanovski, Kostas Tsiambaos

Assistant Curator: Christos - Georgios Kritikos

