PLANNING AND NATIONAL RECOVERY

1933

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CITY PLANNING
NEW YORK

WAASDORP & NORTHRUP

PLANNING AND NATIONAL RECOVERY

PLANNING PROBLEMS PRESENTED AT THE TWENTY-FIFTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CITY PLANNING

HELD JOINTLY WITH THE

AMERICAN CIVIC ASSOCIATION

AT

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

OCTOBER 9 TO 11, 1933

Published for the Conference by
WM. F. FELL CO., PHILADELPHIA, PA.
MCMXXXIII

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ALFRED BETTMAN, President, National Conference on City Planning

As with all our other ideas, activities, institutions, the depression produced a challenge to city and regional planning to justify itself and furnished a test of the strength of the movement. Municipal and other local budgets had been carrying modest appropriations for planning commissions and staffs, which offered the proponents of reduced public expenditures a ready target; and the degree to which these appropriations withstood this attack might be treated as one measure of the public consciousness of the importance of and meaning of planning. Those who understand planning realize that the value of a piece of physical development, such as a street or building, turns primarily upon its location and, also, upon its timeliness; for these govern or produce the social utility of the development. A period of depression is a period of challenges of values, demands for justification of that which the communities have built or propose to build. A depression period is, consequently, one which peculiarly needs to nurture and apply the principles and techniques of what we call planning. Furthermore, a period of depression is one of lessened construction. It gives a breathing spell, in which the designs for the future can be prepared free from the boom types of pressures; and therefore ought to be a period in which planning is more rather than less emphasized than theretofore. Where there is understanding of planning, belief in it, consciousness of its significance, theoretically depression should result in the preservation and increase of appropriations for city and regional planning rather than their destruction or decrease.

Measured by this test, there is some ground for sadness, self-questioning and anxiety. 1931 was the peak year in planning commission activities. The momentum of the movement, as

expressed in the creation of planning commissions or the financing of their work, continued during this depression year 1931, and it was not until 1932 that the depression effects, as expressed in reduction of planning commission activities, began to appear. The statistics regarding the decreases in local appropriations for planning boards are not full or accurate, and are subject to even greater skepticism than that to which statistics of municipal finance should usually be subjected. In general, however, it must be confessed that the appropriations for planning in numbers of our cities and towns fell a too easy victim to the economy sharpshooters. In many communities the ridiculous word "frill" was successfully hurled; and, speaking generally, we cannot find in the happenings of the depression period the comforting thought that mayors and councils and communities so realized the essential economy of city and regional planning as to preserve intact or to increase the functioning of planning processes. In too many places, budgets were slashed or even destroyed, staffs dismissed wholly or in part, with little resistance and with little vocal effort at defense. We who have sought to lead the planning movement cannot flatter ourselves that we have made the essential economy of city and regional planning clear to the publics and officials of our local communities. In the scramble for federal funds, it must be confessed that many of our local communities are perfectly willing to advance projects which have not been subjected to the tests and techniques of city planning, or have not received the scrutiny or assistance of professional city planning talent.

Detailed figures regarding these reductions and abolitions would not be helpful. Just for an illustration: Roanoke, Virginia, may be said to have practised the biggest drop short of complete abolition; for that city reduced the staff of its planning commission to a single stenographer, who was also made secretary of the Zoning Board of Appeals and also an assistant in the work of the Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court. It would be pleasant to believe that this assignment to the Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court represented a realization of the deep relationship between

planning and the reduction of vice and crime. I suspect, however, that we are not warranted in finding any such solace.

Of course it might be almost too much to expect of human nature that at a time when so hard pressed for funds, municipal officials should care and worry about and sacrifice themselves for an indefinite and uncertain future. But amongst the factors which caused the situation, I cannot help but feel that we must share the responsibility, in that we ourselves (that is, the groups represented in The National Conference on City Planning and American City Planning Institute) have not been quite clear or consistent as to what it is we mean by planning. If it is entitled to be considered a special art and science, different from though intertwined with architecture, landscape architecture or engineering, city and regional planning means or should mean the production of harmonious adjustments, coordinations and durable social values through the making and application of a plan or design covering the general location and extent of all the various types of public and private improvements upon the land. We have been willing here and there and at times, however, to allow the phrase to be used for the designing of an individual improvement, such as a single street, or for a single functional type of activity, such as zoning unrelated to a master plan, or subdivision regulation without the planning of the thoroughfare system, and so on. If the planning concept is to develop roots which can withstand the stresses of depression and the ups and downs of politics and the seasonal variations of public opinion or clamor, and planning is to justify itself as a special art or its technicians as a special profession, we must be able and willing to reach and fight for a moral and intellectual integrity in our own conceptions and in our own definitions.

When the general picture of what happened to local planning is filled in with detail, it will be found to be far less dark, and indeed with numerous cheery spots. Though the planning budget offered an easy mark for what was thought to be a saving, in many of our towns and cities the reduction in planning appropriations was

simply in proportion to the reduction in other departments. In some cities the sum spent on planning was as large as before, and here and there an increase occurred. *Nashville*, for instance, increased its 1933 appropriation for its planning commission; *Providence* also increased its appropriation so as to provide for a general survey of the city's planning problems. In *Boston* the planning commission succeeded in winning its fight against the attack on its independent existence and kept its staff intact. In *Detroit* the commission suffered a 75% cut in appropriations, but by means of welfare workers was able to engage in housing surveys and slum clearance plans; and an analogous situation arose in many other cities. Quite a number of places established commissions during the height or, more accurately, depth of the depression. For instance, Santa Clara, Kern and San Mateo Counties, California, established planning commissions during the depression, increased their 1933 budgets over the previous year, and gave these commissions decisive responsibilities for their public works programs. *Louisville*, *Cincinnati*, the *Hamilton County, Ohio, Regional Commission* and others suffered no reduction beyond the percentage of salary cuts applied also the administrative departments. *Milwaukee* furnishes a good illustration of the many cities where the reduction was moderate. Its appropriation peak was $35,000.00 in 1929. In 1932 the appropriation was $30,000.00, and in 1933, $24,000.00; and emphasis in 1933 was placed on research in land economics—a fair illustration of the realization that a year of depression is a peculiarly appropriate year for careful and profound planning. In short the detailed figures show that, as measured by the local appropriations and budgets, planning has been preserved or even increased to a greater degree than the general picture of conditions would have led us to believe.

Quite probably, were a close research and analysis made, it would be found that in those communities in which planning was more than a name or more than a disguise for miscellaneous activities of an engineering or administrative nature (that is, in short, in communities where planning was real), it was preserved

during the depression and went on about as intensively and extensively as before, and that the reductions in appropriations or the vanishings of planning commissions and staffs represented a disclosure of the weak spots rather than any abandonment or desertion of true planning where true planning was in vogue.

There are plans and there are things called plans. There are planning commissions and there are commissions which have that name. So, while the boastful statistics recorded something like 800 planning commissions in 1931, and so-and-so many hundred master plans, the secretary of this conference estimates that even at the peak probably not more than 100 commissions were receiving sufficient public funds or sufficient public recognition or sufficient cooperation from the legislative or administrative organs of the local governments to justify these names. Naturally, the depression, as it progressed, hit the weak spots in the planning movement soonest and hardest.

Adversity, like everything else, brings good things as well as bad, and the depression has had many by-products which might well cause rejoicing. Time will permit of brief mention only of a few of these by-products. The plight of the architectural profession, which naturally was amongst the most hard hit of the vocations, caused a number of communities to use relief funds for giving architects employment under and with the planning commissions, especially in relation to slum clearance and housing surveys. The architectural profession has furnished some of the leaders of the planning profession; but many communities have had the experience that the local architects as a group have resisted rather than promoted the application of planning principles through public planning organs to the determination of the location and extent of public and private developments. The decade from the end of the war to 1929 saw the greatest volume of building construction in history. Evidently great numbers of buildings, great quantity of buildings does not necessarily assure the stability of prosperity, and does not necessarily represent values equal to costs. Evidence was not lacking that sometimes new constructions

helped the depression along. Naturally this lesson was brought home to the architectural profession more forcibly than to any other group. This new contact of the architects with planning, together with the necessity which the depression has produced for everybody for taking stock of past practices and principles, has obviously had the effect of producing in the architectural profession a greater realization of the fundamental verity of the principles and techniques of town and regional planning; which is a happy by-product of the depression and augurs a sympathetic relationship in the future between the architectural and planning professions, without which neither could realize its full possibilities for social service. The architectural periodicals today are full of able presentations of the thought that values are derived from city and community planning; or, in other words, that the basic principles of design apply not merely to the relationship of the parts of individual structures to each other, but the relationship of each structure to the whole of the city, town or other community of which it forms a part. It is noteworthy that Harvard University, which has a school of architecture and a school of city planning, thus recognizing that vocationally they are not the same profession, requires the students in its School of Architecture to take certain general city planning courses, so that they may thus become aware of the significance and methods of planning and the relationships between the two arts.

To some extent an analogous evolution has occurred amongst the realtors. While the most large-minded of the men in the realty world have always shown some degree of realization that their operations should draw inspiration from and take into account the city and regional plans of their communities, and that values which are not derived from the application of the principles of location through planning are apt to be illusory, still we know from experience that generally local realtor groups have resisted that growth of public regulation of the location and extent of private construction which is inherent in planning. There can be no doubt that the depression has improved this situation, and the literature of the

realty world, its trade and professional publications, are today permeated with recognitions of the importance of community planning.

A similar growth in the understanding of planning as an essential instrument of economy in the construction of both public and private works has taken place in the civil engineering profession.

We are warranted in feeling that, although local planning practice suffered some setbacks, the planning concept has gained in public and professional recognition.

Turning to legislation as a measure of progress, of course state governors and legislative assemblies have had their interest largely monopolized by problems of taxation and revenue and problems connected with beer and intoxicating beverages (note that I said beer and intoxicating beverages, and not beer and other intoxicating beverages). It would not have been unnatural if in a period such as this there had been little progress in planning legislation, and no doubt the local communities have not been pressing much for amendments or extensions of legislation of this kind. However, the record shows that the period has been one of growth in this phase of the subject.

In 1931 *Connecticut* passed a general law relating to the submission of plats to town planning commissions, as well as numerous special acts authorizing planning in specific municipalities. That relating to Middletown was substantially along the lines of the federal model. *Georgia* authorized city planning commissions and city planning procedures in Augusta and Atlanta. *Illinois* created a state planning commission, and provided for the adoption of an official thoroughfare plan in any city with a planning commission. *Iowa* provided for planning commissions' subdivision control. *Kansas* did likewise in the case of city streets. *New Jersey* created a state regional planning commission. *Oregon* also passed a subdivision regulation statute. *West Virginia* adopted a new civil code, which contains extensive planning enabling provisions. *Michigan* enacted a general law on the federal model. A number of states enacted acts amendatory of planning legislation. Indeed,

so far as evidenced by legislation passed in 1931, strength was indicated.

In 1932, *Ohio* extended its general planning law so as to provide that public structures and improvements located within a city shall be submitted to the local planning commission, even though the structures be constructed by state, county or other non-municipal bodies. In its housing law Ohio specified that any housing project of a limited-dividend company shall be submitted to the planning commission of the city in which it is to be located. *New York* passed an important enlargement of its regional planning law so as to provide for county planning boards and to authorize the making of county or regional master plans. *Massachusetts* created a commission to study and revise the laws relating to zoning and town planning. This commission prepared and published a splendid report which represents an important addition to the literature of the principles of planning legislation. The amendment to the zoning law recommended by the commission was enacted. *Massachusetts* also revived the Connecticut Valley Regional Planning Commission. *Virginia* adopted a number of new city charters, as, for instance, for Winchester, Bluefield and Alexandria, which contain provisions for the creation by these municipalities of municipal planning boards; and the City of Alexandria, availing itself of this authority, enacted a most interesting ordinance, which practically incorporates the entire federal planning model law into the local law of that city.

Not unnaturally 1933 legislation shows falling off in legislative progress. But the year was not a still one. *Illinois* enacted statutes authorizing municipalities and counties to establish building lines; also sought to correct the situation created by adverse court decision relative to the constitutionality of zoning boards of appeals. *Maryland* passed both a special statute for Baltimore and a general statute authorizing the creation of municipal and regional planning commissions and the making of master plans, with subdivision regulation and the customary planning procedures. *Minnesota* authorized certain municipalities to provide

for subdivision control through planning commissions. The only item of reduction of legislation is a *North Carolina* statute, exempting one designated county from the zoning laws. It would be interesting to know the history behind that.

It is in the field of federal legislation and federal activity, however, where we will find our greater sources of encouragement and the greater justification for the feeling that the planning concept has taken root and has durable and growing strength. A short résumé of these federal recognitions forms an appropriate and cheering chapter in an address on the subject of "city and regional planning in depression and recovery." One of the striking phenomena of the present period is the extent to which the states and localities, in their financial plights, have been willing to turn to the Federal Government for help; and whether this be for good or ill, we must recognize that the arm and hands of the Federal Government reach down into the localities to an extent which belies or repudiates many a boasted principle of local self-government. No inventory of local planning would be complete which did not include a description of federal activity.

Circular No. 1 of the Federal Emergency Administration, entitled "The Purposes, Policies, Functioning and Organization of the Emergency Administration," points out that the public works portion of the National Recovery Act specifies that a comprehensive program of public works should be formulated. "The formulation of the immediate comprehensive plan (which is necessary to provide employment quickly)," says the Circular, "involves the formulation of a long-range national plan to follow and be consistent with the immediate plan." Consequently, the duty and function of the Emergency Administration as to federal projects and public works "are to determine eligibility from the standpoint of national planning." In the case of local public works, amongst the specified tests for the eligibility of projects is "the relation of the particular project to coordinated planning and its social desirability."

The Public Works Administration includes state advisory boards

and state engineers, and, amongst the functions of the state advisory boards, the Circular specifies that of considering each "project from the standpoint of local coordinated planning." Regional advisers are also included in the structural organization of the Public Works Administration, and amongst their functions are those of assisting the Planning Board (that is, the National Planning Board) to formulate a plan for each region and to stimulate "by publicity and otherwise" public interest in regional and general planning. Each regional adviser is required to advise and consult with the regional advisory boards to the end that "their action may be consistent with sound regional planning."

In the specification of Circular No. 2, regarding information required for applications for loans to states and local public bodies, is a statement as to whether an applicant has a city or regional planning board, whether the proposed project has been submitted to the board and the views of the planning board in regard to it; and a copy of the report of the planning board is to be attached to the application; also a statement as to whether the community is a part of the metropolitan district and, if so, whether the project is coordinated with the plans for metropolitan development.

Bulletin No. 1, containing the Instructions to State Engineers Regarding Preparation of Reports on Applications for Loan to Local Public Bodies, contains a subdivision dealing with "Planning Considerations"—such as, conformity with comprehensive city, regional or state plans, official or unofficial; and requires considerable information concerning the plan.

Members of the planning profession have been given important positions in the Public Works Administration. The vice-president of this conference, Major Brown, is executive vice-president of the Technical Board of Review. There is, of course, a certain degree of fundamental conflict between emergency action on the one hand and planning on the other, between the emergency re-employment and reflation motivations and the careful selection which thorough planning involves; and no doubt, despite even these mild references to planning in the rules and regulations of the federal administra-

tion, neither the official plans nor the official planning bodies nor the members of the planning profession are playing as effective a part as we would like or as would be advisable from the point of view of the durability of the values which will be created by the expenditure of the great public works fund. This may be due to the fact that official planning and official plans and planners had not carried their work to a point to be ready for a public works program of this magnitude. But the recognition which planning receives in at least the words of and no doubt in much of the practice of the federal public works administration is evidence of the progress of the movement and augurs for its future strength.

Similar recognition is taking place in the field of the Federal Government's assistance to slum clearance and low-cost housing. In its statement of policies and standards applicable to housing, the Administration specifies, regarding the selection of housing projects: "New housing should preferably be located with reference to a long-term plan for the economic development of the community"; and, under the subject of "standards of design," that "the project is to be conceived of as a unit in a neighborhood community." The Housing Division's consultants include Henry Wright, Tracy Augur, Frederick C. Bigger, Russell V. Brach and Frederick W. Ackerman, who are members of our Institute.

In this housing and slum clearance field, again, the local communities have not been ready—that is, very few communities had or even as yet have the replanning of slum and blighted districts prepared by official planning organs with the technical assistance of professional planning talent. And in the hurry of an emergency, where getting something done and money spent are inescapable motivations, naturally many of the housing and slum clearance projects will not have behind them that assurance of justification which would have come from planning by active public planning agencies with staffs of qualified professional specialized talent. The fact, however, that the location and extent of a large-scale housing project or of a slum clearance project is a city planning problem to be solved by the application of city planning techniques

and with consciousness of the relationships to the other features of a city plan, and the fact that the lure of federal moneys for local construction has galvanized a number of local planning bodies and the local governments into extensive and intensive planning studies are items of progress of importance and cheer. They are items of recovery in planning.

Of course, in the field of regional planning, the great event of our day is that section of the Muscle Shoals bill which authorizes the President to make a regional plan for the Tennessee River Valley region, which has caused the President to avail himself of this power and assign the making of this regional plan to the Tennessee Valley Authority, under the leadership of its chairman, Arthur E. Morgan, who has an exceptional understanding of the deepest meanings of planning: as is evidenced by his recent article in Current History about planning in the Tennessee River Valley, in which he said:

"President Roosevelt's idea, as embodied in the law, is that in the watershed of the Tennessee River there shall be attempted the first deliberate effort, on a large scale, to inspire systematic and balanced development of the social and economic life of a part of our country. The New Deal, which is the central theme of the present administration, will not be brought about simply by a change of motives. New methods also are essential. Orderly design must take the place of haphazard and destructive exploitation."

There has been set up under the Tennessee Valley Authority a division designated the Land Planning and Housing Division, of which Mr. Earle S. Draper is director. A town planning staff is being created in Knoxville. A beginning has been made in organizing a regional planning section, with Jacob L. Crane, Jr., as the regional planner. The town planning section will design town sites as, for instance, that required at Norris Dam. The advisory staff will work with the local groups, as, for example, at Muscle Shoals, and the regional planning section is undertaking to collect material and formulate the basis for the regional planning of the

whole valley area. So in this Tennessee Valley project, beginnings have at least been made of a piece of regional planning of unprecedented extent, so far as territorial extent and variety of problems are concerned, and with unprecedented promise of adequate equipment and prestige.

This Tennessee Valley legislation and its initial momentum are products of President Roosevelt's deep understanding of and enthusiastic interest in regional planning, and it would not be far-fetched to say that the outstanding item of "City and Regional Planning in Depression and Recovery" is that these or this United States have or has a President who knows and cares about planning. In his message to Congress on the Tennessee Valley measure, President Roosevelt said:

"It should be charged with the broadest duty of planning for the proper use, conservation, and development of the natural resources of the Tennessee River drainage basin and its adjoining territory for the general, social and economic welfare of the nation.

"Many hard lessons have taught us the human waste that results from lack of planning. Here and there a few wise cities and counties have looked ahead and planned. But our nation has 'just grown.' It is time to extend planning to a wider field, in this instance comprehending in one great project many states directly concerned with the basin of one of our greatest rivers."

The Department of Commerce's Advisory Committee on Planning and Zoning has been one of the victims of the depression period. Its appropriation and staff have been cut to almost the vanishing point. It had the important function of gathering and disseminating information concerning the progress of planning, and of inspiring and, to some extent, leading that progress through the drafting and publication of model legislation. That is a function which needs to be performed and which we cannot well do without, and the virtual elimination of the Committee's equipment therefore left a gap which needs to be filled. The Federal Government, of course, is itself an agency of physical development on a large scale; it builds federal public works and buildings. It

has, however, never had a planning agency, which would perform for federal construction the services which local planning boards perform for local enterprises. In connection with the Emergency Public Works Administration a new agency or organism has been created which may in the course of time fill these gaps and which is already engaged in performing planning functions of greatest importance. The creation of this National Planning Board is, therefore, a significant fact of progress and promise. The planning movement, as embodied in our Conference and Institute, is represented on that board by its distinguished chairman, Mr. Frederic A. Delano, and its executive director, Charles W. Eliot, 2nd; and the fact that the other two members of the Board, Professors Mitchell and Merriam have been drawn from the fields of economics and political science is most significant evidence of the President's understanding of the relationship between economics and political science and of planning—a relationship which we, in the past, have too much ignored or neglected.

This National Planning Board is still too young to have reached a full definition of the scope of its province. In general, it is acting as a body advisory to Secretary Ickes, particularly on what we would call questions of urgency or priority—that is, the development of principles of selection as between different types, kinds and locations of public works. Next in importance to the element of design (that is, the making of a plan which will indicate the general location and extent of major developments on and uses for the land throughout a lengthy period of time), comes this element of selection, of determining urgencies and priorities, as the core of planning.

Amongst the functions officially assigned to the National Planning Board in the above-mentioned Circular No. 1 is:

"To advise and assist the Administrator in the preparation of the 'Comprehensive program of public works' required by the Recovery Act, through—(1) The preparation, development, and maintenance of comprehensive and coordinated plans for regional areas in cooperation with national, regional, State and local agencies;"

The Board is already engaged in the stimulation of local and regional planning. It is gathering data as to the existing planning boards, both local and regional. It is also attacking the problem of the coordination of existing federal agencies and has made preparations for the conduct of research in planning problems, particularly those relating to the public works program. So, obviously, the National Planning Board is already a planning body in deed as well as name and, in the course of time, might come to be the central agency of federal or national planning. In its land development aspects, as distinguished from the planning of production and distribution of goods, merchandise, moneys, etc., federal planning may be said to have three aspects or subdivisions: first, the making of a national plan, that is, a sort of master plan of the whole area of the nation, which would indicate the location and extent of the major physical development of a national scope and into which the city, town, county and regional plans could be fitted; secondly, the master plan of federal public works and structures, analogous to the master plan of a city; and, thirdly, national leadership in the promotion of planning by the gathering and dissemination of information, the inspiring of research and the like. This new National Planning Board might come to be a national planning agency in all of these aspects.

Under the inspiration of and, to some extent, with the supervision and technical assistance of the United States Department of Agriculture, the National Land Use Planning Committee has been active since its organization in 1932, and in June, 1933, published its first annual report. This represents a national movement which is of the highest importance; for the studies and activities of the Committee have produced a conviction amongst its own members and in agricultural circles that the problem of rural land classification and rural land planning are not merely analogous to, but involve fundamentally the same principles, the same approaches, similar techniques and an identity of social objectives as city and regional planning, and indeed are simply extensions of regional planning methods and motivations to rural territory. Rural

zoning by law (a subject we hardly dared to breathe about) the Committee advances as a necessity for an effective classification and planning of rural lands. As stated in the Committee's report—

"For more than a decade the scope of city planning has tended more and more to consider the problems of the region surrounding the urban center or centers. In considering the problems of the region, city and regional planners have necessarily had to take into account the present and prospective use of land in the rural territory. The Land-Use Planning Committee, on the other hand, in its studies realizes the necessity of considering urban influences and the broader field of the development of a region as a whole. This growing realization on the part of both groups that their fields of interest have many points in common led to a meeting of representatives of each in Washington to discuss these mutual relations, to consider programs and methods, and to define the objectives of land planning. As a result of these mutual discussions, the representatives concluded that the field of land planning as it affects any region is a unit, and there can be no line of demarcation between regional planning as viewed by those who have approached it from the field of city planning or by those who have approached it from the field of rural land-use planning. The economic and social considerations involved make any such division of the field both impracticable and undesirable. Cooperative effort between the workers in the two fields is, therefore, essential. The need for developing programs of regional land planning was stressed and also the need for Federal and State agencies to develop and to coordinate the various segments of land planning activities."

The above is an attempt at a brief outline of what has occurred to and for planning in the period of depression and recovery; and the extract thereof is surely encouragement. Now that our nation, particularly its national leaders, is aware of the need of planning and ready to recognize its methods and its practitioners, it behooves us to furnish sound principles and sound methods and qualified practitioners. The word "planning" occurs rather frequently in this paper, and appears in almost any and every other paper that is written on any and every subject, and has come to mean so much of anything and everything that there is the

danger it will mean nothing in particular. A terminology which will, without elaborate explanation, differentiate the kind of planning in which the national recovery administration is engaged and that which we mean, is still to be invented; but at least we ought mean something definite. If the secretary of a planning commission can report that the planning activity of the year consisted in designing street signs, or if, to take a very different example, the designing of a housing development without any description of its relationships to the highway system, school sites or the recreational plan of the community, and have his report advanced and boasted about as city planning, then it is difficult to see where there is a call for, a reason for, a justification for special city planning conferences, schools, professions. May we not acclaim as one of the lessons of the depression that we must develop and support exacting moral and intellectual standards in the definition, principles and practices of planning.

The moral, intellectual, economic and social soundness of the planning concept seems to me to be beyond all question. If an area such as the city, the town, the county, the region, the state or the nation is to have a development on and the uses of its land which will produce social and material values and justify its expenditures, then there must be some plan or design which will determine the appropriateness of the location and extent of any specific structure, such as any specific street, school site, office building, court house, market place, by its relationship to something outside of itself, namely, to the remainder of the city, town, and so on, and by its relationship to functional activities other than its own, as, for instance, by the relationship of a housing development to recreational open spaces, parks, highways, street railways, business centers, and so on. Material and social values are not different or contrasted kinds or portions of values, but are interdependent. Indeed, more accurately speaking, material values are the effect and social values the cause. The comprehensive master plan of city, town, county, region, state, by determining the appropriateness of place or location, and the

program of urgency or priority, by determining the element of time, are instrumentalities for the creation of social values—by which is meant, that when things are put in the right place and installed or constructed at the right time, they produce the social values which we know as health, convenience, prosperity, morals and welfare, and, unless they do promote these social goods, they are not worth their cost. The master plan of the whole as one of the measures of the value and justification of any part, is what is meant by planning, and we must be willing in our advocacies and in our practices to adhere to that meaning.

Planning, like any other idea, involves an assumption; and in this case the assumption is that the American public or publics, national and local, will by and large and in the course of time be capable of intelligence in the development of their territories and be capable of the moral willingness to use that intelligence. Planlessness is either or both a lack of intelligence or lack of the moral willingness to be intelligent. The use of planning approach, planning techniques, the development of planning principles and planning knowledge are consequently a test of the capacity of our people to be a social organism capable of converting its strength and activities into works of social utility and social welfare. This present inventory of what has occurred in depression and recovery encourage a belief that these capacities exist, and that those who are engaged in a planning movement or planning profession can, if they be strong, cause it to bring forth fruits in the form of increasing social goods and decreasing social ills in, from and through the structures that we build upon or the uses to which we put the land in our cities, regions, states and nation.

FEDERAL EMERGENCY ADMINISTRATION OF PUBLIC WORKS

Hon. Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior and Administrator of Public Works

Until comparatively recent times the average American scoffed at any suggestion of a necessity for orderly planning for city, state or nation. Speed was what we wanted. Tangible results were our aim. We were a young and prideful and boastful people. If we could point to the highest building in the world, it didn't matter to us whether that building was badly located and was a blot on the landscape. If our particular city contained a building possessing more square feet of floor space than any other in the world, we were not concerned if the building itself was hideous and obstructed the orderly growth of the city. We were a nation of eager, pushing go-getters.

The size of our cities and the speed with which they could be made to grow were all that interested us. Slums meant population and if the death rate was criminally high the birth rate was a thing to marvel at. If we could add to our population by making a grant of land for the erection of a boiler works in what should have been reserved for a high-class residential neighborhood, the grant was made to the enthusiastic acclaim of the people. Corporations grabbed our streets, factories and business blocks elbowed their way into our boulevards, strident and exclamatory advertisements marred or obliterated our choice scenery and views. And few seemed to care.

The meandering cow, footing her contemplative way across the luscious pasturage to quench her thirst in a nearby stream, little realized that she was laying out streets for the expanding city of Boston. Subsequent to the cow, the famous Turvy family were called in as city planning consultants to help us lay out many of

our cities. The most notorious member of this famous family of city planners was, of course, Topsy, and so widespread and potent was her influence that the topsy-turvy type of city planning is still evident in practically every American community.

In my own city of Chicago, we generously handed over to the railroads miles of the wonderful shore line of Lake Michigan. To show their appreciation of this generosity, the railroads proceeded to annex hundreds of additional acres of land without so much as asking "by your leave." For more than a generation now, the people of Chicago have been taxing themselves for millions upon millions of dollars to recapture their shore line. The total cost to Chicago of its great generosity, without taking into account those aesthetic values which cannot be measured in money, has already run into the hundreds of millions of dollars, with additional hundreds of millions to come before the shore line can be completely reclaimed. North of Chicago, at Waukegan, a lovely lake beach at the foot of a bluff was given over to factory development, while the homes of the people were shoved inland. Farther south the hideous, sooty stacks of a steel company reach toward the sky from ugly buildings occupying further hundreds of acres of shore line. Two senses of the dwellers in this section of the city are constantly assailed. Toward the east they see the sun rise through dense smoke belching from the chimneys that I have described, and from the west, if the wind blows thence, are wafted noxious odors from glue factories, rendering plants and stockyards which pour their offensive wastes into a branch of the Chicago River, the thick and offensive scum on the surface of which has earned it the name of Bubbly Creek.

Please do not understand me as implying that Chicago is the only example of the sort that could be cited. I am referring to this city that I love in such intimate, if unromantic, terms because I know it best. As we come and go about the land we see in all sections similar examples of a want of foresight and of obtuseness to aesthetic and social values. Be it said to the credit of Chicago that it was one of the first, if not the very first, of our great cities to

realize the mistakes that had been made. It must have been all of twenty-five or thirty years ago that a group of citizens organized the Chicago Planning Commission and began to study what ought to be done and could be done to make Chicago a more orderly, socially desirable and aesthetically satisfying place to live in. Tremendous strides have been made in carrying out the new Chicago plan. Streets have been widened and cut through blockading buildings at an enormous cost. Insanitary, festering South Water Street has been made over into Wacker Drive, with a broad boulevard, modern buildings and an esplanade featuring the Chicago River, which theretofore had been little better than an open sewer. Parks and playgrounds have been developed in all parts of the city. It is worth a trip to Chicago to drive along one of the magnificent new boulevards running north and south in the extension of Grant Park, which has been created by filling in the lake beyond the railroad, just to see the millions of lights shining from the windows in the towering buildings that line noble Michigan Avenue. The same impulsive energy that made Chicago almost overnight the second largest city on the continent is now creating out of this uncouth, overgrown adolescent a lovely concept of city planners, architects and landscape men. If Chicago can still be cited as a horrible example of mistakes and lack of vision in the past, it can also serve to inspire men of courage and vision for the future.

One of the pioneers in this Chicago movement was Frederic A. Delano, whose interest in planning has increased with the years, and whose usefulness as a citizen has kept pace with this interest. After doing his part to set Chicago's feet in the right path, he helped to arouse New York City to a realization of its physical deficiencies. He has been outstanding in Washington for his leadership there in the movement for a more orderly and more beautiful metropolitan area. Now he and two other men, Professor Wesley C. Mitchell, of Columbia University, and Professor Charles E. Merriam, of the University of Chicago, each of whom is preeminent in his specialized field, constitute the National Planning

Board set up under the Federal Public Works Administration, with the talented Charles W. Eliot, 2d, as Executive Officer.

While city planning is still in its adolescence, it has at any rate won a recognized place in our social economy. Now as new sections are added to our cities some attempt is made to proceed in an orderly manner. Social and aesthetic values are taken into account. We build with both eyes on the future. We realize that light and space and air are necessary and desirable even for city dwellers. Factories are kept in their place, zoning laws protect our residential sections. We cherish and develop our natural landscape features. We are undertaking to eradicate our slums. The result is that increasingly in the future our cities will be more pleasing to the eye and more comfortable to live in.

We now are taking a further step forward in the matter of planning. If city planning has been worth while, why not go in for national planning? And that is precisely what we are doing in this progressive, forward-looking administration of President Roosevelt.

The determination to embark on an extensive program of public works has furnished us with both the occasion and the means of making at least a tentative beginning in the direction of national planning. It is true that it would have been far better if a National Planning Board had been set up years ago which would have had ready a chart to guide us in our undertaking of a speedy and widespread building program of public works. But since it was not done when it should have been done, it ought to be done now and it is being done now. Early in the Administration, under Title II of the National Industrial Recovery Act, by the authority of the President, the National Planning Board already referred to was appointed. It is a going concern, an integral part of our Public Works Administration, and we hope that long after the necessity for stimulating industry and creating new buying power by a comprehensive system of public works shall be a thing of the past, national planning will go on as a permanent Government institution.

Unfortunately, the pressing necessities of the situation require that we go ahead with our public works program without giving to the National Planning Board the opportunity that it ought to have to study our problems and give us the benefit of its advice. But at any rate we are recognizing correct principles. The National Planning Board is showing every desire to cooperate with us and to advise us without at the same time trying to hold us back in order to achieve an idealistic, if relatively remote, result. It realizes as well as do the rest of us that in this emergency we must go ahead as quickly as possible with our program of public works even if some of them when completed will leave much to be desired from the point of view of intelligent national planning. But in spite of these handicaps that are inherent in the situation we are working together understandingly and happily. We are at least able to establish a precedent, confident that in the future Government will come to rely more and more upon the advice and counsel of experts with a national vision such as these.

Let us hope that the catch-as-catch-can method that ignores the necessity of national planning is a thing of the past. We believe that at last we realize the importance of looking at problems in their entirety. Formerly, if one section of the Mississippi Valley was flooded year after year no one thought of doing more than trying to protect that one particular community, with little regard for the results upon other communities either up or down the stream. Committed to the policy of a particular river development, we have built, let us say, two or three dams out of some fifteen or twenty necessary, leaving it to some future administration to build a few more until, after the passing of a generation or so, the project will be completed, the "improvement" meanwhile being useless for any purpose. Now we propose not to begin any undertaking unless we can finish it. We recognize that it is wasteful economically to expend a little dab of money here and a little there without finishing anything.

Consistent with this new point of view we have appointed a Mississippi Valley Committee, and, to cooperate therewith, a

Missouri Valley Committee, a Red River Valley Committee, and an Arkansas River Valley Committee. All problems now affecting the vast combined watersheds of these rivers will be studied as a whole and no future Federal development with respect to any of these individual watersheds will be undertaken until its relationship to the whole is understood.

Not only are we studying our rivers as entities with a view to instituting only such public works in connection therewith as will be for the best good of the entire rivershed, but we are seriously addressing ourselves to the matter of highways. Heretofore highways have been more or less of a crazy quilt affair. The politician with the strongest pull has been able to entice a concrete road into his community, or past his farm even, although from an engineering and a social standpoint the road should have run elsewhere. When we allocated $400,000,000 out of the public works fund for roads in the various states we stipulated that primarily this money should not be used to build a little bit of road in this township and an unconnected mile of road in the adjoining township, but to join arterial highways, to connect up main roads already partly constructed, so as to work towards a comprehensive and logical network of roads throughout the country. There has been urged upon us for serious consideration from many quarters the building of at least one super highway all the way across the country from which branch roads at appropriate points could diverge. That at least such a transcontinental arterial highway will be built in the future there can be no doubt, thus presenting a problem that the National Planning Board should lose no time in studying. In addition to rivers and roads there is a wide range of subjects which the National Planning Board may properly consider. Questions of transportation and distribution and cost of electric current can well come within its purview as having an important bearing upon community life. Redistribution of population, the necessity and practicability of reclamation projects, harbor improvements, public buildings, the correction of soil erosion, all can be studied by this Board to the profit of the nation. In fact, it is difficult to think

of any domestic interest or activity in which the National Government is concerned which might not first be submitted to the careful scrutiny of the National Planning Board.

Intelligent and comprehensive planning on a national scale fits into the social vision of the future. If, as I believe, we are now definitely committed to the testing of new social values; if we have turned our backs for all time on the dreadful implications in the expression "rugged individualism"; if we have firmly set our feet to tread a new and more desirable social path; if we have given over the feeding not only ourselves but our women and our children to the gluttony of ruthless industrialism; if it is our purpose to make industrialism serve humanity, then national planning will become a major governmental activity.

We have boasted in the past of our illimitable resources in mines, in forests, in streams, thinking of all of these only in terms of possible profits. We have only incidentally appreciated the tremendous recreational, aesthetic and scenic treasures of the United States. Two oceans wash our shores, giving us extended coast lines of infinite beauty and rugged grandeur. The greatest fresh water lakes in the whole world are located within easy reach of as rich soil as lies anywhere in the universe. We possess boundless forests, containing a wide variety of fauna and practically every kind of tree that can be grown in climates ranging from the sub-tropical to the semi-arctic including those oldest and most impressive of living things in the wide world, the great Sequoias that crown the slopes of California. Rushing rivers are ours and gorgeous waterfalls, snow-covered mountains and every variety of topography from the rolling plains in our mid-west to that awe-inspiring gash in the earth known as the Grand Canyon, at the bottom of which tumbles the restless Colorado. All of these things and an infinite variety of others are found under the American flag. Yet of these bounteous gifts of nature we have made but little use. Some of them we have seen cursorily but few of them have we really lived with and drawn inspiration from. We think we have seen the Grand Canyon if we have but peered

over the edge of it at Bright Angel Trail. We talk glibly of the Yellowstone National Park or of Glacier with its towering mountains and its blue lakes that defy description after spending a day or two dashing through them in an automobile. We scale our mountains behind a puffing engine, and we gain our knowledge of the vast trees in California from picture and printed page.

But a new day is coming, a day of greater leisure for the average man and of more intelligent use of that leisure. The tremendous recreational, scenic and aesthetic resources that we have must be put to their full use. First of all, we must preserve them for future generations. We have already made a notable beginning along this line. Our vast system of national parks and monuments and forests already assures for all time to future generations the preservation of the natural beauties and wonders and historic values that are contained in those areas. But we must create more national parks. We must set aside more national monuments. We must add to our national forests. In doing this we will be working along sound economic lines. Most of the areas that are adapted for national parks and monuments and forests are ill adapted for agriculture. Sub-marginal lands on which people in vain have been trying to eke out a bare existence can be made to serve a social and an economic purpose, while the farmers struggling to raise a reluctant crop from sterile soil can be moved to other lands of greater productivity.

While some of us are busy piling up sand bags to repair the breach through which the waters have been rushing to our economic distress, it is sound statesmanship to designate a group of men to look into the future and plan for a happier day, because that happier day will inevitably come and when it does come we want to be in a position to offer to all the people fuller opportunities for happier lives than we have ever had in the past. As architects building a habitation for a new social order, the members of the National Planning Board, and those associated with them, have, it seems to me, the most worth-while and inspiring job in the United States today.

WHAT IS NATIONAL PLANNING?

ARTHUR C. COMEY, Assistant Professor, Harvard School of City Planning

By "national planning" we mean planning for the physical or material development of the nation for human use and enjoyment. While such planning is necessarily based largely on economic, social and political planning it does not embrace these concepts except in so far as they are to be expressed in the physical environment of man. National planning means exercising foresight and directing human efforts according to a scheme for the entire nation, in the same way that city planning means foresight and direction for the development of a single city or urban aggregation. It is a type of regional planning, the largest type—short of world planning—that appears to be significant for the United States at the present time. It seeks to relate the cities and metropolitan areas, as well as the vast non-urban areas, one to another, and to balance the relative merits of regions of all types and sizes in determining their appropriate development for the greatest benefit of the greatest number which the nation can advantageously accommodate. It even pays some regard to those phases of possible world planning which may alter the nation's welfare, in exactly the same way as city planning has paid regard to those phases of regional or state planning which materially affect the city's welfare.

In its simplest form, national planning is the determining of the various uses to which land and natural resources should be put to promote the general welfare. Expressed in another way, it is the locating of the various activities which are to be carried on by man. It seeks to establish a population pattern and environment most favorable to the public welfare. It would supersede planless drifting, subject to the blind or unrecognized forces of nature and personal goals, with a scheme and program of work distributed over a period of years which, we believe, however

insufficient or immature it may be and however much in need of frequent revision, will result in far greater effectiveness of human effort and the saving of untold waste. National planning is not the only means of effecting such benefits but it is emerging as an important one now within, or capable of being brought within, the field of practical application.

National planning must be done with due regard to existing facts and trends, though not in slavish subservience to them. To achieve a brilliant and worth-while goal zealous creative ability must be applied. The problems are so vast and complex that the coordinated efforts of many minds will be necessary to accomplish results worthy of the opportunity now presented by man's rapidly increasing understanding of natural processes and the readiness to utilize them for public ends. The scope of national planning will doubtless change from time to time. Little is to be gained by seeking immediately to embrace matters not appearing capable of being in any way subjected for the present to planned control. However, even such matters must be studied and allowed for in the plan.

In national planning, as in less extensive types of regional planning, there are a number of existing general conditions which must be studied, as they underlie those factors more specifically relating to the details of the plan itself. Without pausing to indicate their respective bearings on the subject, we may enumerate among these at once: climate; topography, natural and man-made; geology in its more general aspects; watershed areas; sociological conditions; and land classification. Some of these studies would appear to be the same or similar in content whenever done, but land classification in particular must vary continually according to the pressure of population that may reasonably be expected within any given period of time.

National planning must be a coordination or synthesis of the individual planning for all the phases of the physical world within its borders. Nevertheless, owing to its vastness and intricacy, we must for the purposes of study and grasp break it down temporarily

into its major components, always being careful nevertheless to retain attention on the interrelation of these components as the main object. For this purpose the major groupings may be, first, the utilization of land and resources—raw materials, their conservation and extraction, agriculture, and reserves for particular purposes; second, the population pattern, especially the distribution of that portion not engaged in extraction or agriculture, in relation to industry, trades and culture; and third, transportation of various types, which is obviously for the most part a means of facilitating activity under the two previous categories and not an end in itself.

Although interlocking of fields constantly occurs, these main categories must again be divided for study. Under the first category will be found: mineral resources—mines, oil, and others; forests, private and public; grazing; farms, including marginal problems; land reclamation—drainage, flood control, prevention of erosion, and irrigation; water-supply, sanitary protection, flood control and power (navigation to be studied primarily as a type of transportation); fisheries; and a number of minor subjects.

Reserves for particular purposes may be grouped as: parks, scenic and others; "monuments," national and historic; wild life; Indian; and military. The unallotted public domain at present constitutes an additional problem.

Planning of the population pattern in relation to industry, trade, and culture involves a study of social, economic, and other factors, trends and causes; the optimum total population for the nation at any given time; the relative advantages of distribution near raw materials and on avenues of trade, whether at or near large centers or not, both for people themselves and for industry considered independently; and the relative merits of many small cities as compared with a few metropolitan regions, which are the modern counterparts of the large city. In common with the planning of large regions, such as the Tennessee Valley, national planning is concerned with the relation of the planning for the physical environment to opportunity for partial or intermittent self-

sustenance and its ultimate desirability or disadvantages. Other "leisure time" problems involve the summer or vacation population pattern and other recreational activities. Recreation in the national plan affords an excellent example of the overlapping of its many phases.

Transportation may be conveniently divided according to type; highways, railroads, waterways, airways, and pipe and power lines. The planner studies especially the relative fields of utilization of these methods and their coordination, as well as the multifarious interrelations between them and land utilization and population pattern. Among special problems he notes the powerful control exerted by the present railroad freight rate structure on the distribution of industry, and how the population pattern may be modified by such methods, whether arbitrary or fitting in with physical factors.

No national planning proposals can be considered complete without consideration of administrative ways and means—their relation to state planning, unemployment relief, and public works; the utilization of federal and other fact-finding agencies; the functioning of an adequate continuing federal planning agency, and legislative possibilities for insuring, or at least effectively promoting, the orderly carrying out of the national plan in the actual progressive development of our physical environment.

PLANNING BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

CHARLES W. ELIOT, 2ND, Executive Officer, National Planning Board

Three chapters on Planning in The President's book, "Looking Forward," constitute a chapter for planning in this Administration. *Planning* is a part of the "New Deal." As a result, planning agencies of the Federal Government have been increased in number and in activity during the last six months. In fact, there are now so many different kinds of planning going on in Washington, and so many agencies concerned with these different kinds of planning, that a guidebook needs to be written so that the intelligent citizen can find his way around.

This is no place for a dull recital of names and places, nor is this an occasion for detailed technical analysis of planning problems, so I am going to devote the time allotted to me this afternoon to introducing some new words into the planning dictionary. By grouping the various planning activities in relation to those words, the inter-relationships between the various planning groups and organizations can, perhaps, be made clearer.

I think new words are necessary, because "planning" alone has become such an inclusive word that it is losing some of its special significance. We need to separate out its different meanings and give them new names. Just think how many subtilties of meaning can be implied by words with planning connotations, such as projecting, purposing, designing, charting, listing, programming, coursing, drafting, scheming, etc. Some of these words can be useful in differentiating different planning activities.

In general, the planning work now going on in Washington is of three types, or rather represents three different approaches to our current problems in organization and direction. Numerous magazine articles during the last few years have been written on "Economic Planning." An equally active group of planning

enthusiasts look at the problem from the point of view of administrative or social organization, while a third group, strongly represented in this conference, come at the problem from a physical approach, with interest in a kind of plan which can be shown on a map. All three of these groups talk about planning. They mean quite different things, although they all have a common interest in forethought and organization—the development of order and direction out of a chaos of "*rugged individualism*."

Now for a word to describe "Economic Planning"! I suggest "*charting*." I do so without any malicious reference to the ups and downs of business charts, but rather in the sense of "charting a course" on the business sea. To lay a course for business is so different from drafting a law or budgeting a municipal activity or preparing a major thorofare plan, that we need a distinctive word.

Charting—economic planning—includes a very broad range of subjects, and no one has yet defined the field. The Department of Commerce has an "Advisory and Planning Council," consisting of some fifty business leaders, and they, perhaps, will eventually define the scope of their activities. The chairman of the Council is Gerard Swope, and the permanent secretary is Henry H. Heimann. They are concerned in "providing a sense of direction to business, more particularly in considering long-range problems to be faced if the industry of this country is to be put back on a sound footing . . . ."

Then there is the Special Industrial Recovery Board—a group of Cabinet officers, under Secretary Roper, who sit with General Johnson of the N.R.A., to secure coordination of N.R.A. activities with policies of other branches of the Government. And, within the N.R.A., there is a Division of Research and Planning, under the leadership of Doctor Alexander Sachs.

These *charting* agencies are concerned with such large problems as the organization of industry—whether as a means to recovery, as a civilizing method, or as an economic structure. They must *chart* the organization of business, harmonizing the vertical set-up

of codes by industries with the horizontal organization of trades and occupations fostered by the American Federation of Labor and crystallized in the professions. It is to them that we look to *chart* a course between the perils of Scylla—lack of capital plant—and the Charybdis of overproduction.

As a basis for the *charts* of these planners, the President has recently established a new Central Statistical Board, with representatives from the statistical agencies of practically all Government departments, such as the Census, Labor Statistics, N.R.A., etc. This central fact-finding organization should be of incalculable value to the planners in all fields, but particularly to those seeking a method for progress in economic planning. The amorphous mass of the economic problem may be given form and shape through adequate statistical material and through useful analysis and presentation of these facts.

The second great planning field—social and administrative organization—involves all kinds and problems of Government, but before discussing those problems, let us examine one agency which falls between the organization group and the charting group just discussed. This is the Federal Employment Stabilization Board, which has been concerned with "advance planning of public works." Planning in this sense has been a combination of timing public works in relation to an economic program with a budgetary or priority set-up for public construction. The activities of the Board have even gone into the third field of physical planning through the choice of public works and the assignment of priorities or sequential relationships among projects. This kind of work, which we have heard about this morning from Mr. Badger, might be differentiated from other planning activities by calling it "*programming*." It is fundamentally the formulation of a program of public works, rather than the planning of public works.

The work done by the Federal Employment Stabilization Board lay in several fields because at the time of its creation there was inadequate data available from the sources which might naturally be expected to supply factual information. Since the changes in

the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the reorganization of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce covering construction statistics, and the creation of the Public Works Administration, the work of the Board has been reduced to "programming" Federal projects—almost a budgetary function.

Of course, the outstanding example of planning in the administrative field is the budget—and the meaning of that relatively new word "*budgeting*" is entirely clear to most of us. Another, and older device for financial planning control—the Authorizing Act—is less well understood. Neither the budget nor the Authorizing Act has proven wholly satisfactory from the planning standpoint. The budget in the case of the Federal Government covers only half the story—expenditure—and policies which later involve expenditures are very incompletely coordinated. The Authorizing Act, as a legislative planning expedient, fails to secure policy coordination because, in practice, projects are examined by committees with specialized interests in the field concerned. New planning tools are needed in this fiscal administrative field.

For many years, an increasing group of us here at these Conferences have urged attention to the relationship of taxation policies to zoning and planning work. This field of public finance is a part of the administrative plan.

During the last few months the Director of the Budget has taken a hand at planning the administrative organization of the Government through recommendations to the President for transfer of bureaus and abolition of agencies. The Chief Coordinator's office has been consolidated with the Budget Bureau and still may develop into a planning agency for coordination of procurement, personnel policies, Government transportation and similar activities. A special investigation by a Senatorial Committee is under way to secure information as to needed changes in the form of the District of Columbia government. Except for such sporadic efforts as these, planning for administration is practically nonexistent as a function of the Federal Government. Outside the Federal Government, however, there are numerous studies going

on concerning metropolitan and regional government, county organization and consolidation, municipal reform, and special "Authorities." When we speak of this kind of planning, we have to use words like political science and sociology; might we not specialize the word "*organizing*" to describe planning of Government organizations?

Straddling the gap between "organizing" and physical planning is another agency which has been largely superseded in the New Deal by other authorities. The Division of Building and Housing of the Department of Commerce, which sponsored the Planning Primer and, through its Advisory Committee, contributed notably to the progress of zoning, has been reduced to a skeleton. The work of the Division in stimulating city and regional planning has been largely assumed by the new National Planning Board and other activities are being carried on by the Construction League.

Now we come to the field of National Planning in the sense in which those words have just been defined by Professor Comey. Physical Planning of this sort has developed out of our experience with city and regional planning, and it is, therefore, fitting to start our guidebook in this field with a reference to the only city planning organization of the Federal Government—The National Capital Park and Planning Commission. There is no need before this audience to describe that organization or its work, but I would like to use this reference to city planning as an excuse to coin another word for this kind of planning work. "*Purposing*," according to the dictionary, implies a fixed design and assured success. That would seem to include the basic ideas involved in most of the definitions of city and regional planning.

"*Purposing*" aptly describes the work of the new regional planning experiment of the Tennessee Valley Authority, as you will hear on Wednesday. The leaders of that project will be here themselves to tell you their purpose, so I can hurry on.

Experience with city and regional planning has shown the great variety of activities to be coordinated in various governmental

agencies. The Federal Government is even more complicated than a collection of municipal and county agencies.

Mapping, for instance, is divided among countless bureaus and coordinated through a Federal Board of Surveys and Maps, which includes such agencies as the Geological Survey, Coast and Geodetic Survey, Hydrographic Survey, road maps, park maps, land office maps, etc.

The transportation agencies are almost as numerous, with highways under the Bureau of Public Roads in Agriculture, shipping and aeronautics in Commerce, waterways under the Chief of Engineers in the War Department, and railroads and pipe lines under the Interstate Commerce Commission. To bring together all of these elements, Mr. Joseph Eastman has been appointed Coordinator of Transportation, and a special Transportation Committee with representatives of all the bureaus concerned has been set up with Secretary Roper as Chairman. To describe planning of the transportation system, we need a word with a connotation of movement. Would "*coursing*" do?

Somewhere between the field of Transportation and Land Use, there is a group of government activities relating to the natural resources of the country. Power, for instance, from the point of view of transmission, comes into the transport problem, and at the same time involves relationships with the coal industry, flood control, navigation, and the work of the Geological Survey. An important study of power transmission limits and possibilities is now under way by the Federal Power Commission. The composite studies of the principal rivers of this country by the Corps of Engineers dealing with navigation, power, and flood control, are progressing rapidly and providing a wealth of planning information for future coordinated planning of many drainage basins.

Great progress has been made in the coordination of land use interests through the National Land Use Planning Committee. The Public Lands, Parks, Indian Lands and Reclamation agencies of the Interior Department have been represented on this committee along with the Forest Service and various bureaus of the

Agriculture Department. The future of the Committee is somewhat uncertain, but the work done by Dr. Gray and his associates has demonstrated the necessity and value of continued efforts in this field. Since you are to hear from Doctor Gray himself on the problems in this field, I won't take your time for further emphasis on the importance of *Land Use Planning*.

Finally, we come to the third great tool for physical planning—public construction. Our experience with city and regional planning seems to me to have proven that transportation, land use and public construction are the three keys to planning progress. Planning of Public Works I call "*projecting*," because it happily combines the idea of developing coordinated projects with the idea of pushing ahead—making the speed so necessary in the present emergency.

You are all probably aware of the fact that construction plays a part in the work of almost every bureau of the Federal Government, and that, unlike the central purchasing agency, there is no single construction agent for Federal work. Post Offices, Federal Courts, and office buildings are built by the Supervising Architect of the Treasury; Army posts, barracks and hospitals by the Quartermaster's Corps; dams, docks and retaining walls by the Engineers' Corps; drydocks, hangars, hospitals and houses by the Bureau of Yards and Docks of the Navy; park buildings, Indian schools, reclamation dams by several bureaus of the Interior Department, etc.

Through the new Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, a composite program for construction by all these agencies is now being developed. The Special Board of Public Works, presided over by Secretary Ickes as Public Works Administrator, passes on all projects, and thereby secures the views of Cabinet members or their representatives on each proposal.

Then, there is the vigorous interest of the Deputy Administrator, Colonel Henry M. Waite, in the planning aspects of the Public Works program. The instructions for applications and the reports of the State Engineers require explanation of the relation of all

projects to city and regional plans. Through the Regional Advisers, efforts are being made by the Public Works Administration to encourage existing planning agencies and to formulate new planning organizations in States and Regions, and real progress is being made.

Finally, the Administrator, Secretary Ickes, has appointed a National Planning Board to consider the long-range aspects of the Public Works program in relation to all other activities of the Federal Government which may contribute to sound organization of national economy and the future well-being of all the people. The Board he has appointed combines all three of the main types of planning which I have been discussing. Each group is represented by a man preeminent in that particular field. Doctor Wesley C. Mitchell, of the National Bureau of Economic Research, represents "*charting*," and through his previous work on "Recent Economic Changes" and on the "Committee on Social Trends," is obviously qualified to lead in the "charting" movement. Doctor Charles E. Merriam, Political Science Professor of the University of Chicago, through his practical political experience, and as Vice Chairman of the Committee on Social Trends, is the obvious man to lead in the "*organizing*" field of planning work. And Mr. Frederic A. Delano, who did so much to start the Chicago Plan, carried through the New York Plan, and who still heads the Washington Planning organization, is the natural representative of the physical planning movement, including "*purposing*," "*projecting*" and all its other aspects.

Planning in all its various fields is thus represented on the new National Planning Board, and with the support and assistance of such organizations as those sponsoring this meeting, the way is open for planning progress. We count on your help.

NATIONAL PLANNING IN TRANSPORTATION

DR. HAROLD G. MOULTON, President, The Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C.

Let me begin by calling your attention to the historical fact that a hundred years ago in this country systematic government planning in the field of transportation was the order of the day. I may recall to you that it was from this city of Baltimore that the first railway line was constructed in 1829; and that it was just a hundred years ago, this decade, that various state governments embarked upon extensive programs of public works—which meant in those days mainly railways, canals, and turnpike highways. Vast systems of coordinated transportation agencies were planned in nearly a score of states, and many of them were constructed.

The costs involved in these undertakings were to be liquidated by the tolls and other charges levied against the users of these transportation agencies. But the costs proved so excessive and the growth of traffic so slow that when the great economic crisis of 1837 and ensuing depressions occurred state governments generally went bankrupt and many of these ill-fated transportation enterprises were abandoned before they were completed. The ultimate financial outcome in Michigan may be taken as typical. In 1846 two strips of railway were sold by the state for $2,500,000 and "here virtually ceased to exist all of our works of internal improvement. Nothing but the debris of our airy castles remained, and that only to plague our recollections."

I cite the sad results of this experiment in transportation planning a century ago not with a view to suggesting to your minds that such is ever the result of interference with economic laws by the resort to government planning and control. The purpose is merely to provide a background for understanding why in the ensuing century the transportation development of the United States proceeded along independent and uncoordinated lines.

At the beginning of our railway history there was no predisposition against government ownership of railway carriers. In fact, in the decade of the 1830's, it appeared likely that our railway system would be predominantly constructed and operated by the states. But as a result of the disastrous effects of the crisis of 1837 upon the financial conditions of state governments, public sentiment turned violently against state government participation in transportation, and revised state constitutions in many cases explicitly forbade such participation in the future. The way was thus cleared for transportation to develop under private initiative.

In the ensuing decades state highway systems largely succumbed to the competition of the railways, and public road construction became almost exclusively a function of township and county governments. Private enterprise fought shy of the towpath and the canal boat, and turned to steel rail and the iron horse. By the seventies canal and river transportation was doomed as a profit-making enterprise. It was necessary to charge tolls on waterways in order to defray the cost of canal and river improvements; but if tolls were charged the combined water rate plus toll was substantially higher than railway rates, and the traffic would therefore go to the railway. With a view to preserving water transportation, tolls were abolished in the eighties by congressional act on rivers and federal canals and by state laws with reference to state canals. Even so, the waterways were unable to maintain their former position and in the last quarter of the nineteenth century canal and river traffic largely disappeared.

It was then concluded that the explanation of the failure of water transportation was the inadequate depth of existing canals and river channels. Hence, about the turn of the century a great movement was inaugurated for the rehabilitation and deepening of our inland waterways. This movement, in fact, resulted between 1900 and 1930 in federal expenditures for the construction and maintenance of our waterways amounting to $1,177,000,000. This waterway policy, carried out almost entirely under the auspices of the Federal Government, has in no sense been co-

ordinated with other aspects of our transportation policy. These waterways have been constructed, not because of a deficiency of other means of transportation, but as a means of lessening the cost of transportation to shippers—the slightly lower rates on the waterways being made possible by government subsidies which are contributed by the taxpayers.

Meanwhile, the last thirty years has also seen the extensive development of a third great agency of transportation, namely, the state and national highways, and the beginnings of a fourth, namely, air transport. The construction of hard-surfaced long-distance highways was undertaken primarily for the purpose of accommodating passenger vehicles, mainly pleasure bent. But as soon as these highways became available, long-distance freight traffic by means of the truck became a possibility; hence a new and very significant competing transportation agency arrived.

In the light of this history it is readily apparent why we do not possess in this country a unified national transportation *system*, or anything resembling a national transportation *policy*. The inevitable result has been to give us several different types of transportation agency—railways, highways, waterways, airways, and oil and gasoline pipe lines—which are largely uncoordinated in their activities, and regulated in the light of no consistent principles. The net result of our haphazard transportation development has been to give us a great excess of transportation capacity even in normal times and unreasonably high transportation charges. It has also imposed heavy and unnecessary burdens upon the American taxpayer.

Let us turn now from *sad* contemplation of the existing state of affairs to the problem of coordinating our transportation agencies in the light of sound national policies. I shall confine myself to a statement of the basic principles involved. Discussion of the need of coordination or unification of transportation agencies usually proceeds upon the basis of hazy but well-sounding generalizations to the effect that each form of transportation has its logical place in the transportation system as a whole, and that all forms of

transportation should therefore be given governmental encouragement. But such argument is based on no clearly defined *principle.* It suggests no *test* for determining sound national policy. The primary and preliminary necessity is to set up a standard for judging what forms of transportation are best adapted to our needs.

In general terms the answer may be stated very simply. We, the people, require of our transportation agencies one primary thing, namely, the movement of commodities and people in the cheapest and most efficient manner possible. In pursuit of this objective there should be no predisposition to favor any particular type of transportation agency. It is immaterial whether all traffic moves by one form of transportation or another; whether certain types of traffic are carried exclusively by some particular agency; or whether all forms of transportation are used as parts of a coordinated system. The primary requirement is that freight and passenger traffic actually shall move by the particular transportation agency or agencies which can carry it, all elements of cost considered, in the most economical and serviceable way.

With this test of efficient transportation clearly defined, we next inquire what changes of national policy are required in order to make sure that the test of economic efficiency will be applied or have the opportunity to function in connection with the further development of transportation. The answer is that our system of regulation must be so revised as to place our various forms of transportation on a basis of *economic parity or equality.* This means that none should be given any artificial advantage in competing for traffic. All transportation agencies should be treated exactly alike in the matter of government aid, legal rights, and taxation. When this is done traffic will automatically move over that agency which can render service at lowest cost. But if any particular type of transportation agency is given special advantages, in the form of exemption from taxation, or subsidies from the government treasury, traffic may be diverted to the less economical type of carrier. Moreover, when any form of transpor-

tation is subsidized by the government, we are not likely to know thereafter whether traffic is in fact actually moving by the cheapest method of transport. This is because some of the costs are buried in the general accounts of the government, and it is only when they are painstakingly extricated therefrom and converted to ton-mile rates for the routes in question that anyone knows what the total cost really is.

In general, our present system of regulation, taxation, and government subsidy has in fact led to great economic inequalities as between our various transportation agencies. Oil and gasoline pipe lines obtain no subsidies or free services of any kind from the government and they pay their proportionate share of property and income taxation. The railroads, taken as a whole, have received, in the form of early land grants and other financial aids, a subsidy equivalent to approximately 4 per cent of the book value of their properties, though many individual roads have received no grants of any kind. In return for land grants, railroads are bound by agreement to carry mail and military supplies and troops at low rates. Railroad taxation, both property and income, is levied in accordance with general taxation principles. In the case of inland canals and canalized rivers, all the capital costs and maintenance charges are borne by the government, and in some cases the government itself operates barges on a basis which is not self-sustaining. Boat companies pay personal property and income taxes; but the water highway is untaxed. Some of the intercoastal shipping carriers are given government aid in the form of mail subsidies and favorable terms in connection with the purchase of ships.

Until recently the license fees and gasoline taxes paid by the users of the highways did not contribute sufficient revenues to cover capital costs and maintenance outlays on the highways. But for the country as a whole, with the situation varying widely in different states, contributions from highway users now approximately cover the current annual cost of state and county highways, but not township highways or the city street divisions of state

highways. These highway taxes thus contribute virtually nothing for the general support of government. All railway taxes, on the other hand, are available for general government purposes, for the railways do not have to be constructed or kept in repair at the expense of the state. In many communities most of the funds for the support of public schools now come from railway taxes. Air transport receives heavy mail subsidies and also large municipal aids in connection with airports. The airplane companies pay personal property and income taxes, but little or no real estate taxes.

Similar variations exist with respect to regulation. Our various agencies of regulation are uncoordinated and often conflicting in purpose. Railways, express service, and oil and gasoline pipe lines are under the control of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Highways, so far as the Federal Government is concerned, are under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Public Roads of the Department of Agriculture. Air transport falls under both the Department of Commerce and the Post Office Department. The following federal agencies are concerned in one way or another with waterways and shipping: the Interstate Commerce Commission; the Corps of Engineers of the War Department; the Bureau of Lighthouses of the Department of Commerce; the Bureau of Navigation and Steamboat Inspection of the Department of Commerce; the Coast Guard of the Treasury Department; the United States Shipping Board; and the Inland Waterways Corporation of the War Department.

The scattering of these regulatory agencies among many departments of government is not the result of any plan; it is merely haphazard growth. The location of a regulatory body may depend upon technical or political considerations or upon the influence of a particularly powerful government official. Once organized, either separately or in connection with a given department, the regulatory or promotional activities are governed in part by Congressional acts and in part by policies formulated within the interested bureau or department. The character of Congressional legislation

is moreover greatly influenced by the policies and requests of the various regulatory or promotional agencies. This is particularly the case with the promotional phases of the problem. Under a system that developed in this fashion it was inevitable that regulatory and promotional agencies should have varied and conflicting objectives. The very system itself, moreover, militates against thinking in terms of *transportation*, as distinguished from some particular form of transportation.

We cannot make even a beginning toward the establishment of an economically sound national transportation system until our system of regulation is unified. Efficient coordination and the movement of traffic by the cheapest possible agency, or combination of agencies, cannot possibly be realized under an uncoordinated regulatory system such as we now possess. Not until we establish a unified system of regulation, which will place all transportation agencies upon a basis of economic equality will it be possible to have a really unified, efficient transportation system. Economic *equality* means, it should be clearly understood, that all forms of transportation must be treated exactly alike in the matter of taxation, subsidies, and restriction or other regulation. Unified federal control is essential for the establishment and carrying out of such a principle.

Coordination and integration of existing agencies would, I believe, be furthered greatly by permitting the development of *transportation* companies as distinguished from railroad, or highway, or waterway, or airplane companies. In principle there can be no objection to boat or truck companies' engaging in the railroad business, or vice versa—so long as public control is adequate to prevent abuse.

As the largest factor in the transportation situation, the railroad company is perhaps ideally designed to serve as the nucleus of a comprehensive agency of transportation. Indeed, the early railroads were conceived as something more than roads of rails; their primary business was transportation. This basic idea was expressed in the titles named in some of the early chapters, as, for

example, "The New Jersey Railroad and Transportation Company" (1832). Some railroads have interests in airplane companies; and others operate motor vehicles, usually through subsidiary or affiliated corporations. They are forbidden, however, by the Panama Canal Act of 1912 to engage in water transportation on that canal "or elsewhere," if the water route and the railway are competitive.

The fear which some express that if railroad companies were permitted to engage in other forms of transportation they would proceed at once to throttle competition, regardless of transportation economies, seems unwarranted. A railroad company, converted to a transportation company, would still be interested in maximum profits. If it proved cheaper to send certain commodities, or for that matter all traffic, by truck, or bus, or airplane, or boat, as the case might be, such companies would be shortsighted indeed if they failed to use the alternative agencies.

In this discussion I have given no attention to the relation of transportation to other aspects of our economic and social life. This is because it seems to me essential that we undertake first to plan a transportation system itself on a truly national scale. Nowhere is there greater economic waste, greater working at cross purposes or greater confusion in national policy. Nowhere is there a greater opportunity for reorganization along genuinely constructive lines.

In the question and discussion period which followed, Messrs. Ihlder, Segoe, Bibbins, Bellman, Bassett, Comey, Whitten and Eliot participated.

Dr. Moulton, in summing up the discussion, said: "I agree with several speakers that the question of rate regulation is as important as the selection of the best method of transportation. I appreciate, for instance, that our railroad system is uneconomic and that the charges for such transportation will continue to be high although they may be the lowest among the different types of transportation facilities. The railroad rate structure, however, is a very complex affair and the composite result of many competitive factors and of many regulatory acts. If you are interested in

making a transportation system a means for readjusting the industrial structure of the country, the place to begin is not with the rate structure. I merely point out to you that you must build transportation systems with some objective. For my part, I am skeptical about the possibilities of any group determining for the whole American people just what their industrial set-up and organization should be and just where they should live. If national planners cannot agree upon a feasible industrial reorganization of the country and the shifting of population which will commend itself to the majority of people, then they must give up utilizing that kind of device as a means of readjusting the transportation system and the railroad rate structure."

FEDERAL GRANTS FOR THE MAKING OF PLANS

HERBERT L. BADGER, General Manager, Bell Telephone Company of Pennsylvania

A thoroughly organized and well-planned effort designed to correct some of the important factors in the present emergency is now under way. Heretofore we have relied upon natural processes to adjust such conditions, but since these methods have not been as effective as in the past, we are undertaking to stimulate improvement by planned control. A definite change from individual initiative, enterprise and industry to a form of central collective control is being tried out. Since planners have undertaken to promote the idea of collective approach to the solution of community problems, they should play a more important part in this recovery program than at any previous time.

Since an emergency requires rapid fire decisions and thoughtful consideration is not always possible, there is all the more reason for well-conceived plans which will materially aid in coordinating the new requirements with existing conditions and in conserving capital investment and subsequent expenses. The problem of maintaining a balanced procedure is more essential than in less troublesome times and more than usually difficult because of our desire to move fast. Moreover, when the finances of many of our political units are in a very critical state and we are cautious about further capital expenditures, the necessity for well-considered plans and programs for community services is apparent. The relative order of importance of projects and their respective costs should be clearly established and carefully weighed.

Too often, contemporary thought in a transitional period is focused on the immediate crisis; it fails to weigh carefully the permanent results which may follow from decisions of the moment.

Unless there is available a program of development, where the elements are economically sound and not merely desirable and passingly popular, the mistakes of the past, which brought about the present impasse, will be duplicated.

Experience indicates that the following policies and methods are very essential in any well-considered public works planning:

Fundamental Considerations

The basic data for consideration of all community needs are estimates of population trends. Not so long ago it was the thought of those who were best qualified to express an opinion on this subject that our population, nationally considered, would not become stable until about the year 2000. These same opinions now indicate that this condition of stable population will probably occur much sooner, in some estimates as early as 1950. The restriction of immigration, the decreasing birth rate, and the longer life term of individuals largely control population increase and the present tendency surely indicates a decided reduction in the past rate of increase. Consequently, we may have to alter materially our ideas as to quantities, time of placement, or both. In other words, we cannot rely too much on historical experience in this fundamental consideration.

Aside from these basic factors in population trends, such evolutions as the transition in transportation from the old, accepted forms to the motor car has had a great effect on the migration of the existing population.

A new problem is now confronting us. Under the most favorable conditions, will it be possible in the years immediately ahead to place back in industry all who were engaged in it and are now idle? It may be found desirable to make the land again attractive so that those whom industry cannot re-employ at once may become self-sustaining.

In real estate, as well as in industry and agriculture, supply and demand seem out of balance, and much thought must be given to the necessary readjustments to again restore that balance. On

this score, reliable data seems to indicate that there is a definite relationship between the necessary number of firms or business establishments to every 100,000 population, and this relationship seems to remain rather constant in the larger cities. Further, there seems to be something like a constant relationship between the entire number of firms in a city and those which allocate themselves to the central business district.

Another important factor in residential real estate considerations is the number of family units to be provided for rather than merely the gross number of inhabitants. Such basic data should be very helpful in bringing about a better-balanced condition, more stability of real estate values, a more reliable index of tax expectancy and more certainty as to the revenue-producing possibility of new projects, all of which factors are vital in sound planning.

Policies

1. Maximum public participation to insure public interest and support.
2. Careful collection and interpretation of local ideas as to needs, welded into a homogeneous whole in an acceptable manner.
3. Strongly held diverse opinions should be reconciled in order to insure a maximum of cooperative action.
4. A maximum conservation of what is already consummated rather than costly readjustment of existing conditions to attain the ideal arrangement.
5. Pay-as-you-go, always bearing in mind that at times there is economy to build for the future when undertaking a project.
6. Pay-as-you-use, as far as practicable.

Methods

1. A stock-taking of needs for as long a period in advance as reliable data will justify.
2. Determination of the best engineering solution for supplying these needs.
3. Coordination of these needs with what we already have.

4. Establishing the time these needs will be required.

5. Program of needs coordinated with ability to provide capital and funds for subsequent support.

Cooperation

To sum up, an emergency calls for action. Many needed public works have been deferred because of the state of public finances. The Federal Government is willing to help. We hesitate because of economic difficulties. It, therefore, seems necessary that we have faith and courage, be willing to risk something to promote recovery, even if the cost pinches in the immediate future, with the belief that as recovery comes we will participate eventually.

John H. Millar, Editor, Millar's Housing Letter, Chicago, Illinois: To plan or not to plan is the question which has been agitated in Washington for some time in connection with public works in general and housing and slum clearance in particular. Haste is demanded in order to put men to work. Planning is demanded, and planning takes time. To a considerable extent, comprehensive planning and immediate activity to combat unemployment are opposed to each other. The planning advocates admit the dangers of delay, but contend that the advantages outrun the disadvantages. A compromise between planning and expediency is likely. There are many projects which common sense says are in line with sensible community development. It is known in advance that they would be included in any program. Such projects can be picked out for immediate construction. Meanwhile work on comprehensive plans can go ahead.

The emphasis should be on regional planning. It would be unwise to provide federal handouts for hundreds of *city* planning bodies. By adding to the strength of the regional agency which does the most planning for an entire metropolitan area, or even for a whole state, Federal Government will be aiding indirectly all the local planning bodies in the same area. Stronger regional planning of this sort will pave the way for building better metropolitan governments, more in tune with present-day needs than the "horse and buggy" hodge-podge of miscellaneous government found in most urban areas.

We need comprehensive, adequate planning of urban regions. We

shall not get such planning without regional planning agencies adequately staffed and financed. These are rarely found. For the following reasons, therefore, we should favor the frank recognition of planning itself as the first and basic public work, and we should recommend that a 30 per cent grant should be made immediately available to planning agencies that come up to standards to be set by the Federal Government:

1. Most money used for planning goes out in wages and salaries. Use of federal funds to promote prompt reemployment of planners, engineers, and draftsmen is within the spirit of the Act.
2. With federal money to be had for planning, adequate local planning agencies will spring up more rapidly than if the Federal Government offers only advice.
3. The quality of urban, metropolitan, regional, and state planning will be much improved by the federal supervision that will accompany financial aid.
4. Money will be saved in the long run. Better planning means fewer costly mistakes. A single mistake on a single public work in some remote mountain location can easily cost more than all the money it would take to provide a 30 per cent subsidy to all the planning agencies there are.

As a result of the remarks of Mr. Badger and Mr. Millar, the Conference adopted the following Resolution:

"WHEREAS, as stated in Circular 1, Section 6, Subtitle (1) page 7 of the Rules prescribed by the President setting forth the Purposes, Policies, Functioning and Organization of the Emergency Administration, it is the function of the Administrator, the State Advisory Board and the State Engineer to consider each project submitted to them in its relation to coordinated planning, and its social desirability, and

"WHEREAS, the selection of projects and the rapidity of progress of the Public Works Program will largely depend on the availability and adequacy of such coordinated plans,

"*Be It Therefore Resolved*, That the President and such officers and directors of the Conference as he may designate are hereby requested to wait upon the Federal Emergency Administrator of Public Works at the earliest possible moment and to respectfully

suggest that he declare the function of planning to be an essential public work and as such, when exercised by public bodies under proper restrictions, to be eligible to receive grants and loans as the Administrator may approve."

Mr. Alfred Bettman, President of the Conference, in pursuance of the above resolution, conducted negotiations personally with the Public Works Administrator, Harold L. Ickes. Mr. Ickes indicated genuine sympathy for the proposal, but because of legal obstacles, took the matter up with the General Counsel for the Public Works Administration. Subsequently, in a letter to Mr. Bettman, Mr. Ickes said:

"Our General Counsel informs me that there is doubt of my power to finance regional or local master plans not directly and immediately connected with any specific public works project. This doubt arises in part from the provision of Section 203 requiring security for any loan made by the United States. Local and regional planning agencies are not authorized to incur indebtedness. However, by Section 201 (b) the Administrator may make such expenditures as are necessary to carry out the provisions of Title II of the Act. Section 202 directs him to prepare a comprehensive program of public works. If I find the aid of any public planning agency will further that preparation, I am empowered to finance its work in that regard.

"The process is this. The regional or local planning authority will formulate its planning project in such manner as to show what it proposes to do, together with the expense of accomplishment, and submit it to the National Planning Board for that Board's recommendation to the Special Board for Public Works. That Board may finance it as an administrative expense."

In other words, to the extent that local planning activities are demonstrated to be constituent parts of the larger job of comprehensive national planning, the obtainable federal aid is not 30 per cent but 100 per cent. The next move must be made by the planning agencies of the country.

PLANNING CONSIDERATIONS IN VARIOUS KINDS OF PUBLIC WORKS

RUSSELL V. BLACK, Planning Consultant, Princeton, N. J.

It is quite natural that this session of the Conference, which will be conducted as a forum, should be devoted to the discussion of the need for planning as a basis of a public works program.

We have seen during the last three or four years hundreds of thousands of men placed upon made work, and in many communities on work which amounts to little or nothing, although these very communities have had many pressing physical needs toward the meeting of which unemployed labor might have been directed if plans had been ready.

The need for comprehensive plans as a basis for emergency public work is little different from the need for comprehensive plans as a basis for all public works during normal times. The only difference is that, because of the pressure of the emergency, there is greater danger in the lack of plan because of the tendency to accept projects with a minimum of consideration merely to get things going. As to the soundness of public works as one means of depression breaking, it seems to me there can be no doubt. A year or so ago I estimated from the figures available from Federal records and other sources that it would require something like twenty-five million labor years of 300 days each to bring the requirements in the fields of housing, street and road improvement, and reforestation alone, up to what might be considered a reasonable standard. That is enough work for twenty-five million men upon the old basis of the eight-hour day and six-day week or enough to consume our total maximum unemployment for perhaps two and one-half years. For use as a work reservoir that would have a great stabilizing influence.

Mr. Badger spoke of the "pay-as-you-go" policy with which I

think all of us agree. I would, however, make the suggestion that cities might well consider the logic of borrowing in times of depression with close observance of a "pay-as-you-go" policy during prosperity even to the extent of increased taxation, to pay off the depression loan and to build a prosperity surplus for a succeeding period of depression.

The selection of new projects in a public works program should be based upon such criteria as these. Is the project economically and socially justified? Is it needed? What is the need of the project in relation to other projects? Economic and social justification, time limits and balances cannot, in my opinion, be determined except upon the basis of a comprehensive plan which includes a long-term financial and time sequence program. This applies to all public works programs whether for city, county, state or nation. Unfortunately, few political subdivisions find themselves now equipped with adequate plans. The results have been general failure to participate in this opportunity offered by the Federal Government, and the submission to Washington as subjects for loans of many miscellaneous and unrelated projects.

There is one illustration with which I am familiar in the State of New Jersey. About a year ago Princeton University, which had been requested to make suggestions for reorganization of the state's finances and the state's administration, recommended as a first step the preparation of a comprehensive state plan. This suggestion was ignored. Several months later the Governor of New Jersey appointed a lay committee to advise upon a public works program. A number of pet projects were thrown in for consideration, projects which the promoters had not succeeded in putting over during normal times because they obviously were not clearly justified; they did creep into the list submitted to Washington. Other projects were uncoordinated, as illustrated by that for the reclamation and flood control of the Passaic River Valley. The New York Regional Plan had suggested the use of a considerable part of the Passaic River Valley as park area, but the program as submitted to Washington contained no mention of parks or

parkways. It proposed to improve the river valley and increase the value of the marginal lands and so, indirectly, prevent the acquisition of those lands for parks and parkways by the imposition of prohibitive cost. A further illustration, offered by the New Jersey program, of the tendency of ill-considered projects to creep into public works programs in absence of comprehensive plan, is the proposal to construct a very questionable sea level canal across the state at a cost estimated to exceed the cost of the Panama Canal.

Much might be said also about the extent to which the federal housing programs are being delayed because of the lack of adequate planning.

I think it is obvious that we need to put our planning commissions back to work. We need to create new planning commissions. We need to build up planning departments. We need to make plans with borrowed funds if necessary, and to do what we can to persuade the Federal Government that plans are a proper subject for loans and for grants because they are essentially capital improvements.

JACOB L. CRANE, JR., Washington, D. C.: None of us here would quarrel with the statement that organized planning should lie behind public works programs, but we all fumble after some means of bringing it about.

Here are two illustrations where it has actually happened more by accident than otherwise, since in both instances the work was begun before the present emergency public works projects were under way.

Nearly three years ago a preliminary report was made on city planning for Illinois. It was done during the course of three months and was largely a matter of assembling and interpreting existing material. Although the report had no official status, it has, to a considerable degree, affected the thinking about highway locations and about the land which will probably go out of agricultural use and become eligible for national forests. It has quite definitely hastened the designation of two areas for national forest preservation. It has in at least two municipalities influenced water supply projects. These influences have become more pronounced during the course of this federal public works program.

In Iowa about two years ago the State set in motion a conservation plan which was finished and put into official form last spring. While other states were struggling to discover whether they could use C. C. C. camps, Iowa had on its books in sufficiently precise form a program into which twenty-six camps could be fitted directly. Several phases of the conservation plan were pushed ahead not less than five years over normal progress; the State of Iowa will save several hundred thousand dollars besides the savings affected by the use of the C. C. C. men. The conservation plan also greatly clarified the interrelationship between the use of surface ways for water supply, fisheries and sewage disposal and made possible much wiser allocation of highway funds from the Public Works Administration.

Myron Downs, Cincinnati, Ohio: Under the laws of Ohio, the Cincinnati City Plan was officially adopted in 1925 and since 1926 the city has maintained a regular staff for the study of physical problems from the planning viewpoint.

When the Federal Department asked us in early June, "What can you put up in the form of a thirty, sixty and ninety day program?", it was possible for the City Manager to sit down with the Director of Public Works and the representative of the Planning Commission and say, "Here is twenty-three million dollars' worth of work from the city plan which should be done. Of that there is sixteen million dollars' worth on which preliminary surveys and plans at some stage or other are in the files, and of that there is six million dollars' worth which should be done as fast as possible."

As a result of these conferences, last week the first actual contracts were signed with the Federal Government. Some of these projects are small, but they are important little cogs in the perfection of the major and minor thoroughfares of Cincinnati or its recreational services.

In Hamilton County there was organized in 1929 a Regional Planning Commission which had the job of making a plan for the entire County area of 470 square miles. In this area there are twenty-six municipalities, including the City of Cincinnati, some large and some very small villages under 5,000 population. Each municipality having a planning commission appointed two members to the Regional Planning Commission. The financing of the Commission's work is done on the basis of the areas which the various delegates represent. The county commissioners pay the

largest portion of the cost. In January of this year the county commissioners asked the Regional Planning Commission to submit a program of public thoroughfare construction in order of urgency. In May this report was submitted to the commissioners and in September an $11,000,000 program was submitted to the State Advisory Board, including over 50 road projects varying from $4,000,000 down to $2,000, and all the projects except two, the total cost of which would not exceed $10,000, were from the official thoroughfare plan of the County.

L. Segoe, Cincinnati, Ohio: Generally speaking, those planning organizations which have recognized that a comprehensive plan is their first responsibility have succeeded in getting their most vital recommendations into the public works program. The explanation is simple. An active planning organization administering a comprehensive plan appears year after year before the City Council to urge that a portion of their plan be included in the program. Although their requests are usually deferred from year to year, every time they secure more publicity and more discussion so that finally when this opportunity came for getting Federal money for the carrying out of projects, many of the deferred recommendations of the Planning Commission were accepted by the public and accepted by local officials and consequently have become established in the local programs which have been submitted to Washington.

Harry F. Harris, Mercer County, N. J.: The value of the Mercer County Plan has been demonstrated in many ways since its presentation to the public in the fall of 1931.

The Engineering Department of the County has used it in developing an unemployment relief program, utilizing the services of from 500 to 800 men per week and constituting an expenditure of several hundred thousand dollars. The Plan has also proved invaluable in scheduling improvements in the Township within the County but for which the County does not contribute directly toward the cost of construction. The State Highway Department is likewise using the plan in allotting funds for State-aid projects to the Townships.

The Plan shows the ultimate desirable width of roads. This should accomplish two things:

(a) It would be helpful to the governing board in approving or disapproving land development plans showing street extensions.

(b) It should protect the right of way from building encroachments, thereby saving vast sums in damage claims when actual improvements are undertaken. It has been demonstrated that developers will gladly lay out streets of ample width if proper plans have been adopted by the road authorities.

The Planning Commission has now in preparation a set of uniform rules and regulations to govern subdivision of land and its control for townships. Another important use to which the Plan is being put is in the rebuilding of County bridges, which work is entirely under County control. The type, width and character of each bridge are determined largely by reference to the plan and in accordance with the classification of the road, that is, whether it is a primary, secondary or tertiary highway.

HAROLD S. BUTTENHEIM, New York, New York:—It seems to me that the important thing that planning commissions have done and ought to continue to do is to determine,—first, the desirability and comparative importance of various public works projects, and second, to fix the location of the projects and the time when they should be constructed. All this can be done without the preparation of a definite construction plan, which is a job for another agency, such as the city engineer's office. It would seem, therefore, very desirable to induce the Federal Government immediately to make an adequate appropriation to be distributed all over the country by which funds could be made available to determine the comparative urgency and the approximate location of public works projects. If that determination could be made speedily, Congress should then be asked, at its next session, to appropriate another three billion, or even five billion, for construction in accordance with the above decisions.

I believe there has been unjustified criticism of the administration for not acting on plans. There have been few plans produced by city planners which can actually be used as blueprints for construction purposes.

JOHN NOLEN, Cambridge, Massachusetts: With rare exceptions I do not believe it is a practicable procedure to have on hand com-

plete constructions plans for public works and to hold these plans in readiness for some future opportunity for execution. A public work, to be most economically and satisfactorily designed, must be designed and detailed just about the time when it is to be constructed. Merely the passing of time brings changes in material, in the labor situation, in the personnel of the administrative authorities, and all these things may very materially change any plan of construction.

HARLAND BARTHOLOMEW, St. Louis, Missouri: We must be careful, however, that our planning is not too general. We cannot deny a criticism that our work is sometimes too idealistic. We must carry our plans to the point where we can be sure that it is practical to execute them. I can illustrate best by the experience in St. Louis where, as you all know, a plan was prepared in detail enough so that it became the basis of a ten-year program of construction, made possible by the bond issue of 1933. Just recently a very ambitious undertaking, involving the straightening of the Mississippi River and the reclamation of about three thousand acres of land for a park and a downtown airport, was prepared in such detail in the Planning Commission's office, that it could be used as a basis of discussion in conferences with the Federal Engineering authorities who had jurisdiction. The project now stands in a somewhat modified form with the approval of the Engineering Corps of the United States Army.

NATIONAL PLANNING AND THE AMERICAN CIVIC ASSOCIATION

FREDERIC A. DELANO, Chairman, National Planning Board, Washington, D. C.

Nearly 40 years ago there was organized in Louisville, Kentucky, the American Park and Outdoor Art Association which seven years later joined with the American League for Civic Improvement to form the American Civic Association. The avowed purpose of the Outdoor Art Association was to promote the advancement of landscape art, the extension of public parks and the conservation of natural scenery. The Civic Improvement League aimed to make the United States of America the most beautiful country in the world. At the time of the merger, in Saint Louis in 1904, the American Civic Association set forth its objectives as "the cultivation of higher ideals of civic life and beauty in America, the promotion of city, town and neighborhood improvement, the preservation and development of landscape, and the advancement of outdoor art."

At that time none of us had heard very much about city planning, though it was only a few years until Chicago, under the leadership of Daniel H. Burnham, put forth its path-finding plan which opened the eyes of the country to the possibilities to be realized under the new technique called "city planning." Already that first World's Fair in Chicago in 1893 had given a new realization to the effects which could be achieved through the collaboration of engineers, architects and landscape architects.

Dr. J. Horace McFarland, who served the American Civic Association as president for more than 20 years, in those early days visited more than 500 cities and towns, opening the eyes of the citizens to the ugliness and the results of the lack of planning. Dr. McFarland frequently has had the experience in recent years

of revisiting a city in which he has been shown entire park systems, remodeled streets and other evidences of planning which the local leaders declared were inaugurated through his vigorous arraignments of ugliness and inconvenience years before.

As the field of city planning has been developed by the technicians and commissions and through the National Conference on City Planning, organized in 1909, the American Civic Association has cooperated with other groups to carry on civic education for planning. The association has given special attention to stimulating regional, state and national planning. At the present time, an eminent planner, Harland Bartholomew of Saint Louis, is chairman of the association's committee on Citizen Support of Planning and Civic Improvement. He is working to give planning officials the understanding and support of citizen groups. Under the chairmanship of Thomas Adams, who was Director of Surveys in the New York Regional Plan, the association organized an exchange-information committee on regional planning, and under the chairmanship of Warren H. Manning a committee on National Plan has been operating for some years.

In Washington, the American Civic Association has a committee of 100 on the Federal City, and in the field some 75 committees on the Federal City. It was through these organizations that the association was able to give leadership and support to the movement to create the National Capital Park and Planning Commission, the first permanent planning commission for the Federal City since the days of l'Enfant.

For many years we have advocated in season and out of season adequate planning agencies in the Federal Government. We have lived to see fine technical plans prepared for the National Parks, National Forests, public roads and other lands owned or supervised by the Federal Government.

Now through all the emergency construction being carried on for relief we are finding that those projects which are based on well-conceived plans which are tied in with larger plans, are receiving more prompt and surer attention than those where the planning must be attempted *de novo*.

We are heartened by the evidences of planning in the emergency construction agencies. Under the Tennessee Valley Authority, a strong planning department has been created directed by Earle S. Draper. In connection with the Public Works Administration a Planning Board of three citizens, with Charles Eliot as Executive Officer, is working to promote the cause of National Planning through the stimulation of local, regional and state planning.

We believe that when you see the small exhibit which we have assembled in Washington to show just one or two typical evidences of planning on the part of federal agencies you will be surprised and impressed with the volume and character of the planning which is going on in the Federal Government.

Here and now I wish to pledge the hearty support of the American Civic Association through its committees, its local groups and its publications, to aid in every possible way the advance of planning and the use of trained planners for land-use and construction programs, carried on, supervised and stimulated by the Federal Government.

The longer I have studied the nature of planning, the more I am impressed that it isn't a job simply for the architects and the engineers or the technical city planners. I remember how glad we were when a group of lawyers headed by Mr. Bassett came to the rescue of city planning by their stimulating advice in regard to zoning, which has since proved a most important element in the planning program. The sociologist group also have been most useful for their advice on housing and community life. We have gotten much help from the economists, and I believe we should get more. I have for a long time felt that there is a close relationship between zoning and taxation, and between taxation and intelligent planning. The burden of taxation which we put upon land frequently compels too intensive use of the land.

We are beginning to arouse the interest of big business in planning. The telephone company has long been noted for its very intelligent work in the planning field, notably its surveys of the trends of city growth.

Recently I had the pleasure, in connection with the work of the National Planning Board, of visiting Concord, New Hampshire, and talking with its very forward-looking Chief Executive, Governor John G. Winant. He turned to me rather suddenly and said: "What do you think of these new economic instruments?"

"Well," I said, "being seventy years old, I was brought up under the views of Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill, and I am having a little hard time keeping up with the procession now."

"John Stuart Mill wasn't such a back number," said he, and read me the following:

"History shows that great economic and social forces flow like a tide over communities only half conscious of that which is befalling them. Wise statesmen foresee what time is thus bringing, and try to shape institutions and mold men's thoughts and purposes in accordance with the change that is silently coming on.

"The unwise are those who bring nothing constructive to the process, and who greatly imperil the future of mankind, by leaving great questions to be fought out between ignorant change on one hand, and ignorant opposition to change on the other."

LARGE-SCALE REGIONAL AND RURAL LAND PLANNING

PROBLEMS AND OBJECTIVES—NATIONAL PHASES

L. C. Gray, Division of Land Economics, United States Department of Agriculture

Introduction

Both Dean Mann and I were asked to discuss the subject of "objectives in land-use planning." In order to avoid undue overlapping, we agreed that he would deal with the state and local phases, and I with the national phases. This works out about like the well-known attempt to settle an issue by cutting the baby in two parts. Land planning is necessarily an organic whole in which distinction between local, state, and national objectives are not easy to draw. Those objectives in land planning that may be regarded as most distinctly national, which fall within my section of the field of discussion, are likewise of local interest. No steps that could be taken by the nation in the field of land planning could fail to be of concern to the localities in which they are applied, nor to require local adjustments to the changes wrought in the carrying out of the national plan.

Concept of National Planning

In essence the idea of national planning recognizes that the end and aim of collective effort is that vague but nevertheless real entity, the general welfare. The interpretation of the general welfare in Nazi Germany, however, is essentially different from what it would be in the United States. In Germany the body politic is being made to function primarily for the glorification of the Reich as a corporate entity—for the recapture of lost provinces and protectorates, for the realization of pan-Germanism, and for

the attainment of a dominant position for Germany in central Europe. How this will make for the welfare of the average German, except as it may bring the transitory thrill that comes when the home team wins, is not clear. In America the exaltation of the nation as a corporate entity always has been and still is subordinated to the objective of realizing the utmost well-being for the citizens who compose the nation. It is obvious, however, that this is a very much less tangible objective than that which the Nazi seeks to realize. It is even less tangible than in Russia, where an ideal somewhat similar to our own obtains. In Russia the welfare of each citizen can be reduced to the comparatively simple criteria of human needs, which have been further simplified by eliminating the elements of conspicuous expenditure and pecuniary rivalry that prevail in a capitalist society. In America the principle of the "greatest good to the greatest number" must be approached through a complex medium of vested rights, individual and local business interests, and the inconceivably complex interplay of economic relationships which characterize an economic and political democracy. It must reckon with the political currents motivated by individual and local advantages and with the obstacles growing out of the system of dual sovereignty which is our political heritage.

There are those who believe it possible to start at the top with a sort of superboard and formulate an economic and social pattern for the nation, which, through the action of regional and local boards or other planning instrumentalities, will give form and character to a pattern of life throughout the nation. I am confident that such a conception is both impracticable and contrary to the habitual mode of thought and action of the American people. We are essentially a practical people, exerting ourselves to meet special exigencies without concerning ourselves with the symmetry of consistency of the whole pattern of policy or mode of action. We have made tremendous strides toward more consciously shaping our course in the interest of a greater economic stability and a wider diffusion of welfare; but for a long time yet,

I am confident, economic and social planning will be essentially fragmentary. It will address itself in large measure to special problems, and only in a measure will there be a conscious attempt to coordinate the various elements into a symmetrical whole. For a long time we shall recognize various horizons in planning, and the relationships between them will not be intimate nor closely integrated in practice.

We have made some progress in planning in the direction of single horizons and later in the integration of certain closely related horizons; but there is danger that the planning movement will become bogged down by the attempt to make it all at once logically all-inclusive. It is obvious, of course, that every phase of life is interrelated with every other phase; but there is no single mind or group of minds capable of shaping all of these relationships into a symmetrical pattern. At best we can only hope for a rough-and-ready coordination as we go forward on the several fronts. The immediate need is for achieving a coordination and even a planning synthesis of certain horizons which are so closely related that they should be grouped together.

The Various Horizons in National Planning

It will be helpful to undertake a tentative grouping of certain closely related horizons in order that the next steps in coordination may become more clearly apparent.

First, there is a group of horizons having to do with the control of the general price level through regulation of currency and credit and the closely related attempt to prevent the emergence of severe depressions.

A second group has its focus in the general objective of promoting a greater degree of industrial stability through elimination of excessive competition and the associated regulations with respect to wages and hours of labor and prices and conditions of service. Both the first and second groups as elements for deliberate national planning have been projected into the picture during the past six months. Another horizon, which probably falls in the second

group is the attempt to integrate and unify our major systems of transport and the associated rate adjustments essential to achieve this primary objective.

A third group of planning horizons gather about the aim to restore a larger measure of agricultural prosperity. This has become a national rather than a class aim because of the widespread recognition of its basic relationship to the economic and social health of the nation.

A fourth group consists of the various social horizons in planning such as collective programs for public health, education, relief, crime detection and punishment, etc. On a similar plane is the replanning of the structure and functions of government and fiscal reform.

A fifth group of horizons—and the group with which we are concerned today—is geographic, or location, planning. Perhaps quite as inclusive a term is land, or land-use, planning. None of the groups mentioned above, except possibly the third, are engaged in location planning to more than a minor degree. In the main this group has thus far had its greatest emphasis at two horizons: first, the mapping of suitable public reservations, such as forests or parks, which received its initial impulse from the Conservation Movement, and second, urban planning, which, under the unfortunate name of "regional planning," has gradually expanded into the environs of the city, but with the city still the focus of planning. Developments of recent years have emphasized the need for certain intermediate horizons closely related to these older horizons in land planning. One grows out of the recognized necessity for the regulation of agricultural production through control of land use. Another important intermediate horizon derives its emphasis from the desire to minimize the pecuniary and moral hazards of our economic and social system by tying more closely together rural employment and modes of living with urban employment and modes of living. The extensive development of tax delinquency and land abandonment in rural areas has also placed a premium on a more comprehensive program for land management, which

will include the attempt to retard the devastating process of soil erosion and the restoration to normal usefulness of areas depleted by the plow of the farmer or the axe of the woodman. Finally, the changes in the distribution of population associated with a fundamental alteration of the land-use pattern necessitate accompanying adjustments in the institutional pattern. While this last is largely a local rather than a national horizon in planning, and includes a considerable number of the local objectives to be discussed by Dean Mann, it nevertheless cannot readily be dissociated from the land-use planning which is both local and national in aim.

The group of horizons which we have designated as rural land planning can and should go forward without awaiting the development of an organic relationship with the other major planning groups. The most immediate need is to correlate more closely the various horizons falling within the general group designated as land planning. I do not mean that there are not numerous interrelationships between each group and the other groups nor that the planners working in one group should ignore these interrelationships; but I do mean that the logical first step is to develop an organization and methodology about the general focus of rural land planning rather than to attempt the more inclusive task of associating all the planning procedures in one organic relationship.

Let us then consider in more detail the principal national objectives falling within the land planning group.

Land Policy and the Control of Agricultural Production

I may appear to be violating the above principle in specifying as a national objective in land planning the general aim of controlling agricultural production, which was included earlier in another group. Since agricultural production, however, is largely dependent on land use, its control has an intimate relationship to land-use planning. At the present time the Federal Government is endeavoring to reduce the acreage in certain crops as a means of improving the relative position of the prices of farm products.

The present methods of accomplishing this end are admittedly temporary. They depend upon giving the farmer a subsidy sufficient to induce him to modify temporarily a production plan to which his business has become adjusted—to disturb rotation systems and feeding practices, to lessen the volume of production in the face of a fixed overhead, to make a less effective use of available labor and equipment, and to modify temporarily relationships between landlord and tenant. It can be demonstrated that it would be less costly on a permanent basis to modify the volume of agricultural production by purchasing land outright. The possibilities of a continued curtailment in European demand for farm products and a slow recovery in domestic demand point to the probable desirability of a moderate reduction in the cultivated acreage as a whole. This has the advantage not only of less cost to accomplish the same result but avoids the shifting from one crop to another on controlled acreage. It would appear logical to lessen the scope of our farm plant by eliminating acreage which for other reasons also should not be continued in cultivation, including lands subject to severe erosion; lands so poorly adapted to farming that existence continues on a poverty level, necessitating more or less supplementary relief; areas of sparse population where the costs of an adequate provision for schools and roads is unduly high.

Nature introduces a large element of irregularity in farm production—an irregularity difficult of control. Farm production is occasionally thrown out of balance by mistaken shifts from one line of production to another. More serious still is the overextension of farming that occurs from time to time in temporary periods of prosperity. Experience has shown that farming responds all too readily to such temporary stimuli, but that subsequent contraction is slow and painful. Experience has also shown that temporary prosperity is the occasion for an irregular expansion into new territory qualitatively ill adapted to permanent farming, with a consequent aftermath of sparsely settled poverty areas. These have to be subsidized through the support of community

life by contributions from better farming areas. It is to the advantage both of the nation and of the states to prevent, if possible, this ill-judged type of agricultural expansion.

The nation has awakened to the seriousness of erosion, and we are undertaking to make a beginning toward its control. In essence this is a problem in land-use planning and intimately related to other phases of such planning. In some areas erosion has gone so far that extensive land abandonment has developed, and the problem is one of restoration through public acquisition and afforestation. In other areas it has advanced to the point where farming has sunk to a low poverty level marked by sporadic abandonment which will become gradually more extensive, with a concurrent deterioration of community level. Sooner or later the situation should be met by systematic evacuation of the remaining families and a program of restoration. In many areas the problem is one of preventing the process of deterioration from reaching this stage. Usually this will entail a modification in the cropping system by the substitution of grass and small grain for intertilled crops. Such a change, however, may not be feasible under the economic conditions that govern the farming system of the region, or the farms may be in general too small to justify such a change. A far-reaching reorganization of the general pattern of land use becomes necessary. The problem of erosion, then, can be attacked here and there as an isolated problem, but its most comprehensive solution will occur only when approached as one element in a general program of land planning.

Erosion, moreover, is closely associated with the general problem of flood control and the effective utilization of water resources, which are important national objectives in land planning.

Recently we have begun to recognize the special character of the problems of poor farm land. Before the days of the present severe depression we viewed the problem from the standpoint of an agriculture believed to be destined to become essentially commercial. We dismissed the problem by calling these areas "submarginal," assuming that they should and would be gradually

abandoned and acquired for public forests. It is becoming increasingly apparent, however, that the problem is much less simple. In the first place, it is much more extensive than we formerly believed. Recently we have been making a physical classification of farming areas of the nation by townships into ten groups ranging from group one, the lands best adapted to cultivation, to group ten, the poorest. The results for thirty-one states now complete—all east of the Great Plains—indicate that 44 per cent of the farm land and 35 per cent of the cultivated land fall in the groups from five to ten inclusive. All of these groups are rated as poor except group 5, which is fair but subject to severe erosion under the methods of farming now employed. Of course, a considerable part of the land rated as naturally poor has offsetting advantages, such as immediate proximity to large cities or the possibility of raising crops such as cotton, which in normal times will repay a considerable expenditure for fertilizers. Nevertheless after making due allowances for these alleviations we are forced to recognize that a large proportion of the farming areas must be classed as poor.

Furthermore, a large part of these poor lands, as well as some good lands, are inhabited by families that produce but little for market. We have estimated from Census figures that 15 per cent of our farms produce less than 1 per cent of the marketed farm products; that 28 per cent of the farms produce less than 3 per cent, and nearly half of the farms (48.79 per cent) produce less than 10 per cent of the marketed products. In general these farm families fall into two main classes: those living mainly from the land—usually from poor land—with a minimum of sales and purchases; and a large number who have supplementary employment or other sources of income. In some parts of the country the first class have been gradually abandoning the poor lands, giving rise to the problems of the decadent community. In other regions, however, the family sticks tenaciously to the land, and the alleviation of its mode of life is not to be thought of in terms of evacuation. This is all the more true since depression closed the urban outlets for such families.

It is clear, then, that for a large segment of our population, economic and social improvement through planning is not to be achieved primarily in the horizons of price control and commercial policies. It must be accomplished *in situ*, by gradually regrouping population or by reshaping the economic pattern of family life and of the community.

The second class of non-commercial farmers—the so-called part-time farmers, or "amphibians"—represent a phase of rural life that has become more extensive as good roads and automobiles have facilitated the integration of rural and urban modes of living. The census of 1930 showed that more than a million heads of farm families worked for as much as 50 days a year at other employments. When we consider the large number of young people or other members of farm families who live on the farm but work in the factory or the mine it will be apparent that we have already moved far in the direction of integrating agricultural and industrial employment. As a nation and as planners we have only recently become conscious of the economic and social significance of this class. The depression has emphasized the economic and social advantages of this dual relationship. It may be that it has been overemphasized by severe unemployment; but on the whole it seems probable that our laissez faire policy of settlement resulted in too rigid a separation of rural and urban life and activity; a too extreme development of urban life on the basis of concentration and of rural life on the basis of diffusion. Not merely as an emergency program but as a long-time objective we are therefore justified in planning for less concentration in urban life and more concentration in rural life and for a better integration of both modes of life and employment. For a large proportion of our people to make a living primarily from the land does not appear practicable without a severe lowering of living standards; but wise planning can make it possible for a much larger number of families to maintain a foothold on the land and some contact with rural life while retaining some of the advantages of urban life, including opportunities of at least part-time industrial employment.

There is a school of thought that proposes this objective in land planning as a remedy for extensive and permanent unemployment, which they regard as an inescapable condition growing out of the displacement of men by machines. Our essential trouble is not one of excessive production or limited consuming power. It arises not from the progress of machine production, but from the dislocation of the exchange process. The difficulty cannot be corrected by putting more city people on the land to compete with those who cannot make a living on the land now. Nor is there any kindness to a family to put it on an acre or two of ground without assurance of supplementary employment. We cannot face the planning of our new civilization on such a basis. Fundamentally it would be a surrender. The integration of agricultural and urban life and employment should be approached not mainly as a remedy for unemployment, but as a logical extension of a sound tendency predicated on the restoration of normal industrial activity.

I have devoted most of this paper to those objectives in national land planning which fall most definitely in the horizon of agricultural planning. I have left but little space for national objectives with respect to forests, parks, recreational areas, wild life reserves and similar planning horizons, which as a result of the conservation movement are already fully accepted as objectives and well advanced along unilateral lines. The principal need for discussing them here is to emphasize their intimate interrelation with other phases of land planning.

The problem of forests, for instance, involves much more than merely the maintenance of an adequate supply of timber for the nation as a whole. A forest has an intimate relationship to the economic and social life of the community where it is located. From the standpoint of the local community the objectives of forest management include—(a) watershed protection and control of erosion; (b) preservation of aesthetic values in the landscape; (c) maintenance of a suitable natural environment for wholesome forms of outdoor recreation such as camping, hunting, fishing; (d) stabilization of local industry through providing a continuous

supply of raw materials; (e) promoting the stability of local fiscal and institutional arrangements through providing a continuous source of public revenue.

Communities should be able to expect that their forest resources will be so managed that these basic values will continue unimpaired.

Moreover there are extensive areas now or recently in farms whose ultimate destiny is forestry or some other form of land management. It has become abundantly clear that when rural land passes out of agricultural use, its logical destiny in the main is toward public ownership and management. The Forest Service has estimated that some 224,000,000 acres of privately owned forest land may eventually have to pass into public ownership because of inability of private owners "to meet economic and social requirements." Extensive areas needed for parks, wild life refuges, and other purposes of general welfare must likewise gravitate toward public ownership, from which they should never have been released. It is clear that careful planning will be required to achieve this major change in the character of land ownership and use in such manner as to improve rather than to seriously dislocate the existing pattern of community life.

I can only hope that I have left with you the impression of the essential interrelationship of the several horizons which are grouped under the general head of land planning and the vital importance of working for their adequate integration in planning organization and procedure. It is obvious that if our civilization is to endure we must go forward along the road of social planning and self-determination. We may not like the road. Some may believe it is the road toward the maintenance and security of capitalism; others that it is merely a transition stage to socialism; but travel the road we must. The alternative is social anarchy and disintegration. Land planning is a primary segment in this highway.

PROBLEMS AND OBJECTIVES—STATE, COUNTY AND COMMUNITY

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From the standpoint of sound utilization of land, physical, economic, and social factors are involved. While the natural physical features of soil and climate determine the possibilities of crop production, the economic factors, such as availability of markets, condition of roads, horizontal and vertical distances from shipping points, have a determining influence on the products which will actually be produced. The combination of these variables determines, from the local point of view, the best use of a given piece of land from the standpoint of field or forest production.

The description of the natural conditions in the area and the description and exploration of the existing use pattern will provide basic data for appraising existing uses and for determining what changes should be made in them; but additional information is required if an area is being considered for an entirely new use. Then these basic data must be reviewed with reference to the general economic outlook for the various lines of production or other use under consideration, the cost of making a change in major use, the changes in landownership involved, the relation of the incidence of taxation to the existing and the proposed utilization, modifications in fiscal and institutional set-up, and the like. In addition to the mapping of the natural and the economic features of the area, mapping of the social features, such as the schools, roads, telephone and electric lines, and their service loads, may be necessitated. Consideration must be given also to land values, crop yields, income from the land, and any other available or readily obtainable facts which will contribute toward an intelligent classification of the lands under examination.

In one poor county in Central New York a detailed study yielded the conclusion that 36 per cent of the county should be

reforested as soon as practicable. If this were done it was found that 224 miles of road, or 20 per cent of all the road mileage in the county, could be closed, except such lines as might be kept for forestry or recreation purposes. It was further revealed that 29 school districts, or 22 per cent of the school districts in the county, could give up their schools. In New York state this latter item represents a saving of about $1500 a district each year.

Classification of Lands by the Natural Features

In the basic soil-character survey, the urgency of the present situation indicates two fundamental steps to be taken: First, where the official soil survey has not been completed there should be a broad and somewhat rapid reconnaissance survey, which, based on the knowledge of soil types and uses already available, will make possible for immediate use a general classification of land areas within a state for major agricultural, forestal, recreational, or other purposes, and will serve to guide readjustments now under way. Secondly, a detailed soil survey should be made, mapping closely all the soil types within a state and thus affording an intimate knowledge of the physical, and to some degree of the chemical and the biological, character of all the lands in the state. This requires many years and much expense. It is the kind of soil surveys on which the state colleges of agriculture throughout America, in cooperation with the United States Department of Agriculture, have long been engaged. The work is completed for large sections of the United States.

The Stimulus to Land-Use Planning

The recent widespread interest in land-use planning has been stimulated chiefly, perhaps, by the long-continued depression in agriculture, characterized by heavy surpluses of agricultural products in relation to the effective market demand; by extensive farm abandonment of poor agricultural lands; and by the continued depletion of forests, resulting in shortage of near-at-hand pulp and lumber supplies, loss of rainfall and stream control, removal of

wood-using industries, and related problems. Furthermore, many of the states as well as the national government have awakened to the realization of the vast and in some cases the almost irreparable losses not only of soil fertility, but of soil usability for any economic purpose as a result of soil washing or erosion. Similarly the uncontrolled and excessive pasturing of the great range areas of the West has not only seriously reduced the stock-carrying capacity of these ranges, but has accentuated both the loss and the liability to loss from erosion. The economic values involved, including the loss of taxable assets, have perhaps provided the chief incentive for a more wisely and deliberately planned use of land.

Closely related to these broad and obvious public problems are innumerable other economic stimulants. There is the widespread effort to take large areas out of agricultural production in order to reduce the agricultural output in this country. Inability of farmers to find profitable markets, or indeed any adequate markets, with resulting loss of income, is the cause of the catastrophic situation in this country respecting foreclosed mortgages on farm lands and the sweeping tax delinquency which is creating by default an extensive new public domain. The difficulty of collecting the needed local or state revenues in agricultural areas has compelled local and state concern, as well as national concern, with the problems of agriculture. This whole vicious cycle is related to the use of land, and has contributed to the impetus for rational land-use planning.

Social factors have entered to re-enforce the economic interests. With the improvements in transportation, the increase in leisure time, and, in certain sections of the country, the congestion of large populations in urban centers with little or no access to open areas, there have crystallized demands for extensive parks and preserves, playgrounds, hunting and fishing grounds, and for areas for other recreational uses which it is apparent can be satisfied to a degree by a well-considered planning of the uses of the land within the state. Considerations of public health and public recreation and the desire for local, state, or regional beautification have

steadily gained the interest and support of state and local land-use planning agencies. In some areas the social advantages to be gained from land-use planning have greater carrying power in public opinion than the economic advantages.

It is obvious that the problems involved in land use vary materially in different states and localities. The more acute situations needing readjustment are found in regions containing large areas of marginal, submarginal, cut-over, abandoned or idle lands, not well suited to agricultural production.

Farm abandonment in many sections of the country has created problems which land-use planning must deal with. For example, New York, which remains well toward the top as an agricultural state, has suffered farm abandonment at the rate of approximately 100,000 acres a year for the past 40 years. For the five years preceding 1932, abandonment probably reached 250,000 acres a year. While the past two years have seen some of this land taken up, much of it remains abandoned, serving no economic or social purpose, except through slow natural reforestation in part; and it detracts from the beauty of the countryside. Much of it is suited for forests, and some of it for other constructive purposes. During the past three or four years the state has evolved and adopted a plan for dealing with some aspects of the situation. Without the intervention of state or other large-scale planning, most of this vast area would remain indefinitely of little practical value.

So it is in many states. In the past 50 years, 34 per cent of the land in farms in New Jersey has gone out of such use. Several of the lake states and a number of southern states have greater idle land problems than New York and New Jersey.

Idle farm lands are generally concentrated in particular areas. These areas are commonly too poor to deal with the problems created. Only large-scale county, state, or regional planning will yield the knowledge, motivation, and machinery to deal with them.

Adjustment of Local to National Needs and Interests

The state and local plans will hold greater promise of permanency if appropriately related to national trends and policies; in fact,

when large areas are involved, failure to take cognizance of certain national developments may result in great waste and disappointment, if not actual failure, particularly in the use of agricultural lands. A clear example is found in proposals for large-scale reclamation undertakings, involving large expenditures for irrigation or drainage works intended to bring extensive new areas into use for farming. There are large areas for which the irrigation works are now completed which are lying idle, and for which there is no present or early prospective need or demand. Today we are faced with the anomaly of large public expenditures, under the pressure of local interest, on the one hand, to bring more land into cultivation by means of new reclamation works, and large expenditures on the other hand to take land out of cultivation. Local interest urges the expansion, whereas the wider public interest clamors for the contraction.

The same principle holds in local planning which contemplates changed agricultural uses of land—from one type of farming, found unprofitable, to another type, presumed to be more profitable. Such shifts take place continuously and often advantageously. When, however, they become features of large-scale planning, recognition needs to be given to national trends in consumption, developmental trends in areas of competition in the proposed type or types of agriculture, and relative advantages from the standpoint of soil, climate, transportation facilities and market outlets. Economic competition in agriculture is germane to planning the uses of agricultural lands.

One of the most difficult aspects of land-use planning is the conflict which may arise between local and individual interests and the wider public interest.

The Broad Objectives of Land-Use Planning

The major uses of land outside urban centers are for farming, forestry, range grazing, and for various forms of preserve, as parks, playgrounds, sanctuaries, and the like. The comprehensive objective of land-use planning, whether it be local or national, is to set

forth the procedures, individual and collective, which are necessary to bring about such changes or readjustments in the major uses of land, or in its ownership, taxation, and other conditions, as will accomplish a more effectual use of the land resources of particular localities, and such fiscal, institutional and other service adjustments as are essential in such a program.

A contingent objective in local planning is to determine what lands should be retained in or acquired for public uses, such as parks, public forests, wild-life refuges, and the like, and whether the ownership should be in local, state, or national authority. The question of public acquisition in its relation to a planned land use requires more searching consideration than it has yet had at the hands of state and local planning agencies. Its importance increases with the size of the area planned. Now that many state land commissions are at work, attempting to plan for the state as a whole, the principles which should guide public policy in the matter of acquisition need to be clearly defined and fully understood. The National Land-Use Planning Committee has recently published a bulletin in which the principles are discussed at length.

Reasons for public acquisition which are frequently urged, and therefore take the character of objectives in local land-use planning, include the following:

(a) The withdrawal from private ownership of tracts occupied by sparse and scattered population, in order to economize state and local expenditures for public service and to effect a better distribution of population.

(b) The provision for the permanent maintenance of local forests on which communities are dependent or may become dependent for part-time employment, markets, supplies of raw material for local industries, fuel, posts, and other supplies for farmers and other residents of the community, local refuges for game, and local centers of recreation.

(c) The removal from private ownership of lands that are periodically brought into temporary cultivation under the stimulus of high prices or favorable yields but are incapable of permanently

profitable utilization, in order to remove the unfair competition of such lands with the established farming industry and to prevent the serious wastes and hardships incurred by their occupants after the temporarily favorable conditions have passed.

(d) The removal from private ownership of lands that can not be utilized profitably by private individuals or concerns without serious wastage of the soil through erosion or other causes.

(e) The public protection of watersheds.

(f) The reservation of tracts having special public interest, such as areas especially suitable for state parks, monuments, wilderness or primitive areas, wild life refuges, timber reserves, and the like.

The public should not acquire land simply because private owners find it unprofitable to retain it. Its public purchase should rest on definite and adequate public advantages. Even when this principle is carefully observed it is evident that the land problem calls for a greatly enlarged program of public land ownership.

Closely related to the question of determining what lands should be publicly held is the question of the relationship between taxation and land utilization, and what changes in assessment, or in method or rate of taxation would facilitate continued private ownership and a reasonably profitable use by private enterprize. The natural or good agricultural lands of this country are the areas of concentration for farm mortgage indebtedness and burdening, if not actually devastating, taxation. Tax delinquency and farm mortgage defalcations have reached, in some areas, such proportions as temporarily to have checked the processes of dispossession because of the utter futility of this recourse; but not before extensive foreclosure and dispossession have taken place. In practically every state tax delinquency and the reversion of lands to public possession have become an acute and baffling problem.

One serious difficulty with tax delinquency is that it is cumulative, as it casts increased taxation on the remaining owners and thus leads to further delinquency; and in time the area finds itself unable to maintain its contributions to schools, churches, roads, and other social services. The relationship between taxation and

land use is so intimate that land-use planning cannot fail to concern itself with the question as to whether tax adjustments will shift the trend from enforced public acquisition to constructive private use. As land taxes are imposed by state and local governments, it becomes a problem for local land planning bodies.

It is believed to be sound policy that before a government, local or national, undertakes to acquire land for public ownership, except for very special public purposes, every reasonable effort should be made to remove the conditions that discourage forms of private utilization not inconsistent with public welfare; and plans for modifying such conditions should be an important part of a program for dealing with these areas. States and counties should not force themselves to take over such lands if a modification in tax burden will avoid this necessity.

With this problem of tax delinquency and its harmful results to social institutions goes the social delinquency which arises from the continued use of land which is submarginal for agriculture. On such lands the standards of living of the people and the quality of their local institutions may be very low, as the local resources are inadequate for the maintenance of satisfactory standards and institutions. When attempt is made to maintain suitable schools and roads on the basis of local taxation, the problem of tax delinquency may become highly acute. The maintenance of good schools and good roads in such areas may necessitate excessively high social contributions in the form of state or federal aid.

Currently, land-use planning finds two seemingly opposite objectives engaging much attention. One of these is the elimination of the use of submarginal land for farming and the discouragement of the settlement of such land. The other is to bring about desirable readjustments in agriculture on super-marginal land, that is, on land which by reason of natural features is clearly useful for farming purposes.

In areas in which particularly low standards prevail a frequently proposed remedy is to force evacuation of the areas and zone against re-settlement. This may be an appropriate method in some

cases. It is, however, difficult of accomplishment unless the land is actually put to some alternative use. In some cases, however, it may be the wrong treatment of an unsatisfactory situation. Careful regard must be had as to the alternative possibilities for the persons whom it is proposed to evacuate, and as to whether their social well-being will be promoted by the break-up of the existence plan they have worked out for themselves.

These several problems present, as an objective of local land-use planning, the determination of the relationships between land ownership and use (or changes therein) and the location of population, the maintenance and the distribution of public institutions and services, and the cost of local government; all with a view to developing a program for encouraging a better grouping of rural population, discouraging the settlement of lands unsuited to farming, and bringing about a more efficient and economical organization and functioning of local government.

It is equally an objective of local land planning to ascertain what changes, if any, in size and character of land ownership through the subdivision of unduly large holdings or the consolidation of unduly small holdings would contribute to more effective methods of land use.

In every state, questions concerned with watershed protection have place in planning proposals. This is particularly true where it is necessary either to conserve water in areas of scarcity, or to control run-off where flood conditions are likely to occur.

One of the universal problems in land-use planning is to inform and arouse public opinion in support of a plan of action. The first essential is to assemble all pertinent facts which will reveal the nature and extent of the problem. Then the public must be made aware of the significance of these facts and the general line of action they call for. While this educational process may require years of effort, the machinery for conducting it is almost everywhere at hand, through the agricultural extension service and countless other channels. With the education of public opinion go also, frequently, the definition and the development of legislative and administrative policies.

The Development of Policies and Coordination

In land-use planning certain types of adjustment depend chiefly on state or local action. These include changes in taxation, the regulation of irrigation and drainage districts, control of land sales and land settlement, zoning lands, and control of land tenure and water rights. Some of the other larger problems, such as forest ownership, development, and protection, stream control, the setting aside of public parks and wild-life refuges may, and frequently do, involve cooperative action of state and national governments. The lack of clearly formulated local, state, and national policies in land-use planning imposes a handicap on present efforts. But the work of many state land planning commissions and public agencies and the increasing national attention to problems of land utilization are slowly revealing where the problems lie and are gradually indicating the principles and the policies which should apply. Coordination of local, state, and national interests and agencies is a pressing need.

THE EXPANSION OF PLANNING PRINCIPLES AND METHODS

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We are moving toward an inevitable expansion of the land planning concept to keep pace with our broadening concepts of industrial and social planning. National economic planning requires the development of national land policies and of state and regional land-use plans. How can such policies and plans be worked out and put into operation? Should it be primarily by an extension and modification of planning and zoning technique and methods already developed for urban areas or does it require a quite different approach and implementation?

In the application of zoning powers to control *urban* uses of land as applied to the individual building lot a revolutionary advance was made with the adoption of the New York zoning ordinance in 1916. Great progress is also shown in the creation of official planning commissions, the preparation of master plans and the regulation of subdivisions. Limited advances have also been made in the protection of the lines of mapped streets.

It must be admitted, however, that with all the technique and controls thus far applied the actual building of the city is as yet far too haphazard and individualistic. No effective method has been found of securing the building of complete neighborhoods, of reconstructing the blighted areas or even preventing their rapid spread. Nor have adequate methods of control been applied to prevent the economic and social waste resulting from the premature or misplaced subdivision of land, or of effectively coping with the problem of street congestion. City building is in general small scale and individualistic. Considerations of general welfare amenity and convenience must necessarily be somewhat

subordinated to the private interest of the owner of the small individual city lot.

In the metropolitan areas the inadequacy of present land planning control is strikingly in evidence. While the need for organization and control is in direct proportion to the size of the community, the efficiency with which such aids are applied is often in inverse proportion to size. In fact, in the case of the large metropolitan areas there is usually no authority competent to either determine or enforce unified action, plans or policies.

The two great frontiers for pioneer land planning work are (1) rural areas, and (2) metropolitan areas. The formulation, adoption and enforcement of land policies for the better organization of metropolitan areas are no less urgent than for rural areas.

Moreover, metropolitan and rural land uses are intimately interrelated. Recreation reservations must be related to urban concentrations of population. Water and milk supplies also. Small farms for part-time farming, truck farms, institutions, cemeteries, golf courses, private estates, and other semi-urban uses, occupy land close to urban centers. Most land within 150 miles of a large city is more or less affected in its use or value by such proximity.

Land planning should regulate the location and extent of urbanization. It should promote the removal of industry from large central cities to suburban locations, or in appropriate cases to small towns closer to the raw material supply. It should secure the zoning of much of the land in the environs of cities for farming or other "open development" use, such as forestry, water supply reservoirs, cemeteries, institutions, golf courses, and large private estates. It should require a certificate of public convenience and necessity for the subdivision or urbanization of land located outside of areas definitely planned and zoned for urbanization. This would, among other things, prevent the present waste due to excessive, misplaced or premature subdivision, and would also correct the injury from "ribbon development" and other objectionable semi-urban uses along main highways.

The adoption of the Oneida County, Wis., zoning ordinance in June, 1933, was the first application of the zoning method to a distinctly rural land problem. Other county zoning ordinances had been adopted, but they merely provided for the extension of city zoning objectives and methods to similar urban or semi-urban building development in the county. The Oneida County ordinance, however, is aimed primarily at preventing farm settlement in parts of the cut-over area where such scattered settlement would create unwarranted burdens for schools, roads and local administration; and would, moreover, interfere with the best use of the region as a whole, which is believed to be that of forestry and recreation.

National planning will doubtless lead eventually to some adjustment of state powers and boundaries. NRA and AAA would be completely paralyzed were they not able under the theory of a national emergency to ignore state authority and state lines. But real national planning cannot be done on a temporary or emergency basis. Let us hope that the expedient of the emergency may in some way develop into the commonplace necessity of the future.

Similarly for efficient state planning there must be some readjustment of the boundaries of town and county governments, as well as some readjustment of accepted notions in regard to the relation of local governments to planning and zoning.

In the first place there are large regions of mountain, lake, swamp, desert and forest land that should never be inflicted with the expense and disorganizing influence of local town and county governments. These areas should remain as unorganized territory. Necessary governmental control and administration can best be provided through agents of the state or, in some cases, of the national Government.

Under a wise national plan farm settlement in these areas would have been discouraged, and many of our present problems of submarginal farms, soil erosion, forest destruction, and scattered farm settlement with its attendant excessive costs for schools, highways and local officials, would have been eliminated.

A good illustration of the comparative merits of these two methods is shown in the treatment of the forest areas of Maine and of Wisconsin. In Wisconsin as the forests were cut down the policy was to assume that the land would be converted into farms. The soil is poor. But with the increase in farm values as a result of the World War, it was confidently assumed that these cut-over lands could be converted into prosperous farms. Farm settlement was actively promoted and schools and roads built and market towns sprang up. With agricultural overproduction the boom collapsed and the wreckage of sparsely settled, tax-burdened communities is a most serious social problem.

Contrasting with the cut-over lands of Wisconsin are the woods of Maine. Here forest growing has always been considered the best use of the land. Farm settlement has never been attempted. This woods region, as large as 30 average midwestern counties, has been maintained as unorganized territory. Local government, schools and roads, where needed, are administered by state agents. The tax burden is roughly one-fourth that which prevails in adjacent well-settled areas, and yet the taxes collected yield a surplus in excess of that required for local purposes. Tax delinquency is insignificant.*

Paralleling the economic and social waste resulting from the scattered farm settlement of submarginal lands is that of the unwise subdivision of land and resulting scattered settlement in metropolitan areas. Unwise subdivision destroys the utility of vast areas of land, prevents proper planning and a logical urban expansion, leads to scattered houses that have to be provided with streets, improvements, utilities, schools and public services. This in turn is reflected in higher taxes and utility rates and in a lower standard of community services.

There is land that is submarginal for urban purposes as well as land that is submarginal for farming purposes. Great areas of

*The above statements are based on data contained in an article by Paul J. DeVries entitled, "The Property Tax and Forest Land," printed in the *Journal of Land & Public Utility Economics*, August, 1933, Vol. IX, pp. 228–32.

vacant lots and scattered houses are no less a social and economic handicap than are the scattered farms on the poor cut-over lands of northern Wisconsin.

There are other close analogies between city planning problems and rural planning problems. There are rural slums as well as city slums. A slum might be defined as any settlement where there is a lack of decent housing and living conditions. Scattered farm cabins on submarginal land are an example of the rural slum. And clusters of dilapidated shacks occupied by half-starved miners are a hybrid type of rural-urban slum.

Urban planning has suffered from a too complete legal separation of zoning from other phases of planning. We have zoning enabling acts and planning enabling acts. Certain police power regulations devolve from the planning acts and others from the zoning acts, and there is no means of securing their effective correlation. By a simple grant of the police powers of the state for all the purposes of planning including zoning much more effective control could be secured. Building, front yard and use regulations could then be made to supplement official map and subdivision control, and these latter controls could in turn be used to produce better zoning. It is particularly important in the unbuilt areas to secure an intimate combination and correlation of all the police power controls.

In extending urban planning methods and technique to state and rural planning care should be taken to avoid the repetition of a too rigid legal separation between zoning regulations and other planning regulations. There would be much merit in making no legal distinction whatever between zoning regulations and other planning regulations made under the police power. So long as a regulation is made with the purpose of carrying out a land policy or pattern of land utilization as a part of a comprehensive state plan, it should be authorized as a "planning regulation." The regulation might be for the prevention of farm settlement on submarginal land or for the protection of the lines of an officially mapped parkway or highway, or for the prevention of tree cutting

along a stream or lake shore, or for the establishment of a building line along a highway.

When we come to state and rural planning and zoning we need also to beware of a too strict adherence to a theory of maximum local self-government. Broad state policies cannot always be effectively carried out by locally elected and responsible officials. In Wisconsin the reservation through zoning of areas for forestry and recreation must be initiated by the county and approved by each township. Planning or zoning regulations of this kind should, it is believed, be initiated by a state planning board. That they should *normally* be subject to approval by each county in which they are operative is a principle to which I should be inclined to dissent. And I can see no good reason whatever for giving township authorities a veto power. Broad state policies of land settlement and utilization should not be decided on the basis of purely local or neighborhood interest. And this the more because these land settlement and utilization regulations will sometimes include or involve the abolition, consolidation or adjustment of the local governments themselves.

In this there is no thought that state planning should supersede city, town or county planning, or interfere in questions of purely local interest; but simply that in certain carefully determined fields the state should be able to carry out its own comprehensive policies. The local government should have its own independent field of planning activity and the state a field in which it is supreme. In between these extremes there will necessarily be a field for mutual accommodation and adjustment as between state and local planning agencies.

Some of the more obvious fields and objectives for the extension of planning and zoning powers are:

(1) The prevention of settlement for general farming purposes of submarginal lands, or of lands subject to excessive soil erosion, or of scattered tracts in larger areas that can best be utilized as a whole for forestry, or for recreation, or where such scattered settlement will create excessive burdens for schools, roads and

other community services. The regulation of the cultivation of soils subject to excessive erosion or the zoning of such areas for pasture or forestry.

(2) The prevention of subdivision or of urbanization in areas in which such subdivision or urbanization is deemed premature, or which it is desirable in the public interest to retain permanently for recreation, forestry, watershed protection, farming or other forms of "open development."

(3) The preservation of scenic places and of the natural beauty of the countryside. This includes the control of billboards.

(4) The control of roadside development as an essential part of highway planning. This includes the segregation of business uses, including billboards, and the regulation of the location of crossings and of access connections with the main roadway. Also the regulation or prevention of ribbon development.

(5) The prevention of building within the lines of mapped highways or parkways; and the establishment of building lines along such mapped highways or parkways.

(6) The preservation of natural beauty and the control of tree cutting and building along the shores of streams, lakes and public waters. The reservation of public right of access to streams and waters and of a public easement for the laying out of trails and roads along shore lines.

Any state plan should be coordinated with a larger regional or national plan. This presupposes the existence of a national planning authority that will determine national land policies, and sketch the outlines of a national land plan. The state planning authority can then take these national policies and outlines, adjust them as the result of a detailed local study and secure the adoption of the necessary regulative or administrative measures.

My conception is that the state planning authority after preparing what might be called a state master plan, would from time to time recommend to the legislature measures to carry the plan into effect. These measures, if enacted, would provide for the establishment of regulations and maps, in some cases with but in

many cases without submission to the legislature for approval; and in some cases with but in most cases without the necessity of securing the approval of the county authorities. Township approval should in my opinion seldom be required.

The amendment and adjustment of such official planning and zoning maps should normally be left to the discretion of the state planning authority, subject only to general rules established by the legislature. Unless and until this can be done there is not much hope in advancing far toward our goal of a planned land development. Little can be expected from a detailed control of such matters by a legislature. Certainly in urban zoning, council control of zoning map changes is usually motivated by private, vote-getting or other considerations quite removed from the broad principles and policies on which all zoning should be based.

We need now and then to hark back to first principles. The institution of private property was established for the social welfare. It is a means and not an end in itself. Constitutional guaranties are not intended to prevent any regulation of the use of private property that is clearly essential to the general welfare and where the public purpose involved cannot be practically or reasonably attained by other methods. We should drive forward toward complete national and state land planning with the assumption that a practical way can be found to do the things that are required. The main thing is to know definitely where we want to go, and not to permit thought to be inhibited or action paralyzed by past precedent or supposed legal taboo.

FOREIGN EXPERIENCE IN LAND PLANNING

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"They themselves, measuring themselves by themselves, and comparing themselves with themselves, are without understanding."—St. Paul.

INTRODUCTION

Large-scale land planning includes regional planning, and of course national planning. The term regional planning is now reasonably clear. National planning, as we use the term, is physical planning. It should be planning by the nation, or for the nation. The latter might be for the nation and yet be confined to a region or section of the nation, as illustrated in the case of the Tennessee Valley. But national planning usually would be national in scope in a territorial sense, and comprehensive in character, including in the study of any particular subject the other subjects essentially related to it.

In selecting subjects and projects for presentation and discussion, it should be recalled that the significance in this program is that the project should be large scale—which means national, or at least large regions—and with the emphasis upon land, and especially the inclusion of rural or country planning, as well as urban planning.

NATIONAL PLANNING IN MEXICO

A National Planning Congress was held in Mexico in January, 1930, and six months later a national planning law for Mexico was passed. This law authorizes the creation of a National Plan Commission, with representatives from each of the state departments, the chambers of commerce, industry and agriculture, and from the principal scientific societies in Mexico. These act as a consulting body of the Program Commission, which is a technical group.

The law defines the powers and duties of the Commission, and assigns especial powers to the President of the Republic.

The Program Commission prepares plans. The National Plan Commission passes on them. They are then presented to the President of the Republic for approval, and finally enacted into law.

The National Plan for Mexico now under preparation is concerned especially with railways, airports and airways, harbors and ports, parks, and other open spaces, and zoning regulations. The development and construction programs have been outlined in such a way as to provide for execution according to urgency in periods of five, ten and twenty years.

The proposal is to prepare a National Plan from the outside, from the coasts extending in—the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean—and from the two borders with the United States and with Guatemala. The plan would be centripetal in character and not centrifugal. The outline for the National Plan of Mexico is stated as a matter of scale, and gives a graphic method of showing at the various scales the national planning studies, the regional planning studies, and the city planning studies. Emphasis is also placed upon the necessity to seek the proper relation with the different governmental units—the federal government, the state government, municipal governments, and with the various areas that each covers.

Canada

The active discussion of broad land planning and national conservation has been going on in Canada for more than a decade, especially in its relation to social problems as well as physical. It has long been recognized in Canada that the application of social science to the organization of the social forces of agriculture and industry and to the planning and development of land is essentially to promote both the increase of production and the more equitable distribution of wealth. The need for a scientific survey as a preparation for city and rural planning schemes has

been stressed. The areas requiring consideration were set forth as: (1) the national or federal; (2) provincial or state; (3) regional; and (4) incorporated local areas.

The national planning deals with the broad aspects of development, such as the preparation of topographical maps, the planning of waterways, railways and national highways, and the coordination of provincial or state schemes. This national organization is largely advisory. The state planning supplements the national, and the state law sets forth the procedure to be followed for regional areas, and makes provision for the cooperation of adjacent areas and for harmonizing any conflicting public or private property interests. Each state or province has its own planning and development board.

England

The United States can learn much from the town and regional planning experience of England, especially now that the legislation for country planning has been adopted. A large part of England has already been planned regionally by groups of local authorities, and in time a national development will be achieved. The English method, which is the opposite of that of Mexico, is to work from the particular to the general, a method so far followed in the United States. While of limited usefulness, it is not so illogical as it might seem for areas in which there is already extensive urban development, and in which urgent problems demand attention.

There are in England more than a hundred regional committees of different kinds at work throughout the country. Most of these, however, while regional in scope, are really extended town planning schemes, and many are largely advisory in character. These schemes are intended as an ideal to aim at rather than a working program for immediate execution. They endeavor to secure the most suitable use of land, adequate means of communication, ample areas for open spaces, the control of building development, and the protection of the amenities of the countryside.

The Ruhr Regional Planning Federation

The Ruhr Regional Planning Federation, the most notable illustration of a statutory body, is authorized to act either by controlling and coordinating or by actually carrying out plans that will serve for regional planning in the Rhenish-Westphalian industrial district. The planning legislation was established by the Prussian Act of 1920, and the area under the authority of the Federation is about 1,500 square miles. In this district there are 20 important towns and 10 rural districts, the latter containing over 250 smaller rural communities. There are 296 local authorities.

The population of the area, which in 1871 was only 780,000, is now about 4,000,000, with a density of 2,560 to the square mile, while in the other parts of Prussia there are only about 300 to the square mile.

The Federation is controlled by its General Assembly, its executive and the director. One-half of the General Assembly consists of representatives of the towns and rural district councils, and the other half are representatives of industry, employers and employees equally. The Federation has the power to levy taxes, charges and rates from its members for its expenses in just the same way as a province does. The State is represented by an official, and there is a special court of administration called the council of the Verband.

The principal work of the Federation is fixed by law, and comprises the following:

1. Making comprehensive plans for the whole of the district.
2. Reservation and care of large open spaces.
3. Planning and construction of the main roads.
4. Planning of traffic routes for the future development of railways, tramways, light railways, etc., and taking part in everything connected with the traffic and development of the district.

On account of the increase in the population and the development of industry, it is necessary to reserve open spaces for the recreation of inhabitants. In all, 37 per cent of the area is laid

out for open spaces, but it is not expected that all of this will be kept permanently open. The Ruhr authorities consider that 1,000 square feet per person is the right and necessary amount.

As the Federation lays out the main roads, the open spaces and the traffic routes, it is only one step further to reserve the spaces for industrial purposes and dwelling houses. The Federation is therefore often asked to help its small towns and rural districts in the development of their general plans, a service which it renders without cost. Industry works hand in hand with the Federation, and such joint plans are called "economic plans," laying down the basis for the building plans which are later carried out by the various municipal authorities. The work of the Ruhr Regional Planning Federation is supplemented by the Ruhrverband, dealing with all regional matters pertaining to sanitation.

Italy

In some respects the most complete and dramatic example of large-scale land planning in Continental Europe is that of Italy. Under the Mussolini law of 1928, the Bonifica Integrale, Italy began a regional planning program of land utilization. The Sybari Project in Calabria, on the Ionian Sea, is one of the most significant, but is only one of hundreds of similar national enterprises which are physically transforming Italy and opening up a new economic and social era. In the watershed of the Crati and Sybaris Rivers the Fascist regime has been engaged for some years upon a diversified program to restore the region that flourished centuries before Christ, but which has long remained desolate. The Bonifica Integrale has for its definite objective the ruralization of Italy, stabilizing rural life in all its aspects through the execution of a program of planned land utilization embracing the whole of Italy. The English term "integral reclamation" does not convey adequately the Italian conception of the Mussolini law and its workings. The national plan is a comprehensive and far-reaching plan of physical and social usefulness, designed to revitalize the nation.

The improvement works consist of the construction of arterial highways supplemented by a network of secondary roads, to afford an adequate transportation system. Model rural villages are designed so that at first they accommodate the workers on the project, and later become permanent homes for the settlers. The Sybari Project has been under way for four years, and it is estimated that it will take another decade to complete it. Its cost has been estimated as something over $12,000,000, which is shared by the State and the interested land owners. These projects are financed through the life insurance companies and the postal savings banks. The complete program which has been adopted calls for the expenditure of half a billion dollars.

Comparison has been made of the problems and the methods of Italy with those of the Tennessee Valley. Italy's land area is in the neighborhood of 76,000,000 acres, which is about equivalent to the state of New Mexico. (The land area of the Tennessee Valley may be roughly estimated to be about 24,000,000 acres.) Italy, however, in its 76,000,000 acres has a population of approximately 42,000,000.

The projects in this national plan are initiated by the Minister of Agriculture and Forests, working in agreement with the Ministers of Finance and Public Works. The program is adopted after a planning survey of the area by a special technical committee of agronomists, foresters and engineers. It is noteworthy the way in which state and private enterprise are linked in a partnership, thus securing unity of conception and execution. Mussolini's Sybarites are engaged in the task of harnessing the forces of nature, literally rebuilding the nation. The injunction of Il Duce is: "Reclaim the land, and with the land the men, and with the men the race." It should be noted, however, that the Italian government does not profess to apply an economic yardstick to this national land planning program. The Bonifica Integrale is a problem of civilization rather than of economics, and not, it is asserted, a question merely of debits and credits on a balance sheet.

Russia—U.S.S.R.

In Russia a closer relation exists than in any other country of unified economic, social and physical planning. The control is national. In the Five Year Plan for the period 1928–33 prepared by the State Planning Commission for the economic development of the Soviet Union, the Commission set out detailed schemes for the industrialization of the country and the socialist reorganization of agriculture. Russia could not become a socialist country, according to the Supreme Economic Council, while its rural economy was on an individualistic basis and the industrial economy of the towns could not be put on a secure basis unless the food supplies of the workers were produced under more modern conditions. An immense sum was set aside for expenditure during the Five Year period to provide for large-scale land development according to plans already adopted. For example, the increase of land under cultivation as state farms rose rapidly from 1,000,000 acres to over 13,000,000 acres.

Sound planning in Russia begins with the largest elements, the proper placing of industry and agricultural and national transportation. Logically this leads to regional and national planning of large economic units.

The State Planning Commission—Giprogor—handles city and regional planning throughout the U.S.S.R., with the exception of the Ukraine. Up to 1930 over 60 projects had been undertaken, designed for a total population of some 35,000,000.

Two factors of great importance in Russian planning call for special mention. First the public ownership of the land, which means that cities may be located at the will of the authorities and built according to plans that aim to utilize all of the land to the best advantage. Secondly, the size of cities is officially determined as a controlled element in connection with all new cities and regions. To some extent this same principle is applied to the older cities also. The planning commission in Russia aims to regulate the size of cities on the basis of social, economic and

industrial efficiency. Stalingrad is one example of their method. Here five separate industrial towns have been planned for a fifteen-mile stretch along the Volga River, with a population for each unit ranging from 50,000 to 75,000. In one of these new towns the immense tractor plant is located, with a capacity for 50,000 tractors a year. Another example is Magnitogorsk in the Ural industrial region, where an enormous iron and steel plant is located, with the homes and the necessary facilities and utilities for a population of 25,000. In all these model socialistic town plans the Soviets lay out super-blocks with liberal allowances of open spaces for light and recreation, and many community features. The housing is usually in the form of three or four story apartments. The "Norms" under which the Russian State Institute for City Planning works establish high standards of urban development.

The preparation of the second Five Year Plan was initiated about a year and a half ago by a large conference on the regional distribution of productive forces. The principle of equal and even distribution of industry throughout the country was given strong emphasis, and the construction of new cities, rather than the enlargement of the existing urban centers. It is interesting to note that more importance was attached to political and social reasons than purely economic ones.

Henry Van Loon, in an article, recently said: "I am firmly convinced that the American people will have to work out their own salvation along their own lines and within the confines of their own genius, if they hope to arrive at a solution that shall be of permanent value to posterity.

"This does not mean that in anticipation of that event we should withdraw from the society of the rest of mankind. We are all of us fellow-passengers on the same planet but some like garlic with their sausage and others have apple pie for breakfast and some of us, as a result of our geographical and historical antecedents, like to live in herds, and others, as a result of their geographical and historical surroundings, prefer to remain individuals. We can all

Russia—U.S.S.R.

In Russia a closer relation exists than in any other country of unified economic, social and physical planning. The control is national. In the Five Year Plan for the period 1928–33 prepared by the State Planning Commission for the economic development of the Soviet Union, the Commission set out detailed schemes for the industrialization of the country and the socialist reorganization of agriculture. Russia could not become a socialist country, according to the Supreme Economic Council, while its rural economy was on an individualistic basis and the industrial economy of the towns could not be put on a secure basis unless the food supplies of the workers were produced under more modern conditions. An immense sum was set aside for expenditure during the Five Year period to provide for large-scale land development according to plans already adopted. For example, the increase of land under cultivation as state farms rose rapidly from 1,000,000 acres to over 13,000,000 acres.

Sound planning in Russia begins with the largest elements, the proper placing of industry and agricultural and national transportation. Logically this leads to regional and national planning of large economic units.

The State Planning Commission—Giprogor—handles city and regional planning throughout the U.S.S.R., with the exception of the Ukraine. Up to 1930 over 60 projects had been undertaken, designed for a total population of some 35,000,000.

Two factors of great importance in Russian planning call for special mention. First the public ownership of the land, which means that cities may be located at the will of the authorities and built according to plans that aim to utilize all of the land to the best advantage. Secondly, the size of cities is officially determined as a controlled element in connection with all new cities and regions. To some extent this same principle is applied to the older cities also. The planning commission in Russia aims to regulate the size of cities on the basis of social, economic and

industrial efficiency. Stalingrad is one example of their method. Here five separate industrial towns have been planned for a fifteen-mile stretch along the Volga River, with a population for each unit ranging from 50,000 to 75,000. In one of these new towns the immense tractor plant is located, with a capacity for 50,000 tractors a year. Another example is Magnitogorsk in the Ural industrial region, where an enormous iron and steel plant is located, with the homes and the necessary facilities and utilities for a population of 25,000. In all these model socialistic town plans the Soviets lay out super-blocks with liberal allowances of open spaces for light and recreation, and many community features. The housing is usually in the form of three or four story apartments. The "Norms" under which the Russian State Institute for City Planning works establish high standards of urban development.

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of us learn from each other. We can beg, borrow and steal ideas whenever and wherever we discover something that would be of value to ourselves.

"But in the last analysis, we are products of our own environment and of our own past and we can only hope to achieve what is best in us by remaining faithful to our own soil.

"It so happens that we are neither Italians nor Russians, nor Anglo-Saxons nor Danes, nor Germans nor Austrians, nor even Dutchmen (I knew what was coming!) but a little of each, permanently and definitely modified, changed and transfigured into something else by the riches of our adopted soil, by the vastness of the territory we have occupied, by the unlimited opportunities that were our birthright until a very short time ago. And it is as such that we shall have to decide upon that new fairy story (the New Deal) that shall satisfy the innermost longings of the best in a nation that has never yet been accused of a lack of either intelligence or courage."

This is all true enough, but a few concluding impressions may be drawn from foreign experience.

1. That in Europe, "large-scale regional and rural land planning" are not new subjects.

2. That much has already been accomplished, not only in large-scale planning, but also in extensive actual execution of projects.

3. That the greatest progress has been made in those countries in which the dictator form of government is strongest. This offers a challenge to a democracy to make and carry out large-scale, far-seeing land planning.

4. That without any inclination to copy the methods of any foreign country, there is much to be learned from experience abroad—from the form of legislation, the set-up, the administrative methods, and their success or failure.

5. That we here are launched into a new era of planning of some sort. There is no turning back. Things are going to be done. If we are to succeed in any large measure—and be of service—we must gather together the best results of experience in the land planning field, both at home and abroad.

Editor's Note.—Mr. Nolen's manuscript contained also an account of experience in land planning in Brandenberg-Witte, East Prussia and Holland.

THE TENNESSEE RIVER VALLEY PROJECT AS A GREAT NATIONAL EXPERIMENT

Dr. Arthur E. Morgan, Chairman, Tennessee Valley Authority

There are two distinct phases of the work of the Tennessee Valley Authority. There are, first, definite projects which are given by law to the Authority to carry out and, second, there is a general program of social and economic planning.

One of the definite projects is the generation and transmission of electric power. For some years the great water power development at Muscle Shoals which was started fifteen years ago by the Federal Government, has lain idle. It is now the declared policy of the National Government to put that power to work, and also to give it greater value and steadiness by the construction of a second dam now named the Norris Dam, and by the construction of a transmission line between the Norris Dam on Clinch River and the Wilson Dam at Muscle Shoals.

In general the value of a power project is the value of the least amount of power that can be furnished during the year. Purchasers of power want it to be available at all times, and not only during high water. With the building of the Norris Dam one of the large storage reservoirs of the world, with a capacity of over three million acre feet, will be created, and with the regulation of flow made possible by that storage the volume of dependable power will be increased from about 50,000 horse power to possibly 300,000 horse power. Work on the Dam is now under way; bids have been asked for material for the transmission line; a contract will shortly be made with cities in Alabama to furnish power for municipal purposes, and other cities are asking for the same service. People will use electrical power if the rates are low enough. I believe that the whole power industry needs to learn the lesson that the general good of both purchaser and producer of electrical

power will be increased if power can be furnished at the rate where it will be most liberally used.

Another definite project in the Tennessee Valley Authority Act is that of the production of fertilizer. In the southern states fertilizer is essential in agriculture, and with the present prices for farm products the cost of fertilizer is a very great burden.

The Muscle Shoals Nitrate Plant No. 1 was built during the war for the production of fixed nitrogen. So rapid was the progress of the art, however, that by the time the plant was finished it was largely obsolete. A second plant was built and was run long enough to make sure that it would work, but since the war it has been shut down. This plant, too, is no longer modern. Whether it is feasible to operate it today or not, we will know with some certainty during the next few months.

While working with fixed nitrogen we have also been considering other forms of fertilizer. We believe we are approaching improvements in the production of phosphates that will be epoch making. We are still in the experimental stage and probably will not be in production for nearly a year.

Neither of these specific projects originated in a general program of social and economic planning. They had historical rather than logical origins.

President Roosevelt was interested in power and fertilizer, but he was more interested that somewhere in America, haphazard methods of development and exploitation would give way to deliberate and orderly methods based on intelligent foresight. He chose the Tennessee Valley Region primarily for a project in social and economic planning.

In passing the Tennessee Valley Act, however, Congress made appropriations which are scarcely more than adequate to take care of power development, power transmission and fertilizer production, so that the dream that the country has of social and economic planning must, to a considerable extent, remain a dream until greater resources are made available. Some of the foremost publicists in our region have said that what is wanted of us are jobs

and electric power, and that we have no business in the field of social and economic planning.

There must be tolerance, patience and a gradual approach to the problem. I suppose that in any part of the United States people would be a little slow to see themselves as the objects of an experiment. Even the steps that we have taken in the Tennessee Valley toward social and economic planning are in the face of some protest.

I might picture two extremes of outlook on social and economic planning. One of them is represented by the Soviet picture. In spite of the great accomplishments, I hope no such program will be followed in America. It is a regimentation of life that goes beyond the American temperament, and what I hope will remain the American temperament. Another picture of social and economic planning, and one with which I find myself in sympathy, is concerned with removing the enormous wastes in our social and economic life with the least possible regimentation. If Daniel Boone had been able to talk economics with the Miami and Shawnee Indians, he would have said, "There is enough in this country for each one of us to have ten times what we are now enjoying." The Indians would have said, "You are dreaming." I believe that the difference between Boone and the Indians was no greater than between the America of today and another world that might be here if we could recognize the main sources of economic waste and eliminate them as speedily as possible, but I am also of the opinion that no great arbitrary design can be devised for the elimination of wastes. The factors are too complex. We must rather live with the problem and come to its solution gradually and only after full knowledge. We cannot do it just by mathematical charting.

There are some elements of the problem that we can chart. For instance, there is the matter of power development. If the various power plants of the Tennessee River area are operated separately, they will probably not produce more than half as much power as they would if they were under a unified management. A fifty per cent waste of such resources is unspeakable.

Then there is the matter of soil erosion. The rolling hills of the South receive very heavy rainfall in the winter when there is no cover on the ground in the corn fields, and the water washes away the soil at a tremendous rate. That is true even on relatively flat land.

About twenty-seven years ago the University of Tennessee took a fairly flat piece of land and in the center of it left a few acres of grass. The rest of the field was planted to corn in the usual way of the country. Now the plowed part of the field is a foot lower than the part left in grass. On the steeper land the waste is almost criminal. The population is pressing hard upon the country's agricultural resources. Rough, hilly land is cleared of timber for the planting of corn. The farmer gets only about three or four crops before the ground is so washed that no more corn can be raised, and then another piece of hilly timber land is cleared to continue the same wasteful process.

In the rolling lands of the southern states millions of acres have by such a process absolutely gone out of cultivation. Most of the upland in this region has been farmed less than 150 years, and yet probably at least half of its original fertility is gone. Unless that process is checked the southern region will become like Greece where the land has been so mistreated that practically all the soil has been washed away. Bare rocks cover the hillsides. When the people could no longer raise crops they raised sheep and then goats, and today the goats are wandering over the hills gathering up the little tufts of vegetation and leaving the land still more exposed to the water.

The economic planning of the South must include the stopping of soil erosion. We shall try to accomplish this by changing the culture of the land. We shall confine the corn crops to the flat valleys and leave the hilly land for crops that hold the soil. It is estimated that with good cover soil, erosion can be reduced to about five per cent of what it is where the soil is planted in corn.

Some lands ought not to be even in pasture, but should be planted to forests. I believe that a very important part of our

economic planning should be a forestry program, and I think it would be hard to reconcile such a program with private ownership of the forested lands. Either we must allow the owners of forest lands exemption from taxation or we must take over the forest lands and administer them as public property, owned either by the nation, by the state, by the county, or even by villages and townships. Another element in the solution of this problem probably will be changes in the laws of land ownership so that a person will not be allowed to continue in possession of land if he is allowing it to be destroyed for generations to come.

Our social and economic planning must include control over real estate development. I am told that in the vicinity of Muscle Shoals the lots already laid out would house a population of from four to seven million people. People from all over the United States have bought lots in the Muscle Shoals region expecting a great rise in price. It is quite possible to develop a policy that will allow the honest real estate developer to operate, but it is very difficult to put the policy into execution.

The railroad system of the Tennessee Valley is a hodge podge of expediency with all sorts of inequalities. Certainly one element of planning would be a thorough study of railroad rates and their readjustment in accordance with some orderly system.

Another element of economic waste is local government. One hundred years ago counties in the South were organized so that the county seat was accessible to each inhabitant. The distance a man could travel on a horse in half a day determined the size of a county. Today in Tennessee and North Carolina where roads have been developed for automobile travel there is no use for these little counties. If we could eliminate four-fifths of the counties and a vast number of county officials we would do away with much expense of government. In some of these counties all the work done in the county court house in a week can be done in half a day.

It is said that the Tennessee Valley Authority project implies that the Government is going into business. It is going to generate and distribute electric power. It may manufacture and dis-

tribute fertilizer. It may get into the housing field. If the Government is going into business it should be done in an economic manner and not in a political manner. In choosing the people who are to carry out its policies, the choice must be on the basis of ability to render real service, not political service. There is no inherent reason why government in business cannot make great economic savings if its personnel is chosen for efficiency.

The Tennessee Valley region has too many people in it for its agriculture. Although the land in many sections is rough and hilly it is supporting a good many more people to the square mile than the flat land of Iowa. A professor of the University of Kentucky wrote me a few weeks ago saying that he had just completed a survey of a mountain county in Kentucky. He said that the average cash income per farm in that county was $45 a year. Now that is a terrible economic situation. These people are intelligent and energetic. They are as fine a lot of workmen as I have ever had on a job. They have the quality to make a great civilization. But how to bring about a great economic change that will divert a considerable portion of the population from agriculture is the nub of our question. Certainly we must develop local industries. We must plan production programs so that the people will be making the things that they would like to consume, their own clothes, their own furniture and possibly their own agricultural implements. Nobody knows very clearly how we are going to do this, but we are exploring the problem. There are already a good many local industries in the region. When you get acquainted with them you will find that they are often badly managed. They haven't the time to find out about modern distributing methods or modern accounting methods. Isn't it possible that through cooperative efforts the small industry could be maintained and yet secure some of the effectiveness of large industries?

There is one other most important consideration that I keep coming on when I think about social and economic planning. No matter what subject is planned for improvement, we are apparently treading on people's toes, affecting adversely some existing

investment. When we try to stop wildcat real estate projects we receive the most pitiful letters of protest from all over the country. When we talk about lowering the rates for electric power we get letters from widows and orphans protesting, "If rates go down we are going to lose our income, because we hold shares of preferred stock." That is the kind of thing you are up against when you try to change social and economic conditions.

Fundamentally, in the Tennessee Valley as in other parts of the country, one of the primary problems is in the distribution of profits. Our big houses are too big and our little houses are too small. It isn't enough that we increase production; that does not necessarily mean an increase of general welfare. Over and over again in the world's history we have had a large economic surplus without the development of general well-being. Egypt had great over-production but the people lived in mud huts and the tremendous surplus was used to build the biggest pile of stones the world has ever seen. Alexander the Great found a surplus and Napoleon found a surplus, but each of them made the surplus produce tragedy.

Excessive concentration of production in a few places with excessive lack of resources in many places is not a good basis for social planning. We must have the determination that as we increase production and as we eliminate waste, the increase shall be the heritage of the whole people.

REGIONAL PLANNING IN THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AREA

EARLE S. DRAPER, Director of Land Planning, Tennessee Valley Authority

The basis for regional planning activity in the Tennessee Valley is included in Sections 22 and 23 of the Act known as Public Act No. 17 of the 73d Congress. These two sections give the President of the United States the authority to make surveys and general plans, and this authority the President delegated to the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority by executive order, June 8, 1933, reading as follows:

In accordance with the provisions of Section 22 and Section 23 of the Tennessee Valley Authority Act of 1933, the President hereby authorizes and directs the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority to make such surveys, general plans, studies, experiments, and demonstrations as may be necessary and suitable to aid the proper use, conservation, and development of the natural resources of the Tennessee River drainage basin, and of such adjoining territory as may be related to or materially affected by the development consequent to this act, and to promote the general welfare of the citizens of said area; within the limits of appropriations made therefor by Congress.

There is quite certainly the opportunity for broad interpretation of the legal basis for regional planning included in the bill and in the executive order. It vests powers in the Board of the Tennessee Valley Authority such as to permit them to adopt whatever methods seem best in reaching the objectives outlined in the bill, subject to funds available that may properly be devoted for the purpose. So the Board has full authority for action.

Mr. Arthur E. Morgan, Chairman of the Board, has discussed this subject in considerable detail and given you the background of conditions, physical, social, and economic, and some of the problems ahead of us.

The 41,000 square mile area, including portions of seven states within the watershed of the Tennessee River and its tributaries, although a drainage region topographically, is not independent of other regions or sections along its boundaries. The business and social activities of certain sections of the Tennessee Valley relate to large cities outside of the area, such as Nashville, Birmingham, and Atlanta. It is related in the same way physically to cities and sections outside, through the development of roads, railroads, power lines, and other physical connecting lines, over a long period of years. For this reason it was quite necessary that the powers granted by the Act as stated make provision for consideration of adjoining territory.

The approach to regional planning has differed considerably depending upon location, size of area, concentration of population, and other local conditions. It seems to me that successful regional planning must be more flexible than has been the case with city planning. There will be regions in which physical planning will be all-important, although this would occur rather rarely unless the problem had to do with a largely undeveloped region unaffected by history, tradition, or social development. Contact with social and economic planners leads me to believe that those of us who are interested primarily in physical planning are too apt to feel that our planning must dominate. There are situations where human considerations or economic development must show us the way. In the Tennessee Valley social and economic planning will play a most important part. In many ways the physical planning will be largely affected by the planning along social and economic lines.

I believe there is a tendency on the part of the people living elsewhere, and particularly those accustomed to regional planning for large metropolitan areas, to treat the Tennessee Valley as a theoretical problem with a technical solution. Even if this were desirable, there are too many divergent factors to make it possible to superimpose a pattern of perfection on the region. Such features as land classification and acquisition or marginal and submarginal agricultural lands cannot be treated as a classroom problem, of

which the theoretical answer gives the practical result. Human values enter so strongly—possibilities of variation of use and changing conditions may present an entirely different solution over a period of years.

Within this area live nearly two and one-half million people. There are remarkable variations, both in human and physical geography. The physiography of the region ranges from the highest mountains east of the Mississippi to low level plains. The mountain sections include people of the purest strains of Scotch—Irish—English blood living under the most primitive conditions; while central and western Tennessee have the heritage of a pre-war plantation life of wealth and luxury which has left its mark on the people and on the countryside. There are cities like Chattanooga and Knoxville, planned and zoned by the city planner and conforming to modern standards—other towns in rural sections whose cattle walk the streets in the absence of range laws. In this region is located Kingsport, perhaps the most interesting example of new industrial planning in this country, and in the same Valley the Muscle Shoals section with hundreds of square miles of countryside platted without regard to topography or relationship. There are varying conditions of law in the seven states. It seems to me that in a region such as this where physical, social and economic conditions vary so widely there can be no superimposing a theoretical plan on such a pattern of life, that is, if we wish to make the test of success the results that follow planning and not the plan itself.

Within an area as large as this and conditions so different, I question whether there can be a sufficiently full and complete understanding to enable any group of individuals to lay out and draft a complete plan for development which would be followed for a sufficient length of time to be useful. Don't misunderstand me. I am in favor of planning, but of that type of planning which considers human values, is always flexible, tentative and seeks not to fix but to guide future developments.

I think we should be thankful that regional planning is not old

enough to have acquired a traditional approach or treatment. Certainly when we study a problem of this sort we should be open-minded and willing to abandon any ideas that may have existed as regards the securing of data and planning for other regions. I recognize the fact that we must accumulate certain data, prepare surveys, maps and charts to give us information, but I believe that we should proceed slowly, think carefully rather than proceed blindly; plan tentatively and be willing to reverse ourselves as circumstances alter. It would be quite possible to secure the usual data for planning over a period of years, and then to find that less than 10 per cent that we had gone to such pains to secure was of any real value. There is the danger of becoming hopelessly involved in statistical information on account of the size of the area and the many different problems.

This does not mean we are not securing information on our problems. We have first undertaken to list and systematize all possible sources of information so that we will have a reference file for whatever need exists. This has been done with reference to federal departments and will be done to secure the proper information from the several states. Social-economic studies of industry and agriculture are under way and must be mapped and charted and studied in relation to physical aspects. We are facing the possibility of land use being changed by such developments as the wider use of low cost power in rural areas. That may be the instrument that will make possible a greater integration of industry with agriculture. We cannot develop thoroughfare plans or detailed use maps for the area until we get a better idea of what experimentation is likely to do and to what extent certain natural resources can be made of practical value for industrial purposes. It is perhaps not as simple a problem as a metropolitan regional plan where land use, such as allocation of industrial, agricultural, and residential areas, highway plans seeking to differentiate between roads of different types, can be fairly clearly determined by existing conditions, where the pattern of life in the region has assumed definite proportions. This does not mean *inactivity* in

planning but rather *flexibility* of planning. There are so many ways in which industry and agriculture may develop. Certain natural resources may prove immediately profitable for development, while others must await future scientific experimentation before profitable utilization is possible. All of this has a very considerable effect on physical planning. Greater than all this, however, is the fact that the character of the people, their individuality and the expression of their lives would lead them to resent any attempt to determine a definite physical pattern which does not take into consideration the conditions under which they live.

The people are receptive to new ideas when introduced with proper feeling and respect for the tradition of the past and their hopes for the future. I presented the idea of a 250 ft. country freeway to a group of city and county officials who had never heard of the idea before. Despite the fact that the strongest appeal to their rural constituents would lay in frontage possibilities they embraced the idea whole-heartedly without a single objection. As I have said before, this does not mean that physical planning of the region will lag behind but that it must fit in with other activities under way. The planning project is too big to work out the details until we understand most fully all the existing conditions and are supported by results of successful experimentation which will in part determine the planning procedure.

As I see it, the Tennessee Valley regional plan is similar to a jig-saw puzzle in which the pieces are scattered and not obviously unrelated. Studying this we will gradually assemble the pieces until the pattern of one section is clear. We are doing this now in studying the Norris Dam watershed, an area of approximately 3,000 square miles in the northern portion of the Tennessee Valley. In solving the problems of this area and of other sections such as the Muscle Shoals district we will gradually discover the relationships which are apparent, and find solutions for many problems that are not clear at the present time. I feel that to attempt hasty planning is worse than no planning at all. Better to let industry choose its own sites on the basis of its own knowledge

of its needs than to attempt to make a complete selection and parceling out of all activities before we are in possession of sufficient information through basic study and experimentation to make this possible. I hope soon that our general study will enable us to establish certain relationships which may be helpful in controlling new developments. It may be that the best procedure we can adopt for regional planning control until we become more familiar with the territory will be to keep in touch with projected public and private developments, and endeavor to guide them in the light of the information we are slowly acquiring and of general experience in the planning field. In most instances our advice, I think, will be welcome.

Before we go very far with planning it will be evident that we will need legislative assistance in the carrying out of plans. Outside of certain cities, which are fairly well protected, there is very little control possible over development. We shall have to study the possibilities of rural zoning and control. At the present time such control as we have been able to exercise in the section around Knoxville and the new Norris Dam has been through the cooperation of the people in accepting our warning that land speculation would give no returns of real value. Within the last few days the mayors of the four cities within that district have published a statement to the effect that the land was not worth what it was being priced at and advising people not to buy, and if they did buy to make personal investigations. That statement would not have been possible without the steps that our Board took to check the speculative ardor. Undoubtedly we need control similar to that which is given by the British Regional and Town Planning Act before there can be effective protection.

Before I close I want to give a brief résumé of the work under way and accomplishments to date.

We are planning a community in the immediate vicinity of the Norris Dam, to take care of the labor which will be required in the construction of the dam. That community, I think, will be developed along the soundest possible planning lines. We are

attempting to protect its size by a belt of agricultural and forest land. There will be no main traffic way through it since the highway leading to the dam will be on one side of the town site.

I have already referred to our successful efforts in securing a country freeway, twenty miles long, extending from Knoxville to the new community at Norris Dam, which will give us complete control of the edges of the highway.

One of the most interesting problems will be in connection with the Norris Dam Watershed of 3,000 square miles in area. There will have to be much new planning in this section. Highways, school houses, and even entire communities must be moved and all this must be done in accordance with planning principles and yet in a way to secure the people's approval.

At Muscle Shoals there is a very difficult problem due to excessive platting in a country area in which there are only three cities with an aggregate population of less than 30,000. We have suggested that areas which are obviously badly planned should be replanned without, however, any guarantee that the replanning will make the land more desirable. Already Muscle Shoals City, one of the three cities above mentioned, has retained a city planner to replat and zone its area. In this connection, I want to emphasize that I personally do not feel that local replatting and zoning problems are for the Land Planning and Housing Division of the Tennessee Valley Authority. They are distinctly problems for the private planner and there will be no desire or necessity on the part of the Authority to conflict with the private planner in his own field. There may be instances where demonstrations will be advisable, but merely to stimulate the desire on the part of cities and organizations to do their own planning.

The fullest measure of success for our regional planning in results secured will be directly in proportion to the extent to which we gain the confidence of the existing agencies, of state and county, and of private associations. We are not an organization set up primarily to build roads, towns, schools, and other such improvements. We are given a mandate to make surveys, general plans,

studies, experiments, and demonstrations to aid the proper use, conservation, and development of the natural resources of the Tennessee Valley. This we cannot do by ourselves. Our strength will be multiplied a hundredfold if we secure the cooperation, the respect and the desire to assist of the hundreds of existing organizations, state, county and private, which can, if they will, carry out our recommendations and put into effect the result of our planning and experimentation.

TECHNICAL PROBLEMS IN SLUM CLEARANCE

THE ARCHITECT'S VIEWPOINT

EUGENE H. KLABER, Chief of Technical Staff, Housing Division, Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works

One of the first problems encountered in attempting low-cost housing in slum or blighted districts is the difficulty of assembling the land. As a usual thing, it is found that the land is under many ownerships. This involves prolonged negotiations and even where a large number of owners are sympathetic with the project and willing to sell their property at a reasonable price, there are always a certain number of "hold-outs." The problem is further complicated by absentee owners who cannot be found, and property held in trust.

It should also be remembered that in many instances slum property is very profitable, inasmuch as the owners have purchased the dilapidated buildings at a low price and are spending nothing on the upkeep of the structures. Where owners expect a high price for their land it is not always a case of pure selfishness. Many of the concepts of land value are based on time-honored but faulty premises. One of these false ideas is that property has an ever-increasing value which must cover the entire cost of all successive improvements which have occupied it, plus compound interest from the day that the land was purchased from the Indians. During the last century the continual increase in the population of our cities lent color to this theory. It must be realized, however, that the rate of increase in our population is constantly decreasing and it is predicted that the population will become static about the year 1960, and that, therefore, even today's prices which are based on an expectancy of increment are in most cases exaggerated. In attempting to assemble land for slum clearance there are a number of specious arguments that are frequently advanced in an attempt to justify a high land price; among them are the following:

1. That the land cost the owner all or more than he is asking. There is no reason why the Government should make good his injudicious investment. If he attempted to borrow from his bank on collateral at 1928 prices, he would not get very far.

2. That the last sale of similar property was at a comparable price. This is evidence, but not conclusive. We must know whether the sale was for speculation or for use and, if for use, whether the use has been socially desirable and its earnings have justified the price paid.

3. That the property is zoned for commercial or industrial use and therefore has a higher value than land restricted to residences. All of our cities have zoned excessive areas for commerce and industry. The owners delude themselves that this has created added value for the land. Actually, such excessive zoning merely raises their taxes, spoils any possibility of residential use and leaves them worse off than before. If they could sell their land for a higher priced use, they would do so. If they cannot and wish to use it for residential development, they must accept a price in conformity with successful use for that purpose.

4. That the assessment of the property indicates a higher value. Assessments are the medium through which government participates in land speculation.

One other important question arising in slum clearance is the problem of whether or not the present dwellers in a given neighborhood shall be rehoused in the new buildings. This is largely a question of whether or not they will be able to pay the necessary rents. In any event some definite plan must be made for the rehousing of slum dwellers who are losing their homes as a result of slum clearance.

Very frequently it is found that on account of the cost of the land, plus the cost of the building, the necessary rental is such that an entirely different wage category will have to occupy the buildings. Here arises the problem whether or not those who have moved away from the slums will be willing to return. Unless the slum clearance is on a very large scale this seems entirely unlikely.

Those who have moved away and established different physical standards of living are not willing to return and subject their children to the danger of physical contact with children who have been living in subnormal physical surroundings.

It is impossible to enter here into the technical phases of planning and construction of housing. On this score I wish to present only one thought. In our attempt to produce low rentals we must forget entirely the standards of luxury which are demanded in the average commercially produced dwelling. We must focus our attention on considerations of what are the minimum requirements of decent living, and furnish these and these only.

Slum clearance may be accomplished by technical means but, unless there are far more profound changes, there can be no such thing as slum elimination. Our slums are the manifestation of all the wrongs and maladjustments of our urban civilization. A human body, weakened by undernourishment, is more susceptible to disease than is a healthy body and it is equally true that the poverty of our slums makes them the very spot where social evils are most likely to gain a foothold. In them we find focused all the evils of land speculation and the unrestrained private use of land for gain. They are the bailiwick of the most corrupt politics, and the breeders of vice and crime.

Standing alone, our technical efforts may clear the disease called the slum from a given spot, only to have it reappear elsewhere. As well try to cure smallpox by treating a single sore. We must cease to concern ourselves solely with the manifestations of a disease and face courageously the correction of the conditions that foster the disease. Nothing less than the economic and moral rehabilitation of our cities will accomplish our ends. If this is too great a challenge to the American City, then surely it faces a final dissolution and, perhaps, with it will go our entire civilization.

That is why the Housing Division at Washington looks with special sympathy on projects that represent the effort of an entire community; here at least is an awakening consciousness of the fact that the slum is the problem of the entire city; here is striving toward an integration of urban living; here is hope for the future.

TECHNICAL PROBLEMS IN SLUM CLEARANCE

THE CITY PLANNER'S VIEWPOINT

HARLAND BARTHOLOMEW, City Plan Engineer, St. Louis, Mo.

Blighted districts are today greater problems than slums in American cities. Every blighted district is a potential slum. For every square mile of slum area we have at least five square miles of blighted districts. If we are to solve the problems of the slum we should first learn how to prevent blighted districts. Sound zoning and housing are the key to both problems. The slum is an area of insanitary and unfit houses that needs rebuilding. The blighted district is a predominantly residential area prematurely abandoned for a presumably different or higher use that will never eventuate. Reconstruction of slums will be an endless process unless we stem the chief source—the blighted district. This is exclusively a city planning problem.

It is fortunate that the National Recovery Act deals with the subject of "low-cost housing" as well as the subject of "slum clearance." Those who framed this legislation were wise indeed in comprehending the whole field of municipal planning and housing problems. Through wise use of the powers granted in this act our cities can benefit in immeasurable degree.

From the planner's standpoint the technical problems in slum clearance begin with an attempt to bring about a balanced distribution of land uses and a balanced distribution and density of population throughout the entire region which is subject to urbanization. There is next the problem of a balanced distribution of land uses and balanced distribution and density of population within each municipality in which housing and slum clearance projects are projected. Next comes the problem of the relationship

of each particular housing project to the design of the city structure as contemplated by the city plan. And last comes the problem of individual community design in each housing area. Any project for housing and slum clearance which is not in harmony with each of these regional, municipal and local plans will fail to promote the public interest, and may very likely sooner or later prove to be an unsound private venture.

National Population Distribution

Any proper understanding of local planning and housing problems must begin with an understanding of our national population trends. For seventy years or more population has concentrated more and more in the cities, particularly in the larger cities, and now we appear to be faced with a reversal. To what extent will there be decentralization of urban population? The answer to this question will have a profound effect upon our programs for slum clearance. The actuarial statisticians of insurance companies now state that our national population will reach a maximum in approximately fifteen years, or before 1950, and thereafter there may be something of a decline in total population. Our cities are already too spread out for their own social and economic good. If we are faced with limited increase in total population and also with decentralization of urban population, sheer economic necessity compels immediate restriction of the area of urbanization in each city or region, and a far wiser use of the areas now occupied. Certainly we will need no more skyscrapers, no more towering apartment hotels, and infinitely less suburban subdivisions. Our municipal problem becomes a matter of more balanced design and more effective use of the present urban area.

It is doubtful if we are faced with unusually great decentralization of urban population. Unquestionably there has been some over-concentration in the largest cities. Most of the decentralization of population will probably occur in the largest cities (of approximately 1,000,000 or more population). Even the proponents of decentralization really propose a recentralization of

population, with the smaller cities and towns as a foci. This proposal has a very definite impediment in the rapidly approaching stabilization of our total population. No system of economy nor any social order can adjust itself to any complete change of base without losses, which can be recouped only by several decades of unremitting labor and hardship.

My basic thesis is, therefore, that our present social economy can only withstand limited and gradual change. Our largest cities will probably lose population. The smaller cities and towns may gain population in limited degree. Specifically how much change will occur in each individual city should be determined by much more careful study than has usually been given to such problems. This is the first technical planning problem.

The Regional Plan

Our cities have spread out much more rapidly than the ability of the population to absorb the total area subjected to urbanization. If population fails to increase, as can soon be expected, we shall probably have to contract the area of urbanization. This will become an economic necessity. Where income is limited it follows that the area to be serviced at public expense cannot be expanded indefinitely. With a definite total population in prospect there must be limitation of the area of urbanization. Likewise, since only limited amounts of land can be absorbed by any given population for specific types of use, such as for commerce or for industry, we must delineate more carefully the areas to be devoted to such purposes and adopt policies which will exterminate non-conforming uses. This implies concentration of our housing efforts in the older residence areas rather than build new apartment houses on vacant land in the outskirts of cities merely because they may be termed low-cost housing projects, or because land is cheaper today or because we are more interested in building houses than in building well-designed cities. If high land values or other impediments are encountered, they must be met by new

legal and administrative measures. To allow such impediments to control the execution of a soundly conceived design of the city is to deny the whole validity of planning. Any alternative can be nothing but a policy of laissez faire with eventual economic collapse as the ultimate penalty.

Our American cities all follow one common pattern. In brief, industry hugs the railroads usually along the lowlands. There is one large central business district with occasional sub-centers at certain main thoroughfare intersections, and housing, whatever its form, fills up the intervening areas. It is doubtful if any policy of decentralization or other social or economic change now in prospect will change the basic form of city growth. The difficulties which confront us in our cities of today are not inherent in the form of the city, but are the result of improper use of property and the corresponding lack of adequate public control.

In short, we need more carefully prepared regional plans, definitely limited in area of urbanization and drawn in scale with the known requirements of land use areas for the total estimated population of each region. A new yardstick form measuring the American City is needed whereby we can judge not by more growth as such but by the true effectiveness of balanced design and universal soundness of all its parts.

An important technical problem in the regional plan as it affects housing and slum clearance projects is the balanced distribution and density of population. There is no need for excessive concentration of population in the new housing. It is extremely doubtful whether we should permit anything in excess of 120 persons per acre, whereas approximately 60 persons per acre should be the desirable standard. This, you will note, approximates the English planning standard of twelve houses per acre. In justification for such a standard the following table shows that the present average population density in the net residential areas, even in the ten largest cities of the United States, is less than 60 persons per acre.

TABLE 1.—POPULATION AND AREA OF THE TEN LARGEST CITIES IN THE U. S.

City	1930 Population	1930 Area	40% of Area Assumed to be Used for Residence	Net Density Per Acre
New York	6,930,446	191,360 Acres	76,544 Acres	90.5
Chicago	3,376,438	129,921	51,686	65.3
Philadelphia	1,950,961	81,920	32,768	59.5
Detroit	1,568,662	88,256	35,302	44.4
Los Angeles	1,238,048	281,804	112,722	11.0
Cleveland	900,429	45,286	18,114	49.7
St. Louis	821,960	39,040	15,616	52.6
Baltimore	804,874	50,380	20,152	39.9
Boston	781,188	28,096	11,238	69.5
Pittsburgh	669,817	32,832	13,132	51.0
		Average Density Per Net Acre		53.3

These figures should be increased in the proportion which total unoccupied land area bears to total city area, but in most cases these figures of net density per acre would not exceed 20% or 25% and would generally be much less.

In the cities of the United States we are not confronted with a shortage of dwellings or with excessive overcrowding. We are confronted, however, in the older sections of our cities with problems of insanitary dwellings and extremely poor standards of light and air for decent living conditions. If the new housing is to be a factor in the building of better cities, it must be directed toward a correction of these present shortcomings rather than to be merely a pleasant but expensive exercise in architectural design and construction which has little or no relation to a sound social and economic concept of comprehensive city design. If this point of view does not prevail there will be just another epidemic of buildings such as in the recent age of skyscrapers, buildings which will be quite out of scale with community needs and which complicate still further the building of a well-balanced city.

THE CITY PLAN

Where a region consists of more than one municipality, the individual city plan is in effect nothing more than a refinement of

detail of the master regional plan. The city plan suggests the widths of main thoroughfares, the location of transit lines, zoning districts, parks and recreational areas. A master plan for housing should coordinate with these public facilities. Generally speaking, our present city plans have been conceived more or less in harmony with comprehensive housing needs. Our rapidly enlarging concept of the housing problem may warrant certain adjustments in our city plans. The problems of city planning and housing are mutually harmonious and require integration. Since most of our city plans were made in advance of the time when we were conscious of probable limitations in population growth, they should generally be found sufficiently generous in scale to meet all housing needs. The foremost defect of existing city plans are (1) assumed unlimited expansion of city area, and (2) too generous provision for commerce and for industry in zoning ordinances which has usually been provided at the expense of the older residence districts.

Housing areas are the principal fabric of the city plan but are less exacting in their requirements as to location than is industry or commerce. Housing areas will fill the interstices of the community pattern not required by commerce and industry. Housing areas should be interspersed with occasional open areas, preferably in the form of elongated strips of park or institutional land, as proposed by Dr. Robert Whitten. The housing areas will be bisected at intervals by main traffic thoroughfares essential for access and egress.

Since the present centralized form of city design is not unsound and since our rebuilding processes necessarily must be gradual, we should probably follow existing practices of permitting somewhat greater densities of population in the central areas, with corresponding lower density of population in the outlying areas. Densities up to 120 persons per acre in the central areas, and 10 to 20 persons per acre in the outlying areas would not seem to be unwise. (This takes no account of rural areas beyond the corporate limits wherein it is proposed to build subsistence housing, which is

beyond the scope of the present discussion, and which at best may probably be of limited extent.) Why not make a master plan of housing for each city wherein there will be differentiation of population density to some extent at least proportionate with family income groups. In St. Louis these groups are divided as follows:

TABLE 2.—PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION IN VARIOUS INCOME GROUPS—ST. LOUIS, MO.*

0	$999	5.75%
$1,000	1,999	30.78%
2,000	2,999	26.46%
3,000	4,999	24.96%
5,000	9,999	9.50%
10,000		2.55%
		100.00%

The proportion of city area now used for various classes of housing is as follows:

TABLE 3.—PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL CITY AREA DIVIDED ACCORDING TO PREVAILING RENTS—1930 CENSUS

Rent		City Area
$10	$14.99 per month	4.1%
15	19.99 " "	10.7%
20	29.99 " "	24.5%
30	49.99 " "	50.1%
50	74.99 " "	8.5%
75	99.00 " "	2.1%
		100.0%

* St. Louis Newspaper Reader Survey, 1931.

The figures in both of these tables are for the year 1930. While there would undoubtedly be considerable change in each total at the present time, it is believed that such figures once prepared and revised from time to time would be of considerable aid in the preparation of a Master Plan for Housing for each city. Such a plan would assist in bringing to public attention the erroneous trends such as that of the last few years when there has been overproduction of the more expensive types of dwellings and underproduction of adequate homes for families in the lower income groups.

The Community Plan

"Good housing involves certain external as well as internal essentials. The chief external essentials are access and open space. Access is normally provided by the street; open space by the lot. Some provision for close-at-hand out-of-door life is essential. The sunyard, the play-yard and a minimum space for trees and grass are housing essentials."*

These external essentials are the city planner's problems in the new housing and slum clearance. Adequate light, air and open space are impossibilities of low-cost housing on the usual type of city lot. Once we abandon the city lot as the unit of area, however, we must seek a new unit, having some logical basis of validity. This seems difficult to find unless we take it from the city plan. Here we find an area commonly bounded by major streets, that has come to be known as the neighborhood unit. It is generally an area upwards from 50 acres in size, irregular in shape, perhaps, but delimited by major streets. It is the logical unit for housing and slum clearance. Such an area may not be entirely reconstructed at one time. In fact where wholesale clearance is impossible immediately, it may be made the basis only of rehabilitation with eventual reconstruction as the ultimate goal. In this respect we can give attention with profit to the proposal of Mr. Herbert Nelson, Secretary of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, to create Home Districts. This proposal, too detailed for full description here, would solve many of our problems of high land costs and would facilitate sound planning and reconstruction by the people themselves on a community basis.

Closing of streets presents no insuperable problem where there is an adequate major street plan. Traffic research has shown that even in areas of high population density it should be possible to accommodate all traffic movements on the major streets bounding a neighborhood unit except for certain local traffic needs originating within the unit itself. A minimum of street area is essential to maintain a good standard of housing in any community plan.

* Home Ownership, Income and Types of Dwellings, Vol. IV of the President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership, p. 165.

A neighborhood unit of adequate size will permit of unified community design centered around a neighborhood park, school and playground. In fact, a neighborhood unit so designed will make possible far more satisfactory standards than have been achieved in even the most progressive cities where neighborhood parks have been introduced into existing developments, or where new schools have been provided with ample playground areas. Municipalities should welcome the opportunity to cooperate in community or neighborhood unit planning by participating in the provision of open space, and school boards should welcome the opportunity for the achievement of higher educational standards through stronger community organization and stabilized conditions.

Zoning will present a far less difficult problem in the neighborhood unit than is possible under any system of individual lot ownership. The interest of the individual will be centered in the welfare of the community rather than upon the individual lot. It will thus be possible to confine commercial areas to their logical locations near the intersection of main thoroughfares, and there will be real incentive to restrict the area of commercial occupancy in some proportion commensurate with actual need, in contrast with present speculative exploitation of the individual lot regardless of community welfare.

One of our most important technical problems lies in the field of community design. We have had very little experience in such design. When we step from the individual lot to an area of many acres as the unit for building we multiply manyfold the opportunities for design. It is not merely a question of closing streets as so many unimaginative persons appear to think, but rather of a wholly new concept of design. If we are to have merely a repetition of endless rows of buildings with nothing but the streets closed and possibly a little greater distance between buildings, we have lost the opportunity of a century. By careful design it is possible to secure, at no increase in cost, building arrangements that are far superior to anything we have heretofore known in light, air and views from the individual living unit and in the agreeable

vistas and pleasant prospects that so markedly distinguish the well-designed community from the monotony of the general run of urban development.

It is probably too early to suggest a set of minimum standards for community planning design. During the war the emergency housing agencies of the Government set up certain minimum standards and followed them with advantage and profit. These minimum standards would probably not apply today but at least they might furnish a point of departure for a new set to meet present needs.

Well-designed and well-constructed buildings will lose much of their value if their external arrangement is not as thoughtfully studied as their interior design.

Conclusion

From the planning standpoint, new housing and slum clearance offer unlimited vistas of achievement in community improvement. The opportunities are so great that the problems involved seem small by comparison. The principal dangers to be confronted from a planning standpoint will be lack of adequate vision of the whole social economy of the city and the place of each type of housing, failure to enforce adequate standards of practice and incompetent design of the individual communities or neighborhood units.

THE SOCIAL PROBLEM INVOLVED IN SECURING THE BENEFITS OF SLUM ELIMINATION

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I could, perhaps, use no better springboard from which to dive off into the subject matter of this paper than a comment passed on to me by Mr. Shurtleff, Secretary of the Conference. I shall quote it: "The causes of the slum are now rather largely understood. We can almost cite them, and proceed to the more interesting and helpful questions of whether slum clearance, for instance, will result in permanently higher social standards. Many people suggest that even though we build new houses they will soon deteriorate. What we need are reasoning and experience, if any, to indicate the best way out."

The recognition of the influence of environment on human behavior is at the bottom of the movement for slum elimination. New housing is provided in the expectation that the improved physical environment will result in improved standards of conduct, more stable and happier family life, and consequently less vice, crime and disease. The whole community has a right to expect to benefit by this movement, for the alternative to slum elimination is greater and greater subsidies to our jails, prisons, hospitals and relief agencies. A rehousing program that does not have as its basis this aim of fundamental social rehabilitation is nothing more than a brick and mortar proposition and its value lies only in the amount of employment it produces for the moment. The problem that I shall address myself to in this paper is: have we valid reasons for expecting that we can make people better by putting them in better surroundings, and if so how can we best secure the social benefits of such physical improvements as we are able to make?

Now, I am neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet but I believe the sociologist and the social worker can make certain valid

scientific predictions with respect to the modification of culture patterns. Human behavior is not unalterable in spite of what the hereditarian would have us believe. We do not have to go the whole distance with the Watsonian behaviorists to conclude that human behavior can, within wide limitations, be pretty much what we would like to have it. By "what we would like to have" we mean those behavior patterns that are most conducive to the general welfare.

The modern sociologist is something more than a descriptive scientist, for he does believe that the main trends of any given culture can be modified and oriented in the general direction of certain goals. Therefore he is necessarily interested not only in the mechanics of social change but in the goals themselves. We find from a study of primitive peoples as well as from the various evolutionary stages of world culture that all societies possess certain characteristics, certain leit motifs. These are named in various ways, but I personally like the six interests given us by Small of the University of Chicago. He listed them as follows: health, wealth, sociability, knowledge, beauty, and rightness. In every group we see manifestations of these in greater or less degree. Now then if Small is approximately correct may we not rest assured that the dwellers in modern American urban communities possess these same potential interests? You see what I am driving at is to emphasize the proposition that people don't live in slums because they want to, but because they can't get out of them, and that by and large they possess latent capacity to grasp the advantages that decent housing, adequate wages, and reasonable hours can offer. In other words I maintain that, based on the sociologist's study of mankind from the most primitive groups to the most complex cultures, human beings do want good health, they do want to possess things of their own, they do want to "be sociable," they do want to know more about the world they live in, to solve its mysteries and master its forces, they do strive for beauty which of course is usually defined in terms of the local culture, and, lastly, men do applaud rightness as against

duplicity, cruelty and dishonesty. Once we admit the existence of these fundamental drives, these universal interests, these eternal wishes, then we can justifiably proceed with the ameliorative efforts of the "new deal" so far as bringing about better economic opportunity to the depressed classes, the programs of city planners so far as they include better housing, the plans of the recreation specialists, those of public health workers, and the educational leaders. Without an understanding of the possibilities of success of these programs we should be proceeding merely on the basis of a pious hope that somehow, some way, the cumulative effect of all these efforts will bring about a better, a fuller, a happier American culture and will hasten the day when the Aristotelian ideal of the Good Life and the Great Society of Graham Wallas will be realized.

Before I go further, I want to define the slum. We know what a slum looks like; we can spot it on a map. We can locate it apparently in terms of low rentals and high taxes. But I should like to describe it in other terms. I submit that a slum is a condition as well as a place. It is a condition of disrepair and the absence of common conveniences. It is a condition of lack of light, air, and play space. It is a condition of inadequate garbage and refuse disposal, aggravated especially in summer by a lack of screens. But these again are physical characteristics. A slum is something more, for these physical conditions of bad housing directly menace morals, health and economic independence. Overcrowding means lack of privacy in sleeping, bathing, and toilet arrangements, especially, and threatens a sense of decency and modesty especially where unrelated persons are taken into the family as boarders or lodgers. There is no question but that the ugliness and the discomfort lead to father, sons and daughters spending as little time as possible at home. In a district where there are no friendly settlement houses or municipal facilities to provide sociability and recreation, the street, dance hall, pool-room and speak-easy offer life, movement, and friends. With an introverted personality this squalor and confusion often lead to

depression neurosis from which the unhappy victim sometimes seeks relief through drugs and alcoholism.

Few inhabitants of our slum areas lead the normal lives or have the same physical and mental health as persons not subjected to their blighting influences. When you city planners speak of "blighted areas" I venture to say you think of junk yards, pawn shops, messy looking tire and battery shops, one-story "taxpayers," sections zoned for business ahead of their time, stagnant and deteriorated. May you think more and more of blighted areas as connoting blighted lives, stunted, dwarfed, twisted lives, behavior patterns that square with acts of violence and immorality, where pauperism and alcoholism come to be regarded as natural and normal.

Furthermore, low-grade housing, shacks and dilapidated buildings have always been an invitation to the least desirable migrant to settle in our midst. We have ample evidence in Columbus that our charity lists have been augmented by unskilled rural workers drifting in from southern Ohio and Kentucky. The School of Social Administration at the Ohio State University made a study in the spring of 1933 of a district in the southern part of the city. They found that of 658 heads of households included in the survey, 45.7 per cent had come to Columbus less than fifteen years ago. These newcomers were very largely native white and Negro. A very large percentage of the native white came from a tier of seven hill counties north of the Ohio River, or from West Virginia and Kentucky counties nearby. More than three-fourths of the Negroes came from four southern states, Georgia, Tennessee, Virginia and North Carolina. The study revealed that these recent migrants, especially the whites from the Appalachian hill counties, occupied the smallest and least habitable dwellings and lived under the most unsanitary conditions and with the largest amount of overcrowding of any part of the population of the district. A large percentage of them were unemployed and dependent upon public relief. The poor dwellings of this blighted area seem to attract shiftless and irresponsible elements from the

less-farmed rural regions. The migrants bring with them problems of dependency, delinquency and disease. Generations of poverty have killed incentive in them and they become the objects of charity in any organized community into which they happen to wander. There can be no doubt but that a too ample supply of shack dwellings brings to a community a disproportionate share of these undesirable citizens.

For some years we have prepared maps of the city, spotting the residence location of delinquent children, of adults arrested for felonies and misdemeanors, of cases of tuberculosis, of still births, of recipients of relief prior to 1929. It is significant that each map of these manifestations of social pathology shows concentrations which when superimposed have almost co-terminal boundaries. We call these "problem areas" for want of a better term. When against these areas we spot playground facilities and attendance we find the playgrounds are not only few and poorly located with respect to the areas but show a heaviness of attendance out of all proportion to the facilities provided. When we also spot Boy and Girl Scout troops, Hi-Y units, we find that, except for the units that are located in and are a part of the neighborhood settlements, the organizations do not seem to be able to gain a foothold for lack of sponsors. Not long ago, at the suggestion of the court of domestic relations and a local school principal, we made a survey of another section of Columbus in which delinquency cases and bastardy proceedings, as well as truancy, showed an unusually heavy incidence. Of the 1120 families in this area of 140 acres we found 646 boys and girls between 10 and 21 years of age. Attendance at movies claimed 503 participants weekly, while attendance at dances, loafing around pool-rooms and soft-drink parlors claimed 189 youths as against 182 attending public playgrounds on the outer fringes of the district. The absence of public and private recreational facilities led the youth to the questionable resorts mentioned and the court records told the rest of the story.

These two examples serve to emphasize my point that cities with bad housing are creating problems for themselves. That is to say,

poor housing conditions weaken the economic motive for those city dwellers who are already in, or who are being reduced to, such areas. The substandard housing areas are also focal points of migration from impoverished rural areas with primitive housing. These shack dwellers bring their standards or lack of standards with them.

The loss of economic motive is the characteristic of the pauper class. Those who even in spite of economic opportunity for self-advancement prefer to remain parasites on society, the beneficiaries of its charities and philanthropies, present a formidable problem to the public administrator. This loss of motive may be due individually to chronic ill health, to mental and physical incapacity which make holding a job well nigh an impossibility; or perhaps repeated failures and discouragement due to accidents or misfortune may react upon the individual in such a manner as to destroy his ambition and his will to make his own way in life. But all of these individual weaknesses which might exist in any environment are intensified, as has been shown, a hundredfold by the effect of slum conditions. Furthermore, insofar as bad housing areas harbor a large proportion of this pauper class, the danger of infection and corruption of those families who may be striving valiantly to regain lost ground is very great.

Being a product of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology myself, I fully appreciate the skepticism of most of you civil engineers and architects that social engineers have any basis for what they are talking about. There is no doubt but that the subject matter of the social sciences is less tangible, less definable, less subject to measurement than the subject matter of the physical sciences, and, being so, furnishes a fertile field for the armchair philosopher who is too lazy or ignorant to go out into the field and collect his information and bring it back to the laboratory to be subjected to the impartial analysis of trained investigators. I have tried to show you that it is quite possible to carry over the scientific method and point of view into the analysis of social data and that we are now educating young men and women who are as thoroughly

trained in the scientific approach as any young engineer with transit and level, test tube, or microscope. I have tried to show you that this correlation between environmental factors and culture patterns is real and easily demonstrated, measured, and evaluated in a quantitative manner. If, then, you will cease putting us in the class of sentimental sob sisters, bluestocking uplifters, or impractical revolutionaries, you may believe us that we have some base and starting point for predictions of social improvement of the individual through improved environmental conditions.

This was what was in the back of commentator's mind when he queried, "Will permanently higher social standards obtain even though we build new houses that will sooner or later deteriorate?" He might have put the question in a more familiar form: "But won't these bums just put coal in the bathtubs and make kindling out of the door frames?" My answer is, "Yes, they probably will." Most of us would be at somewhat of a loss to know right away what we'd do if we were moved suddenly into Buckingham Palace. Moving people up from bad housing into good means that education, in the form of example and advice, must accompany the physical improvement. We Americans pride ourselves in catching on quickly to newer and better ways of living. It doesn't take long for hillbillies to become typical good citizens provided they have the opportunity of a job and a decent place to live and bring up their children. It is un-American and a slur on our American tradition to say that there is no use trying to help poor white trash and the lazy Negroes because they will be just as dirty, filthy, lazy and immoral regardless of where or how they are housed.

The social settlement probably is the best example of how constructive influences have guided negative or uncertain behavior patterns into patterns of useful citizenship. Every settlement worker of 25 years' experience can point out dozens of prosperous families today who were years ago forlorn, confused, unadjusted and presenting every phase of the social problem. Many of these families made progress without ever moving from the bad housing that usually characterizes the settlement neighborhood; but habits

of cleanliness, better cooking skill, and better ways of raising and caring for children, as well as adequate recreation for adults and children were obtained at the settlement by precept and example. The head resident was truly a resident. He lived in the neighborhood and was an integral part of it. The successful settlement worker was no high-hat philanthropist or college theorist who doled out largess or lectured. He lived his philosophy and lectured, if at all, only incidentally. When Barnet and Toynbee went down from Oxford in the 1870's and lived amongst the dock workers of East London, they lived the lives of the people they tried to help and incidentally founded the social settlement. This settlement movement has probably done more to improve the lot of the poor and the under-privileged than any other single ameliorative device. It was founded on a gospel of teaching by living. The social settlement in America has had a tremendous influence in the interpretation of American culture to the bewildered and often exploited immigrants of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Today the movement is attempting to mitigate the cruelties and inadequacies of a social system that periodically plunges millions of persons into unemployment and insecurity.

Public schools are so much taken for granted today that we sometimes forget that the public school was once a major source of popular argument. Lester F. Ward, one of the founders of American sociology, based his whole system of social telesis on public education. It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine just how much of our social improvement and higher standards of living are due to public education as against a dozen other factors. We have reason to believe, however, that as people move out of a state of illiteracy they sooner or later reach a stage of intelligent management of their own affairs, they are able to assimilate the experience of those who have gone before and to benefit by the instruction of their more intelligent contemporaries. Public education started off with a great emphasis on the classics and the 3 R's. Then it evolved into a phase of intensive vocational and practical courses. Somewhere in between must lie the happy medium.

Another new element introduced into the culture complex of Western civilization in the last half century has been public health education and public health functions. The first nail in the coffin of the late lamented "rugged individualism" was the public water and sewer system. What speeches some of our tory contemporaries could have made! What tears could have been shed with the passing of the backhouse, and the elimination of the backyard well and neighborhood pump. And then as if to hasten the horrid day of collective effort, the district nurse and the city doctor came on the scene at the turn of the century. Tuberculosis societies were formed with the result that the death rate from this cause in Ohio has dropped from 144 per 100,000 in 1909 to 55 per 100,000 in 1932. Twenty-three years is not long in terms of the history of civilization, yet the changes crowded into that brief span were portentous and profound.

But why do I bother you with this review of progress of which you are already aware? Simply because the process of social change can be hastened by the introduction of new elements into the culture complex. I see no reason to doubt that this splendid national effort at improving the housing of the depressed classes is as full of promise as the constructive and ameliorative efforts that I have just cited. The great contribution of the mid-twentieth century will be better housing. The prospect of more intelligent and more cooperative living was never brighter.

I want to draw from the foregoing illustrative material a definite suggestion that through the experience and technique of the settlement worker we can add a certain very important feature to the housing projects now getting under way in this country.

In brief, I propose that for every new housing unit some definite provision should be made for a suitable resident family whose ostensible function may be to collect the rent and supervise the building, but who are really there to act in the capacity of friend and counsellor to the families in the unit. I know of many young married social workers who, for the rent allowance, would be happy to make their home in a unit and, even while carrying on their

regular professional careers, devote some of their spare time to getting to know the families in their building, to organizing a mothers' club, to developing an interest in scouting or club work among the boys and girls, and offering advice, or seeing that advice is given, in the care and development of the babies and small children. Every housing unit should have a basement room that could be turned over for club work and group meetings.

One of the problems of urban life that has long concerned the sociologist is that of the anonymity of the city; the loss of status, of a sense of being somebody; the absence of friends, and a feeling of not counting for anything in the general scheme of things. As families move about from one rabbit warren to another, this dislodgment from the approved way of life to which you and I are accustomed, becomes so great that they seem to live in another world. Good housing at reasonable rents, and an economic system that puts back into the hands of the worker an adequate purchasing power, will undoubtedly produce conditions favorable to desirable folkways, but the presence of a friendly and intelligent neighbor in the immediate environment will immeasurably hasten the process of acculturation. The friendly neighbor will, among other things, show that there are other uses for the bathtub than storage for coal and potatoes, and that it is much better to have door frames where they belong, instead of broken up for kindling wood.

In other words, we must provide these people not only with a better physical environment, but we must afford them suitable examples of clean and intelligent living, worthy of emulation. Persons verging on pauperism are in need of leadership, of friendly and personal advisors, not too far removed, to make emulation and imitation feasible, and with reasonable hope of success. They need good neighbors to acquire attitudes necessary for the proper use of good housing, as well as for a new orientation to city life. Learning to use a kitchen sink may be the first step in learning to meet life's problems in an intelligent way. In pre-depression days, the expression "keeping up with the Joneses" carried with it a picture of a mad, inane pursuit of fake standards and of living

beyond one's means. But it did show the power of imitation, the effect of leadership, however futile. We must turn to this characteristic social process if we are to insure the fruits of a housing program.

While I seem to pack my message into the idea of the "friendly neighbor" I do not want to obscure the importance of another idea, namely, the necessity of giving economic opportunity to the depressed classes. No amount of paternalism, however skilfully administered, can take the place of self-sufficiency and economic independence on the part of the worker. It is true that there will always be an irreducible minimum of workers who, because of physical and mental handicaps, accidents, and misfortune, will have to be taken care of more or less permanently by organized society. But the philosophy of social work is to get people back on their own feet as rapidly as possible. The social worker is merely a means to an end, the end being a speedy adjustment of the individual or the family to the new set of circumstances that confronts them, whether loss of the breadwinner through death or desertion, or the presence of new and irritating factors in the family circle, or the delinquency of a member of the family. One hundred per cent charity usually means about one hundred per cent pauperization; when we talk in terms of "helping people," we mean helping them quickly to a point where our help is no longer needed. Therefore I urge upon you that low-cost housing with government subsidy has the potentiality of a great pauperization if not followed by training and wages. The workers who occupy these dwellings must live and move and have their being in an economic system in which there is not only security in the form of adequate social legislation but also opportunity to market their skill, their trade, or their profession, and receive back enough in the form of wages for them to hold their heads erect, pay their own bills, and see their own way through life. Anything short of this ideal is inadequate, if not pernicious.

It is not merely a matter of unravelling the complicated legal problems, or of securing adequate funds, or of locating the proper

areas to be rehoused, or clever architectural plans for the new building. Those are very real problems and pertinent questions that you gentlemen are here to solve. But I want to impress upon you the necessity of looking wide and thinking deep on the social aspects of housing. We've had enough of muddling through in our national life. If the new deal means anything, it means planning ahead and taking all the factors into consideration. It is essentially the long view, not the short one. Don't hope or expect that you are going to work miracles by transplanting bewildered people from packing cases and basement tenements into bright, clean, sanitary apartments. Miracles do still happen in social relations but they happen because we use our heads to bring about the proper set of factors that almost as if by magic create new and desirable culture patterns. If you want to create folkways that will outlive the period of amortization of your buildings you must plan the total "social complex" as carefully and as thoughtfully as you do your streets, your parks, and your structures.

Dreiser says: "Any quality to which the heart of man aspires, it may attain. Would you have virtue in the world, establish it yourself. It is only by acting in the name of that which you deem an ideal that its realization is brought to pass."

DISCUSSION

Frederick Bigger, Pittsburgh, Pa.: I should like to assemble four references having to do with the idea of the "neighborhood" or the "community," to see whether they point the way toward profitable effort in community organization.

My first reference is to the fact that the subdivision of the city into wards, for political purposes, has tended toward the conscious or subconscious assumption that the ward is a physical and social entity as well as a political unit. That the wards may be anything but physically homogeneous is abundantly clear in a city of such rough topography as Pittsburgh. There will be found more or less isolated physical communities, geographically close to each other but with long and circuitous travel distances separating them. We all know the ordinary variations: too much lot cover-

age in some places, ample open spaces in other parts; single-family dwellings in some parts, multiple dwellings in other parts; mixture of incongruous uses; low income families some places, high income families other places; more or less segregated racial groups in parts of some wards, and different kinds of national and social background more or less evidently revealed in spots throughout the urban community.

That reference is supplemented by the suggestion that it would be wise, from a city planning point of view, to lay out approximately fifty "municipal improvement districts" for use in public improvement programs in lieu of the then existing twenty-eight wards. Each such district could at least be a physical entity; and, in that event, some of the racial groups might very well find themselves a part of a more harmonious social group than when they belong in the present political ward population.

My second reference is to a comment by a most able and experienced student of municipal government and social trends, ex-Mayor William A. Magee of Pittsburgh. He refers to the complete loss of identity by those old and historical communities which have been absorbed in the great metropolitan population aggregations of the larger cities. Originally these neighborhoods had local leaders whom everyone there knew. They had knowledge of their community problems. Later the seat of urban government was too far removed from these localities. Centralization meant loss of contact with and sympathy for the local communities, except in so far as the political machines could manipulate the voters through the ward and precinct organizations. There is need to restore, in some way, that local consciousness of identity. Obviously, this last-mentioned aim might be furthered if the municipal improvement district idea were developed.

My third reference is to the so-called "community councils" which have come into existence in a number of cities during the depression period. They are concerned with relief activities, having a tendency to prevent such activities from being entirely paternalistic or too much regimented. Some of them reveal a desire to study community problems.

Here there seems to be some possibility of encouraging further development of community councils within the municipal improvement districts I have already mentioned. This might be somewhat of an antidote to the highly efficient but socially dubious political organization of the kind so frequently found.

My fourth reference is sketchy, and not based on particular knowledge of any details. It concerns a suggestion, made by real estate persons, that neighborhoods of local significance might be established within the large cities, and serve to permit property owners to be banded together to protect their community interest—possibly even to re-develop the locality along modern and well-planned neighborhood lines.

If that suggestion does not, as some have told me, imply disregard of the citizen of the community who is not a property owner, then some development of the idea might follow in a democratic manner and in harmony with the community councils movement I have already mentioned.

I have mentioned these matters which seem to me to be all of a piece, because it is apparent that social and economic planning must be carried on concurrently with city and regional planning. That is why, very likely, the term "community planning" appears to be a better term than others we have used, especially when we are dealing with living parts of cities, with problems of community housing, and the like.

JOHN IHLDER, Boston, Massachusetts: Between the social problem as presented by the sociologist and the technical problem as presented by architect and city planner is another point of view that perhaps bridges a gap. Within this gap lie technical housing problems, such as property management, the devilish ability of the bad tenant (not always poor) and the bad landlord (sometimes only ignorant) to create slums. The technical skills of architect and city planner are means of dealing with the construction aspects of the problem. But to the housing worker it seems that more than these technical skills is needed.

One of the dangers we face is that slum reconstruction (not clearance—this word itself is a danger signal of inadequacy) will seem too simple. Then, when we face hard facts, we shall compromise disastrously—as is being done in New York today. Among the factors in the problem are:

1. Effective distribution of wealth. A nation with superabundant and increasing wealth, yet having urban areas occupied by wage-earners whose incomes are not sufficient to secure proper housing, must distribute its wealth more effectively. The NRA code standard of $16 a week will not secure proper housing in many cities. It may be necessary to raise some

NRA wage scales soon. This may result in a new classification of labor or at least a raising of the standard of the employable, for employers will more carefully pick those to whom they pay the higher wages.

2. Areas of sub-standard buildings and super-standard site prices. We must reduce site prices to a new use value and yet retain enough value to produce a proper proportion of required city and state tax revenues.
3. Cost of construction. Slum reconstruction, if it means new buildings, probably will not provide dwellings within the means of unskilled or casual labor. Shall we subsidize dwellings or subsidize families, or shall we (a) Recondition existing dwellings. (b) Build new dwellings on cheaper land; cottages instead of tenements. (c) Raise the earning capacity of the workers. I hope we shall not subsidize dwellings, for that will cloud the issue.

Slum reconstruction and provision of low-cost housing are two distinct projects.

The reconstructed (not cleared) slum should be devoted to whatever use the community most needs at that spot; it may be automobile parking.

Low-cost housing should be provided wherever we can get the most for the money—"most" including accessibility.

In providing low-cost housing we must frankly recognize that however low we make the cost, there still will be people who can not pay it. So it would be futile to compromise on the housing in the hope of reaching an impossible objective. Whatever housing is provided must be good.

Our population may be divided into two economic groups: (1) Self-supporting—those able to pay an economic rent for a proper dwelling. (2) Not self-supporting—those unable to pay an economic rent for a proper dwelling. The second group is divided into (1) The temporarily submerged. They must be helped up. (2) The permanently submerged. They are a public charge.

But all must be properly housed, whether on the site of the reconstructed slum, or elsewhere.

LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS OF SLUM CLEARANCE

ROBERT D. KOHN, Director of Housing, Public Works Administration, Washington, D. C.

At the outset, I beg of you to remember that we are bound to compromise between our desire to achieve results in housing that shall be progressive and carry us beyond anything that we have done before and the practical necessity of putting men to work as promptly as possible. Slum clearance is frightfully difficult and while we of the Housing Division have had it in mind from the very beginning and want to do it more than anything else, we are forced to do other things that are not slum clearance.

We are criticized for the things we do, and we are criticized for the things we don't do. Somebody wrote the other day, "We are very much surprised that the advisers of the Housing Division are all real estate men and we have never known any real estate men that favor housing." It was not a fair charge against the real estate men, but the fact is we don't have any real estate men in our Division or among the consultants, and we might well be criticized for this omission.

Another criticism that came in recently was that we were building nothing but apartment houses. I had it looked up and found that although our work started in the largest cities, between thirty-eight and forty per cent of all the money we have loaned was for single family or row houses.

We want the city itself or civic groups representing the city to be responsible for local housing. We don't want to deal with private investors or speculative interests that have land to sell. We would prefer to deal with a city corporation or a municipal housing agency, but where the local government has not the legal power, our next preference is for a responsible group that represents every

element in the city. Such a group will take care of the problem of finance and administration, will manage the enterprise for the permanent good of the city and its people and in the interest of the city's future.

From some cities that have not the legal right to engage in housing, we have had very interesting proposals. In one city, where there is considerable land surrounded by slums but covered by city buildings no longer in use, the city proposes to lease it at a nominal rent to a responsible housing corporation backed by leading citizens, in order to provide low cost housing. There is also included an offer of tax exemption. In other cities where tax exemption is difficult or impossible, an agreement is proposed that the taxes for a certain number of years shall not be increased above the present level.

We want balanced projects; we do not want to build a white collar project and throw out low rental groups to fend for themselves. We appreciate, however, that we cannot build fireproof structures to rent at the same price as tumble-down shanties. Nobody can do it, until a reform in our laws allows us to take slum or blighted areas and pay only a value for the land based on its use for low cost housing.

Our educational work, particularly in the direction of governmental housing is moving along. Ohio has just adopted a law, for instance, by which any county after a declaration of necessity may create a housing authority. I believe other states will follow promptly along this line.

Just this evening the Secretary of the Interior has announced the creation of a federal housing corporation which may itself undertake housing projects. I have been convinced for some time that the Federal Government would be forced, because of unemployment conditions, to undertake, in certain cities, housing and possibly other public work. I hope we shall not have to use the Federal Authority except in extreme cases where cities are bankrupt and the unemployment emergency is very serious. Certainly we must arouse in any case the interest and sense of responsibility on

the part of the people in every community. Whatever the Federal Housing Corporation does will be merely a demonstration in certain cities of what should be done, with the distinct idea that the demonstration must be a part of a larger plan which is to be carried on in the future by the city itself.

Between 150 and 160 private projects have been before us for consideration. 16 have been approved by the Division and by the Committee of the Cabinet, calling for a total expenditure of about $40,000,000. There is no set limit on the amount of the appropriation available for housing and the attitude of the Cabinet Committee is, "We would rather do this than anything else we are doing. We believe there is greater social value in housing than in other Public Works if it is done properly."

I heard an enlightening conversation the other day in the Public Works Administration. A state engineer had just been pointing out that he could put 10,000 men to work in six months on a wonderful project of reclaiming thousands of acres of land at a cost of $30,000,000. He was asked, "What are the other public works projects in your state for the next ten years? What are you going to do with all this land and with the power that you propose to generate? What about your housing?" The state engineer was staggered by these questions and frankly admitted that he had nothing to do with other projects and just came down to promote this particular reclamation project.

Now this illustration is significant of the policy and procedure in our Housing Division. We have committees in city after city considering for us a dozen or more local projects in each city, trying to relate them to the growth of the city, to the movement of population, and industry and to the means of transportation; considering all those matters which are basic in our city planning work.

We want low cost housing. We want large scale housing. We want municipal or governmental housing. We want our housing related to the larger city plan. We can not accomplish what we want through speculative housing. We want the cooperation of strong municipal groups. With all the power in the world, we

cannot build even a small piece of a city or make a successful housing project unless the people in that city are interested to keep a continuous control of the project.

DISCUSSION

CHARLES S. ASCHER, Chicago, Illinois: Many of us who have come here this evening have looked forward to this unique opportunity for an exchange of points of view and for the raising of questions, either to be answered by Mr. Kohn, or by the civic groups locally responsible for housing projects. There are a number of us who have tried to develop techniques in the field of law and administration just as skilled architects have tried to devise techniques in the field of construction and design.

I do not suppose that we want to conduct here tonight a trial in which we argue whether this or that device will eventually be upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States. If we raise questions about law this evening, I think they might more fruitfully be in the field of legislation calculated to carry out the housing program. Some of these problems of legislation come up because of the very human inclination for housing groups in one state to copy, even to the misprints, the legislation which has been adopted in another. In Ohio, for instance, there is a provision in the housing authority law that the Public Housing Body be appointed by five different official agents. Some of us may think it unsound to divide the responsibility for setting up this organization, on the theory that if the appointing power is in judges, for instance, politics will be kept out of the housing authority. Of course this isn't so where politicians appoint the judges. The only point I want to make here is that a legal device which might be sound in Ohio might not be sound in some other state.

As to administrative problems, they are most difficult to define because they are so intertwined with all of the considerations underlying housing. I suppose if we consider administration as getting things done, we will have a sufficiently adequate idea of what we want to discuss. For instance, getting the land together for a housing project involves many and various expedients. I think Mr. Bassett has some very specific suggestions which he will offer to us later in the evening. Different states have had different experiences and have worked out different devices in the attempt to overcome the difficulty of reconciling the need for adequate pro-

tection of the individual and the need of the community to assemble a considerable area of land.

Another most interesting problem will be the relation between the Government and either private speculative groups, or those civic agencies which Mr. Kohn has suggested the Federal Government would prefer to deal with. Besides the assembling of land and the design and construction of buildings, there is the equally important problem of building management. There are many interesting human problems in accomplishing the smooth operation of large-scale housing projects.

The problem that looms over all others in any of these discussions is financing the project. We shall be discussing amortization, obsolescence and depreciation. I would like to ask Mr. Kohn a question which has some relation to finance. The Federal Government recognizes at least two kinds of housing projects, that operated by a private and speculative group, and that operated by a municipal housing authority or a civic group representing the municipality. In addition to these two groups, the Federal Government itself expects to build houses. What will be the relationship between these three types of agencies?

Mr. Kohn: The attempt has been made to distinguish between projects in accordance with the merit of all the conditions surrounding them, first by loaning a larger percentage of the cost of the project; second by making a different rate of amortization of the loan. The percentage of loan varies from 60% to as high as 85%. Amortization rate varies from 1.5% to the higher rate of 2.56% per year; that is, in the most desirable projects, 35 years for amortization are permitted during which 33 payments are made, the first two years being without payment of principal. In the less desirable projects, 25 years are allowed for amortization in which 24 annual payments are made. Most desirable projects are those where fire-proof buildings are built in slum areas.

The interest rate has been very generally fixed at 4% by action of the Federal Board. There is nothing to prevent a lower rate. As to the equity in the enterprise, it seems to us liberal to insist that at least 15% of the cost of the enterprise should be in operating cash capital. Certainly it is not practical to permit the entire equity to be in land or services. Some projects have been presented where contractors have been required to take part of their pay in stock. We feel that that is a dangerous thing and that it usually increases the cost of the project.

MR. ASCHER: If the city undertakes to provide parks or open spaces as a part of the housing project, will such contribution of land by a public agency be counted as part of the equity in the project?

MR. KOHN: We cannot consider such contributions as part of the equity in a housing project unless the parks belong to the housing corporation, since otherwise they are not part of the fee which is mortgaged. Nor can we consider that the added value given to the land which is to be devoted to a housing project, by reason of parks or public utilities, is a part of the equity where a private corporation is handling the housing project. I see no reason for leaving in the hands of a private corporation, buildings and land which are paid for entirely by the United States Government, and where practically the only asset offered as equity by the private corporation is an increment of value created by the city.

MR. ASCHER: You spoke just now of the terms which are reasonable for the Government to exact from private housing agencies. Will the terms offered to municipal housing corporations be different?

MR. KOHN: A municipality, a county or a state housing authority has a right to ask for a grant of 30% of the cost of labor and materials. Consequently, such housing agencies are in a much more advantageous position than a private corporation. No such grants have yet been made but we now have our first application from Detroit. I believe we will insist that the class of housing, type of design and the accommodations provided shall all be of a quality quite different from the limited dividend housing operated by private corporations. While conditions as to light and air and sanitary conveniences must be adequate, we should insist that luxuries be cut to the minimum, and that there be produced housing accommodations which people will leave for better ones as soon as their economic conditions permit.

We must here meet an entirely new social problem in control. We will probably insist that there be created some special control agency in every case where grants are made to municipal housing corporations. One of the functions of this social agency will be to see that only those tenants whose economic condition justifies that kind of housing are allowed to live there. This provision would be necessary if for no other reason than to avoid competition between public and private housing corporations. Municipal housing cor-

porations, county housing corporations or state housing boards need not have working capital. It would only be necessary to see that such corporations were interested enough in the project to make it go. We would expect, for instance, that playgrounds, park spaces or school facilities would be provided by the city, county or state.

BLEECKER MARQUETTE, Cincinnati, Ohio: In the case of a community which has the opportunity of proceeding either under public authority or under a private limited dividend housing corporation, should we understand that the Federal Housing Administration so prefers a public housing authority that it would be better to discourage limited dividend companies?

MR. KOHN: I cannot give you a definite answer, but it seems to me that it would depend a good deal on the quality of those who were behind the limited dividend corporation as against the quality of the municipal authority.

MR. ASCHER: I understand that the Federal Government will provide such control as will insure that the rents are fair, but what happens after the loan is paid?

MR. KOHN: The Federal Government in its contract with a limited dividend corporation will include every feature of control it can think of and then those that the lawyers can think of. The provision is written into such contracts that the Federal Government may assign the enforcement of control features to any governmental agency that it may designate. It is the intention in those states where there is a competent state housing board to delegate the exercise of control to such state housing board as long as it functions adequately. As to the completion of the period of the loan, there is a provision that the property may not be transferred by the housing corporation except to another corporation with exactly the same restrictions as to limited dividends, and not without the consent of the Federal Government. There is also included in every contract the right of recapture by the Federal Government which can take the whole project at the appraisal value at the time of recapture. My hope is that before the period of loan expires, cities and counties will have realized their responsibility for housing to such an extent that they will ask the Federal Government to transfer title to them on payment of the appraised value.

MR. MARQUETTE: My understanding is that the 15% equity must be provided by loans upon second mortgages. Since local dividend companies have found it difficult to secure sufficient equity money on the basis of second mortgage security, is there any chance of your administration changing that policy?

MR. KOHN: There may be a change permitting more liberal interpretation of the form of security, depending on the quality of the group back of the housing project. What we want is something backed by the community, and in such a case the Government is apt to be very liberal with regard to equities.

MR. ASCHER: I would like to direct your attention for a few minutes to the problem of bringing together the land, and technical devices which lawyers may be able to introduce to help architects and designers achieve their plans. To introduce that discussion, I am going to call on Mr. Bassett, the dean of thinkers in the field of the law of planning, to tell us something of the schemes applied in other parts of the world.

EDWARD M. BASSETT, New York City: No slum clearance problem on a large scale in a built-up city can take place without a complete readjustment of the streets and the introduction of open spaces because the ordinary block is not adapted to modern multiple houses. That readjustment of streets is practically impossible under present laws and constitutions in our American cities.

I would like to describe the contribution to this subject which the city of Tokio has made. A great earthquake and fire destroyed three-fourths of Tokio, an area four times that which was destroyed by the Chicago fire. Ten years ago Tokio, with marvelous rapidity, got an act in the National Legislature giving the city power to dump all streets and parks and private land into a common melting pot so that it ceased to be street, or park, or private land. It was just melting pot land to be ladled out anew. The city created sixty-five units, not simply blocks, but in many cases much larger, varying in size according to the location of canals and shore lines, etc. These sixty-five cells were separated by streets 150 feet wide which were intended to serve as fire breaks. On these wide streets the requirements were that the buildings should be fireproof. Many of the old parks were wiped out. Three times as many new parks and a great many small playgrounds were taken out of this pool of land. Ten per cent of the land was de-

ducted because of the operation of re-distribution, and each original owner was given a plot, not as much in quantity as he owned before, but equivalent in value because of the better plan.

The reason that we cannot do that in the United States is because no private property can be taken except for public use and on payment of a just compensation. In this day of the New Deal, we must assume that we can accomplish those things which are being done in countries that do not have written constitutions. I have no doubt whatever that we can produce methods even under our written constitutions which will bring about the relocation of streets and parks in order that depressed areas and slum districts can be re-built.

WALTER H. BLUCHER, Detroit, Mich.: I want to raise this question. What is the relation of zoning to large-scale housing projects in blighted districts? Most of the large cities have zoned blighted areas as commercial and industrial property. Now if the housing projects get placed in the center of industrial and commercial zones, aren't we putting too great an obstacle in the way of housing development? Maybe the first necessary step will be to change our zoning ordinances.

Zoning also has an important relation to the cost of land. If a certain area is zoned for business and has been taxed as business property, the owners naturally think they ought to get a price for the property based on the assessment figure. Now in Detroit, we haven't any zoning ordinance and the property we have in mind for a housing project has decreased more than 60% in assessed valuation over a period of seven years. Zoning, you see, has had no influence to keep the price up.

I believe that a city should acquire or condemn private property at its true valuation without regard to assessment. In Detroit there are several instances where property has been taken in condemnation procedure for less than its assessed value. That may seem unfair in view of the fact that taxes have been paid on assessed valuations, but because assessors have been wrong, and because people have wanted to keep their values up, are not good reasons why the city should be penalized when it is taking land for a housing project.

The problem of management has been much discussed. Shall we put the control in a municipal department, as far removed as possible from politics, or shall we contract with a qualified operat-

ing company which will be even more removed from politics? "Politics" may not be the only handicap. Qualified operators are bound to be real estate people who have a habit of being interested, no matter how honest they are, in the profitable operation of the project. They will naturally prefer people of adequate incomes, and people with few children in the family.

Where are these tenants of low income to come from? In one of the typical areas which we have studied, we found three classes of people, first, a large anti-social or criminal group, which certainly we don't want in our new housing project, second, a group, good enough from a social standpoint, but with incomes too low for even low-cost housing. The third group which have income enough and are desirable enough from a social viewpoint, is too small to occupy more than a small portion of the space in any large-scale housing project. I do not believe it would be wise to tap the so-called "white collar" group from the higher income class.

How much service can be provided our tenants? We have concluded that only minimum service should be provided, and that additional service could be given for extra charge. Finally, may it not be necessary for us to provide an intermediate stage of housing? May we not go into areas just adjacent to blighted areas or slum districts where the houses are in fairly good condition, and remodel them, and use them for tenants who may be said to be going through a training period in order that they may learn how to live in the new housing?

MR. ASCHER: I should like to add just a word from a letter of Ernest J. Bohn who has been a leader in slum clearance in Cleveland. Mr. Bohn is a lawyer, a member of Cleveland's City Council and of much experience with politicians. "I think it is due to the fact that persons in our local government were interested in slum clearance and low-cost housing, augmented by the fact that in every respect public opinion upheld those public officials, that Cleveland has made the progress it has. A lot has been said about slum clearance being kept out of politics. The tragic thing to me is that people in politics haven't taken a greater interest in the subject. It is only when governmental action takes the place of round table conferences that we can begin to solve our problem."

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RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONFERENCE

Appreciation

Whereas, The Conference on Planning and National Recovery, composed of the membership of the National Conference on City Planning, The American Civic Association, The American City Planning Institute and interested civic bodies and public-spirited citizens, marks the beginning of a new era of National, Regional and local appreciation of the importance of adequate planning in the life of the nation and therefore in the effectiveness of the National Recovery Program and

Whereas, The success of the Conference is largely due to the general committee on arrangements and cooperating individuals and organizations, be it therefore

Resolved, That this Conference hereby extend to—

The Hon. Albert C. Ritchie, Governor of Maryland
Hon. Howard W. Jackson, Mayor of Baltimore
Major General Paul B. Malone, Commander of the Third Army Corps Area
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Gavel Club
Maryland Federation of Garden Clubs
Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs
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Real Estate Board

Women's Civic League
The Press and all those who have played a part in the conduct of the Conference a MOST GRATEFUL APPRECIATION OF THEIR GENEROUS SUPPORT AND GRACIOUS HOSPITALITY.

BROADCASTING

The Conference learns with much interest of the public-spirited action of the National Broadcasting Company in making available to the Committee on Civic Education by Radio without charge a half-hour of time each Tuesday evening over the blue network and affiliated stations from Coast to Coast. After completion of the present series on the Crisis in Municipal Finance, we suggest to the aforementioned committee and to the National Broadcasting Company that another public service could be rendered if over a period of the following three or four months similar facilities could be extended the American City Planning Institute for broadcasts on City and Regional Planning, Public Works, Housing, Public Recreation and related subjects.

FEDERAL GRANTS FOR PLAN MAKING

The text of this Resolution appears on page 52.

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