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HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Hubert H. Humphrey, Professor of Political Science
and International Affairs, Macalester College, St. Paul,
Minnesota. Mr. Humphrey began his career in elective office
as Mayor of Minneapolis in 1945. He was United States
Senator (D-Minn.) from 1948 to 1964 and United States
Vice-President, 1964-1968. His name is associated with
a wide variety of social welfare legislation enacted
within the past two decades.

(Ed. Note: Professor Humphrey keynoted the Institute.
His remarks are intended to survey contemporary cross-
national urban patterns. He points to increasing world
wide urban growth accompanied by housing shortage, trans-
portation break down, environmental pollution, and health
hazards. Varying examples of polity planning to meet
these patterns are discussed. Professor Humphrey concludes
his remarks with a proposal for a U.N. Agency for Urban
Affairs both to assist governments in planning and to
promote cross-national sharing of information and research.)

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KEYNOTE

By Hubert H. Humphrey

As the opening statement for this Institute on Comparative Urban Development, I would like to address myself to the international aspects of the urban problem. I must confess that the available literature on the subject is scattered. It has not been compiled as precisely or as well as it should be. Therefore, I will center my remarks on data from areas with which I am acquainted personally and which I have visited.

My first observation is that urban problems are similar the world over. The world population is expanding at a frightening rate and even underdeveloped countries with a large portion of their people living in rural areas, are faced with the massive urban problems which bring ever increasing social discontent. There is the problem of inadequate housing both in supply and quality. Air and water pollution is not a unique development for the United States or Western Europe; it is world wide. Congestion of population and traffic is a common denominator in most countries.

Of the world's largest urban centers, seventeen are to be found in what we call the third world of developing countries. In addition, growth rates in urban areas of Africa, Asia, and Latin America are three to five percent higher than those of the developed countries. You can see somewhat from these figures the magnitude of the problem. This shift from rural to urban areas results partly from the fact that fewer people are needed to produce food for the total population. Whereas

during the Civil War a person could produce only enough food
for four people, thirty-five persons can now live on the
productivity of one man. In the past century over seventy
percent of the American people have moved to urban areas.

United Nations statistics have indicated that fifty-
five percent of the world's population still lives in rural
areas, but U.N. projections indicate that by 1990, just
twenty years from now, fifty-five percent of the population
will live in cities with 100,000 or more people. Now I
caution you to note that I used the figure for cities of
100,000 or more. Actually, we can define urban centers as
communities of much less than 100,000 . But, with fifty-five
percent of the entire world's population living in cities
greater than 100,000 by the year 1990, that figure will take
on significance as we discuss the total lack of planning and
institutional structure for coping with the already existing
urban crisis, much less the one that is moving in like a
tidal wave.

The estimates for the next 100 years indicate that ninety-
five percent of all the people who populate the earth (and
it will be a very large number) will live in urban areas.
The other five percent will live in the rural areas, carrying
out the necessary agricultural tasks. Of course, that's only
a projection, but I would remind students of urban problems
that population is so much a part of this urban crisis, that
you can't even discuss cities without talking in terms of
population increase or population migration.

We might almost be in a state of shock when we contemplate

the magnitude of the cross-national urban crisis. Of the 314
million people living in the large cities of the world, speaking
as of the 1960's, 106 million, or one-third, lived in Asian
cities. The new urbanization in these cities is unlike the
patterns of city growth in Western Europe or America. Japan
may well foreshadow the pattern of growth for developing parts
of the world. Our Western European and American cities grew
over a period of decades, even centuries, but in the third
world cities are growing almost spontaneously and are erupting
like volcanoes. As late as the early 1950's, forty-five percent
of Japan's work force was in agriculture. Today it's only
thirty percent. In the next twenty years, only ten percent
of their population will be engaged in agriculture.

When I visited Japan, I saw that the problems of population,
congestions transportation shortage, and all that comes with
a high degree of urbanization. By the end of the twentieth
century, thirty years from now, it is estimated that ninety
million people, or eighty percent of Japan's urban population
will live in the Tokyo area. The Japanese are very industrious
and ingenious people, and they are making tremendous efforts
to come to grips with this constantly exploding and expanding
congestions, but I am sure that they would be the first to
acknowledge that they are almost in a state of bewilderment
as to how they're going to cope with urbanization.

We have much the same situation on our eastern corridor,
where over 100 million people will beliving in that limited
span of territory forming one constant city or megapolis.
Our demographers indicate that America is fast becoming what

you might call a Mediterranean society in which the population concentrates around the seacoast of the Atlantic, the Pacific, the Gulf of Mexico, and the shores of the Great Lakes, with the vast hinterland being depopulated. This, within itself, not only poses serious problems of social organization for the cities, but also political ramifications far beyond anything we have experienced in the past. Much of the politics of America today, and indeed the rest of the world, is oriented toward the rural or countryside type of political projection and political thought. But the facts indicate that our central problems are urban, even though we have deep and continuing problems of rural poverty.

As our population increases, and the migration continues into the great cities, it changes the entire political, social, and economic structure. I wish there was more discussion about this. A tragedy of the last ten years is the fact that the best minds of this country have been diverted from thinking about the kind of America, and the kind of world we are going to be living in during the next twenty-five years. I haven't heard ten in depth discussions of the movement of population, much less the increase of population as it affects our future pattern of life.

The movement of people into urban areas without any planning or any social structure design is grevious. Just as critical are the resulting problems of human relations, the

relationships between all races, not only black and white.
These are the problems that have gone practically untouched.
They have been sterilized or put in a deep freeze, while we
have expended our emotions on matters of dramatic proportions
or interest. When I get through reciting some of the statistical
data, I think you will feel somewhat as I do: Where have we
been? What have we been doing? How did this happen? Why do
we find ourselves literally under an ash heap of an erupting
volcano of urban population and social problems? The prospects
for cities in developing countries are even bleaker, if it is
true, as many have suggested, that their economic base has not
expanded appropriately with the population growth or the
movement to the cities. These regions face a real and frightening
future with all the problems related to urban growth plus
insufficient human and material resources.

Even in the highly developed United States, we are in
desperate need of urbanologists, especially those with skills
developed through actual experience. Every nation needs
planners, architects, and social engineers who are experienced
with the unique characteristics of that country for the
rehabilitation of their urban centers.

The most striking aspect of accelerated urbanization is
that no one, and no country has yet solved any of the major
urban problems, although international conferences, and a
growing amount of literature have fostered a common definition
of them. The problem or the problems, are defined only
generally as poor housing, slow and inadequate transportation,
obsolete or nonexistent water and sewage systems, unemployment,

racism, frustration with wretched living standards, population
congestion, traffic congestion, noise, and above all the lack
of opportunity. Thus far, we know about the problems, and
we've come to some common definition of them.

Only a few nations, and I speak of national policy as an
institution related to urban problems, have sought to deal with
urban problems through the development of national policies
for encouraging or discouraging economic growth. Only a few
have set standards for the desirable size of cities, growth
patterns, and the balance of regional development.

One example is the British. They are leaders in this field,
initiated a plan just before World War II. It was born out
of a need to revitalize a nation of depressed areas, and to
better the conditions of city life in order to achieve a
healthy, efficient, and practical physical environment. During
the 1930's industrial development in Britain was centered in
the South. As a result the North found itself at a disadvantage,
experiencing great social difficulty. To rectify this,
Britain adopted a national policy to curb the rate of population
growth and employment in London and the Southern part of
England, to increase the economic opportunity in Northern
England and Wales, and to change the form of growth for
London and other large cities. This was policy established
by Parliament and government, not just something that was
talked about among people of good will or in private conferences.
In order to relieve the disturbed economics of a congested
metropolis, a green belt was established beyond which new
towns were built, so that the growing suburbs were separated

from London. Construction of industrial plants was prohibited, and direct subsidies were given to companies who would locate plants in distressed areas. Regional economic planning boards were established with advisory councils composed of local authorities, universities, industry and commerce, trade unions and other groups with regional interests. Under this plan fifteen new towns were started before 1952 beyond the green belt, creating space and separating London from the new cities. A second generation of the new towns is now being pushed vigorously. These new towns are not merely an extension of a big city; they are viable units unto themselves. The British are in a sense growing entirely new cities. They have lives of their own, they do not rely upon London, they are not just bedroom communities, or commuter centers.

The French also have sought to curb the growth of their largest metropolis, Paris, and also Marseilles and others. The goal of the French design, which more than any other nation recognized the need for integrated regional planning, was to restrain the growth of Paris through elaborate incentive schemes and to induce industrial development into other regions. I might add, however, that the French effort at regionalism cost Mr. De Gaulle his presidency. His effort to restructure the French government on a regional basis was rejected. President De Gaulle is often the victim of a good deal of adverse criticism in America. I would suggest to my political and social scientist friends that it would be well worth their time to study what he was attempting to do in that last

French election, how he was attempting to restructure the government of the localities so that they could really govern and meet the socio-economic need of their people.

The general strategy of the French plan was to identify the principal metropolitan areas which could serve to develop given regions. In these regions, the major programs would be designed to build up a critical mass of economic activity and population, enrich services and cultural development, and multiply ties and channels of communications to their hinterlands and to the other regions in France. The French are not trying to do away with the city. They are trying to integrate a whole new series of cities and regions. The efficacy of the French system is not yet known. It may remain uncertain given the fact that France has committed only one-sixth of the funds that Britain has spent for its plan.

Frankly, we are not coming to grips with the problems in America at all. We have a few experiments such as our Metropolitan Council here in the Twin City area. There is also some effort being made on a regional basis in Minnesota, but all these attempts are highly controversial. If there is any one need which I hope we will turn some attention to, it is the manner in which we structure forms of government in the United States so that they have jurisdiction that is commensurate with the nature of the problem the government is to handle. We have fractionalized our governmental structures, in a sense divided the city into jurisdictional compartments, such as sewer and water, port authority, or transportation. All these separate governmental jurisdictions weaken the cities

and their resources. To bring them together in any coordinated effort is a monumental task. Now we are experimenting with what we call councils of government, metropolitan government, or metrocounty government.

Government institutions that reflect concern over urbanization are a recent phenomenon. For example, the Philippine Congress is only now considering the creation of a Housing and Urban Development Authority, or the Indian government is considering the possibility of an Indian rural committee. Nevertheless, in every country of the world, responsibility for dealing with the consequences of urbanization remains scattered among a large number of bureaus, ministries and agencies, most of them inadquately funded, dealing with individual problems rather than an overall plan.

One of the central problems for developing countries is that of rural migrants, their adjustment to urban working and living habits, the changing of the family and social structure, and the resulting loss of old institutions and values. While Western industrialized countries have produced decaying inner city ghettoes, much of the rest of the world confronts the problems of squatters surrounding the rich center cities. In our part of the world it is a sore within the city. For them the slums are on the outer ridges.

Squatters are a constant problem, not only in the underdeveloped countries, but increasingly in modern cities, like London and Rome. These quatters are drawn to the city both because they like the things they hear about--electricity,

movies, the modern pace of life, and because they hope to find a better life economically. In Latin America these settlements are growing at over ten percent a year, some doubling every five years. O ver one-half of the population in some cities in Africa and the Middle East are squatters. I visited some settlements for example in Santiago, Chile, and Lima, Peru. The deprivation was almost beyond description! The response of government to this squatter occupation has been, in the past, simply to ignore it. Needless to say this inaction has become less and less acceptable. The number of public housing units being constructed is so inadquate that little impact is apparent. There are attempts to eliminate squatter settlements by preventing futher migration, but this has not worked at all. Even countries with such strong central governments as South Africa, England, and China have not been able to accomplish this. One very imaginative proposal suggests that individuals who occupy the shacks in these settlements should be helped, with materials and tools, to rebuild. It has been tried successfully in Puerto Rico. The government made available brick, mortar, sand, cement, and tools for individuals to improve their living condition. This was, however, on a small scale.

While housing is invariably one of the most serious of the urban problems, the stated goal of governmental programs is at best very general. Italy for example, said it wants to give a proper house to everybody and eliminate substandard housing by reducing the numbers of people in one room flats. They almost cheerfully acknowledge that reaching this

goal is quite impossible. Despite the rhetoric, Italy has put together housing programs that are greater in proportion than our efforts here in the United States. After World War II the Italian government created a new federal agency, a national housing agency, charged with the task of designing and constructing a vast amount of public housing and creating a number of jobs for the building industry in the process. It was supported by employer-employee contributions, much like our own social security programs, as well as a vast amount of funds. During the period of its existence, from 1949 to 1963, this housing agency built 270,000 units of public housing, while the comparable figure for the United States was only 345,000 for a national population four times as large as Italy.

If I could leave one thought for these proceedings, it is that the matter of housing for low income people in America is a national disgrace. We are worse off today for housing for poor people than we were ten years ago. I might add that while there is a great deal of difficulty in all housing construction in 1970, commercial construction of office buildings is moving at an all time high. We have money in this country for what we want to do. The fact is that we don't want to pay for good housing for people who are in desperate need of it.

Good housing includes more than just facilities, it includes the social environment, open spaces. It includes a number of facilities such as health, education, and cultural institutions that come along with it. Returning to the Italian plan, 600 million dollars is allocated for the construction of 200,000 units. The 1965 housing act in the United States

by comparison, calls for 60,000 units over a four year period. A most striking feature of public housing in Italy, is its integration. Public housing units are not segregated in certain areas, but are built right in with the middle and upper income housing.

Another example is Korea. In a transformation from a rural to urban economy, they built housing for 250,000 people last year. They are building housing this year for 400,000, and they will build housing next year for 500,000. These are good housing units; I've visited them. They have no elevators, but they are no more than six stories high. They are made of concrete, brick and steel, and, they have central heating, clean water, and sanitary facilities. They also are integrated economically. The young and old, professionals and non-professions all live together in the same housing unit. The older people occupy the first floor because it is more difficult for them to go to the fourth, fifth, or sixth floor. The younger people are at the top.

I might paranthetically add that the student ghetto is getting to be as big a problem as some other ghettos. College dormitories do not do much to embellish the life of young people. After a five year study in the Scandanavian countries, they have come to a decision that compus housing will not just be for students and professors, but for tradesmen and others. Such housing will be integrated economically, socially, professionally, and age-wise. If housing is built off campus, which is the greatest percentage of the college housing in the Scandanavian countries, it will

be for all citizens. In other words, students won't live
as an age-segregated group, having a separate pattern of life.
I have a feeling that this is going to come to the United
States, if not out of the brilliance of our minds, out of
the necessity of events. I strongly recommend it.

We've been pretty stingy about parks, playgrounds, and
open spaces in most of our great cities. Stockholm has
more than 40,000 acres of partk for its 800,000 citizens.
New York has over eight million people and only 36,000 acres.
Anyone who has ever visited New York knows how much brick
and mortar has been piled up in a limited space. Stockholm
on the other hand, has had a unique plan in effect since
1904 for purchasing large estates outside the city boundaries,
with a view towards further expansion. It may set priorities
or decide where and when different areas will be built.
Stockholm has been able to see to it that public transport,
traffic routes, or sewage systems are planned before permitting
building. They are able to channel development very
economically.

London is also to be applauded for recreational facilities.
While it is the second largest city in the world, it's park
space is about three times that of the city of New York.
Within walking distance of many areas is wilderness. They
won't even permit a hamburger stand. You can see deer, wild
games, or birds. I've also witnessed many of the open-space
developments in cities like Oslo, Paris, Moscow, or Berlin.
They are taking this subject of open spaces seriously.

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When are our city planners going to start thinking of having forests inside the cities. Why do we have to get in a car and go 200 miles to see a forest. Berlin has a forest in the city. Helsinki has a forest in the city. London has huge park s. Paris has a very fine forest.

Urban transportation is a characteristic of the urban problem. Some cities have done well with it. Paris, Stockholm, and Toronto have made extensive efforts to satisfy future transportaticn requirements. Stockholm has developed a plan for the central section which is very uncharitable to cars. It limits parking space to less than one car per dwelling unit, and closes some streets to vehicle traffic entirely, creating an unbroken pedestrian street system. In Minneapolis we made an abortive effort; but we just couldn't keep thoses busses off the mall and thereby destoyed half of the beauty and purpose of the mall. Rome is typical of what not to do. The city currently has over three-quarters of a million vehicles. New cars are pouring into the traffic system at a rate of 10,000 each month. Yet, little or nothing is being done to control it. Unfortunately, efforts to construct a subway have been stalled by a law which requires that whenever you run into any ruins you have to go to a particular government agency to see if you may proceed. Construction work has progressed only 200 feet in five years, since each new excavation has uncovered more and more Roman ruins.

My pet peeve about American tranport systems is that we

not only have miserable service, but our subway systems are
without a doubt, the world's worst. We take the number one
prize; we stand totally uncontested. When you see the subways
of London, Moscow, Tokyo, Paris, and Stockholm, and then
compare them to those of the United States, both in terms
of efficiency, wholesomeness, safety, and price for the
travel, you wonder. There are certain aspects of individual
behaviour that must be changed to assure use of a good system.
In a survey made in New York the question was asked, "If
you reduced the subway fare to ten cents a ride, what would
be the percentage increase in rides on the service system?".
It was very modest, something like ten or fifteen percent
increase. If you paid persons twenty-five cents to ride the
public transit system, the percentage only increased by a
few points. Americans just love to drive those cars.

　　With this brief survey of some aspects of the cross-
national urban problems and programs, I want to make two
proposals for reform. The first is that an Institute for
International Urban Policy Studies be created. I call it,
for lack of a better phrase, an Institute for Tomorrow. Such
an Institue should be affiliated with the United Nations,
in much the same way as the World Health Organization, or
UNICEF, or UNESCO. As I pointed out a little earlier the
explosiveness of a world population reaching seven billion
by the year 2000, indicates the urgency of this matter,
and time is running short. Both the developing and developed
nations need a stop sign to check the long down hill plunge
into an overcrowded, hyper-polluted world. If there is a way

to stop the slide, it will be reached in part by the recognition
of the mutual and independent nature of human life in our
globe and through a world-wide pooling of expertise to combat
the complex and interconnected ills that threaten our
survival. The dangers of unrestrained population growth
affect the entire world, so solutions to the problem must be
seen in global terms. Isolated incidents that everywhere
alter the ecological balance of nature are, in total, a
threat to man's support system--the environment. Therefore,
pollution must also be considered from a global standpoint.
Three times on Earth Day, I proposed, without too much public
notice, that we create a U.N. environmental board that would
supervise the efforts of every nation in the world in dealing
with environmental or pollution control. In particular,
it should monitor treaties such as NATO, SEATO, the Warsaw
Pact, which are intended in part to deal with the diplomacy
of living. I see no reason why these great international
agreements cannot be put to work on the problems of population,
pollution, or urbanization. I believe that the new diplomacy
of the last third of the Twentieth Century must be directed
primarily towards developing institutions that relate to the
world's needs--to the needs of the environment.

As we dump garbage in our oceans, we see how it
contaminates water supply world-wide. These facts call for
an international approach--a pooling of national energies to
develop new approaches to similar problems may be expected
to provide solutions that can be applied nationally. The
global nature of these challenges require a world-wide impact

and at the same time a sensitivity to national or regional
needs.

We must analyze our assumptions about urbanization, and
realize their impact on different political and cultural
conflicts.   There is one assumption that must be questioned.
with the utmost rigor.   Do people in countries whether large
or small, what ever their cultural backgrounds or present
age, or background or occupations, actively want the kind of
civilization in which the technical aspects are like the
present day institutions in Western Europe, Soviet Union,
Australia, North Africa.   This notion that people want what
we have misleads us, not only because of its implicit
flattery, but because it defines the future solely in terms
o f the present existing patterns.   We can not neglect the
new forms that may be expected to arrive out of changes
occurring now in both developed and developing countries.
An Institute for International Urban Studies could coordinate
information about solutions that were formed from yesterday's
work, but it would not need to rely exclusively on that base
for future approaches.

The continuing rapid changes that typify our time demand
a dramatically new organizational form to bridge the time of
transformation.   Thus, my proposal envisions an interdisciplinary,
multi-national agency to promote solutions arrived at through
international cooperation in the context of each country's
unique national framework and political institutions.   The
Institute would offer highly specialized long-range planning
and consulting services to the less developed countries,

whose resources are lacking for anticipating tomorrow, in
the face of today's overwhelming need. The Institute's
director, principal officers and staff should reflect
competence in the full range of substantive problems it will
challenge. The International character of the Institute
must also be reflected by its personal and geographic
representation which must be sought to insure the recognition
of the full complexity of problems. Research efforts in
principal areas of concern--in population, pollution,
economic development, human relations, poverty, urban land
use, rural decline would be complimented by continuing
interdisciplinary seminars and conferences. Although the
Institute would not be a mass membership organization, it
would establish appropriate liason with public and private
institutions such as the U.N., the World Bank, the National
Science Foundation, the World Population Council, as well as
equivalent groups in other countries.

Secondly, here at home what is needed is truly a national
policy to deal with the problem of urban America. We need a
framework in which all our knowledge can be put to use. City
planners, architects, financiers, sociologists, public
officials and bureaucrats have produced considerable insight
and knowledge about what we can do; now we must generate
the popular support for government structures to carry out
these plans. This is not a question of whether or not the
federal government should try to influence local development.
The issue is whether or not the influence which the federal
government already exercises will be formed directly toward

arresting the haphazard course of urbanization, a trend that
results from the interplay of countless individual citizens
and private enterprises, conditioned by various and sometimes
contradictory acts at national, state and local levels.
Therefore, the Congress must define national goals.

To enable the Congress and the nation to assume the
leadership essential to meaningful urban existence, I propose
that a Joint Committee be created in the United Sates Congress
charged with the responsibility of producing a national
development policy, a policy that will reflect the knowledge,
needs and ideologies of the people. In America, with our
form of open society and responsive government, we should
be able to recognize perhaps more easily than people in
other countries, that the best plans are those which are
constantly changing, while at the same time remembering and
accepting that a lack of planning inevitably contributes to
chaos.

The Joint Committee should also define the fundamental
social, economic, demographic, and ecologial objectives to
help guide the growth of new cities; decide how many new
cities we need and where they can be located; and design the
public development corporations that would be necessary to
establish and manage the new cities until local governments
are elected.

The city, in the thoughts of man throughout history, has
embodied at one and the same time both the utmost evil and
the highest good. It is a place of iniquity, as well as the
foundation of man's civilization. It is the disrupter of human

values and stability and also the place where spiritual and
other human values are prepetuated; it is a collection of the
disorganized and the disruptive but still a place where
individuality can flourish; it is chaos--it is vitality. Very
soon the entire world's population will be touched by this
human institution. If man is to improve the art of living in
cities, to introduce grace and tolerance to human patterns of
living we must make sensible the qualities we seek in urban
living. Then, if we choose, we can prevail. We are not
unique in our problems, but the hour is late in terms of
getting things done. We are as yet walking in the wilderness,
not because much is not known, but because much has not been
brought together of what is known. I would hope that out of
this Institute we could start to make some progress toward
coordinating what we already know, and envisioning what we
need to know.

WORKING PAPER--COMPARATIVE URBAN SYSTEMS

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Urban problems are much the same the world over; they
are variations on a theme. With the world population expanding
at a frightening rate, even underdeveloped countries that
still have a large proportion of their people living in rural
areas are faced with social discontent—an inadequate supply
of poor housing, air and water pollution, congestion and poor
transportation. Of the world's largest urban centers, 17 are
in developing countries. In addition, growth rates in urban
areas of Africa, Asia, and Latin America are three to five
percent higher than those of the developed countries. ~~The
world will have a population of 7 billion people by the year
2000.~~ (Population

In the industrialized countries, this population has
already moved to urban areas partly as a result of the fact
that fewer people are needed to produce food for the population.
In America since the Civil War (when one person could produce
only enough food for four people), over 70 percent of our
people have moved to urban areas, because one person can now
produce enough food for 35 people.

United Nations' statistics indicate that for the
world as a whole, 55 percent of the population still lives
in rural areas. But by 1990 over one-half the world's
population will live in cities with 100,000 population.

Food + #7 Farmers

Rural to city

Rural Pop (55%)

20 yrs from now

Estimates for the next 100 years indicate that, 95 percent
of all the people who populate the earth, and it will be a
considerable number, will live in urban areas. The other
five percent will live in rural areas carrying out the
agricultural tasks necessary for the other 95 percent.

Of the 314 million people living in the large cities
of the world, 106 million or one-third live in Asian cities.
The new urbanization in new cities is unlike the historic
patterns of city growth in Western Europe and America. Japan
may well foreshadow the course of growth for the *developing*
parts of the world. While the industrialization of the United
States took place over several decades Japan has changed to
a heavy industrial economy just since the war.

As late as the early fifties, 45 percent of Japan's
work force was in agriculture. Today it is only 30 percent;
within the next twenty years only 10 percent of Japan's
population will be engaged in agriculture. And by the end
of the 20th Century 90 million people or 80 percent of
Japan's urban population may live in the Tokido megapolis.
This fantastic rate of urbanization has brought problems
of air and water pollution, traffic congestion and housing
scarcity, even more severe than the problems we have
experienced in the United States.

Dr Shozo Harada —
Counsellor, Ministry of
Transport, Japan

On the other hand, the prospects for cities in the ~~third world~~ _Developing countries_ are even bleaker if it is true as many have suggested, that their economic base has not expanded in parallel fashion ~~nor have ties to their hinterlands improved.~~ _With their population growth_ These regions face a real and frightening future with all the urban problems and no resources to cope with them.

Ⓐ Indeed the striking factor in the world picture of accelerated urbanization is that no one has yet solved any _of the_ urban problems, although international conferences and a growing literature have fostered a common definition of them. Thus the problems are identified as poor housing, slow _and inadequate_ transportation, inadequate water and sewer systems, unemployment, and frustration with wretched living standards and lack of opportunity. ~~These responses to them are beginning to take on the same character.~~

National Policies and Institutions

BRITIAN

Only a few nations have sought to deal with urban problems through the development of national policies for encouraging or discouraging migration, economic growth, desirable city sizes, settlement patterns, and balanced regional development.

The British policy was initiated just before World War II. It was born out of a need to combat formation of depressed areas and to better the conditions of city life

Britain Policy

in order to achieve a healthy, efficient and attractive
physical environment. During the 30's industrial development
was centered in the south; and the north found itself at a
relative disadvantage. Thus Britain adopted a national
policy: (1) to curb the rate of population growth and
employment in London and the southern part of England;
(2) to increase economic activity in northern England, and
(3) to change the form of growth for London and other large
cities.

In order to relieve the dis-economies of a congested
metropolis a large green belt was established around London.
New towns were built beyond the green belt, and construction
of industrial plants was prohibited in the London region.
Direct subsidies were given to companies who would locate
plants in distressed areas. Regional economic planning
boards were established with advisory councils composed of
local authorities, universities, industry and commerce, trade
unions, and other regional interests. Under this plan 15
new towns were started before 1952, and a second generation
of new towns is now being pushed vigorously.

The French also sought to curb the growth of their
largest metropolis. The goal of French planning, which
more than any other nation recognized the need to integrate
regional planning into national sector planning, was to
restrain the growth of Paris through elaborate incentive

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schemes to induce industrial development in other regions.
The general strategy was to identify the principal metropolitan
areas which could serve to develop their regions. In these
regions the major studies and programs would be developed
to build up a critical mass of economic activity and population,
enrich their services and cultural development, and multiply
their ties and channels of communication to their hinterlands
and to the other regions of France. The efficacy of the
French plan is not yet known and may be uncertain given the
fact that France has committed only about one-sixth the
funds that Britain has expended.

The general policy of the Polish government has
likewise been to halt the growth of large cities, and in
addition to speed the development of middle size towns
(the French, by contrast, took it for granted that a large
city offered numerous advantages), and to develop small
agricultural centers.

The general thrust of many national plans has been
toward rural and large-scale industrial enterprise. Urban
systems and structures have been slighted, especially in
plans of underdeveloped countries. The Philippine government
has recently decided to stress rural development. Indian
plans have generally given low priority to urban services.

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Indeed

National institutions that reflect concern over urbanization are a recent phenomena. We have our Department of Housing and Urban Development. France has created the Interministerial Committee for the Paris Region to coordinate ministerial activities and to formulate general policies for Paris. The Philippine Congress is considering the creation of a housing and urban-development authority. The Indian Rural-Urban Relationship Committee is studying problems of urban local government. Nevertheless, in every country in the world responsibility for dealing with the consequences of urbanization remains scattered among bureaus, ministries, and agencies created to deal with overall plans or special functional problems or sometimes both.

Squatters and Housing

Many countries of the world are grappling with the problems of rural migrants--their adjustment of working and living habits, family social structure, and loss of old institutions and values--with programs which include you from demanding work permits as a condition of entry to specialized training courses for fitting migrants to urban jobs. However, these specialized attacks have done little to stem the tide of urbanization. They have been no more successful than was America's policy relating to the great

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rural migration to America's cities. While in western industrialized countries the migration resulted in decaying inner city ghettos, much of the rest of the world confronts the problems of squatters ringing the central cities. Their slums are on the outer fringes of the cities. Squatter settlements are a constant problem not only in underdeveloped countries but increasingly in "modern" cities. Squatters are drawn to the city environment both because they like the good things of life like electricity, movies, modern ways of living and because they hope to make a better life economically. Squatter settlements in most major cities in Latin America are growing at over 10 percent per year, some doubling every five years or so. In some cities in Africa and the Middle East over one-half of the population are squatters. These are the poor two-thirds of mankind. Let me describe one of these areas:

> "All around Lima lie these dreadful slums,
> the notorious barriadas of Peru, in which
> 250,000 people live like gutter-creatures
> in the dirt . . . slum[s] so bestial, so
> filthy, so congested, so empty of light,
> fun, color, health, or comfort, so littered
> with excrement and garbage, so swarming with
> barefoot children, so reeking of pitiful
> squalor that just the breath of it makes
> you retch."

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~~In spite of this~~ apparently discouraging picture, the barrida represents an improvement over the semi-feudal life in the mountains that these people left.

The response of governments to squatter occupation of open lands has in the past often been simply to ignor the situation. Needless to say, this inaction has become less and less satisfactory. Countries trying to deal with the squatter problem (much as the U. S. is trying to deal with its ghetto problem) such as Spain, Columbia, Venezuela, and India, are building public housing. However, the number of units is so absolutely inadequate that no impact is apparent on the growth of such settlements.

Alternatively, attempts to try to eliminate squatter settlements by preventing in-migration has not really worked anywhere either. Even countries with such strong central governments as South Africa and Mainland China have not been able to accomplish this. One very imaginative proposal suggests that the individuals who occupy shacks in these settlements should be helped with materials and tools to re-build and add to the homes that they already seem to have an incentive to improve.

Housing is invariably one of the most serious urban problems throughout the world even apart from squatter problems (which recently have plagued such developed cities as London and Rome). The stated goal of the housing

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program in Italy, for example, is to give a proper house
to everybody and to eliminate substandard housing by
reducing the numbers of people in one-room flats and
upgrading the standards enjoyed by others. A goal much like
that of any nation.

And while officials and experts almost cheerfully
acknowledge that reaching the goal is quite impossible,
Italy has put together programs that, in proportion, dwarf
our own efforts here in the U. S. After World War II the
government created a new Federal agency--INA-Casa--charged
with the task of designing and constructing a vast amount
of public housing and creating great numbers of jobs in the
process. It was supported by employer-employee contributions
much like our social security programs as well as a certain
amount of government funds. During the period of its
existence from 1949-1963, INA-Casa built 270,000 units
of public housing while the comparable figure for the U. S.
over the same period was only 345,500 for a national population
four times as great.

Under their current programs, the Italians plan to
spend $1.6 billion for construction of 200,000 units. The
1965 Housing Act in the U. S. by comparison calls for 60,000
units over a four year period.

The most striking plus for public housing in Italy is
its integration. In most cases a visitor will find it very

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difficult to pick out public housing developments. Even
the smallest public housing projects have supportive services,
because in Italy agencies are required by law to provide
basic shopping areas. An Italian housing project is not a
vast sea of buildings barren of all but apartments.

Water Supply

In most urban areas outside the United States, the
present supply of water is gravely deficient and threatens
to become more so in the future. In the U. S.
the water supply is threatened by pollution. Although many
plans have been formulated with the aim of forestalling
future deficiencies and rectifying present inadequacies,
the feasibility of carrying out the plans seems remote,
especially in light of past performance.

Governmental efforts to assure the supply of water
have taken a variety of institutional forms. Water is
supplied by submetropolitan municipal agencies in Stockholm,
Paris, and Casablanca - local government departments in the
first two cases and a municipal water corporation (régie)
in the third. Intermunicipal special districts are utilized,
however, by groups of communes in the Paris and Stockholm
areas, and the City of Stockholm sells bulk water to suburbs
beyond its boundaries. Independent corporations serving
most of the Paris Region provide distribution functions under
contract to municipalities.

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In Toronto, Leningrad, Lodz, and Zagreb, metropolitan-scale water agencies are supervised by the general metropolitan governments existing in those areas. In Toronto, a metropolitan department supplies bulk water, and municipalities undertake distribution functions. In Lodz and Zagreb, independent metropolitan enterprises supply water, with investment and pricing decisions subject to decisions of general city governments.

Open Space

Stockholm has more than 40,000 acres of park for its 800,000 citizens. New York City, with 8,000,000 people, has only 36,000 acres. Stockholm also has a unique plan, in effect since 1904 for purchasing large estates outside the existing city boundaries with a view to future expansion. This municipal ownership enables the city to control development, to decide where and when the different areas have to be built, and to see to it that public transport, traffic routes, sewerage systems, etc. are planned at the same time. Stockholm has been able to channel its development in the manner thought most necessary.

London - Helsinki
Oslo - Paris, Moscow
Berlin

New Towns

New towns have been built in many countries to deal with the problems of metropolitan growth and resettlement. But the building of new towns and expanding towns as an instrument of a national policy for urban development is a

new
Truro

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British invention. Despite increasing activity in building new towns in almost every country of the world, no national new towns policy has yet emerged either in Europe or the United States.

Urban Transportation

Planning for programs to meet transportation needs has occurred largely in developed areas of the world. Paris, Stockholm, and Toronto, have made extensive efforts to satisfy future transportation requirements. These plans have sought to discourage auto traffic, both by prohibitions and by provision of alternative modes. "South 67," a redevelopment plan for a central section of Stockholm, is very uncharitable to cars. It limits parking space to less than one car per dwelling unit. It also closes some streets to vehicle traffic entirely and creates an unbroken pedestrian street system. But Stockholm, with 75 percent of its population regularly riding mass transit, has a much easier task than, for example, Rome. That city currently has more than 775,000 vehicles and new cars are being poured into the traffic stream at a rate of more than 10,000 monthly. Unfortunately, the city's efforts to extend the subway have been painfully delayed. The construction work reportedly has progressed only about 200 feet in five years because each new excavation has uncovered more Roman ruins.

Stockholm

Subway Moscow, London, Paris, Tokyo

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By contrast in underdeveloped area cities have transit facilities that leave large groups of their populations with little or no access to public transportation. Commuter railroad lines in Lagos do not enter the central business district. There is very limited bus and railroad service in the outlying areas of urban Calcutta. Furthermore, the quality of existing services in these areas is extremely low. In 1964, busses in Calcutta carried almost three times as many passengers as their seating capacity permitted. In Lagos, the ratio of busses to residents was about one to 6,000. Nevertheless, the tentative goals of transportation planning in these areas, at least in Zagreb, is to expand the road network--a goal which the experience of Rome and most other metropolitan areas suggest is self-defeating.

Proposals for Policy and Information Exchange

It is clear that much is being done by the nations of the world to deal with urbanization. In some instances, nations have adopted urban policies which differ in approach and likewise differ in their results. The important lesson is that the world constitutes a giant pattern of varying demonstrations of approaches and solutions of these universal problems of urbanization. What is lacking is analysis, evaluation, and dissemination of the results of these demonstrations. I propose that an Institute for International Urban Policy Studies be created. An Institute of Tomorrow.

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Such an institute should be affiliated with the United Nations in much the same way as the World Health Organization and UNESCO. As I have pointed out earlier, the explosiveness of a world population reaching 7 billion by the year 2000 indicates that time is running short.

Both the developing and the developed nations need a ~~stop~~ sign to check the long downhill plunge into an over-crowded, hyper-polluted world. If there is a way to stop that slide, it will be reached at least in part through a recognition of the mutual and interdependent nature of human life on our globe and through a worldwide pooling of expertise to combat the complex and inter-connected ills which threaten human survival.

The dangers of unrestrained population growth affect the entire world, so solutions to the problem must be seen in global terms. Similarly, the isolated incidents that everywhere alter the ecological balance in nature are, when totalled, a threat to man's life support system--the environment. Therefore, pollution too must be considered from a global standpoint.

A pooling of national energies to develop new approaches to similar problems may be expected to produce solutions which can be applied nationally. The global nature of these challenges require a worldwide impact and at the same time a sensitivity to national and regional needs. We must recognize what our assumptions about urbanization are and

U.N. Pollution Control Bd - Treaties

(Nato - SEATO - Warsaw Pact - CENTO)
For Regional Approaches)

their impact in different cultural and political contexts. One assumption in particular must be questioned with the utmost rigor--that people in countries whether large or small, whatever their cultural backgrounds and their present major occupations actively want a type of civilization which in its technical aspects is like the present day civilizations of Western Europe, the Soviet Union, North America, and Japan. This notion misleads us not only because of its implicit flattery but because it defines the future solely in terms of presently existing patterns, neglecting the new forms that may be expected to arise out of changes occurring now in developed countries.

An Institute for Tomorrow can coordinate information about institutions that were formed in yesterday's world, but it cannot rely exclusively on that base for future approaches for that world has so drastically changed and continues to do so: ~~it has ceased to be, except in the chronicles of dry history.~~

The continuing rapid changes that typify our times demand a dramatically new organizational form to bridge the time of transformation. Thus, my proposal envisions an interdisciplinary, multi-national agency to promulgate solutions arrived at through international cooperation in the context of each country's own unique national framework and political institutions.

'Institute for International Urban Studies'

The Institute also would offer highly specialized long-range planning and consultative services to the less developed countries where sufficient resources are lacking for anticipating tomorrow in the face of today's overwhelming needs.

The Institute's directors, principal officers and staff should reflect competence in the full range of substantive problems it will seek to challenge. The international character of the Institute will also be reflected in its personnel. Geographic representation will be sought to insure the recognition of the full complexity of problems and view points.

Research efforts in principal areas of concern--population, pollution, economic development, human relations, poverty and urban land use and rural decline--will be complimented by continuing interdisciplinary seminars and conferences.

Although the Institute would not be a mass membership organization it would establish appropriate liaison with public and private institutions, such as the United Nations, the World Bank, the National Science Foundation and the World Population Council, along with equivalent groups in other countries.

In this changing world, an organization of striking new form, dimension and aim could undertake to use modern technology to expand the human spirit and to apply it for a better and peaceful tomorrow.

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Here at home, what is needed is a truly national policy to deal with the problems of urban America. We need a framework in which all our knowledge can be put to use. City planners, architects, sociologists, financiers, public officials and bureaucrats have produced considerable insight and knowledge about what to do--now we must generate the popular support and the governmental structures to carry out these plans. This is not a question of whether the Federal government should try to influence local development; the issue is whether or not the influence which the Federal government already exercises will be formed and directed toward arresting the haphazard course of urbanization: a trend that results from the interplay of countless decisions by individual citizens and private enterprises conditioned by various, and sometimes contradictory, governmental acts at the national, state, and local levels. The Congress must define national goals of development and then it must assure that practices of the Federal government contribute to these goals.

To enable the Congress and the nation to assume the leadership essential to meaningful urban existence, I propose that a Joint Committee be created in the United States Congress charged with the responsibility of producing a national development policy. A policy that will reflect the knowledge and needs and ideologies of the people. For

in America, with our form of open society and responsive government we should be able to recognize perhaps more easily than people in other countries, that the best plans are those which are constantly changing, while at the same time remembering and accepting that a lack of planning inevitably contributes to chaos.

The joint committee should also

-- define the fundamental social, economic, demographic, and ecological objectives to help guide the growth of new cities;

-- decide how many new cities we need and where they can be located; and

-- design the public development corporations that would be necessary to establish and manage the new cities until local governments are elected.

The city in the thoughts of man throughout history has embodied at one and the same time both the utmost evil and the highest good. It is a place of iniquity, as well as the foundation of man's civilization; is the disrupter of human values and stability and also the place where spiritual and other human values are perpetuated; it is a collection of the disorganized and the disruptive but still a place where individuality can flourish; it is chaos--it is vitality. Very soon the entire world's population will be touched by this human institution.

If man is to improve the art of living in cities, to introduce
grace and tolerance to human patterns of living we must
make sensible the qualities we seek in urban living.   Then,
if we chose, we can prevail.