ADDRESS TO BE GIVEN BY COUNCILLOR P.R.B. LEWIS AT THE 21ST ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE JOHANNESBURG COUNCIL OF ADULT EDUCATION ON THE 8TH AUGUST 1968, AT 8.00 P.M.

Title of Address: "JOHANNESBURG AS A METROPOLITAN CENTRE"

It is indeed a very great privilege for me to be with you this evening, for it is a very special occasion being your twenty-first Annual General Meeting.

From small beginnings you have great achievements to your credit. Your work has proved of immense value and worth to the citizens of Johannesburg. When one looks at the list of your affiliated societies and clubs, and one sees the wide range of activities which are represented by these organizations, one realizes the interests of our citizens, and the facilities that are made available. By bringing these organizations together, and publicising their activities, you are indeed fulfilling a very valuable function to the great benefit of the people of the Witwatersrand.

In Johannesburg we are a pretty head-headed crowd, and things must be practical - they must work. Is this not because Johannesburg was not a particularly interesting place when gold was first found? A bleak highveld with not much natural beauty, with no rivers, no natural water supply; an area in which agriculture was difficult owing to the vagaries of the weather; where there were innumerable pests, and a variable and uncertain rainfall, where there was no easy recreation such as would have been found at the coast, no good resorts or particularly pleasant country near the city, where minerals had to be won the hard way, where man's ingenuity and downright hard work and preparedness to take a risk were the criteria for success; where gardens had to be established, trees planted, where in the winter months there was dust everywhere, especially if one lived anywhere near the mines.

Johannesburg has changed from the Johannesburg of the early days, and the organizations which are represented on your Council have materially contributed to this change.

We in Johannesburg are often noted for our quest for wealth and our regard for the material things of life. These targets give us...
heart attacks and thromboses. We who are here tonight are, I am sure, setting ourselves targets more balanced and satisfying. I believe that it is in the creation of new things, in the acceptance of challenges, in the acquisition of knowledge, that one obtains the greater satisfaction.

When one takes a look into the future, I would suggest that the work of your Council is only just beginning, and will require terrific expansion. You have all heard of the population explosion. If you add to this the urban drift of persons from the small towns and dorps to Johannesburg, the growing number of immigrants, the forecast of shorter working hours, and perhaps a four-day working week, the intensification of the tourist traffic to this country you will appreciate the necessity for your Council to be in the forefront of catering for the gainful use of leisure time, and the training of our citizens to permit the development of their potential.

What is all this fuss about the population explosion? The following figures are the projections:

### POPULATION FIGURES AND PROJECTIONS

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<th>Area &amp; Year</th>
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The title of my talk this evening is JOHANNESBURG AS A METROPOLITAN CENTRE. What is it that makes a city or town a metropolis? Is it size, or what is it? I want to emphasise two aspects which, to my mind, are the essence of a metropolitan area. One is that it should have a marked influence in respect of its amenities on a catchment area beyond its boundaries. The second is that it exercises a strong magnetic influence, and is thus subject to intense attraction from people from outside its boundaries.

Firstly let us see to what extent Johannesburg does create an influence on a catchment area beyond its boundaries. I really think that this is so obvious that it does not need elaboration. Johannesburg is the centre of the Witwatersrand complex, the pivot of the Pretoria/Johannesburg/Vaal triangle, the area in which 40% of the wholesale trade of South Africa is conducted, 18% of the retail trade, whose Municipal produce market caters for 40% of the produce sold in the whole of South Africa, where 20% of the national industrial income is produced, where 35% of the financial and banking business is done, and where 15% of the white population resides. Yes - Johannesburg can truly claim to be a metropolitan area if the criteria is influence on a large catchment area beyond its boundaries.

The second criteria I mentioned for a metropolitan area was a magnetic influence, the draw of people from outside. Why do people come to Johannesburg? What is the attraction? I would suggest work opportunity, better educational facilities, a more varied life - the very diversification of interests as exemplified by the activities of your Council. For immigrants it is often the point of first arrival, and it is often there that people settle, the fact that for immigrants there are settlements of people from the country of their origin, the variety in community life, the attraction of people with specialist skills who, because of the very size and sophistication of enterprise, are able to find outlets for their talents and abilities. All these and many other factors draw people to a city such as Johannesburg, so Johannesburg meets the needs of my definition of a metropolitan city in that its influence spreads beyond its boundaries and acts as a magnet, and will thus tend to grow. Johannesburg is, in fact, one of the vital metropolitan areas, not only in South Africa, but with world significance.

:- What ...
What are the world trends in the development of metropolitan areas and can we learn from the experiences of the other cities? The first form of metropolitan government in North America was started in Toronto in 1953. The City of Toronto occupied an area of 35.1 sq. miles. Nine other local authorities formed an inner ring around Toronto and occupied 23 sq. miles. Three towns occupied an outer ring of 182 sq. miles. The 13 local authorities agreed to co-operate and create a metropolitan government. The main function of metropolitan government was to control the levying of rates, the borrowing of money and the provision of major arterial roads. It was also the wholesaler in such matters as water supply, sewage disposal and similar activities. The metropolitan government was also designated to serve as the central works agency for the entire metropolitan area. At the beginning the metropolitan council experienced many difficulties but the necessity to plan and co-ordinate the development of this large area soon became very apparent. The population of the Greater Toronto Council has extended very rapidly. Now, however, after the experimental period, it has been decided to reduce the number of boroughs from 13 to 6. It was because of this unique experience regarding the establishment of a metropolitan area that the Bureau of Metropolitan Research in Toronto convened a conference last year which coincided with the Centennial celebrations in Canada. Forty metropolitan cities scattered throughout the world with populations of over 1 million people were asked to send delegates to this conference and Johannesburg was fortunate to be one of the cities selected.

Last year a conference was held in Stockholm organized by the International Union of Local Authorities, the subject of the conference being "Amalgamation or Co-operation".

Because of the need for co-ordinated planning the world trend is for metropolitan regions to become large and larger. Ninety local authorities formed the London County Council covering an area of 117 sq. miles. This has not been changed. The area of the Greater London Council has now been extended to 620 sq. miles. At the same time the number of local authorities has been reduced from 90 to 32. In Sweden in 1949 there were 2,400 communes, these were later reduced to 800 and now the 800 are being reduced to 280 by amalgamation or merger. The same sort of thing has been happening in France.
The dominant thoughts in my mind after attending these conferences are, firstly, the need for long-term planning, and, secondly, the need for all tiers of local government to co-operate to find a solution to the situations which arise from the congregation of such large numbers of people in the urban areas.

Johannesburg has formed a Forward Planning Division in the City Engineer's Department. In the late 1950's the Council employed as a Research Officer, a Dr. L.P. Green, and he studied and reported on Johannesburg in its regional and metropolitan setting. There were three reports, the first on the social structure, the second on the economic structure and the third on the administrative structure of the Witwatersrand Metropolitan Region. These reports provided a sound source of reference, and have been further developed by reports published by the Forward Planning Department dealing with the busway system, with European housing, with metropolitan Johannesburg in its relation to the Pretoria:Witwatersrand:Vereeniging region, with future housing needs for the Bantu population, and a report on the development of the central area of Johannesburg. Further studies are being made regarding the development of parks in Johannesburg, and on transportation.

I would like to ask a question. What is our position in South Africa? Are we following world trends? Are we benefiting from the experience of others? I suggest that we are not, and assert that we are damaging the national economy by not heeding the experience of other countries. As the population of the Republic becomes more and more concentrated in the cities, the fate of the cities has a substantial bearing on the fate of the nation, and unless, for one thing, the cities can solve their transport and traffic problems, they will choke to death. This is not a local problem, but a national one, yet what is the position? You all know of the announcement made that local authorities cannot expect further subsidies from the Province, or the State, in regard to the construction of expresses ways and major roads. Where do the State and Province collect the largest portion of their revenue? I would suggest that Johannesburg makes a very large contribution, and is entitled from this contribution, to assistance in the construction of roads and expresses ways. In South Africa our Parliament is so dominated by rural constituencies that the welfare of the cities and towns is not receiving sufficient attention from the State.
Everyone realizes the dominant part played by finance in determining what can and what cannot be done. This was recognised some years ago when the Borckenhagen Commission was appointed to examine the financial relationship between the State, the Provinces and Local Authorities. That Commission was appointed in August 1956, twelve years ago. It is understood that the report has at last been presented to the Minister of Finance, but the report has not yet been published, and it is not yet known what the recommendations are, or whether they will be implemented. At a recent conference of the Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants held in Bulawayo, it was suggested that we may have to regard the Borckenhagen Report in the same light as the mythical Flying Dutchman, the wandering Jew and the vanishing Indian.

I have told you of Johannesburg's endeavour to plan for the future, but there is need for a regional plan, for co-ordinated planning the areas around Johannesburg, and around every large metropolitan area, yet ad hoc planning in the areas to the south and north of Johannesburg is the order of the day. Areas of ground are laid out as townships without thought to the road systems to carry the traffic generated by such townships, and with inadequate provision for parks or public amenities, or for the provision of public transport. Recent articles have highlighted the 'no man's land' where no provision is made for ambulances, and there are large areas with inadequate fire services. This lack of planning can only lead to chaos. More and more power is being taken by the Central and Provincial Governments to control local authorities, instead of extending a helping had to solve the many problems. More and more circulars are being issued, and helpful as many officials try to be, the very volume of work they have to do tends to slow up the whole administration. Can you believe that the Johannesburg City Council is not able to lease any premises without the prior approval of the Provincial Authorities? That no lease to rent a house to an employee in a power station can be entered into prior to that lease being approved by the Administrator?

It has been very apparent to me during my period of office in the City Council that Johannesburg has never outlived the attitude of higher authorities when the "uitlander" was regarded with suspicion, and the development of this city was regarded with jealousy and antagonism. Let me be the first to say, however, that there have been faults on both sides.
To me one of the greatest needs is for all tiers of government to co-operate and plan and learn from the experience of overseas cities who, years ago, ran into the problems we are now experiencing. I sincerely trust that we can stop a lot of the sniping that takes place, and that we can get to grips with the issues at stake.

What of the future? Will the movement of the voters from the rural areas to the cities give Parliament and the Provincial Council's a different emphasis by having more urban representatives? Will the problems of the urban areas receive the constructive attention that they need? Will the establishment of the Randse Afrikaanse Universiteit assist the attitude towards Johannesburg by objective research into the problems of the city by the students and staff. It is hoped that the contacts made here will result in the students identifying themselves with the problems of metropolitan areas.

And what of the future of your Council? I can only hold out the hope of greater activity, of greater variety and challenge in trying to cope with the problems of tomorrow, the tomorrow in which technical change will play a significant role in the leisure time available to our citizens, which we must help them to gainfully employ.

May I conclude by congratulating your Council on the work it has done, and wish it well for the future.
It is indeed a very great privilege for me to be with you this evening, for it is a very special occasion, being your 21st Annual General Meeting.

From small beginnings you have great achievements to your credit. Your work has proved of great value and worth to many of our citizens. When one looks at the list of your affiliated Societies and Clubs, and one sees the wide range of activities which are represented by these various organizations, one realizes the facilities that are available in this city. By bringing these organizations together, and publicising their activities, you are indeed fulfilling a very valuable function for the people of the Witwatersrand.

When one takes a look into the future, I would suggest that the work to be done by your Council is only just beginning, and will require terrific expansion. You have all heard of the population explosion. If you add to this the urban drift of persons from the small towns and drops to Johannesburg, the growing number of immigrants, the forecast of shorter working hours, and perhaps a four-day working week, the intensification of the tourist traffic to this country, you will appreciate the necessity for your organization to be in the forefront of catering to the gainful use of leisure time, and the training of our citizens to permit the development of their potential.

You are endeavouring to promote culture in this city. This sounds a very formidable word. In fact culture means "the training and refinement of mind, taste and manners". We, in Johannesburg, are often noted for our quest for wealth, and our regard for the material things of life. These targets give us heart attacks and thromboses. We here tonight are, I am sure, setting ourselves targets more balanced and satisfying. Personally, I believe that it is in the creation of things, in the acceptance of challenges, that one obtains satisfaction.
The title of my talk this evening is "Johannesburg as a metropolitan centre". What is it that makes a city or town a metropolis? Is it size, or what is it? I want to emphasise two aspects of a metropolitan area on which we should concentrate tonight. A metropolitan area is one which has an influence on a catchment area beyond its own boundaries. The second aspect I want to concentrate on is that it exercises a strong magnetic influence, and is thus subject to intense immigration. I am not this evening going to concentrate on other aspects of a metropolis such as the provision of regional services for water and light, sewage disposal or even of planning, I am wanting to deal with the influence that a metropolitan area has outside its limits, and, as I say, the magnetic influence, in other words, the thrust and pull.

Firstly, let us see to what extent Johannesburg does create an influence on a catchment area beyond its boundaries. I think this is so obvious that it does not need much elaboration. Johannesburg, the centre of the Witwatersrand complex, the pivot of the Pretoria, Johannesburg, Vail area, the area in which 40% of the wholesale trade of South Africa is conducted, 18% of the retail trade, whose Municipal produce market caters for 40% of the produce sold in the whole of South Africa, where 20% of the national industrial income is produced by industries in South Africa, where 35% of the financial and banking business is done, and where 13% of the white population of South Africa reside. Nobody can argue that Johannesburg's influence extends far beyond its own boundaries.

In a recent series of lectures arranged by the Johannesburg Publicity Association in conjunction with the National Development and Management Foundation of South Africa, a number of lectures were given. I would like to say a few words about the lectures, which have a bearing on the work of your Council, namely, educational matters. Aspects covered were -

Johannesburg as a centre of South African art and culture.
Social life and entertainment in Johannesburg.
Johannesburg as an educational centre, as a mecca for world sportsmen.

Johannesburg as a tourist centre.

It has been indicated that by 1990 approximately 470,000 tourists can be expected in Johannesburg every year. This means approximately 1300 per day. Many of the aspects of these papers deal with the second theme I am wanting to expound, that is the magnetic influence of a metropolitan area.

In Johannesburg we are a pretty hard-headed crowd, and things must be practical, they must work. Is this not because Johannesburg was not a particularly interesting place when gold was first found - bleak highveld, with not much natural beauty, with no river: an area in which agriculture was difficult owing to the vagaries of the weather. Where there were innumerable pests, a fluctuating rainfall. Where there was no easy recreation such as would have been found at the coast. No good resorts or particularly pleasant country near the city - where minerals had to be won the hard way - where gardens had to be established, trees planted - where in the winter months there was dust everywhere, especially if one lived anywhere near the mines.

Johannesburg has changed from the Johannesburg of the early days. The organizations which are represented on your Council have materially contributed to this change. They have contributed to this magnetic influence of a metropolitan area.
What of the future? I referred to the population explosion here insert figures.................................
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There are three influences at work, the natural increase, immigration from overseas and the world trend for people to move from the rural to the urban areas. What special problems will this present? Homes will have to be provided for this increase in population. I visualise that a lot of the older areas of the city will be rebuilt, areas such as Jeppestown, Fairview and Troyeville are already being re-planned. The re-planning of Doornfontein will probably follow. Unless State aided housing can be provided on a large scale, a tremendous number of the additional population will live in flats, and this for two reasons. One the availability of land and two the capital cost of ownership of individual property. People just cannot afford to have their own homes.

I would like to suggest that a tremendous number of our rural population, especially those of farming stock, will find themselves in a totally different environment. Are we going to have a population that will not be able to participate in sport because of the lack of facilities, who will have to become spectators. The nature of people who are born and bred farmers and agriculturalists, living in flats, will lose touch with the soil. Again, is this not a challenge to your Council to be prepared for this influx of people who, unless facilities are provided, will find the adaption to city life a harrowing experience. I have heard talk of Sunday neurosis - people who become neurotic because they do not know what to do with themselves on Sundays. There will be the problem of catering for the leisure time of people with shorter working hours - people's creative instincts will have to be catered for.
Speech to be given at the 21st Annual General Meeting of the Johannesburg Council of Adult Education on the 8th August, 1968, at 8 p.m.

It is indeed a very great privilege for me to be with you this evening, for it is a very special occasion, being your twenty-first Annual General Meeting.

From small beginnings you have great achievements to your credit. Your work has proved of immense value and worth to the citizens of Johannesburg. When one looks at the list of your affiliated societies and clubs, and one sees the wide range of activities which are represented by these organizations, one realises the interests of our citizens, and the facilities that are made available. By bringing these organizations together, and publicising their activities, you are indeed fulfilling a very valuable function for the great benefit of the people of the Witwatersrand.

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**QUOTE**

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Firstly, let us see to what extent Johannesburg
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The second criteria I mentioned for a metropolitan area was a magnetic influence, the draw of people from outside. Why do people come to Johannesburg? What is the attraction? I would suggest work opportunity, better educational facilities, a more varied life - the very diversification of interests is exemplified by your Council. For immigrants it is often the point of first arrival, and it is often there that people settle, the variety in community life, the fact that for immigrants there are settlements of people from the country of their origin, the attraction of people with specialist skills who, because of the very size and sophistication of enterprise, are able to find outlets for their talents and abilities. All these and many other factors draw people to a city such as Johannesburg, so Johannesburg meets the needs of my definition of a metropolitan city in that its influence spreads beyond its boundaries and acts as a magnet, and will thus tend to grow. Johannesburg is, in fact, one of the vital metropolitan areas not only in South Africa, but with world significance.

Johannesburg has established a Forward Planning Department. The Department's function is to look into the future and give the powers that be guide lines, so that in planning today the needs of tomorrow are catered for.
The main reports so far published are as follows:

What are the world trends in the development of metropolitan areas, and can we learn from the experience of others?

Toronto Conference of 40 metropolitan cities.

Stockholm Conference of I.U.L.A. when the subject matter was "Amalgamate or Co-operate".

Toronto experiment when thirteen boroughs joined and formed metropolitan Toronto, since then population has increased considerably, and it is now reduced to six boroughs.

Quote:

The development of metropolitan regions:

LONDON: 90 Local Authorities form the London County Council, covering an area of 117 sq. miles. The area of the Greater London Council has now been extended to 620 sq. miles, and the number of Local Authorities reduced to 32.

SWEDEN: In 1946 there were 2400 communes - these were then reduced to 800 and now the 800 are being reduced to 280 by amalgamation and merger.

TORONTO: This was the first city in North America to have a metropolitan region. Then 13 boroughs joined and formed the Metropolitan Toronto. Since then the population has increased considerably, and it has now been reduced to six boroughs.

The same sort of thing has been happening in France and in Glasgow, instead of extending the City, it was decided to build a new town outside Glasgow to deal with the surplus population.
POSITION OF CITIES:

As population becomes concentrated in the cities, the fate of the cities has a significant bearing on the economic development of the nation.

Suggest that in South Africa Parliament has largely been dominated by the farming community, and the welfare of the cities has not received sufficient attention from the State.

I would like to examine whether Johannesburg, as a metropolitan area, has the tools to cope with the development taking place. It has been realised for some time that the financial resources of local authorities have been inadequate.

**Borckenhagen Report**: Quote joke told at Rhodesian Conference re Flying Dutchman, wandering Jew or the vanishing Indian.

- Provincial Administration inadequate.
- Ad hoc planning of development.
- Inadequate technical staff.
- Legislation for large and small authorities the same.
- Give examples of matters which have to be referred for approval.
- Unwillingness to train labour forces for its potential.
- Fear of the growth of the city.
- Paul Kruger's attitude to the uitlander and colossus.

What of the future. Will the move from the rural areas to the cities give Parliament a different emphasis: by having more urban representatives will the urban constituents insist on their M.P’s helping the local authorities?
Will the establishment of the Rand Afrikaans University assist by the students identifying themselves with the problems of the city?

What is the future for your Council? Can only hold out hope of greater activity, greater variety, greater challenge in trying to cope with the problems of tomorrow, the tomorrow in which technical change will play a significant role in the leisure time available to our citizens.

Congratulate them on their work achieved and wish them well for the future.

JOHANNESBURG:
August 5, 1968.
Draft 2.
METROPOLITAN AREAS AND PLANNING

I. THE U.S. SITUATION

A. METROPOLITAN GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE U.S.

Three of the most remarkable trends in the development of the United States in the first half of the twentieth century have been:
1. The continuous increase in the proportion of the population living in cities so that today it is essentially an urban society.
2. The increasing concentration of affairs in mammoth cities.
3. The suburban sprawl of low density housing and their urban land uses around and between the mammoth cities, so as to produce vast urbanized regions which are making alarming on the land and amenities of the country.

B. TOWARD AN AMERICAN DEFINITION

"Except in New England a standard metropolitan statistic area (S.M.S.A) is a county or a group of contiguous counties which contain at least one city of 50,000 inhabitants or more or twin cities with a combined population of at least 50,000. In addition to the country or counties, containing such a city or cities, contiguous counties are in an S.M.S.A. if according to certain criteria they are essentially metropolitan in character and are socially and economically integrated with the central city. The criteria followed in the delineations of S.M.S.A relates to a city or cities of sufficient population size to constitute the central city and to the economic and social relationships with contiguous counties that are metropolitan in character."

C. CHANGES OCCURRING IN THE CITY (METROAREA vs EXPERIENCE)

1. There is a substantial net migration to peripheral areas outside the centre.
2. Low income groups mainly negroes from the south are moving into the central city.
3. The ethnic differences between the centre city and suburban ring have become accentuated.
4. Great contrast between people in the centre city and suburban ring with high incomes in newer suburban areas and lower incomes in central areas; many times slums in delapidated areas.
5. Because of income disparity there is significant political contrast between centre city and periphery.
6. The Central Business District is losing much of its business to suburban shopping centres.

2. The centre city is declining in importance as an industrial employer. One of the most important factors causing this situation is the obsolescence of physical plant and the lack of space for expansion of facilities.

8. Commercial activities in offices continue to be located in central cities - most offices do not need to be located in central cities - perhaps they could be located elsewhere.

9. In the future there may be a decline in the importance of central city housing and industrial functions. (3)

D. CHARACTERISTICS OF A METROPOLITAN AREA - GENERALLY

1. Population size - there are vast differences in population both quantitatively and qualitatively - some areas may be metropolitan only in a very specialized way and mainly for statistical purposes.

2. Interdependence - the various parts of the metro area are dependent on each other in order to make their function possible - the outlying areas need the centre city for jobs for residents; the centre in turn needs the outlying residential areas to provide workers for various employment. This a kind of binding force in the metro area is the journey to work.

3. Decentralization - the city is spread over the landscape and it is still spreading, centres are popping up in all parts and development moves further and further out into the hinterland. "The city has burst open and scattered its complex organs over the entire landscape" (4)

4. Fragmentation of governments - because of the city spreading beyond municipal boundaries and beyond urban jurisdictions, new units of government have sprung up spreading the decisions - making task over a range of governmental units with vested interests in the problems and their solutions.

5. Specialization - The concentration of people in urban centres together with technological advancements, has made possible a high degree of specialization. This specialization is reflected in land use as well as commercial and industrial pursuits.

E. THE IMPORTANCE OF METROPOLITAN AREAS TO THE NATIONS ECONOMY

1. Wholesale employees payrolls 84.9%
2. Wholesale trade sales value 84.9
3. Selected service (personal, business and repair, professional and ) trade receipts 79.5
4. Bank deposits 78.6
5. Industrial employees payroll 78.2
6. Retail trade sales value 66.9

(4) Mumford, L. The City in History, p. 34.
*This column refers to the total in terms of the country as a whole.
3.
7. Personal income (100 largest metro areas only) 63.1
8. Value added by manufacture (66 metro areas only) 62.8

In addition, metro local governments obtain about \( \frac{3}{4} \) of the local public revenue and make about \( \frac{3}{4} \) of all local public expenditure - they are responsible for about \( \frac{1}{4} \) of the public debt.

F. METROPOLITAN RESOURCES
1. Metropolitan areas contain:
   a. Most of the people
   b. Most of the jobs.
   c. Most of the public and private financial resources.

2. Consequently they are the primary centres of:
   a. Population
   b. Industry
   c. Labour.

3. Culturally, they are centres for:
   a. The arts
   b. Education.
   c. Music
   d. Literature.
   e. Drama
   f. Entertainment.

II THE SOUTH AFRICAN SITUATION
A. AS IT EXISTS:

1. Metropolitan areas are a recent phenomena resulting from a rapid post-war growth rate and subsequent development.
2. Cities are growing rapidly and are experiencing expansion into peripheral areas.
3. Studies are being undertaken to attempt to define the problems and to try to find and pursue a solution.

B. CHARACTERISTICS OF A METROPOLITAN AREA (IN SOUTH AFRICA)

1. The city centre or CBO is still strong in Johannesburg as a prime example. Sub centres have not been able to compete with the range of goods available in the centre.
2. Central area land values have remained high over the years and private initiative is rebuilding a viable central city.
3. Immigrants are entering the country at over 30,000 per annum and are settling in the major urban centres primarily in the Witwatersrand regions.
4. Low income persons (as well as distinct racial groups) are segregated from the main body of residential uses thus minimising the problem of influx of low-income problem populations. By
concentrating them into a specific area, their negative effect on the metropolitan physical environment is reduced.

5. The income contrast which exists in the Johannesburg metropolitan area occurs mainly north and south between white residents rather than white and non-whites.

6. To date the central city has been able to maintain its importance in the metropolitan area and is still the focus of the majority of work trips. The continued existence of this factor will depend most critically upon the availability of land for expansion purposes.

7. Office and commercial functions locate almost exclusively in the centre. The flexibility of communications and transportation could free some of the functions from their present land use attachment - they then could locate elsewhere in the metro area.

8. As the central city tends to increase its density over time and becomes a less desirable place for residence, central city housing may need some new thinking.

C. TOWARD A SOUTH AFRICAN DEFINITION

"1. A metropolitan region is a modern phenomenon whose life depends upon communications. It is primarily a region of contact between people, and of traffic movement between work centres and residential areas, whose boundaries are determined by the degrees of contact obtaining between its parts".

Further - "the transition from an economic region, whose life and shape were geologically determined to a metropolitan region, whose existence and structure are largely functions of communications, has been gaining momentum for the last 25 years. ...... social and economic problems are accumulating, whose complexities are respected in the ever-increasing administrative difficulties confronting the local governments of the regions and in particular the city council of Johannesburg" (5)

2. The Metropolitan Report of the city engineer's department, Forward Planning Branch, specifically defines an inner and outer metropolitan area which is a unit. The interrelatedness of this unit is characterised by the daily journey to work pattern within the area.

"The main densely populated zone stretches without a break for 17 miles from Roodepoort in the west to Fishers"s Hill in the east and then jumps gold mining land to link up with Germiston, Boksburg and quite possibly Kempton Park and Benoni - a total distance of some 30 miles. It reaches its maximum width to the north and south of Johannesburg's central business district, where it extends northward

(5) Green, L. P. First Interim report on the Witwatersrand Metropolitan Region. The Future Development of Johannesburg (Johannesburg City Council, Johannesburg) No dat.
to include Alexandra township, Craighall and Ferndale and southwards to include Alberton, Natalspruit, Turffontein and Nancefield - total distance of some 14 miles. The main axis of this inner zone is the mining, industrial and commercial corridor running from east to west and separating the major European concentration on the north side of the axis from the major non-European concentration on the south side, and particularly to the south-west of Johannesburg" (6)

D. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE METROPOLITAN AREA

Approximately 40% of the country's wholesale business, 18% of the retail trade, 35% of the banking and financial business, 20% of the national industrial income and 40% of the turnover of municipal product markets is conducted from Johannesburg.

E. METROPOLITAN CHANGES (Johannesburg Metro)

1. The towns on the east Rand are becoming more dependent of Johannesburg as a source of employment. The percentage of commuters to and from work in Johannesburg should become less significant with growth in population.

2. Industrial development has moved primarily east and as a result the west has become more a dormitory area than an employment centre. Future prospects are that this trend will continue.

3. The Witwatersrand Metropolitan Region is evolving into three possible metropolitan core areas. The central metropolitan area stretches from Roodepoort on the west to Kempton Park on the east, the Jukskei River to the north and the Klip River on the south. On the east there is the possibility of a metropolitan area centered on Springs and incorporating Boksburg, Benoni, Brakpan and stretching to Nigel. There is the possibility for the formation of a metropolitan area on the west also, however its exact configuration is not yet clear.

4. Increasing land values to the north of Johannesburg will have the tendency to force development elsewhere. A most willing recipient will be the south.

F. FACTORS TO BE CONSIDERED IN THE FUTURE METROPOLITAN AREA

1. Heavier movement of industrial and commercial vehicles from the east.

(6) Forward Planning Branch, Metropolitan Johannesburg (City Engineer's Department, Johannesburg) 1966, p. 8.
2. The trend of increasing work opportunities to the east will stabilize the rate of increase of movement of workers to Johannesburg.

3. A heavier movement of vehicles on the Jan Smuts Airport road can be expected as Kempton Park expands its industrial complex.

4. The residential development to the north and north-west of Johannesburg is of concern and the control of development must be integrated into an overall plan.

5. There will be an increased commuting movement from the west (particularly Roodepoort).

6. Residential development will occur in the south of Johannesburg - the local authority should anticipate this and provide the necessary land for recreation and housing purposes.

7. The need will be great for the establishment of non-white group areas on a metropolitan basis.

8. There is a great need for co-ordinated planning in the Metropolitan Area.
What are the world trends in the development of metropolitan areas and can we learn from the experiences of the other cities? The first form of metropolitan government in North America was started in Toronto in 1953. The City of Toronto occupied an area of 35.1 sq. miles. Nine other local authorities formed an inner ring around Toronto and occupied 23 sq. miles. The 13 local authorities agreed to form a metropolitan form of government. The main functions of metropolitan government was to control the assessment of rates, the borrowing of money and the provision of major arterial roads. It was also the wholesaler in such matters as water supply, sewage disposal and similar activities. The metropolitan government was also designated to serve as the central works agency for the entire metropolitan area. At the beginning the metropolitan council experienced very many difficulties but the necessity to plan and co-ordinate the development of this large area soon became very apparent. The population of the Greater Toronto Council has extended very rapidly. Now, however, after the experimental period, it has been decided to reduce the number of boroughs from 13 to 6. It was because of this unique position regarding the establishment of a metropolitan area that the Bureau of Metropolitan Research in Toronto convened a conference last year which coincided with the Centennial celebrations in Canada. Forty metropolitan cities scattered throughout the world were asked to send delegates to this conference and Johannesburg was fortunate to be one of the cities selected.

Last year a conference was held in Stockholm organized by
the International Union of Local Authorities in Stockholm, the subject of the conference being "Amalgamation or Co-operation"

Because of the need for co-ordinated planning the world trend is for metropolitan regions to become larger and larger. An example in London is the London County Council covering an area of 117 sq. miles. The area of the Greater London Council has now been extended to 620 sq. miles. At the same time the number of local authorities has been reduced to 32. In Sweden in 1949 there were 2,400 communes, these were later reduced to 800 and now the 800 are being reduced to 280 by amalgamation or merger. The same sort of thing has been happening in France.

In Glasgow instead of extending a city it was decided to build a new town outside Glasgow to deal with the surplus population. What is our position in South Africa? Are we following world trends. Are we benefiting from the experience of others? I would suggest not and would suggest that we are damaging the national economy by not heeding the experience of other countries. As the population becomes concentrated in the cities the fate of the cities has a substantial bearing on the nation and unless the cities can solve their transport problems they will choke to death. This is not a local problem but a national one. In South Africa our Parliament is so dominated by rural constituencies that the welfare of the cities is not receiving sufficient attention from the State. One clear example is the attitude of the authorities to the subsidization of the expressways and major roads.
Secondly, the need for all levels of government to help cooperate to find a solution to the challenges that arise from the concentration of such large acts of people in the last states and into areas.
Everyone realizes the dominant part finance plays in planning. This was recognized some years ago when the Borgenhagen Committee was appointed to examine the financial relationship between the State, Province, and local authorities. That Commission was appointed in August 1956. It is understood that the report has at last been presented to Parliament but the report has not yet been published and it is not yet known whether the recommendations will be implemented.

At a recent conference of the Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants in Rhodesia it was suggested that the Borgenhagen Report might one day be regarded in the same light as the mythical Flying Dutchman, the Wandering Jew or the Vanishing Indian.

That there is a need for co-ordinated planning in the areas surrounding Johannesburg must be self evident. Yet ad-hoc planning in the areas north of Johannesburg is the order of the day. Areas of ground are laid out as townships without thought to the road systems and with no provision for parks or public amenities, with inadequate finance to employ adequate staff and yet Johannesburg is expected to cater in many ways for this large population which promises nothing towards its finance.

It appears to me that we have not yet discarded the attitude of the early days of the city when the "uitlander" was regarded with suspicion and the development of the city was regarded with jealousy by Pretoria and when the growth of the city was regarded with disgust and dismay.
What of the future? Will the move from the rural areas to the cities give parliament a different emphasis by having more urban representatives?

Will the establishment of the Randse Afrikaanse Universiteit assist the attitude towards Johannesburg by the students identifying themselves with the problems of the city? I can only sincerely hope that this will be the case.

What of the future of your Council? I can only hold out the hope of greater activity, greater variety and greater challenge in trying to cope with the problems of tomorrow. The tomorrow in which technical change will play a significant role in the evolution of our city and in the leisure time which we must gainfully employ.

May I conclude by congratulating your Council on the work it has done and by wishing it well for the future.
DIE OPENBARE BIBLIOTEEK

JOHANNESBURG

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King's Speeches.

On 2 March 1890 King visited Johannesburg and on the same day The Bantu reported that the President in reply to the address from the Chamber of Mines was greeted with shouts, huzzas and cheers and said: My friends — if the subjects desire to hear me they must be quiet (laughter). Burgers, subjects, and aliens (oh!), I beg to return you my heartfelt thanks for the welcome you have extended me to-day.

Strong exception was taken to the word Aliens. Chilvers in Out of the Crucible (p. 67-8) of the 1929 edition tells of how

unwilly the crowd at The Wanderers became after this, singing Rule Britannia. Later the flag at the Government Building on the

marketSquare was hauled down, and the crowd went to von

Brande's house where King was. Von Brande's tactfully managed
to turn the crowd away.

Chilvers (p. 69-70) records that King did not visit Johannesburg again for some years, but in the interval visited Kingersdorp

(which counted as gold fields), and spoke at the Patachaskel

celebrations, where he started his address: "People of the Lord,
you old people of the country, you foreigners, you new-comers,
yes, even you thieves and murderers."

This speech, says Chilvers, was bitterly resented. Unfortunately
I have no contemporary reference to this meeting at hand.
It is indeed a very great privilege for me to be with you this evening, for it is a very special occasion, being your twenty-first Annual General Meeting.

From small beginnings you have great achievements to your credit. Your work has proved of immense value and worth to the citizens of Johannesburg. When one looks at the list of your affiliated societies and clubs, and one sees the wide range of activities which are represented by these organizations, one realises the interests of our citizens, and the facilities that are made available. By bringing these organizations together, and publicising their activities, you are indeed fulfilling a very valuable function for the great benefit of the people of the Witwatersrand.

In Johannesburg we are a pretty hard-headed crowd, and things must be practical - they must work. Is this not because Johannesburg was not a particularly interesting place when gold was first found? Bleak highveld with not much natural beauty, with no rivers, no natural water supply; an area in which agriculture was difficult owing to the vagaries of the weather; where there were innumerable pests, and a variable and uncertain rainfall, where there was no easy recreation such as would have been found at the coast, no good resorts or particularly pleasant country near the city, where minerals had to be won the hard way, where man's ingenuity and downright hard work and preparedness to take a risk were the criteria for success; where gardens had to be established, trees planted, where in the winter months there was dust everywhere, especially if one lived anywhere near the mines.

We, in Johannesburg, are often noted for our quest for wealth and our regard for the material things
of life. These targets give us heart attacks and thromboses. We who are here tonight are, I am sure, setting ourselves targets more balanced and satisfying. I believe that it is in the creation of new things, in the acceptance of challenges, in the acquisition of knowledge, that one obtains the greater satisfaction.

Johannesburg has changed from the Johannesburg of the early days, and the organizations which are represented on your Council have materially contributed to this change.

When one takes a look into the future, I would suggest that the work of your Council is only just beginning, and will require terrific expansion. You have all heard of the population explosion. If you add to this the urban drift of persons from the small towns and dorps to Johannesburg, the growing number of immigrants, the forecast of shorter working hours, and perhaps a four-day working week, the intensification of the tourist traffic to this country, you will appreciate the necessity for your Council to be in the forefront of catering for the gainful use of leisure time, and the training of our citizens to permit the development of their potential.

What is all this fuss about the population explosion? The following figures are the projections:

QUOTE

The title of my talk this evening is JOHANNESBURG AS A METROPOLITAN CENTRE. What is it that makes a city or town a metropolis? Is it size, or what is it? I want to emphasise two aspects which, to my mind, are the essence of a metropolitan area. One is that it should have a marked influence on a catchment area beyond its boundaries. The second is that it exercises a strong magnetic influence, and is thus subject to intense attraction of people from outside its boundaries.

Firstly, let us see to what extent Johannesburg
does create an influence on a catchment area beyond its boundaries. I really think that this is so obvious that it does not need elaboration. Johannesburg is the centre of the Witwatersrand complex, the pivot of the Pretoria/ Johannesburg/Vaal triangle, the area in which 40% of the wholesale trade of South Africa is conducted, 18% of the retail trade, whose Municipal produce market caters for 40% of the produce sold in the whole of South Africa, where 20% of the national industrial income is produced, where 35% of the financial and banking business is done, and where 13% of the white population resides. Yes - Johannesburg can truly claim to be a metropolitan area if the criteria is influence on a large catchment area beyond its boundaries.

The second criteria I mentioned for a metropolitan area was a magnetic influence, the draw of people from outside. Why do people come to Johannesburg? What is the attraction? I would suggest work opportunity, better educational facilities, a more varied life - the very diversification of interests is exemplified by your Council. For immigrants it is often the point of first arrival, and it is often there that people settle, the variety in community life, the fact that for immigrants there are settlements of people from the country of their origin, the attraction of people with specialist skills who, because of the very size and sophistication of enterprise, are able to find outlets for their talents and abilities. All these and many other factors draw people to a city such as Johannesburg, so Johannesburg meets the needs of my definition of a metropolitan city in that its influence spreads beyond its boundaries and acts as a magnet, and will thus tend to grow. Johannesburg is, in fact, one of the vital metropolitan areas not only in South Africa, but with world significance.

Johannesburg has established a Forward Planning Department. The Department's function is to look into the future and give the powers that be guide lines, so that in planning today the needs of tomorrow are catered for.
The main reports so far published are as follows:

What are the world trends in the development of metropolitan areas, and can we learn from the experience of others?

Toronto Conference of 40 metropolitan cities.
Stockholm Conference of I.U.L.A. when the subject matter was "Amalgamate or Co-operate".
Toronto experiment when thirteen boroughs joined and formed metropolitan Toronto, since then population has increased considerably, and it is now reduced to six boroughs.

Quote:

The development of metropolitan regions:

LONDON: 90 Local Authorities form the London County Council, covering an area of 117 sq. miles. The area of the Greater London Council has now been extended to 620 sq. miles, and the number of Local Authorities reduced to 32.

SWEDEN: In 1946 there were 2400 communes - these were then reduced to 800 and now the 800 are being reduced to 280 by amalgamation and merger.

TORONTO: This was the first city in North America to have a metropolitan region. Then 13 boroughs joined and formed the Metropolitan Toronto. Since then the population has increased considerably, and it has now been reduced to six boroughs.

The same sort of thing has been happening in France and in Glasgow, instead of extending the City, it was decided to build a new town outside Glasgow to deal with the surplus population.
POSITION OF CITIES:

As population becomes concentrated in the cities, the fate of the cities has a significant bearing on the economic development of the nation.

Suggest that in South Africa Parliament has largely been dominated by the farming community, and the welfare of the cities has not received sufficient attention from the State.

I would like to examine whether Johannesburg, as a metropolitan area, has the tools to cope with the development taking place. It has been realised for some time that the financial resources of local authorities have been inadequate.

Borckenhagen Report: Quote joke told at Rhodesian Conference re Flying Dutchman, wandering Jew or the vanishing Indian.

Provincial Administration inadequate.
Ad hoc planning of development.
Inadequate technical staff.
Legislation for large and small authorities the same.
Give examples of matters which have to be referred for approval.
Unwillingness to train labour forces for its potential.
Fear of the growth of the city.
Paul Kruger's attitude to the uitlander and colossus.

What of the future. Will the move from the rural areas to the cities give Parliament a different emphasis? By having more urban representatives will the urban constituents insist on their M.P's helping the local authorities?
Will the establishment of the Rand Afrikaans University assist by the students identifying themselves with the problems of the city?

What is the future for your Council? Can only hold out hope of greater activity, greater variety, greater challenge in trying to cope with the problems of tomorrow, the tomorrow in which technical change will play a significant role in the leisure time available to our citizens.

Congratulate them on their work achieved and wish them well for the future.

JOHANNESBURG:
August 5, 1968.
Draft 2.
In April 1966 the City Council resolved to make application to the Administrator for permission to build a new power station. In the report it was emphasised that additional power would be required in March 1971, and that to commission the plant in time it would be necessary to start the preparation of plant specifications no later than June 1966 in order to place major plant contracts in March 1967. Two years after the application was made a negative decision was made by the Administrator, and it was necessary for the Council to make application to the Courts to order the Administrator to re-consider his decision, because he had not given his decision on the basis laid down in the Electricity Act, namely, as to whether or not it was in the interests of the ratepayers that the power station be built. The Administrator did not oppose the Council's application and the order was made. The Court decision was in March 1968. The Administrator's decision is still awaited two and a half years after application was made. Is this co-operation between tiers of government?
New York's failure can be traced to many sources: the apathy and venality of politicians, the cold unconcern of builders, the remoteness and indifference of business and financial leaders. Here is an angry view from the streets.

*A City Destroying Itself*

by Richard J. Whalen

Millions of visitors from throughout the U.S. saw New York this summer, and most of them will return home to affirm the transient's traditional verdict on the metropolis: it's all right, but you wouldn't want to live there. But the visitors who pass judgment from what seems a safe distance have no cause for smugness, particularly if they are among the seven out of ten Americans who live in and around cities. They may be spared the peculiar oppressiveness of living in New York, but they cannot escape the shadow that New York's failure throws across the future of an increasingly urban civilization.

The disorder of the nation's largest city is unique in the sense that its scope cannot be duplicated elsewhere. Every large U.S. city is different, and each will succeed or fail as an environment in its own terms. But the uniqueness of New York is not absolute. Although this world metropolis has seemed alien and unrepresentative to the rest of the country since the days when Squire Tom Jefferson denounced it as "a cloaca of all the depravities of human nature," New York does represent something of surpassing importance to a people whose lives are organized around cities. It represents the idea of a great city. It is the macrocosm of every American city's problems and aspirations. It matters, therefore, to Americans everywhere what New York is—and what it is not.

New York is a miracle. Through an infinitely complex mechanism, millions of people are fed, housed, clothed, transported, and organized for work that, in turn, organizes the work of millions of other people throughout the nation and the world. Physically, New York City is a vast metropolitan region and a sprawling political enclave. The heart of it is the borough of Manhattan, where there is a concentration of human skill and energy unmatched in the world. Here is the headquarters of U.S. industry and the vital center of the economy. But how fares the human spirit in this great metropolis?

The city functions today only with growing difficulty and inefficiency. Concentration is yielding to strangle congestion; energy is misdirected and therefore wasted, so that the disadvantages of the city are visibly outpacing the advantages. The economic costs of its malfunctioning have become staggering.

However, it is not the economic disorder that throws a shadow across an urban civilization. The truly terrible costs of New York are social and spiritual. These accrue in endless human discomfort, inconvenience, harassment, which have become part of the pervasive background, like the noise and filth, but are much deadlier. For it is people who breathe life into an environment, who create the vitality of a healthy city. If people are driven and their senses dulled, if they are alienated and dehumanized, the city is on the way to destroying itself.

New York is frowning, tight-lipped, short-tempered.
It is a city without grace. It is humorless, able to mock and taunt, but too tense to gain the release of laughter. It is a city that cries “Jump” to a would-be suicide perched on a window ledge.

Lacking among New Yorkers is a feeling that they are part of a cohesive whole. This incoherence underlies the racial explosions in Harlem and Brooklyn. The riots were produced not by Negro militancy, but by alienation in the ghettos, and apathy in the city at large. Nothing has been done about the ghettos; indifference is inherent in their very existence.

New York has become a failure in human arrangements. This failure has many sources. It can be traced to the apathy and venality of the city’s politicians; to the cold unconcern of the city’s builders, among whom a kind of Gresham’s Law of architecture prevails; to the remoteness and indifference of the city’s business and financial leaders; to the selfishness of competing groups and interests whose actions and demands take little account of the general welfare.

For weeks this summer, Fifty Avenue, being repaved for the first time in forty-one years, was a no man’s land of trenches and rubble, half closed off by barricades and dominated by mechanized shovels. Stalled busses herded together like captured elephants, throwing up clouds of stinking fumes. The rattling jackhammers and snorting compressors on Fifth merged with the din along Sixth. There, in the space of six blocks, three new giant buildings are rearing up, their scaffolding encroaching on the street. Work on a subway extension will disrupt traffic for three years. Construction and excavation claim all but two lanes of the clogged avenue; machinery and materials spill over mud-splattered temporary walkways. Assailed on all sides, impeded and frustrated at every turn, people push through the confusion (“What damn fool decided to tear up the avenues in the middle of the first summer of the World’s Fair?”).

The atmosphere of chaos

Stirred to indignation rather belatedly, the New York Chapter of the American Institute of Architects last June issued an unprecedented report on “The State of the City.” The architects were appalled. They found alarming retrogression beneath the surface of the city’s vaunted “progress,” and declared that “the field of speculative and investment architecture requires much more serious consideration than it has received heretofore.” Pointing out what had long been obvious, they noted that buildings “erected for the sole purpose of income or a quick profit . . . deeply affect present and future dollar values, community desirability, the rate of urban decay and obsolescence, the city’s attractiveness and inspiration for residents and its appeal to tourists.” The architects concluded grimly that “New York City is not getting benefits commensurate with the money, energy, and effort that are going into its development. The uncoordinated development of the city, the growth of traffic problems, the continued pollution of air and water, the churning destruction and frantic rebuilding—all of these are taking their toll.”

No one can estimate the time and energy consumed in merely trying to move people and goods about the streets.

Up and down the blocks off Seventh Avenue between Thirty-fifth and Fortieth streets, parking is forbidden, but trucks line every foot of curb. One even occupies the restricted zone in front of a firehouse. Without such wholesale violation of parking regulations, the city’s garment industry could not survive. Even so, the number of workers in the needle trades has steadily dwindled, partly because small employers cannot bear the cost of fighting city traffic. So completely has the formal system of traffic control broken down in the garment district that only the illegal and tenuously viable one is upheld. On Thirty-sixth Street a policeman, his shirt stained black from perspiration, extricates a truck from the tangle of the street and guides the driver as he backs into an illegal parking space.

Individual concern is expressed in an occasional hopeless complaint that “the city ought to do something.” By “the city” is meant that huge, self-frustrating entity, municipal government, which officially opposes air pollution, for example, but also contributes mightily to it. The Department of Air Pollution Control reported this summer that sootfall in the city had dropped an encouraging 17.5 percent last year, from seventy-three tons per square mile per month to just over sixty tons. It also was reported that city inspectors, of whom there are only thirty-five to cover 320 square miles, had given summonses to 1,317 violators and had collected $90,665 in fines, up $11,987 from the previous year. This accomplishment is put into perspective when it is noted that air pollution costs New York an estimated $100 million a year. Much of the soot comes from 12,000 apartment-house incinerators. In 1951 the Department of Sanitation, short of trucks and dumping grounds, lobbied through a municipal regulation requiring incinerators in new apartment houses four stories or higher. Burning garbage in an inefficient apartment-house incinerator reduces its bulk by as little as 25 percent, an accommodation to the Sanitation Department for which New Yorkers pay a fantastic price.

The rule of thumb of air-pollution experts is that if you can see the filth in the air, it is filtered out by your nose and lungs. Hazards come from carbon monoxide and nitrogen dioxide, the invisible byproducts of combustion; in New York last year these pollutants rose 48 and 87.5 percent respectively. Poorly maintained city buses are a major contributor to air pollution. In addition, 590,000 cars daily continue to enter Manhattan’s central business district, each carrying an average of

Penn Station . . . designed when men had a more considerable estimate of themselves.
one and one-half persons. The city Highways Department and the Port of New York Authority cannot build and expand access roads fast enough to keep up with the problem that roads are creating—while mass transportation is neglected.

“Air pollution exemplifies what happens in a chaotic situation,” says a researcher who has studied New York’s air for the past two years. “Everyone’s lack of concern mixes in the air.”

Nature bestowed her bounty on the city in the form of a magnificent deepwater harbor, broad rivers, and a network of bays and inlets. The city’s waterfront is longer than the canals of Venice, but one does not think of Manhattan as an island, even within a block or two of the water’s edge. For the city has walled itself in. Highways separate the inhabitants from the water, and tall buildings rise above the roads, shutting out the view of the rivers. (These structures are built on so-called “air rights,” which, if they belong to anyone, are the property of the people of New York.) The waters around the city are heavily polluted, the result of the shortsighted assumption over several generations that, regardless of what the city heedlessly did, it could not destroy so great a natural asset. The cumulative effect of popular and political indifference has been felt in recent generations. Once the waters of Jamaica Bay could be used for swimming, and the bottom was carpeted with shellfish free for the taking. Now it is a rank cesspool, which will not be even partly reclaimed for at least a decade or two.

It was cheaper to lay one pipe to carry both sewage and storm water rather than two, so the city built combined sewers, which overflow treatment plants following even a moderate rainfall. As recently as 1935 the city did not have a single modern treatment plant. It still pumps raw sewage into the Hudson and East rivers, relying on what sanitary engineers vividly describe as “excellent flushes.”

Business is business

Of America’s large cities, San Francisco is commonly considered to be the one most pleasing to the eye. The majestic sweep of the bay engages the viewer; his pleasure grows as his eye examines streets and buildings near at hand. In some respects the natural endowments of New York are richer than those of San Francisco. Yet New York shows itself to advantage only from unusual and dramatic perspectives: from a plane or a tall building, from the deck of an ocean liner coming up the harbor. As the viewer enters the streets the drama abruptly dissolves, for the city has risen up on an increasingly inhuman scale.

The explanation usually given is obvious, and unsatisfying: shortage of space on the island has caused high land prices (as much as $400 a square foot), which in

*Miles of buildings in which no one appears to live...*
turn necessitate high density. But the increasing ugliness of the city’s streets was not foreordained; men are making New York the eyesore so much of it is. The word “eyesore” calls to mind ramshackle tenements—slums. But a slum is only a place where poor people all too visibly live. New York has contrived to erect miles of buildings in which no one appears to live, monotonous cubes and ominous towers, which repel the eye with their harsh angularity and dreary sameness. Tiers of whirring air conditioners are the only evidence that these sterile-looking buildings are inhabited.

In Manhattan’s business districts the same lifeless architecture prevails, with occasional stunning exceptions. The driving force of New York’s construction boom has been the need to house a rapidly expanding office work force, which now accounts for half the city’s total employment. From 1947 through the end of 1963 a total of 58 million square feet of new office space was built in Manhattan. This represents more space than was built in the central business districts of the next twenty-two largest urban areas in the country combined. With a handful of exceptions, the buildings are the standardized product of builders who are strictly in the business of manufacturing space.

Through their collective decisions, the speculative builders and, even more important, the mortgage lenders in the banks and insurance companies have reshaped the contours of New York, determining how the city functions and how its inhabitants live. Provided with incentives by every level of government, these private decision makers of great public power have feverishly torn down, rebuilt, and expanded, profitably manipulating the land beneath buildings and even the air above. In the process they have established the rule that in New York the land and the buildings define the place of people. People are not people but economic units. Even in the aggregate, their wishes are outweighed by columns of figures.

Not long before his death, Vincent Astor wished to raise a monument to himself in the form of a slim tower of offices and a block-long plaza on Park Avenue. Combined with the open space in front of the handsome Senetram Building across the street, this would have created a pleasant promenade in crowded midtown, a place to stroll, similar to Rockefeller Center. But Astor was unable to find financing. His idea may not have been too sound but this is not the point. The point is that the very sound First National City Bank took over the site, and erected a bulky building covering every square foot.

The economics of ugliness

According to Carl A. Morse, president of the Diesel Construction Co., Inc., builder of the Pan Am Building and other major office structures, “the difference in cost between an aesthetically pleasing building and an ordinary one is nominal, since structurally and mechanically most buildings are or should be pretty nearly equal.” In a $15-million office building, Morse estimates, “1 to 2 percent additional is all that is needed to give a feeling of quality.”

But the typical newer office building rises plumb with the building line, with setbacks occurring at intervals determined not by aesthetic considerations, but to beat the zoning code. This ziggurat style of skyscraper has maximized the builder’s profit. There is nothing wrong with maximizing profits, which are the motivating force of progress. What is wrong is the rules under which builders are allowed to operate.

A builder plans to erect a building that will cost $6 million, $1 million representing the land and $5 million the building. In theory, he can obtain mortgage financing for only two-thirds of that amount, or $4 million. He will have little difficulty obtaining considerably more, but for the sake of illustration figure his equity at $2 million. Though his equity is only $2 million (or less), the New York builder can depreciate the entire $5-million cost of the building at an accelerated rate, getting $250,000 in tax-free cash flow back the first year. Even if rental income falls short of expectations, the builder enjoys a comfortable cushion. The speculative builder usually expects to get his money back in about seven years. When he has used up his depreciation he may sell the building to a syndicate at an inflated price, which becomes the basis for another profitable ride aboard the accelerated-depreciation gimmick. The structure is less important as a building than as a tax shelter.

Because of the tax laws uniquely favoring speculative building and real-estate syndication, an experienced and unusually candid operator denies that his ventures involve capitalism. “It’s state socialism for the rich.”

An example of such “socialism” is federally subsidized urban renewal, which enables the favored real-estate operator to enrich himself through the use of municipal power. Property condemned by the city under its power of eminent domain is turned over to the developer at a bargain price; he also receives government incentives in the form of liberal financing and tax abatement. In some instances in New York, urban-renewal sponsors have taken over slum properties from the city—and then continued to collect rents for months without turning a spade of dirt.

Jane Jacobs, author of the brilliant Death and Life of Great American Cities, believes that New York’s first zoning code in 1916 opened up endless possibilities for the use of government power for private gain. “It introduced the idea of recasting areas of the city by government action. The big prize became getting the government to do what you wanted it to do. Government and the actions of government became the means of making great fortunes.”
Zoning remains the instrument usually relied upon to protect the public interest and improve the city's physical environment. Largely because so many obviously tawdry buildings were being erected amidst rising complaints, the original New York City zoning code was rewritten in 1960. However, before the new code took effect, the opposing real-estate and construction interests forced a concession: buildings for which plans were filed before December, 1961, could be erected under the old and more lenient code. Applications came in a torrent. "The zoning boom is a listing tribute to the shortsightedness of some real-estate interests," William F. R. Ballard, chairman of the City Planning Commission, has declared. "In the rush to get in under the wire of the 1961 cutoff date, applications were filed for a colossal 150,659 multiple-dwelling units. That represented about five average years' worth of housing."

The immediate effect of the new zoning code, therefore, was greatly to increase the number of buildings it was intended to discourage. It is hoped that the desired improvements will be apparent within a decade. More realistic is the expectation that the builders soon will be demanding "liberalization" of the code—that is, a return to the old one. "I expect things to really whip up this fall and winter," declares an official of the Planning Commission. "The builders will argue that new construction is off. Which it is. But it is only because there was so much wild overbuilding."

The new code was aimed at the ziggurat skyscraper; in its place is emerging a style that, at least in theory, is aesthetically satisfying—a tower rising from a block base. But the change is more apparent than real. Provided a builder assembles a large enough site and leaves open space at street level for a plaza, he may, in effect, consider the sky the limit, building vertically to gain more square feet of rentable space than would have been possible on the same site under the old code. "All the new code does is eliminate the small man," explains a knowing builder. "If you have less than 10,000 square feet to build on, it's now impossible."

What is a vista worth?

The new megalith style of skyscraper is exemplified by the Pan Am Building, the world's largest commercial office building, which bulks brutally over Grand Central Station. This fifty-nine-story octagonal tower, which houses 25,000 workers, was wedged into one of the most congested areas in the city. Significantly, although it was built under the old code, it could have been erected under the new one as well. Indeed, harassed city planners used this eloquent fact to clear themselves of the charge that they were seeking too much power. The Planning Commission, which nominally oversees the city's physical environment, was powerless to influence the construction of the Pan Am Building. It did not even bother to study the traffic problems likely to be created, because, as a city planner admits somewhat abashedly, "it wouldn't have made any difference what the study showed."

When the late Erwin Wolfson, who conceived the project, took account of the criticisms of the Pan Am Building, he found one with obvious merit. It was that no building should occupy the three-and-a-half-acre site; that it should be an open plaza. "You have to agree with that," said Wolfson, adding almost wistfully: "It would be nice if it were possible."

The only real restraint operating on Wolfson was self-imposed. Insisting that he was not immune to aesthetic and sociological considerations, he once pointed out that he could legally have constructed a five-million-square-foot monster, which would have dumped into the Grand Central area twice as many workers as the Pan Am Building now does. With municipal agencies powerless to protect their interests, New Yorkers are forced to rely on such small mercies.

The interests behind the Pan Am Building regard it as entirely successful. The New York Central Railroad, which owns the land, will receive $1,100,000 annually over a seventy-seven-year lease. The building is now 98 percent occupied; Pan Am's lease alone calls for payment of $117 million over an unspecified term in excess of twenty-five years. The mortgage holders are pleased with their $66-million investment in a conspicuous "prestige" structure. The only interest that cannot be expressed in economic terms is that of the people.

Architects and urban designers, in their helpless fury, tended to overdrew the horrors the Pan Am Building would inflict on crowded Grand Central. During the year and a half of construction the noise was often deafening, but none of the 500,000 benumbed human beings who passed through the terminal daily raised a protest. Traffic still moves. The thousands of workers have been absorbed in the morrow and nightly flood of weary riders. The motionless scramble for lunch-counter space is more frantic, but somehow the mob gulps hamburgers in fifteen-minute shifts. The sidewalks are packed, but not quite impassable. All that has happened, really, is that life has become more unpleasant for countless people. The critics were not wrong to attack the Pan Am Building as an architectural and sociological atrocity; they simply underestimated the capacity of New Yorkers to endure inhuman pressures.

And what, after all, is a vista worth? Can a citizen who once derived pleasure from the tracery of the old New York Central tower against the sky sue someone for the loss he suffers because the south end of Park Avenue is walled up? The signs he is now forced to view have commercial value, as Pan American fully realized. The airline originally wanted signs thirty feet high on all eight sides.
of the building; it settled reluctantly for two smaller signs and a pair of company emblems.

Manhattan, first settled in 1815, does not contain a single seventeenth-century building, and only one pre-Revolutionary structure of architectural significance still exists. The city regards the past with contempt and hastens to obliterate its heritage. Symbolic of New York's self-destructive frenzy is the destruction of Pennsylvania Station, now being razed to make way for a $120-million complex including a new Madison Square Garden arena, an exhibition hall, bowling alleys, and a thirty-three-story office tower. This will be the fourth Madison Square Garden in eighty-five years. There will never be another Penn Station.

The terminal, designed by Charles Follen McKim and opened in 1910, was frankly imitative, derived from the ancient Roman Baths of Caracalla. Penn Station was not especially old, nor could it honestly be called a great work of architecture. It was black with soot, the interior was despoiled by garish billboards, and the roof leaked in winter. The terminal reportedly was operating at a $2,500,000-a-year loss. Therefore the Pennsylvania Railroad decided to get rid of it. The Penn had been thinking of building an office building over the station, but when it learned that Irving Felt, president of the Graham-Paige investment company, was seeking a site for a new Madison Square Garden, it approached him. Attracted by the prospect of acquiring a square block in one deal. Felt struck a bargain with the Penn. The railroad is a one-fourth partner in the Madison Square Garden Corp., and will receive about $1 million a year in rental for the air rights over the new terminal.

So why not tear it down? Because that same soaring roof of steel and glass enclosed the most impressive public space in the city. Penn Station had gained distinction through usage; it was a well-defined place in a city becoming featureless. Is it sentimental to treasure a building designed when men had a more considerable estimate of themselves? For a half century, travelers arriving in the world's greatest city entered through a suitable portal. They soon will enter through what amounts to a subway station. The portal through which many now enter is Kennedy International Airport—set in the marshes of Jamaica Bay, an hour's dreary, $6 to $7 cab ride away from Manhattan.

"Is New York a commercial phenomenon?"

A group of architects organized themselves as the Action Group for Better Architecture (AGBANY), fought the Madison Square Garden project before the City Planning Commission. The then chairman, James Felt, disqualified himself from ruling on his brother Irving's cause, but the issue had been decided by the amount of money involved. When an AGBANY spokesman demanded, "Is New York a commercial phenomenon or a city?" the answer came swiftly. Speakers for business and financial interests cited the economic and tax gains the city would realize from demolishing the station. A spokesman for the construction industry pointed out that, by a happy coincidence, demolition was planned to begin just as work on the World's Fair concluded. The construction industry wanted the jobs the $125-million project would provide. What was intended to be the clinching statement came from the general manager of the Statler Hilton, across Seventh Avenue from the terminal. The Madison Square Garden project, he enthused, "will show visitors that . . . we are progressing and they should return."

It is late Friday afternoon and very hot and humid. Arriving passengers file through Penn Station's main waiting room, laden with baggage, following signs promising taxis. Sleek metal staircases have been erected over the part of the station currently being demolished, and the travelers puff up the steps, flushed and perspiring. They struggle through a maze of temporary partitions. Overhead the sky is visible through gaping holes in the partly dismantled ceiling. Blinking in the sunlight, they spill into a rubble-strewn area on the Thirty-third Street side of the building—or what is left of it. The roofless arches are reminiscent of bombed-out Coventry. Here, there should be cabs, but there are none. People mill about like forlorn...
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**A City Destroying Itself continued**

War II, New York still remains shackled to it, now under city administration. The distortions and inequities it produces have long been obvious, but powerful pressure groups hold the club of the "tenant's vote" over City Hall, and the politicians knuckle under. A small, timid move in the right direction was made last spring, when apartments renting for $250 or more a month were decontrolled.

Rent control does not apply to new construction; therefore, the builders of high-priced, "luxury" apartments are strongly in favor of it. Some 120,000 of such dwelling units have been constructed in the past five years, and high-rise barracks mushroom throughout the city. Builders have been especially active on the Upper East Side, where a three-room apartment in a new air-conditioned building rents for at least $200 a month. This price buys glossy trimmings, such as lavishly decorated lobbies and music in the elevators, but construction is generally slipshod. The city's building code, last revised nearly thirty years ago, has not kept up with new materials. A wall that meets its minimum standards for strength and fire resistance may now be thin and porous. Through the walls of expensive new apartment buildings can be heard the sounds of neighbors' conversation and flushing toilets. Small rooms and low ceilings are disguised with a sadly transparent gimmick: the terrace. Row upon row, small platforms rise up the bleak walls of "luxury" buildings, offering a view of traffic, rooftops, and other people's terraces. Except that the address is better, the terrace offers at a stiff price nothing more than the tenement fire escape offered for nothing.

Political attempts to "solve" the politically created middle-income housing shortage produce results like the Bridge Apartments, which opened last winter. These are four thirty-two-story aluminum-clad towers built on air rights over the Manhattan approaches to the George Washington Bridge. The Kratter Corp. acquired the air rights from the city for more than a million dollars. It also received a $17,700,000 mortgage loan at 4 1/2 percent (covering 90 percent of the project's cost) from the New York State Housing Finance Agency and a 40 percent real-estate tax abatement from the city in order to bring rentals down to an average of $28 a room.

Described by the builder's brochure as "a striking new concept in middle-income living," the Bridge Apartments are just another housing project, another vertical filing cabinet for people bearing the tag "middle-income." The maximum family income allowable for a family of four is seven times the annual rental. Pets are strictly forbidden.

In spite of the agreeably modest rentals, a more artificial environment can scarcely be imagined. The towers overlook every building in the vicinity; the project stands separated from the surrounding neighborhood like a forbidding fortress. At eye level are high black walls with tiny wire-mesh windows—the on-site parking garages—that invite the hostility of the area's older residents. On the roof of each garage, invisible from the street, is a sitting area, described as a "raised loggia," which assures residents of complete isolation. The "loggias" are unshaded and empty. Beneath roars a steady flow of bridge traffic. At rush hours and on weekend evenings, traffic stalls and exhaust fumes rise up the sides of the chimney-like towers. "If I lived there," says an expert on air pollution, "I'd order all windows on the highway side of the building to be permanently shut."

Anything for the subway

The borough of Queens, just across the East River from Manhattan, receives much of the city's fleeing middle-class population. Here families find apartments at prices they can manage, at the sacrifice of amenities. Easily the most awesome middle-income project, built without any sort of government assistance, is Lefrak City. Ultimately this huge complex will consist of twenty-four eighteen-story brick towers housing 25,000 persons. Under the motto of "Total Living," Lefrak City boasts swimming pools and explosion-proof buildings. The crush around the pools on a hot Sunday resembles Coney Island. An air-conditioned two-bedroom
A City Destroying Itself  

Many weary breadwinners have sold their split-levels and moved their families to Lefrak City, which is within walking distance of the Independent subway. This is the lesson of Lefrak City and smaller projects throughout Queens: New Yorkers will gladly accept ugliness for the sake of relative convenience. Lefrak City, in spite of its advertised amenities, is as ugly as mass-production building can make it; from soot-darkened windows one can see only streets and the expressway, parking lots, and other apartment buildings. There is, however, a supermarket at the door—not, as in suburbia, ten minutes away by car; and a housewife need walk only two blocks to rummage through the heaped counters at Alexander’s department store. And Manhattan lies only a half hour away by subway; this virtue alone redeems every flaw of the environment.

But alas, the lure of living close to the subway proves false. For thousands upon thousands of other people also want to live close to the subway, and when they come together at the rush hours, the crowding is inhuman.

It is half-past seven in the morning. The first wave of office workers is leaving Lefrak City and the surrounding projects. They walk the long blocks past the chain-linked fences of the municipal parking lots to the subway station at Woodhaven Boulevard. Many of them are not due at their desks until nine o’clock, but they travel early to avoid the crush that will build steadily in the next hour. Now it is possible to board the local easily and even get a seat for the ride three stations to the express stop at Roosevelt Avenue in Jackson Heights.

By a few minutes past eight the parking lots around the Woodhaven Boulevard station are filling up rapidly as cars stream from the expressway. Buses discharge their passengers. New the subway platform is packed six deep with people waiting impatiently. As the local arrives, they surge forward, rushing, pushing, straining. At Roosevelt Avenue, the express train arriving from Jamaica, Kew Gardens, and Forest Hills is jammed to the doors, but somehow more bodies squeeze inside.

By eight-thirty the crowd at Woodhaven Boulevard backs up the stairs. Those in the rear files must wait for one and perhaps two locals before they can wedge themselves aboard.

There are too many riders on the Jamaica line of the IND subway and the Flushing line of the IRT subway—at least 22,000 too many, by the Planning Commission’s count—and this overcrowding will worsen. Only now, fully ten years too late, is the city undertaking new subway construction.

Conditions are equally bad on Manhattan’s Lexington Avenue line, the only subway serving the booming east-midtown area, which also handles much of the traffic to the financial district. Because the city has failed in its responsibility, no demand the office worker faces during an ordinary day approaches the physical and emotional strain of getting to and from work.

The vanishing open space

Those residents of Queens who endure much to live close to the subway have had the misfortune of coming a generation too late. When the subway first pushed into the undeveloped borough, city dwellers enjoyed what seems to them in retrospect “a golden era.” The new rapid transportation opened up living space faster than people could use it. Between the subdivisions lay farms and fields of wild flowers and woods in which boys could build huts. A property owner possessing only a 60-by-100 lot did not feel in the least cramped. Immediately after World War II the steady expansion of Long Island’s highway system kept open the opportunity for people to leapfrog the developed areas and enjoy open

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country that still lay within reasonable commuting distance of Manhattan. People have since pressed eastward through Nassau and into Suffolk County, where commuting takes as much as four hours a day. In earlier periods other parts of the city—Brooklyn, the Bronx—enjoyed similar "golden eras" between the introduction of improved transportation and the intensive development of land. But now the last has almost been used up.

Virtually the last breathing space in the city is Staten Island—officially known as the borough of Richmond—which is separated from Manhattan by a five-mile stretch of Upper New York Bay. So long as the island was linked to New York only by ferry, land and homes were inexpensive, and the island kept its predominantly rural character. But in November the Verrazano Bridge across the Narrows will connect Staten Island with Brooklyn, a physical link that has important psychological implications. Anticipating a surge of population across the bridge, small speculative builders are throwing up cheaply constructed, overpriced frame houses on every available lot in the built-up northern half of the island. Much of the undeveloped land to the south is city-owned, and provides an unusual opportunity for planning true communities from the ground up. By the City Planning Commission thus far has retreated before the builders and their financial and political allies, who are producing only sprawling "slums," thus robbing a rising generation of young families of their chance for "a golden era" of decent living conditions close to the heart of the city.

Who runs New York?

Like so much else, the unlikely chance of creating a humanly satisfying environment on the fringes of the city is due, in the end, to the failure at the center. On whom does the blame fall? Weak, incompetent, and self-seeking officeholders obviously deserve a large share, if not one quite so large as they usually receive. Mayor Robert F. Wagner, now serving his third term, was out of the country when the Harlem riots erupted in late July, but New Yorkers scarcely missed him. They have come to expect deep silence from City Hall in any emergency. The last mayor to give the impression he was on top of the job was, of course, the almost legendary Fiorello H. La Guardia. The vacuum at City Hall dates from the departure of the "Little Flower" in 1945.

New Yorkers can be scolded for electing midgets to enormous jobs. Or for allowing a Robert Moses, an able administrator, to gain such inordinate power that he rules as an absolute despot, beyond the reach of public opinion. Until a few years ago Moses was simultaneously head of the city parks, the Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority, the New York State Power Authority, the State Council of Parks, the Mayor's Committee on Slum Clearance, and Coordinator of City Construction—which is too much authority for any one man.

The truth is that serious-minded voters have given up all hope of having responsive, efficient city government. They believe they live within an unfathomably complex system, which mysteriously runs on momentum and periodically collapses into anarchy.

This view contains an element of truth. Politicians, however horrendously they perform, are limited in the damage they can do by the extent of their power. The decisive power in New York is not political, but economic, and its limits cannot be discerned. Whole sections of the city are tacitly understood to fall within the sphere of influence of men wielding such power. Leaders in business, labor, and other fields, for example, are attempting to impose a new order on the area below Canal Street.

A key element of this grand design is the proposed Lower Manhattan Expressway. It has been argued, plausibly, that this elevated highway would relieve street congestion by carrying through truck traffic from New Jersey to Brooklyn. But the expressway also would divide and destroy a neighborhood. On maps this appears to be a "blighted" area. And so it is, in large measure because the expressway route has been mapped on the city's "master plan" since 1919, and the area has existed in a limbo. Owners cannot obtain loans to repair and improve buildings that lie in the path of the bulldozer. Residents of the neighborhood and

Parsons helps to boost a space-launch vehicle

The most ambitious space program yet undertaken by the Department of Defense is the development of the U.S. Air Force Titan III System—a versatile launch vehicle capable of performing a variety of space missions. The facility to launch Titan III is known as Integrate-Transfer-Launch (ITL) Complex, and was built on man-made islands in the Banana River delta at Cape Kennedy. The Systems Engineering Organization of The Ralph M. Parsons Company is responsible for the design and architectural engineering, and provides field services for the ITL. In '59, Parsons developed the first underground launching silo which was used for the Titan II program. Since then, Parsons has been a member of the Titan team working on launch complexes, tracking stations, propellant transfer systems, rocket motor facilities, test stands, trainers, environmental laboratories and related facilities.
The ordinary New York office worker, convinced of the futility of individual protest against his environment, lacking access to the institutional economic power that could bring improvement, is alienated from the city by force of circumstance. New York is where he works; he lives elsewhere. The man far above him on the corporate ladder, who perhaps lives in an expensive East Side cooperative, walks to work, and enjoys the amenities available to the wealthy, stands aloof from the actual life of the city by choice. Preoccupied with business and accustomed to applying only commercial values in his decision making, he unconsciously accepts the concept of the city as a work environment only. At the same time, he wonders, without a sense of self-contradiction, why the hell New York is such a mess.

"This is a violent, noisy, dirty city, the dirtiest I've ever seen," complained a New York executive, one of several whom FORTUNE interviewed recently. "If you want to live comfortably here, you've got to insulate yourself as much as possible."

On their way to the New York headquarters rising executives did not insulate themselves from other cities. "In Cincinnati I felt some peripheral responsibility as a businessman to get involved in civic affairs," recalled another executive. "In the company here in New York nobody has the slightest interest in my personal file. In the smaller city one's personal and business lives get all mixed up. Here my wife and I are freer."

This man and others like him believe they have earned their freedom. But the responsibility that U.S. business feels it owes to Cincinnati—and other American cities—is perilously overdue in New York.

The debt to Du Pont

The odd quirk to the Chemstrand story is that the venture owes a large measure of its overall success to none other than Du Pont. When Chemstrand was just getting off the ground as a manufacturer of acrylic fibers in 1950, Du Pont came around with an offer

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