

Kansas City talk, 10-26

Intro / Worthy cause ---

Eating out on
Ford, ^{family} whose most famous product . . .

Glad for chance to talk on subject. Like man who finally got girl ---

From college of ag. Out of place w. all your ^{urban} ~~city~~ ^{urbanists.} fellows. Have fertilizer talk...
I know is good bcs. afterwards audiences tell me I'm full of my subject.

I. Why Containment?

A. Inroads on farmland.

Some of my brethren regard city as like Russians, cordon sanitaire.
SCS, loss of cropland. Malthusian alarms.

as a survivor, ...
It's a great loss, but is minor part of problem. No danger, running out
of cropland. Take most extreme case, destruction of S.C. Citrus by L.A. ^{Valencia}

Plenty land SSW; Fla. New groves coming on, huge project, 1 m acres.

Problem of another sort. Send out widening shock waves, intensification, probably
lead to cycle of overdevelopment new citrus groves

More quickly, dominate far land w/ vast areas. ^{Mytery, Sq. L.V., - Sq. inc.}

Urban influence. Inc. tax avoidance, urgency.

Even this 2 day

B. For city's sake.

90% r.e. value.

1. Not impet. motive. Planners, "maintain urban values," not always
discrim. carefully between doing so by improv'g city; & impt'g artificial
scarcity of usable urban land. Strengthened planners in certain quarters,
but weakened them for good leadership.

2. Make city efficient

Not cold-blooded acctg, but human sense, max. human satisfaction
w. res. at hand.

Max. ease of contact, choice of contacts.

Share common facilities. In acct's jargon, exploit decreasing

cost opns. ~~the~~ Decr. costs come from serving more people in given area.

E.g. if wtr pipe serves ~~more~~ 100% more wth inside same area, make
fatter, decr. cost; if in twice the area, make longer, Sq. cost. ... each drop
must be carried from center of system.

What about autos? Congestion lets us dispense w. them.

Compact demand supports public transit.

Story of wanted
for man w.
Harvard BA
or = nt.
What appears
= nt isn't always.

3. Let city become larger

sounds like contradiction, but I mean larger in terms of people & bldg. I favor large cities. Run into limits, tho, when spread out, becomes so far from one side to other, lose nucleation, cease to be a city. 100 mi. across what passes for city of L.A.

Prohibitively expensive tie pieces together. \$50 b., 1/4 metro. area, next 25 yrs. L.A. 2/3 downtown taken - when you get there, where are you? and produce smog, noise.

Cities are in 1/2 return to scale; but neg. ret. to space. Shd. disgorge peripheral land, & improve what they have.

4. Make city more flexible

Cities are clumsy monsters. "Sprawl" is st. word. Also paralyzed. Need cities light on their feet, ready to adapt to new needs, face in new direction - just as indy. needs to be ready to retool.

Prime force is hi land rents & l.v. Only reason for demolishing old bldg is salvage land underneath. Manhattan, central areas, one of most flexible urban resources, ~~also~~ constantly rebldg. Parks Ave. bldg.

Our cities tend to migrate. Just as pioneers swept west over farmland like a swarm of locusts, leaving desolation, so cities grow out, always finding new land, relieving pressure to renew old shums.

Only thing doesn't change is change; only permanently valid principle of city planning is anticipate obsolescence & renewal. For this, need hi l.v.

3 stages of new idea. Has reached 3d. (I remember when was crazy idea)

Many Jeremiahs. I guilty too. What do?

A case
won't edit for

Less soc.,
slow
repl. freq.

II. Negative containment (Truman Doctrine)

Failing of bureaucrats — Thou shalt not, by reflex.

A. Subdivision control

Refuse to accept, except in next compact tier

Refuse to extend utilities, " " "

oft recommended, vying chaos of firms 1940. Extraterritorial jurisdiction, county control, anything -- block that subdivider!

B. County zoning

Extreme in exclusive ag. zoning. Md., Calif.

But all zoning partakes something of this. Seeks to con. activities by proscribing them elsewhere.

C. Suburban zoning

C. Assessment by use instead of potential

Illegal, but common. In effect, city connives w. speculator (or other large landholder), you keep off what, we'll keep taxes off you.

Now being formalized.

Md. ag. zoning

Cal. golf course ordinance.

[Not signs of strength, but breakdown of informal collusion via assessors]

D. ~~Many others~~ Keep dead lands dead

E. No doubt others.

Summarize
fast!

Legit.
II (2) 1 Objection to neg. containment

A. arbitrarily redistributes l.v. among individuals
~~Extremely~~ diff. unit values attach to diff. uses. Shopping center, \$50,000/acre
& aspire to eventual downtown status, \$millions/acre. Other extreme, land reserved
for open space, hardly worth anything.

Decision to zone commerce here instead of there makes ^{some} & breaks ^{others}. How
anyone cd. ever expect losers to accept fate quietly is something occasionally
makes me wonder, even tho some of my best friends are planners. if
they have any idea what they're doing.

also discriminates among buyers. Sellers are ones who bring pressure, ~~but~~ as usual,
customer is forgotten man. But buyer of large lot finds relative bargains; ~~a~~ wide choice;
of small lots, hi prices, limited choice.

B. ~~Subject~~ Subject to mnpete. abuse (munic. mercantilism)

Eests. discovered mnp. c. 30 yrs ago, found it everywhere, ^{things we always thought were competitive} in coca cola,
razor blades. ~~For a while mnp. was supposed to apply only to products of mnp. products~~
Even m. accus's some fin. groups, labor unions.

Somehow overlooked most obvious mnp. of all, perhaps bcs. seemed so basic &
respectable & public a part of society,
+ the community of interest of urban landholders, orgd. as a cartel openly, w. all
force of law, as munic. govt. No ~~Pittsburgh~~ Gary dinners, no clandestine
machinations ... doing civic duty, maintaining prop. values, promoting sound planning,
which everyone knew were good & desirable things.

In. hist. school not so dense re this. Their observation of Homeatin
city-states gave great insight into motivation, & every city-planner shd
study Schmalzer on mercantilism before go forth to become handmen of
modern munic. mercantilism, as all too often they are.

a) Exploit customers. ~~For~~ Trade Territory. However much mischief I may be
in College of Ag, have issue here will protect my tenure until the last
rotten borough is reapportioned

b) Part of city exploits other part. "Permanent party" gets best of
everything in base. Landholders & employers gushy. run munic. govt.
We hear re communities seek's indy. want's to grow. We hear less

I'm not an
institution -
ahist!

about those that fear growth, bcs don't want any new employer pushing up wage & rents. But probly more common.

There, ^{cities} use zoning & other munic. pwr's restrictively. Contain urban growth, means keep natives in their compounds.

~~Proclamation line. Wakefield~~

~~Jackson & Adams~~

c) Cities compete w. others? Implicit oligop. collusion. Should fight to death, but we raise them above critical mass in stage of return.
let all survive, too many county seats, etc.

C. They don't contain. (one or 2 e.g. are enough). Metternichian bid-sitting of lg. lands, while Central city jurisdiction rarely covers whole metropolis. Suburbs grow, & unincorp. lands, while Counter dominance, Jacksonians break three. If City wants to grow, isn't going to let one holdout in next tier stop whole sector. If subdivision control required you to approve only next tier Or jump over. Genesis of leapfrogging. may be part. specn, but this is public specn, accentuates pattern e.g. exclusive rural zoning. Forces devmt. on beyond. Get exceptions to City zoning. Pressure always on from devalued ones. Westward expansion, cycle after cycle. Fedd. blocked NW territ., so poured into Ky-Tenn., Cumberland Gap, & made Jeff. presid. who bought La; Adams blocked, so selected Jackson & let loose canal boom; s.e. blocked, so r.r. w. from Chi; so settled Pac. Coast. "Export congestion" -- e.g. by 13 story height limit. [In process & congestion]

D. Summary

By now, if ear is delicately attuned to nuances, may have divined I ~~am~~ ^{am not} ~~sympathetic to~~ ^{sympathetic to} neg. containment. Metternichian bid-sitting Won't work; & wd. be sorry if it did

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c. They don't contain (also applies to Truman doctrine)

Pattern best seen in early Am. hist. Counter-dominant ...

restrictive & expansive elements.

Restrictive Baited applied Proclam. line - got Am. Revn.

" Federalists tried to block NW, got Jefferson & La.

" Whigs " " " , got Jackson & canal boom.

" s-n Demos " " " , got ~~Lincoln~~ Calif & Ore., Lincoln, Civil War & Homestead Act & rr. boom.

Expansive elements in Am. hist. have always ~~overcome~~ broken out of fences. You cannot put a fence around the Am. people. Subdiv. control? ^{Appropriate ground in Part 8} Let one holdout block entire sector, out to city limits. Not when get urge to build again. Settlement goes outside -- worsens scatter.

Exclusive rural zoning? Leapfrog the zone. Accentuates scatter, doesn't contain it. Doesn't destroy congestion, but exports it, in process magnifies it.

Cty. zoning? Devalued landholders seek & get exemption. St. Louis.

D. Now, if can delicately attuned, you may have divined I am not sympathetic to neg. content. Metternichian lid-sitting. Won't work. & we'd be sorry if it did.

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III. ^{Graduated} Pricing system (Too ridiculous to consider)

For some reason, we use p. system & its rationale little in planning cities - or rural layout either

Not suggesting competing.

Somehow idea has taken hold that man has sacred rt. to basic xptn & utility services, wherever he may choose to locate, on same terms as at best locn.

Most extreme, rural rds, ungl. areas. Same idea in & around city. It's a fight, but quirky and up w. uniform utility rates. As to city streets, pay for from qual taxes, etc. is free. Don't overstate, are exceptions, rural phones, but even they are subsidized by cities. Gas tax, but not in enough, & license fees too low.

Cities. Also inside states, cities subsidize frns; also nation, n.e. subsidizes west. Big, pervasive gn. Some say let's shy away. It's saying we only want to concern selves w. small, inconsequential gn.

How price xptn? Can't hit all details. I am mc prices. Quirky assoc. w. idea of low xptn rates, subsidize excess by fixed charge on benefited lands. I favor such a policy.

But what mc price lit. has not brought out is mc Δ s w. distance from center of system. Rates shd Δ progressively from source.

e.g. supplying wtr up sidehill. ~~the~~ Pump costs. Every drop pumped from btm., higher lts higher costs. Makes point. Also if flowing downhill. Need more capac. Allocate costs to ea. out let, forces concept, a diminishing forces

How far extend? Extend line as far as ^{ecly} can. Make calc. very carefully, hrs. determines how much land bring into system, thus rent & price of land, & how intensively eeze on it.

Pull out every trick of mc pricing, extend as long as $TB > TC$.

Will be beyond point where pay for it by rates. Bes. mc rates $< ac$ - will be in $- \Delta$ costs - but other benefit from Δ g. b.v.

Sounds like I'm trying to expand, but remember mc is clear hurdle to another. No more encouraging costs over whole system.

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When A l.v. ^{or rent, better, l.v. unreliable} no longer covers deficit, (allocated to indiv. out let), stop!

Objections to graduated pricing of exptn.

1. Too complicated? Just like ~~old~~ commuter r.r., tickets priced by station. 7s worth while if price is hi. Might have flat or even free zone at center; also a free pd. early, when excess capacity. Worth price. Mess we're in today ^{much more} complicated, this can help get out. Small invest. in counting & figuring gives large social returns. Substitute economists for contractors - stop to arguing ad hominem. 2. Peripheral landowners will object I'm not convinced time people spend figuring things out is wasted. Educational value. Objection takes 2 forms

- a. Big suburban splees are politically potent, can't lick 'em.
- ✓ b. 7s a species of distrib. equity here. Compensate for nat. ~~advantages~~ diff. by equal rates, tend equalize value of everyone's lot. Variant of French philosophy that has made such a mess of their fine layout. Property instrs. not designed to allocate resource to best use, but ~~take care of him in some~~ divide heritage among heirs

7s primitive idea. Harkens back to feudal age when ^{antecedents} ~~only~~ had no fixed govt, banks, bonds, bureaucracy, medium of exch. I say let's achieve our distrib. equity by other means. Widows & orphans, social security - have monetary mechanism.

- c. Another string to my bow. am going to combine w. taxes. Have already intimated as much -- hi rates, lo taxes. Make more definite.

IV. Positive containment

In this I put highest hopes. Absorb energies of people making most of central city to satisfy their needs, ~~better than~~ people flock to cities of own will, no need to make prisons of them, fence off peripheral lands.

A. Very cheap utilities near center. No longer have to subsidize outskirts.

B. Hi ^{ad valorem} ~~gpt~~ in center

You say what good is that? We've always heard taxes stifle devmt. I say obscure fm. lands around city, hi taxes speed up devmt. That's what exclusionary zoning is all about.

You say hold on, that's just bare land. Once you get it converted to urban use, taxes hit bldgs & suppress devmt.

I say ^{right you are} ~~true~~. To use gpt ~~for~~ constructively, for positive containment, convert to tax on bare l.v., exempt bldgs.

I believe also desirable exempt personal property, but less important. Turns over several times a yr., tax is small consideration. Bldgs, regard as

50 vested bldgs, 50+ h bldg. pays tax 50 times before value recouped. So if hit bldgs hard, big impact. But tax hell out of land, not one square ft. will move out of town.

K.C. Quality Hill plan, good, tax rises as bldg gets older --- if repeated, wd. encourage renewal. Bias toward too speedy renewal possible, but probably compensates for tendency undervalue land.

By exempting bldgs, exempt vertical xptn. Now, tax vertical & subsidize horiz., bias toward flattening & widening

How hi land tax in center? Much higher than have any idea landed. bear now, bes. graduated rates & pressure on central land.

You say "O, my, God, one of those No. single-taxes." ^{My mother warned me...} That old idea bricks around 50 yrs. I say can't pin that old label on me, gas

taxes ^{can licenses} & only mild vs. personal property.

Land tax idea kn. around long time, but received ^{the} supercilious treatment from profn. Extremism of H.B. maybe. No credit to profn. Idea has real merit if regarded on merits.

~~3 stages in idea progress of idea. 1, 2, 3. Quality Hill, stage 3.~~
Hope idea spreads.

Am I or
am I not
speaking in
K.C.?

Other benefits of + containment

a. Solve problem of distrib. equity. Permit more differentiation & specialization of parts in city. Let planners work out geometry of really efficient layouts.

Grid is epitome of dull uniformity, some semblance of = treatment. I say Vive la Difference! Let individ. benefits & losses fall where they may, let heavy land tax take care of compensating losses from gains of winners, go ahead & max. aggreg. net benefits.

b. Ease transition of annexation

Now, quite a shock, extreme shift from low tax, low service to full tax, full service. Under graduated rates, & inverse tax assessments, easy transition.

also, slow down out thrust & overspill

c. Ease land assembly. Build fire under holdouts, & minimize possible gain

Now, assembly easier outside town, esp. of scale there, capture of own offsite gains, bias toward spillout.

d. Speed turnover, hence adaptation of capital. Pres. in central l.v. Every idea per downtown obsolesces, save one: anticipate obsolescence, create instn. to promote rapid turnover.

e. Reduce cycles. Now, depend on implicit int. to intensify, offset by Δ l.v.

f. Simplifies combatting restrictive practices, less no gravy. E.g. bldg. trades

g. Tax base can't run away, move valuable base into enclaves.

h. Reduces opposition inside city to extending services.

Other aspects of + containment

a. Combat unreasonable excessive bldg. codes. Union, suppliers, etc. Also requirement of using too much land. Espl. in center, ht. & full site use desirable.

b. Persecute old, pamper new.

c. ~~Prohibit houses on?~~

V. Timing

When to begin program of positive containment

As a humanitarian & patriot, begin immediately. But as a cynical observer of political scene, I'd hate to take blame for what's going to happen to suburban land in next few yrs.

I wish you cd see some of promotional mtl. comes across my desk. In Calif, midway betw. SF & L.A. Miami, ^{only} 50 mi west. College grad. hold'g fm. destined for urban subdiv. but only 70 mi. from Phoenix. Resort, ~~the~~ America's last tract of virgin desert. Isle of Hawaii, lowa flows w/o w.t.

Froth on wave, but big wave. Many of our fellow citizens are in grip of an illusion of great dimensions of So. Sea Bubble. When the dawn comes they will be mad. Not very bright. & I don't want to look like man who did it, nor my policies. Lot rising now, will take plenty blame anyway.

Intensive land dev't is tak'g place. Spread urban values over 10-15% of whole area U.S.A., bound eventually get much of it dev'd. at appropriate intensity. Pulls rug out from under rest of it.

So might be well to wait, apply on upswing of next cycle. If can get enough support behind it by that time, be doing well.

End

VI. Urban land & "urbanism".

What is urbanism? Motherhood? Coming from Dept. of recreation,
can't accept that.

Everything occurs in cities? Too absurd to consider -- & hope stops so.

Cities are places, sites. Over time everything

Re urbanism. I ~~would~~ happen to be currently domiciled in a ~~Dept~~ College of Ag.
our studies focus on "ruralism", not define any coherent discipline

What distinguishes city?

1. Live closer together
2. Non-extractive land use, so location is paramount, other qualities less important.
3. Unit value of land incomparably higher, higher pressure to economize space.
4. Turnover faster, of produced capital.
5. Obsolescence faster -- or shd. be.

Cities are places. ^{People come & go, bldgs ~~don't~~ remain:} location remains, is essence of urbanism.
Most interdiscipl. lines are fuzzy. -- thus in Ag Colleges
"ruralism" we ~~duplicate many func.~~ break down on many of same fuzzy lines
as more genl Arts & Sciences. A&S colleges are already centered on
"urbanism"; per. ag. colleges regard "ruralism" as their province.

So we must mean something more specific than activities that
occur in cities. Problems arise from close proximity; dependence on

non-extractive pursuits. Spatial relations. Urban land use. Location.

Interdependence in space. w/o this orientation, "urbanism" simply 90% human activity

Sociologists pioneered -- Burgess, McKenzie, etc. they.

Pol. Sci. -- pol. jurisdictions are territorial

Every city is a patchwork.

But it ultimately engrosses individual & small group facilities for sewage, water, etc.

Solution: a city plan for growth. But such plan can only work w. positive land use suaion — Δ tax on lands favored by plan.

Easy to get places, but when you get there where are you?

Debasement of environment

Approp. mtg. shd be ~~sponsored~~ by patronized by off shoot of Ford Motor Co., an orgn whose most famous product has done so much to create problems we now set out to solve

Planning a city is like playing symbols

Not so much a matter of knowing how
as knowing when.

City appears to grow w/o coherent pattern, but no. There is a sort of pattern in the chaos.

Center renews too slowly. Most eligible lands for expansion, many hold out. So peripheral lands are improved, require xptn & pw --- larger scale than wd. hv. kn reg., & over wider area.

Counter dominants :

expansive vs. restrictive outlooks.

Irony that one leads to more of
other than we need.

Proclamation line vs. scattered
disorderly settlement, excess capacity.

Analogies from water.

Scattered pump irrigation, recharge
more area than necessary.

Take a swipe at income Taxes
How they have loused up land mkt

Placate sociologists

Cite Chicago group ... Burgess, McKenzie
etc. -- who developed ring theory, white
ecst. painting their faces blue & worshipping street corners.
Hawley, e.g. Okayama study.

Uneasy peace among rival cities. But one breaks it, begins ranging around trade territory for new markets, new suppliers (including wtr supply, also power, gas, fm. producers). This bestirs others lest they lose out --- prescriptive principle. A few accept death. Others struggle to survive, to achieve Ag returns from scale. It's not like carrying up weaker farms, but seller gets paid. City that loses trade territory gets nothing.

In pd. when opt. size of city is growing, is much crowding, too. Postwar hiway revn. makes this acute. Room for fewer centers, but fights for the prize position. E.g. LA fights S.F. for wtr, power, mkt.

So excess capacity of urban land, utilities, bldgs. gets started. Comes to light when investors finally drop land -- higher taxes help.

Is always excess capac. of old bldgs in declining areas. Acute shortage in growing areas. When these growth areas stop, popn. flows back to areas of surplus housing & other bldgs -- schools, e.g. -- and is sharp drop of housing demand, nat. aggregate.

Peace is restored among cities by genl. fuel. collapse. (over)

We need policies to help obsolete & redundant small cities die gracefully -- not to keep them going. by "area redevelopment" etc. (too many county seats is readily accepted idea)
Let big centers grow. Make them grow --- & compensate losses by donating Δ l.v. to state & nat. revenues.

Likewise I suspect among corps. Peace is maintained thru depression,
then is broken in next wave of expansion, & cycle repeats.

ISC Talk

Empire State Bldg ratio

.. .. makes money, unlike usual principle
of losing money breaking records. Likewise Statuen - Hilton Hotel, &
Marsh. Mart. Shows underdevd. downtown.

spread out to get light & air? One city did so, to extremes.
Prohib. bldgs above so many stories. City today is worst air pollution
in U.S.; maybe world. L.A.

We tax vert. exptn, & subsidize horizontal. Public invest. for prot. profit.

A city is a place. People & bldgs come & go; (even same streets). Land remains.
Also layout of streets, usually.
and much of character, altho that changes too

~~Suggestion for count~~

Containment policies for urban sprawl

Graduated rates

Urban containment, Thoughts:

Thesis chap. 1, on reasons for Δg return.

Futtermann

Another counter-dominant: Δg returns to scale; $-\Delta g$ returns to land.

Military argument. Always was bosh. Now very clear. Huddle together for shelter. Go underground - in scale. Xp_{tm} is most vulnerable. Is when you hit enemy, not when dug in, but when on road.

+ containment. hi Lvt.

Advantages:

1. Exempt vertical xp_{tm} from tax
2. Ease assembly
3. Bld. fire under spees etc.

+ containment: free central cities from restrictive practises by unions, e.g. obsolete bldg. codes. End need for runaway shops.

Historical precedent: guilds, runaway were merchants putters-out.

Lvt weakens guilds. Devalues the fixed portion of employers assets. So he doesn't mind, it takes much less to cause him to run away, has less equity in area of guild's jurisdiction

I assume popn. we have. But worth noting, containment wd probly reduce ~~the~~ b.r.

Any town shd subsidize growth, bcs Δg rets to whole, not gained by individ. But this assumes widening mkt, & this wd. stir up other towns, also in Δg rets.

"Critical mass" is when returns to individuals rise above what returns, so new people & capital come & keep coming.

Fult., p 62

Downtown LA is $\frac{2}{3}$ freeway, interchange, street, & parking. When get there where are you? Tax base shot.

canard, platitude, conventional wisdom, cliché, wheeze

commutation a 2-way affair? Factories in outskirts, workers live in city?

City, urban school dist., other dists, tax r.e. to provide services. Whomever doesn't want those is better off to sell taxable r.e. to someone who does & move out. Is well to leave scope for some escapes. If some leave, etc.

If urban values fall, may be are supply'g wrong set of services.

Will attract mostly those for whom supply services.

Attractive co-citizens are so wanted they have wider choice of sites, can buy cheaper, e.g. large lots.

We set up public school idea in 19th, ^{H. Mann} idea found was a trusteeship, every child as birthday had claim on it. Then gradually forgot rationale, turned it more into tax on bldgs, that can run away, set up enclaves, take valuable property out of town, a school district.

Some deplore runaways as evil. But is not runaway who is evil, but that from which he runs away. If he were exploiting labor etc., he wd. not want to escape.

City (l. district) is communizing agency, partially. No wonder the overtaxed seek escape. So tax what can't escape.

Lvt aids problem of annexation 2 ways:

- a. Reduces need, since tax base can't emigrate
- b. Consolidates, slows territorial expansion greatly
- ✓ c. Eases transition of mgtl lands into city, but at first they get so taxes & hi service charges, under my plan. ~~service charges~~

d. Reduces opp. inside city, her mgt. lands don't get full status. Now we artificially compensate for all the diff. ratios imposed on locations. I say Vive la Différence.

Quality Hill, R.C., apts., 10-yr. exemption from bldg. taxes; 15 yrs, $\frac{1}{2}$ value of bldgs; 25 yrs, full value. Cleaned old slum.

Stuyvesant Town, N.Y., Metrpn. Life, by East R., even more generous exemption.

La & Wn. D.C., 13-story height limits - worst traffic mess in nation.

Expert problems philosophy, implicit in many attitudes. Vs. tall bldgs, vs. slum congestion, etc. - just get rid of s.o.b.s.

Downtown gets more than share of services? Sends no children to school; requires minimal utility lengths.

We hear taxes depress. ~~the~~ central city. Yet outside we hear taxes force deval! Shows diff. of land & bldg. taxes. We have them in many places.

No problem is as simple as a speech about it must be.

Distrib. equity - demands are more political than philosophical.

Human motivation is complex. Suburban compn. at some point gets action from downtown by fear of compn., by lowering ~~land~~ prices. But once the fear is there, to break mopy & inertia, then hi land prices (& taxes) spur deval.

Re Lvt. Progn. bn. around a long time, but quickly received rather offhand ^{the supercilious} treatment, no credit to progn.

3 stages, evolution of idea.

Guid epitomizes impartial uniformizing policy that sacrifices differentiation & eff. to distrib. equity.

French, sacrifice allocation eff. to distrib. eq., property ceases to be means to put resource to best use, but maintain soc. sec. etc. Now we have other means for soc. sec., put the widows & orphans out.

If all the crimes committed in names of widows & orphans ^{were laid out to} ~~ed. be~~ and we'd build a city of palaces for every widow & orphan ^{ever lived}. ~~presented~~ we'd have enough more wealth to put every widow & orphan in a chateau on the Loire on the income of a Mod. Am. engineer of consent.

Big peripheral devts capture their own offsite cos. Bias for them. Central city needs to compensate by encourag'g new bldgs in every way.

We have deplored urban sprawl. What do about it? Key to talk.

Intensifying land. When rely on implicit int. as constraint, is long lag in response. Res a, Many lo. i types aren't pushed; b, During upswing, annual Δ l.v. offsets pressure of higher price.

But reach plateau & pressure to intensify is everywhere -- & lagging land taxes add to int. ~~burden~~ pressure. Also higher i.v.

The pressure can only be released by collapse of land prices. (after these ups & downs, some land devd. intensively, other extensive, patchwork.)

Hiways simply bring land into mkt. School & other local improvement districts saddle it w. ad valorem taxes, assure its sale.

Another reason why falling land mkt stops bldg. is pd. of max. uncertainty.

after collapse, our land needs can be filled from small part of our land, bcs. is intensively devd. Rest has no value $\therefore$ Excess capacity is everywhere, no need to produce more capacity. Insufficient liquid cap. to op. extant capac. Why can't that shortage be made up? No saving at low incomes. No cap. fruct., no recoveries. Stack on bottom long time.

New imports are coming. Get downtown going, keeps going.

Peripheral devmt. flourishes w. mutual confidence, underwritten by us.

L.V.