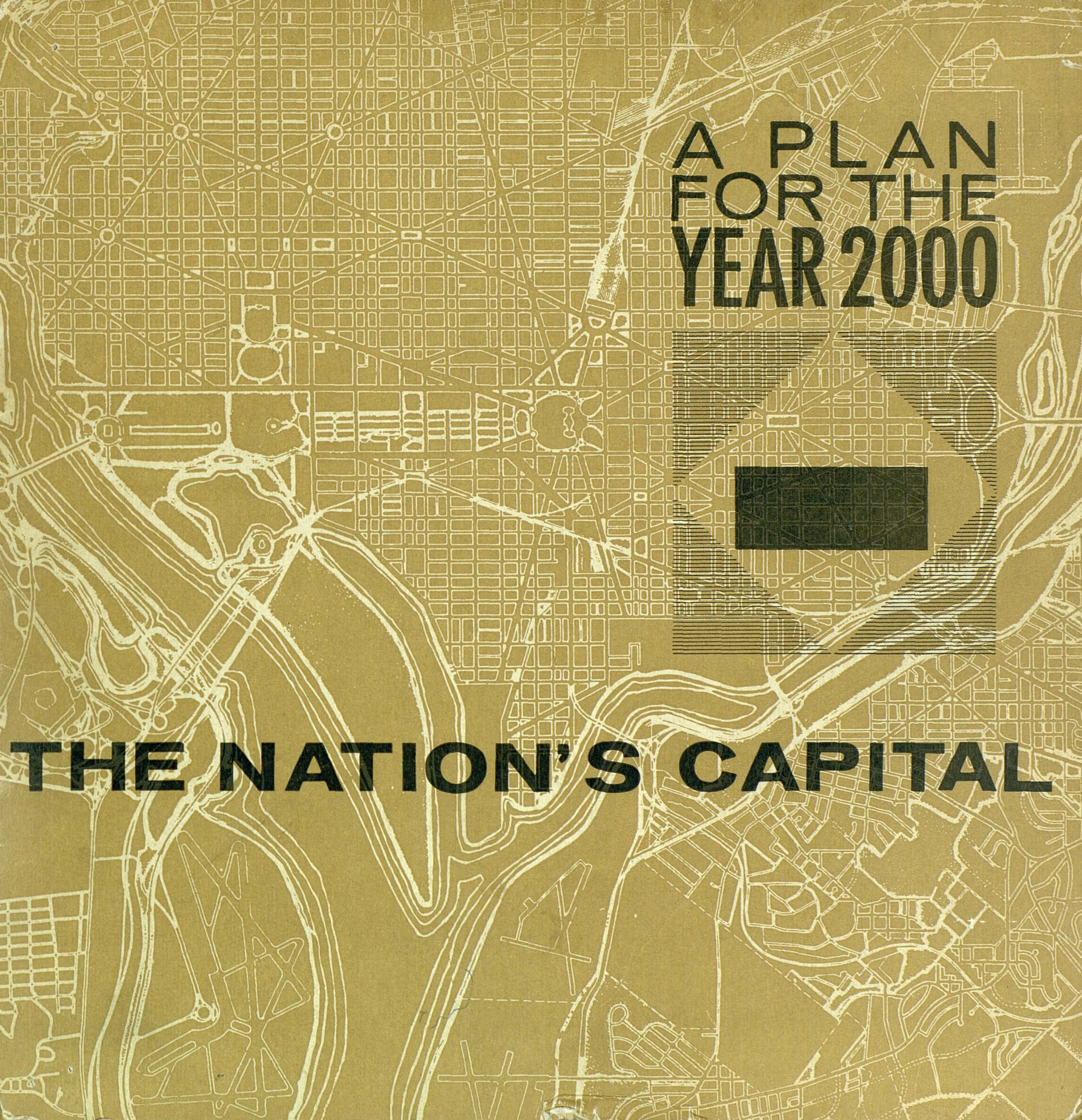
A PLAN
FOR THE
YEAR 2000
THE NATION'S CAPITAL

THE NATIONAL CAPITAL PLANNING COMMISSION

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Alan Bible, *Chairman, Senate Committee on the District of Columbia*
John L. McMillan, *Chairman, House Committee on the District of Columbia*

*Term expired April 30, 1961

**Appointed May 1961. Did not participate in the discussion or preparation of The Year 2000 Plan report.

THE NATIONAL CAPITAL REGIONAL PLANNING COUNCIL

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Dean A. M. Woodruff (*District of Columbia*)
Brig. Gen. F. J. Clarke (*District of Columbia*)

A POLICIES PLAN FOR THE YEAR 2000

THE NATION'S CAPITAL

PREPARED BY
NATIONAL CAPITAL PLANNING COMMISSION
NATIONAL CAPITAL REGIONAL PLANNING COUNCIL
1961

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

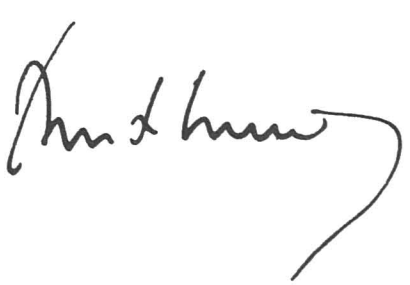
May 8, 1961

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION

From the days of L'Enfant, Americans have come to expect the best of their Nation's Capital. More than any other city -- more than any other region, the Nation's Capital should represent the finest in a living environment which America can plan and build.

The actions that will be taken in the years ahead by the governmental jurisdictions of the area and by the Federal departments and agencies will have a major effect on the welfare of the area's residents, and the status of Washington as the Nation's Capital.

The development policies recommended in the Year 2000 Plan Report prepared by the National Capital Planning Commission and the National Capital Regional Planning Council are worthy of consideration by all who are concerned with the future character and quality of the Federal City and its environs.



ABOUT THIS REPORT

With two million people, the National Capital Region is one of the Nation's ten largest metropolitan areas.

It is a good place to live and do business. It is a fine setting for our Nation's Capital.

But, like every metropolis, it has problems—traffic congestion, water pollution, vanishing open space, crowded schools, rising taxes, obsolescence, blight. These problems are steadily getting more serious, despite the determined efforts of many people.

Why? The main reason is *growth.* People keep coming to Washington, and the people who are already here keep having children. The Region's population will double within a generation through natural increase alone. This means more building, more cars on the streets, more children going to school, more water consumed, more people using the parks and playgrounds. Growth means more people making more demands on a limited amount of land, on limited amounts of water and air, on public facilities that can only be expanded slowly and at considerable cost, and on public revenues that never seem to grow as fast as the need for them.

What kind of a place will the National Capital Region be in the years to come? Will it meet the needs of its greatly increased population, of the many people who visit it each year, and of the Federal government whose headquarters is here? Or will we still be struggling with the problems that bother us today, as well as with entirely new ones?

The answer to these questions depends, to a considerable extent, on the Region's *pattern of growth*—the direction in which growth occurs; the extent to which it is concentrated or dispersed; the proportion of industry, shopping, and various kinds of housing in each part of the Region; the location of open spaces and centers of intensive development; the arrangement of new Federal buildings and monuments; the location of the growing highway and transit network; the layout of individual business districts and residential areas.

Our future depends, in a word, on the *design* of the Region—on the creation of a pattern of growth that will produce the best possible environment for ourselves and future generations. Good design will reduce traffic congestion, protect water supplies, provide adequate space for parks and recreation, create efficient commercial centers and livable residential neighborhoods, produce a suitable setting for the Nation's Capital, meet the needs of new industry, and reduce the costs of local government. Good design will give us delight in the visual quality of our urban environment. Poor design will increase the cost, frustration and visual chaos that each of us experiences in working and living at close quarters with several million other people.

Many people can help to design a larger and better metropolis—businessmen deciding to build new office buildings and shopping centers, corporations choosing sites for new plants, builders planning new subdivisions and redevelopment projects. But many of the most important decisions are in the hands of the governments of the Region. The Federal government builds office buildings and laboratories, airports and parkways; the States and the District of Columbia build highways and bridges; the local governments build schools, water and sewage works, and many other public works. The local governments also regulate building and the use of land by private owners. All governments buy, hold, and occasionally dispose of considerable quantities of land.

The future of the Region therefore depends, in great measure, on the way in which the governments of the Region shape its growth—on the design objectives they set for the Region, and on the way they carry out that design. This will be a lengthy and complex process. It can only succeed if the many detailed decisions that shape the Region's growth are guided by basic long-range policies which aim at the realization of a sound regional design. This report is a first step in the process of formulating a design and technique for shaping regional development.

Toward a consensus cooperatively arrived at, this report offers the following for the consideration of the public officials and the citizens of the Region:

1. A forward look at the prospective growth of the Region and its consequences.

2. A statement of goals to serve as a basis for policies on regional development.

3. An evaluation of alternative patterns of regional growth, and a recommendation in favor of a pattern that seems both to hold the greatest promise and to be possible of achievement.

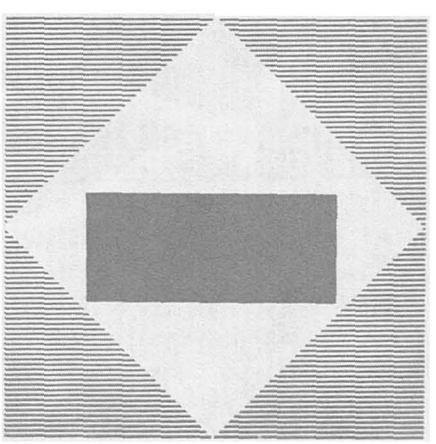
4. A set of recommended policies to guide governmental decisions in the direction of a sound design of the entire Region and each of its parts. Separate policies are proposed for the Region, for the District of Columbia, and for the all-important core where governmental and business activities are heavily concentrated—Metro-Center.

5. A description of the next steps that should be taken in deciding upon and carrying out policies for regional development.

The result is not a detailed plan for the physical development of the Region, but rather a set of policies to guide governmental decision-making and the preparation of physical plans. The aim is to inaugurate a process of openly arrived at decision and action which will shape the Region in the years to come.

This report is being submitted to each of the government agencies that make fundamental decisions in shaping the Region's growth—the governing body of each county and city, the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, the Governors of Maryland and Virginia, the various Federal agencies, and the committees on the District of Columbia of the two houses of Congress. It is hoped that each agency and official will carefully and constructively consider the policies recommended herein, and that all will join in a cooperative effort to design and create a National Capital Region worthy of a great nation and fully adequate to the needs of the millions who will be living in the Region or visiting it in the years to come.

This report is also being published and distributed widely throughout the Region, to alert the citizens and civic leaders to the decisions facing them and their public officials. It is hoped that there will be a widespread, thorough and constructive public discussion of the issues raised in this report and the recommendations offered herein.



A PROSPECTUS FOR THE NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION

GROWTH

The Region is growing rapidly, and there is every evidence that it will continue to do so. The population increased by 37 percent, reaching two million, during the past decade; it could easily reach five million by the Year 2000. This concentration of population in a great metropolis can result in a better life—or in a more difficult one—for all who live here, depending upon what is done to fit the additional millions onto a limited amount of land. The question, therefore, is not "if" the Region will grow, but how much, in what direction, and to what purpose.

ALTERNATIVES

Urban growth patterns are no longer narrowly restrained by their dependence upon the location of raw materials, port facilities, and rail transportation. A metropolis can now choose to grow in any one of a variety of ways. Rising productivity contributes to this effect, since we can now build and rebuild much more rapidly and extensively than was dreamed of in earlier years. Rich new possibilities are thus opened up to the metropolitan region which considers alternatives before choosing to guide growth in a preferred direction.

A KIT OF TOOLS

New tools of design are being created continually. Several are still being styled, including urban renewal and measures to preserve open space. Others, such as zoning, subdivision control, and reservation of land for parks and highways, need sharpening. Used in concert, the means within our reach can shape the Region and each of its parts into the form we desire.

NEEDED: REGIONAL AGREEMENT

The successful use of these tools depends upon the degree to which the people of the Region unite around a single set of development policies. The formation of the Washington Metropolitan Regional Conference demonstrates that the area's top political leaders see each county and city as a part of a single interdependent metropolitan community, and that each can prosper best by cooperation with its neighbor. The other levels of government—Federal and State—also recognize that it is in their own interest to strengthen the united approach to the development of the Nation's Capital and its Metropolitan Region.

A FORTY-YEAR PERSPECTIVE

While there is an urgent need for a prompt start on this process, some of its effects will not be felt for years. The guiding policies must look far beyond the near future, which will largely be shaped by decisions already made, to a time when needs and conditions are different from today. An attempt has been made to anticipate the Region's character more than a generation hence, and to formulate policies that will be appropriate to the end of the century. This is a report, then, on policies for the Year 2000.

The forty-year period has been chosen because over such a long period of time great changes are sure to take place, and these changes can be very greatly influenced by public policies.

ROLES OF NCPC AND NCRPC

The Congress of the United States in 1952 re-created the NCPC as "The central planning agency for the Federal and District governments to plan the appropriate and orderly development and redevelopment of the National Capital. . . ."

At the same time, the NCRPC was created to prepare a general plan for the development of the National Capital Region and to promote collaboration and cooperation between the Commission and the planning agencies of the environs.

It is, therefore, fitting that these two agencies jointly propose development policies for the Federal City and the Region.

A SPECIAL REGION

As the seat of the National Government, this Region is called upon to perform specialized functions and has special needs. The symbolic beauty of the buildings and monuments along the Mall is admired by visitors from all over the world and constant vigilance is needed to protect it. The City about it should be of equal quality—as should the Region as a whole. New development, both inside the District and in the rest of the Region, should embody the specially high standards of quality befitting a great capital. These standards should be reflected in the design of whole communities as well as individual buildings, in landscaping and the management of parks and open lands, and in the construction of highways and other public works.

The recommended policies would inject quality in three major areas:

1. **IN METRO-CENTER, the heart of the nation's capital city, by assuring greater strength and vitality.**

2. **IN SUBURBAN DEVELOPMENT CORRIDORS where the highest level of design and community facilities can serve the great numbers of new residents.**

3. **And, for the benefit of all the Region's people IN THE OPEN COUNTRY BETWEEN THE CORRIDORS OF GROWTH. The basic quality of the region will be greatly affected by the amount and nature of the lands held OUT of development, as well as by the development that takes place.**

POLICIES FOR THE YEAR 2000

The recommended policies *reject:*

Uncontrolled urban sprawl as a pattern of new development;

A congested or declining central city;

The wasteful destruction of the countryside; but also

Metropolitan development forms which will require unacceptable controls to accomplish.

This statement of policies *recommends:*

The creation of relatively compact, well-planned suburban communities;

The concentration of the new communities in corridors radiating from the central city;

Greater reliance on mass transportation;

Limiting the freeway system largely to the routes already planned;

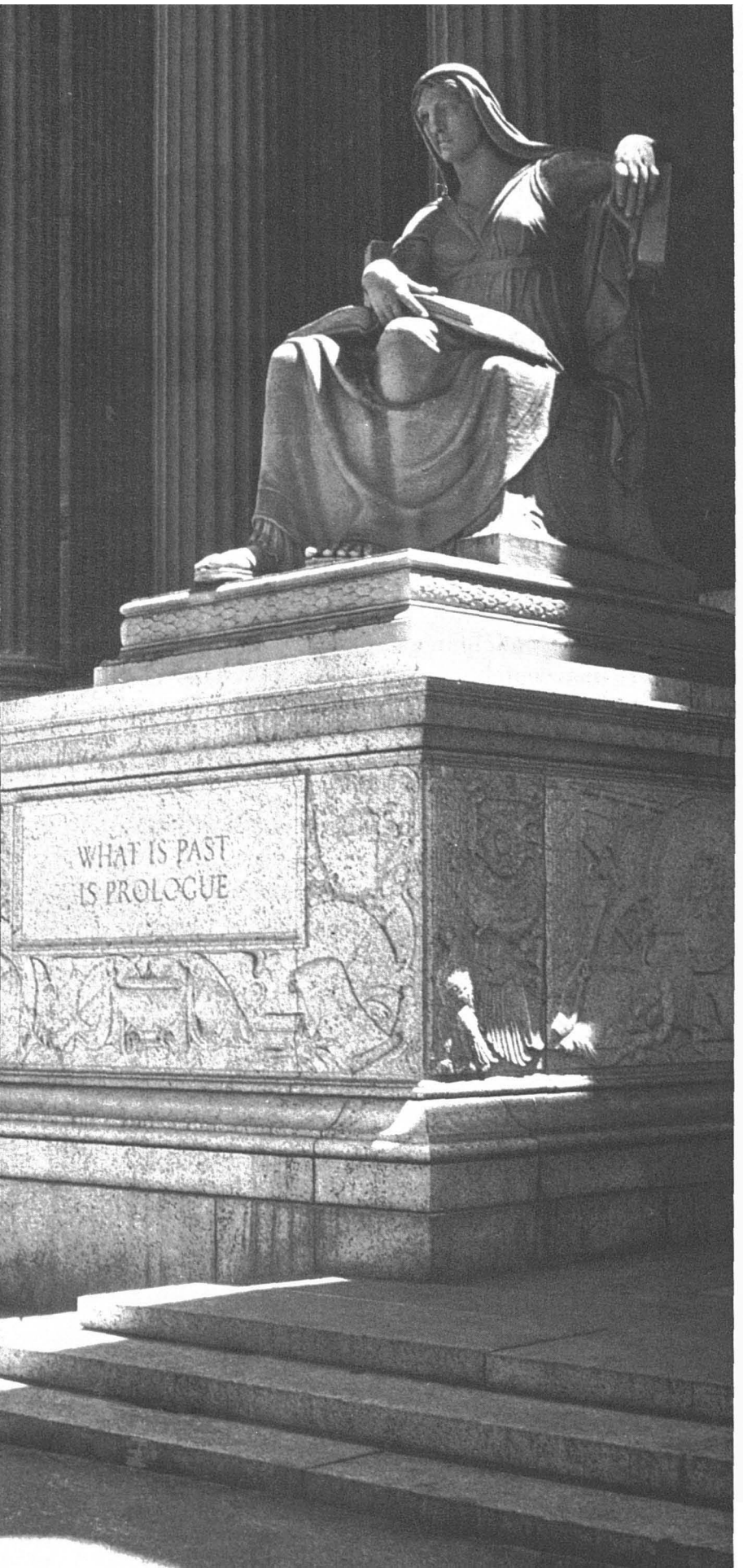
Growth of the employment concentration in Metro-Center, but with two thirds of all new Federal employment being located elsewhere within the Region;

The renewal of most of the original City of Washington;

No increase in population within the District of Columbia, but the attainment of quality and individuality for each of its communities;

The reservation of major portions of the countryside as permanent open space; and

Steps that can be taken to implement the above recommendations within the present framework of government and with means available or in the making.



THE PAST IS PROLOGUE

This statement of policies builds on the achievements of the past. In the 170 years since it was founded, Washington has become a great world capital. Many people have helped to establish its present form. From L'Enfant forward, even during the century of neglect ending in 1901, great leaders have pressed for improvements—always with some vision in mind. The leading image of the past —*the monumental city*—is no longer adequate by itself. The monumental city is today surrounded by a growing expanse of new urban development. Today, a more complex goal must be sought—that of a careful and happy marriage of the symbolic and aesthetic values of the monumental city with the diversified functions of the nation's capital city and a great metropolitan region.

This report is intended to be a start toward the creation of a much larger image—*a National Capital Region*—which reflects the accomplishments of the past and the promise of the future.

NEXT STEPS

The NCPC hopes to receive constructive comments on the various policies as they may affect the location of Federal facilities, the rebuilding of older portions of the city, the location of freeways and rapid transit lines and stations and many other matters.

The NCRPC is ready to work with each of the local governments in the Region to evaluate the policies recommended herein, and to assess their implications for local planning and development programs.

The Commission and Council hope to adopt a Year 2000 Plan during 1961, applying the policies recommended in this report. Such a plan would represent Federal policy on the development of the Region, and would serve as a guide to local development decisions wherever appropriate.

The Commission and Council will also proceed with further studies and evaluation of the recommended policies, to provide additional information on which to base their consideration.

PART I

THE YEAR 2000

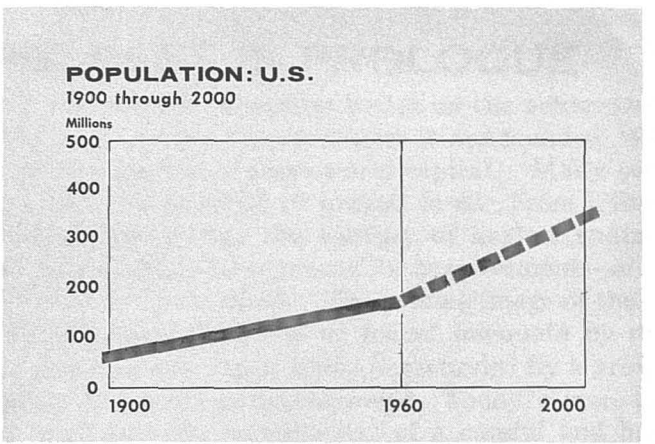
THE UNITED STATES AT THE SECOND MILLENIUM

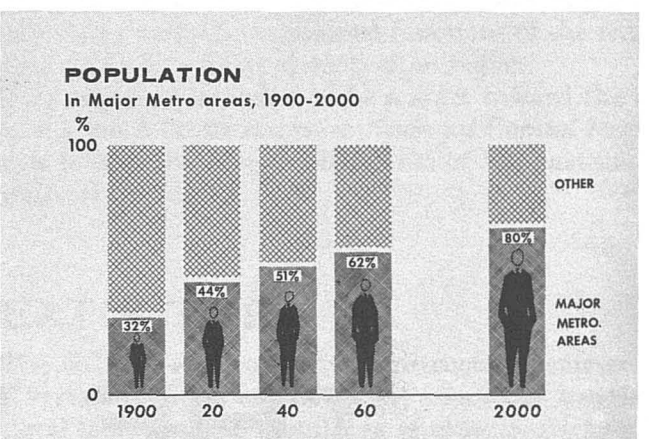
POPULATION: THE EXPLOSION

The well-publicized "population explosion" is as much a prospect for the United States as it is for the rest of the world: if present trends continue, our population will almost double by the Year 2000. This means that we will have the same numerical growth in the next forty years that we have had in the last two centuries.

Almost all of this growth will take place in metropolitan areas. This will be a continuation of a long-term trend. In 1850, only fifteen percent of our population lived in urban areas; today that proportion approaches seventy percent. The number of metropolitan areas containing more than 100,000 people has grown from 52 in 1900 to 193 in 1960, and could number 300 by the Year 2000 if present trends continue.

Most of the growth of the metropolitan areas has taken place in and beyond what we now describe as "the suburbs," for well known reasons: near-capacity residential densities in the central cities, mass ownership of the automobile, the availability of new types of home financing, the use of mass-building techniques. These and related circumstances will surely continue to produce massive growth outside the District of Columbia during the decades ahead.



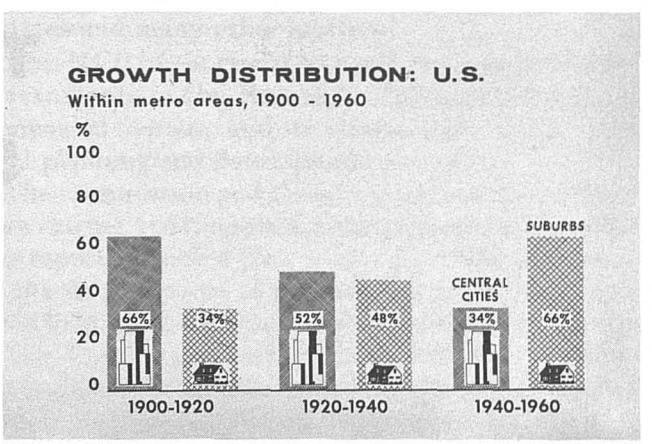


THE ECONOMY: MORE EXPANSION

Economic trends will have an important influence on the development of every metropolitan area.

PRODUCTIVITY

Possible increases in the productivity of the average worker are indicated by a recent Twentieth Century Fund report on needs and resources, which states ". . . the average rate of increase over the past century would yield fabulous results if long continued. By 2050 we would be able to produce and earn as much in one seven-hour day as we do now in a forty-hour week, and as we did in 1850, working for more than three weeks at seventy hours a week."



WORK FORCE

Recent studies indicate that there will be very little change in the size of the work force as a proportion of total population by the Year 2000, though there may be appreciable changes in its composition. For example, proportions for some male age groups will probably decline because more years will be spent at school and because retirement will be earlier. This will be balanced by increases in the proportion of working wives, a trend which has been noticeable for some time.

EDUCATION

The work force will be much better educated. In 1940, the average number of years of schooling of workers between the ages of 18 and 64 was 9.3; by 1950 the average had risen to 12.0. It is predicted that this ratio will increase until seven out of ten young workers entering the labor force in the 1960's will have a high-school education or better.

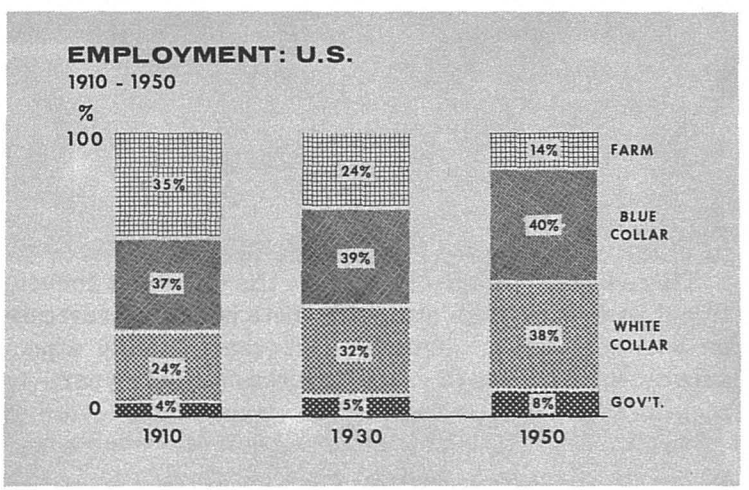
EMPLOYMENT TYPE

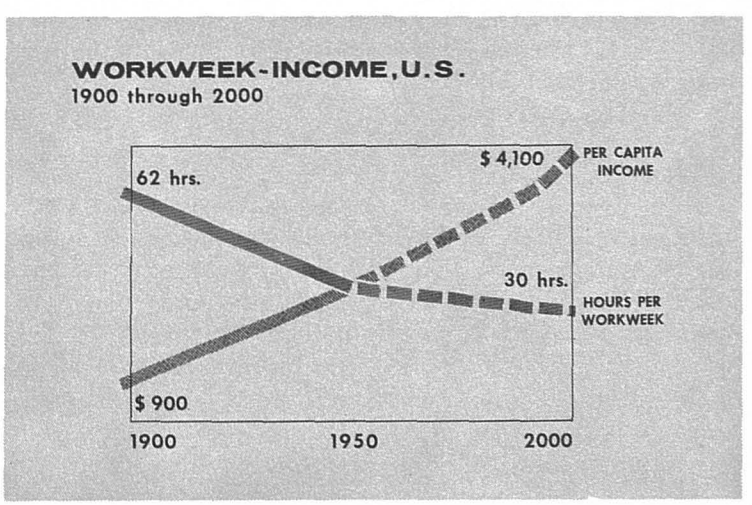
Although nearly every type of employment in the economy is expected to grow, rates of growth will be substantially higher for some types than for others. Highest growth rates are anticipated in government, wholesale and retail trade, services, and finance. Above-average increases are going to be experienced, in short, by the white-collar occupations (professional, technical, clerical, and sales) and among service workers, while somewhat lower growth rates are in prospect for the blue-collar groups (craftsmen, operatives, and laborers). Actual declines are ahead for farmers and farm laborers.

INCOME AND THE WORK WEEK

The worker of the future will spend fewer hours at work each week, and his purchasing power will continue to increase.

To summarize, the general trend points to an economy which will give everyone more time to spend more money for more goods and services. The kinds of goods and services the consumer will be buying in the Year 2000 is subject to much speculation, since probably more than half of the kinds of products which will be on the market in 2000 are not even in existence today. Present tendencies indicate relatively smaller outlays for such necessities as food, clothing, and housing, and more for recreation, education and labor-saving devices.





CHANGES IN TECHNOLOGY: AUTOMATION FOR ALL?

Dramatic changes in everyday living are sure to take place long before the Year 2000 arrives. A backward look suggests that changes greatly affecting urban patterns can take place in this length of time: in 1920, television, home-freezers and bulldozers were unknown, and there was only one automobile for every eight on the road today. As technological change accelerates, we can expect still greater changes in the future, with correspondingly powerful effects on our cities.

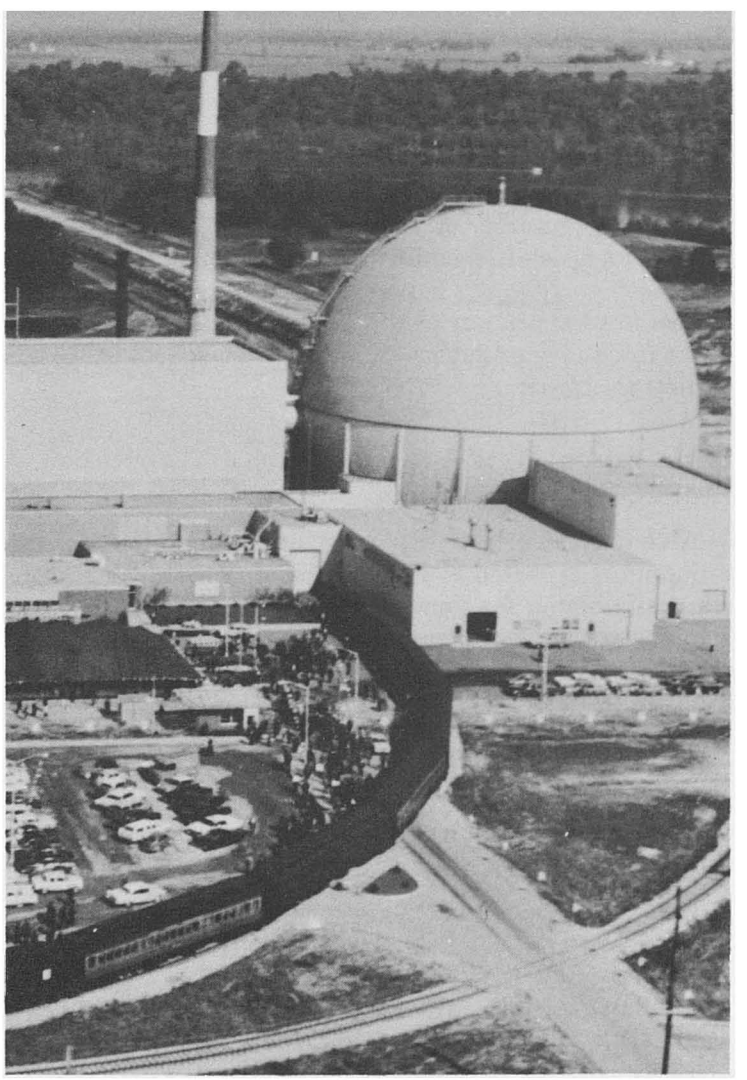
Our problem, therefore, is to determine the influences of advancing technology on our physical environment: What technological changes can we expect by the Year 2000, and what effects will they have on the shape of our cities?

ENERGY

There is general agreement that the supply of conventional fuels is limited, although there is less concurrence on what the limits might be. We can certainly expect substantial changes in energy sources in forty years—to atomic, solar, or to some yet-unknown sources. It is not expected, however, that such changes would have an appreciable effect on urban form. Electric power has for years been transmitted long distances, giving large-scale users of power a freedom in choosing locations that is not likely to be greatly improved upon by introducing new energy sources.

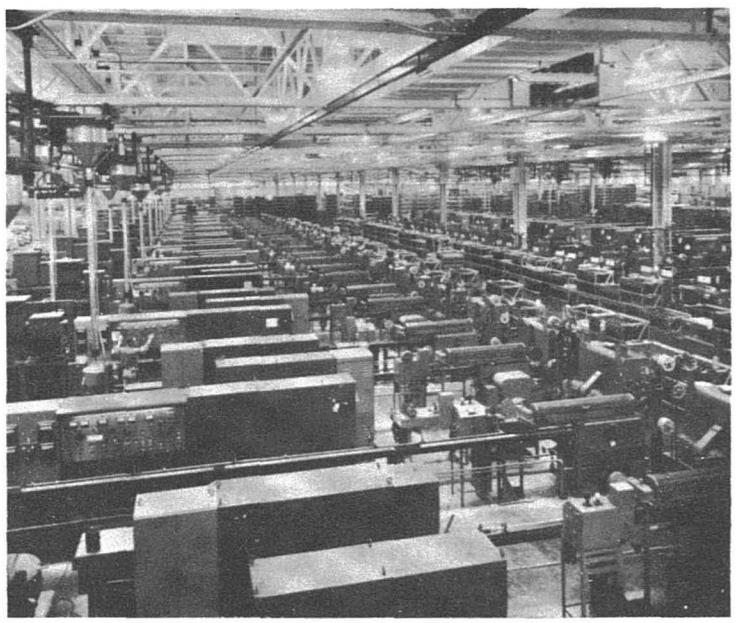
COMMUNICATIONS

Improved forms of person-to-person communications utilizing the combined facilities of telephone and television are being perfected. These improvements may well have a significant impact on shopping habits, educational procedures, and forms of entertainment. But man's gregarious nature, combined with the requirements of subtle business negotiations, legal transactions, display of goods, and many other activities will make personal contact a continuing necessity in most sectors of daily living.



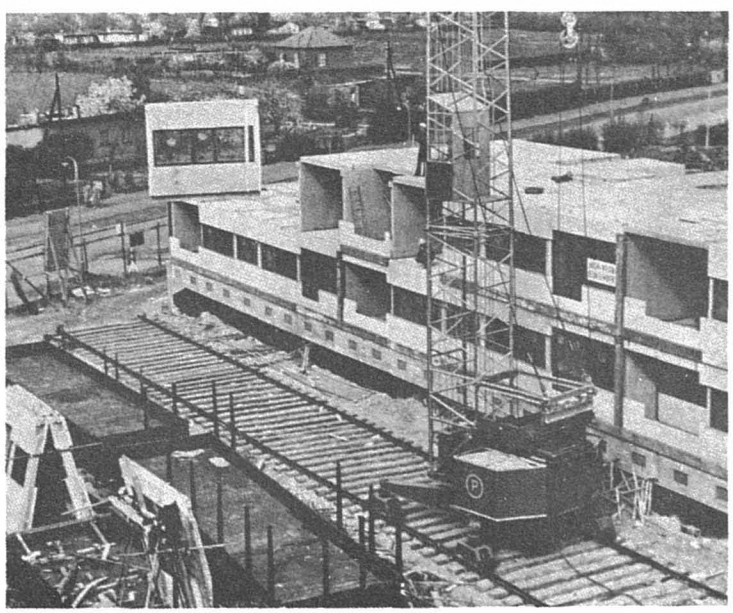
AUTOMATION

Expert opinion on the total future impact of automation on the economy and on the physical city is inconclusive. Automation is expected to have a decentralizing effect by reducing employment in many office and manufacturing functions, freeing them from locations near labor sources. On the other hand, automation could increase white-collar jobs at the expense of the more routine industrial jobs, and the office-oriented white-collar jobs are more likely to concentrate in business districts. In short, it is not anticipated that automation will have a radical effect on the city's form, at least within the next forty years.



CONSTRUCTION

The building industry seems to be moving toward a greater reliance on prefabrication and standardized techniques which are adapted to large-scale development. This is particularly true of home construction. On one hand, this points toward a continued spread of new housing across the countryside, satisfying the prevalent desire for more living space; but, on the other hand, the more inexpensive construction techniques will allow many families to own a second residence at the beach or in the mountains for the three-day weekend of the future, perhaps making them more willing to accept high-density urban living during the shorter work week. Prefabrication will undoubtedly decrease construction time and shift some labor from site to factory, but in the long run it will probably have little effect on the basic form of our cities.



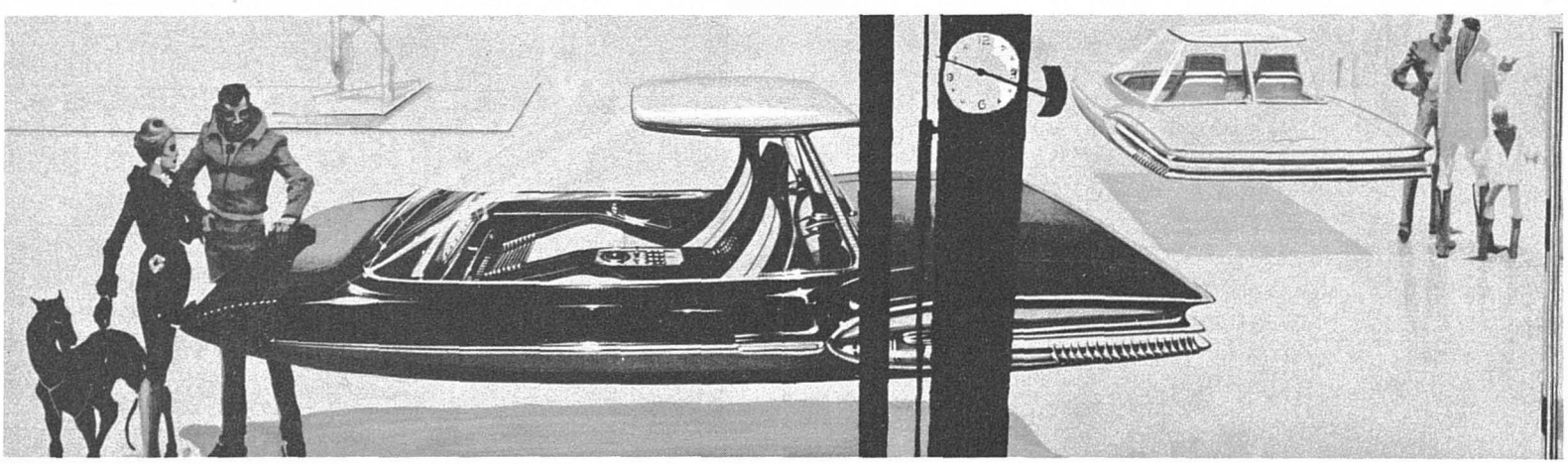
TRANSPORTATION

Improvements in this field will have the greatest effect on urban development of all technological changes. As family income increases, people living in metropolitan areas will tend more and more to rely on individual forms of transportation. Peak-hour downtown-oriented travel will be served best by mass transportation, but all other travel needs seem to point to the use of some type of private vehicle, which will dominate travel within the Region. Intensive use of small helicopters does not seem to be practicable in urban areas, although family helicopters for leisure-time use along controlled airways are a possibility.

Tomorrow's family will probably be using different types of private cars for different types of trips: very compact vehicles for short trips within the city, and specially-equipped high-speed vehicles for longer trips. Electronic guidance and control systems, adding safety, comfort, and increased highway capacity, can be expected, as well as new types of power plants and fuels for greater efficiency and reduction of air pollution. There will be continuing strong tendencies toward dispersal due to the automobile's mobility. Congestion inherent in the mass use of private vehicles will necessitate a greatly improved transit system for rush-hour trips, and possibly for a substantial number of off-peak trips.

Interurban transportation will undergo continuing rapid change. It is assumed that the jet-age airports now being developed will be used primarily for long-distance travel. Trips of moderate length, especially between Washington and Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, will use short-take-off aircraft and perhaps new forms of rail transportation at speeds of well over 150 miles per hour.

The metropolitan region of the future, in which several million people will be living at close quarters, will have to be designed and organized to facilitate travel by walking, by automobile, by local transit, by regional transit, and by inter-city high-speed vehicles without conflicts among these forms.



PART II

THE NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION:

ITS JURISDICTIONS AND GEOGRAPHY

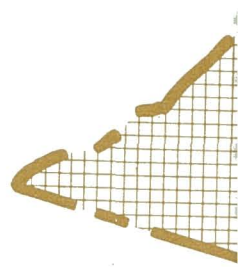
JURISDICTIONS

This single economic region is governed by many different jurisdictions, Federal, State and local. Certain functions of local government require additional special agencies that overlap several parts of the hierarchy:

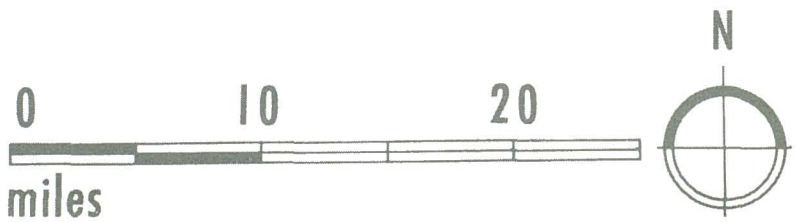
National Capital Transportation Agency
Washington Metro Area Transit Commission
Metro Area Traffic Council
Regional Highway Planning Committee
Washington Metro Regional Sanitary Board
Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission
Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission
Northern Virginia Regional Planning Commission

The local governments are also working collectively on a comprehensive approach to interjurisdictional problems in this region, as members of the Washington Metro Regional Conference.

To all of these governing bodies, and their special intergovernmental agencies, NCPC and NCRPC propose this set of policies for coordinated physical development of the National Capital Region.



NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION



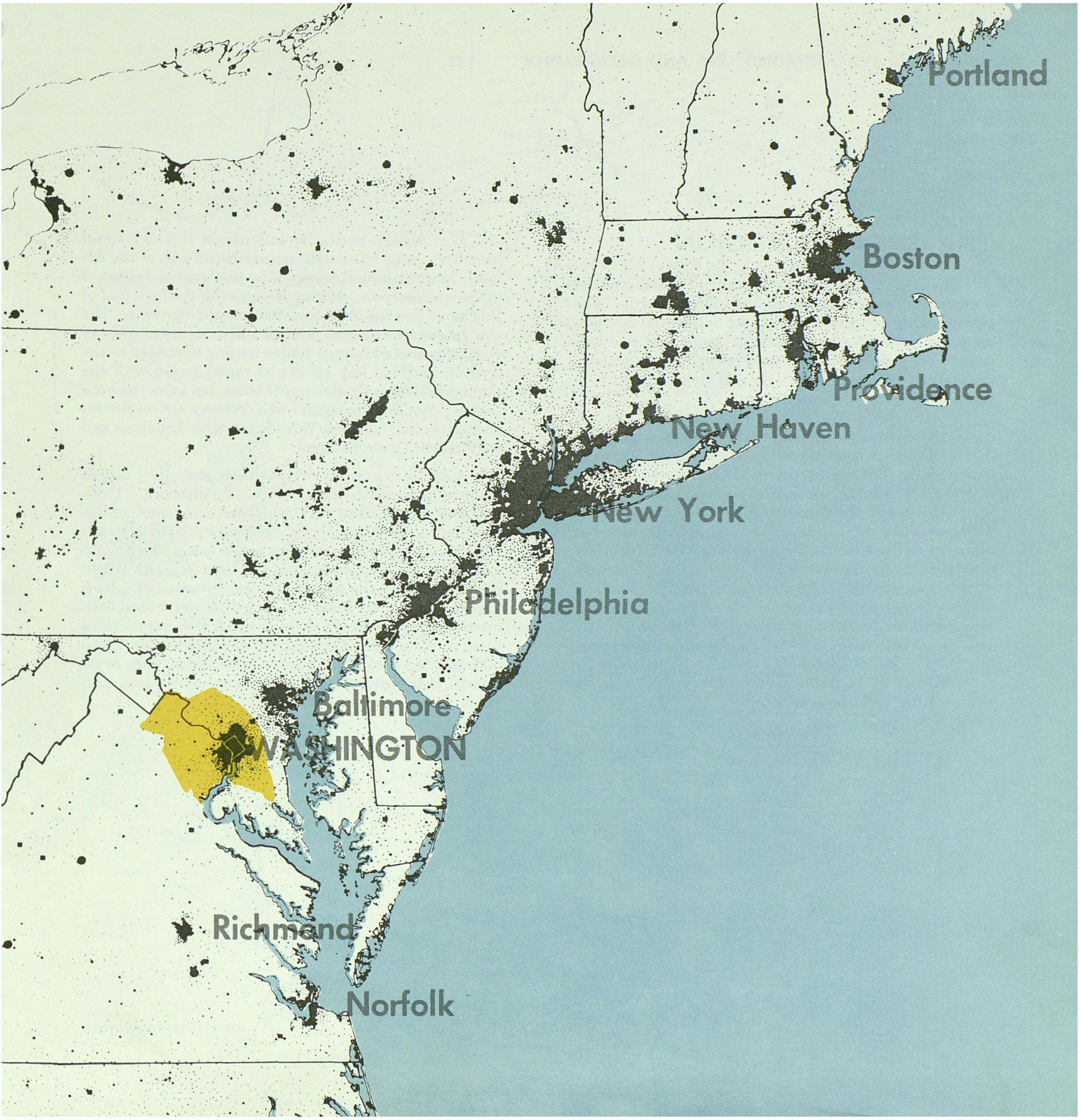

FREDERICK COUNTY
BALTIMORE
HOWARD COUNTY
MONTGOMERY COUNTY
ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY
esburg
Rockville
LOUDOUN COUNTY
ANNAPOLIS
FAIRFAX COUNTY
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
Falls Church
Fairfax
ARLINGTON
Upper Marlboro
ALEXANDRIA
PRINCE GEORGES COUNTY
Manassas
PRINCE WILLIAM COUNTY
CALVERT COUNTY
CHARLES COUNTY

THE EASTERN MEGALOPOLIS

The world is still in the midst of a revolution in the means by which man earns his livelihood. In terms of economics it is an industrial revolution. In terms of man's use of the land it is an urban revolution. The biggest urban areas keep getting bigger—such are the forces behind urban growth. Today's "city" is the metropolitan area. Tomorrow's will be the metropolitan region, where each individual metropolitan area develops its special economic role in the greater urban unit. With faster and more convenient transportation, daily circulation of more people and goods and ideas will strengthen the ties among them.

The Atlantic Metropolitan Region, stretching from Norfolk to Portland, had an early start in the growth of our nation in the days of water transportation, and by 1910 contained over half the metropolitan population of the United States. Today, even after the nation's tremendous growth westward, this proportion is still over one-third. By the Year 2000 the proportion will be lower, but with a doubling of the metropolitan population within this region it will still rank number one in the nation.

New York has been the center of this number one metropolitan region for about two centuries. Washington's growth in the past thirty years, keyed to the increasing importance of national government, has pushed it from sixth to fourth rank, behind New York, Philadelphia and Boston. By the Year 2000 the "super metropolitan area" of Baltimore and Washington is projected to rank number two, with a combined population of over nine million.


Portland
Boston
Providence
New Haven
New York
Philadelphia
Baltimore
WASHINGTON
Richmond
Norfolk

THE GREATER REGION

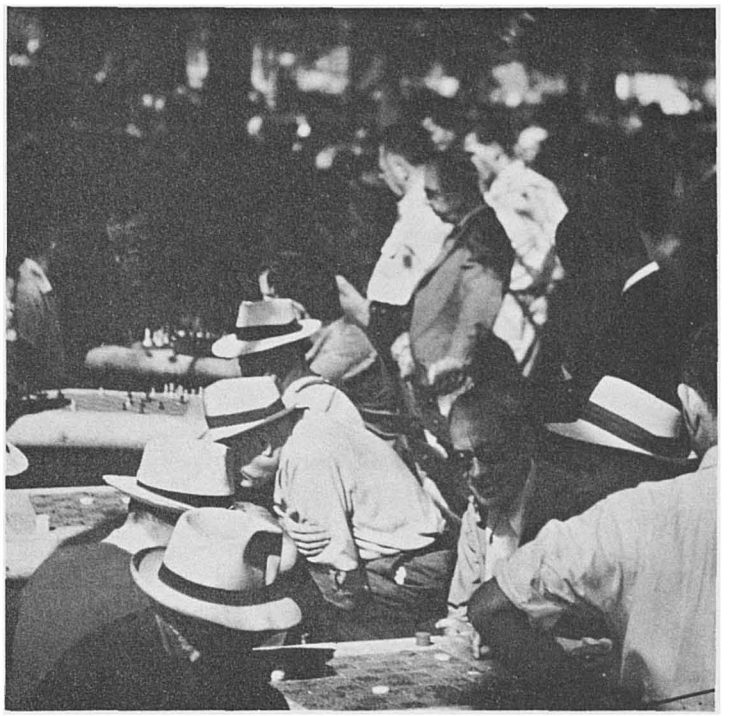
The land surrounding the National Capital presents a minimum of obstacles to metropolitan growth. The gently rolling hills are attractive for residential development in almost all directions, with the nearest real barriers to outward expansion lying beyond the borders of the National Capital Region—the Chesapeake Bay to the east and the Blue Ridge to the west.

The climate of Washington is widely known for hot summers—a discomfort for those who live and work in the center city, but a boon to outdoor recreation at the many nearby sites. The nearest shores of Chesapeake Bay, one of the great boating areas of the nation, lie within an hour's drive, and the shoreline stretches for many miles with peaceful coves and islands. A three hour drive will bring one to the Atlantic Ocean beaches. In the opposite direction, to the west, in a little over an hour one can drive across the rolling Piedmont spotted with towns of colonial vintage, through the foothills where "exurbanites" are already finding their own cool hill tops, and to the crest of the Blue Ridge and the north terminus of the Skyline Drive. Two more hours will bring one to the heart of the Allegheny Mountains, with innumerable sites for outdoor week ends the year 'round.

The primary routes for inter-urban highway travel have been along the northeast-southwest axis of the Atlantic Metropolitan Region. The first express highways in the area were the Shirley Highway in the direction of Richmond and the Baltimore-Washington Parkway. The new Interstate Highway System will bring up to freeway standards two additional routes leading westward to the interior, and will link all of the radial routes with the Capital Beltway at a distance of about ten miles from the center. Another important new freeway not on the Interstate System will link Washington with Annapolis and the Atlantic Ocean beaches.

A key factor in the future urban geography of this metropolitan area is the closeness of Baltimore. These two neighboring cities have developed along more or less independent lines in the past, Baltimore providing a variety of manufactured goods plus major ocean shipping facilities for the national and regional market, and Washington providing the seat of national government. Now that the two urban areas are spreading out toward each other, the land between them provides sites for facilities that can serve both of them together. The future "super metropolitan area" will draw on a far wider range of resources, from steel mills to national research centers, than either city now has on its own.


To New York
To New York
Trenton
Harrisburg
To Pittsburgh
100 MILE RADIUS
Philadelphia
PENNSYLVANIA
MARYLAND
Cumberland
POTOMAC
50 MILE RADIUS
Baltimore
RIVER
MARYLAND
DELAWARE
Dover
DELAWARE BAY
Annapolis
District of Columbia
WEST VIRGINIA
VIRGINIA
CHESAPEAKE BAY
MARYLAND
VIRGINIA
Charlottesville
Richmond
Norfolk
ATLANTIC OCEAN
N
MILES
0 10 20 30 40



"NOT HOUSES FINELY ROOFED OR THE STONES OF WALLS WELL-BUILDED. . . MAKE THE CITY, BUT MEN ABLE TO USE THEIR OPPORTUNITY." *Alcaeus (611–580 BC)*

PART III

PROJECTIONS AND ISSUES FOR THE NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION

POPULATION PROJECTIONS

The population of the National Capital Region is expected to reach five million by the Year 2000. This will be a 150 percent increase over the area's 1960 population. This projection reflects a steadily rising national population and a continuing heavy concentration of the national increase in urban areas, of which the National Capital Region is one of the most rapidly growing. Even if there were to be no further net in-migration to the Region, continued high birth rates would probably produce a population of about four million in the Year 2000.

As in other metropolitan areas, the population will not increase uniformly throughout the Region. Since residential areas in the central city are already occupied at relatively high densities, little growth can be expected there, and most of the future population increases will take place in suburbs. By the Year 2000, the suburban population will outnumber that in the District of Columbia by about five to one. Planning for the accommodation of new population must, therefore, give special emphasis to areas surrounding the present built-up area.

EMPLOYMENT PROJECTIONS

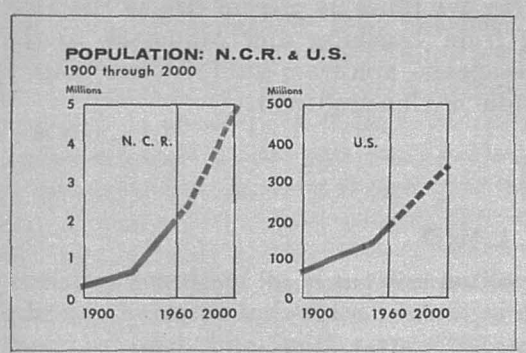
While much of the Region's growth will stem from rising Federal employment, non-governmental jobs will account for a higher proportion than in the past. Manufacturing employment will increase significantly from the small amount existing today, as the local economy diversifies. Much larger increases will occur in the service sector of the economy—mainly retail activities, and local government—as is typical in a maturing city.

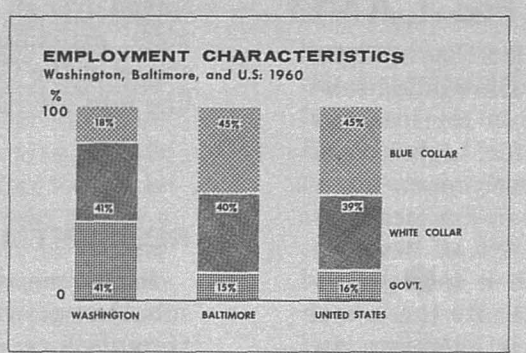
Despite the increases in manufacturing and service employment, the Washington area will remain a "one-industry" economy. (Federal employment now accounts for nearly one third of total employment in the National Capital Region, as compared with less than one fourth for automobiles in Detroit and less than one fifth for steel in Pittsburgh.) The relative importance of Federal employment within this Region will, during the next four decades, decline somewhat from its current one third of all employment. Manufacturing and port activities will, however, still be far less important to the Region's economy than they are today to the Baltimore Metropolitan Area, for example. In fact, because of Baltimore's proximity to Washington, it seems quite likely that the two may in the future act as complementary portions of a greater two-city region. If transportation between the two centers is efficient enough, Baltimore's advantages in port facilities, rail connections, and labor supply will continue to attract most of the greater region's heavy industry and a large proportion of its light industry and wholesaling. Washington, for its part, might attract the lion's share of the greater region's office functions, and research and development firms.

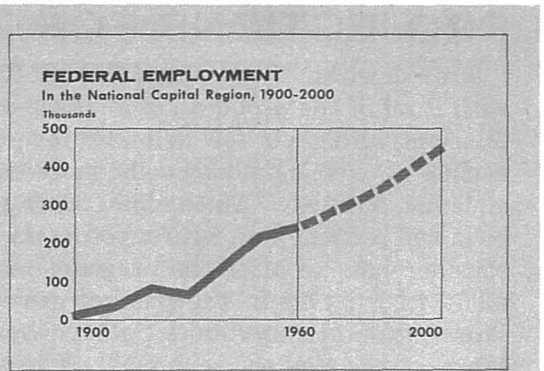
The increase in the proportion of workers engaged in service and non-public employment will be accompanied by a continuation of the locational shift which is already underway. Since most service activities seek locations near the resident population rather than near the central employment concentration, most of the increases in this sector will locate in the suburbs. The economy will still be predominantly white-collar, however, and the most usual work-place will still be an office.

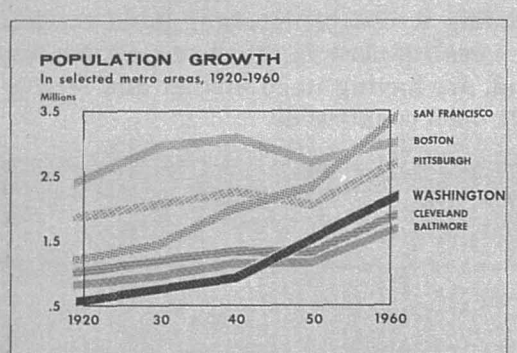
Estimates of future Federal employment in this Region were aided by national projections to 1975 by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics adapted to this Region and extended to 1980 and 2000. In this case, projecting the number of civilian employees in the Defense sector, which currently accounts for 48 percent of Federal employment in the nation and 37 percent of it in the Region, becomes particularly conjectural. With special attention to this difficulty, a forty-year growth in Federal civilian employment to a total of 450,000 has been projected for this Region on the following assumptions: Federal jobs not essential to the seat of government will continue to be located in other parts of the country; automation will retard its growth to some extent; employment in the total economy will continue its current shift to the service occupations; there will be no major wars or depressions.

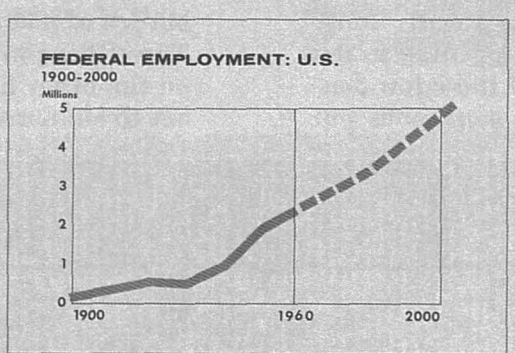
Estimates of future private employment within the Region were also assisted by national Bureau of Labor Statistics projections adapted to this Region.

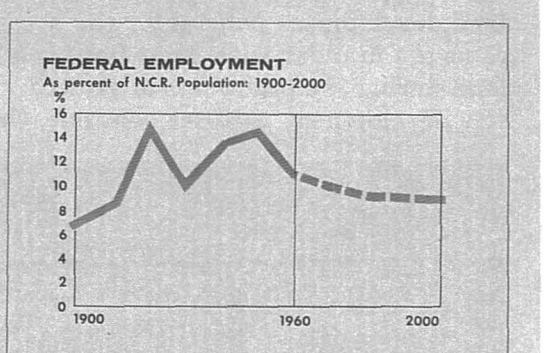

POPULATION: N.C.R. & U.S.
1900 through 2000
Millions
N. C. R.
U.S.
1900
1960
2000

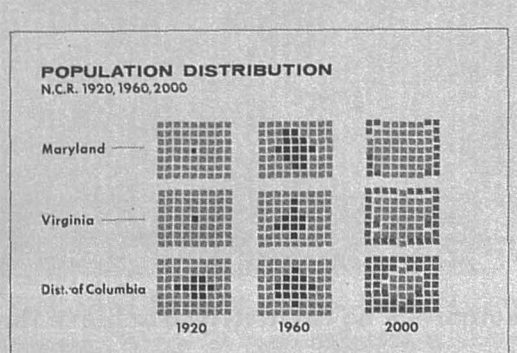

EMPLOYMENT CHARACTERISTICS
Washington, Baltimore, and U.S: 1960
%
18%
41%
41%
45%
40%
15%
45%
39%
16%
BLUE COLLAR
WHITE COLLAR
GOV'T.
WASHINGTON
BALTIMORE
UNITED STATES

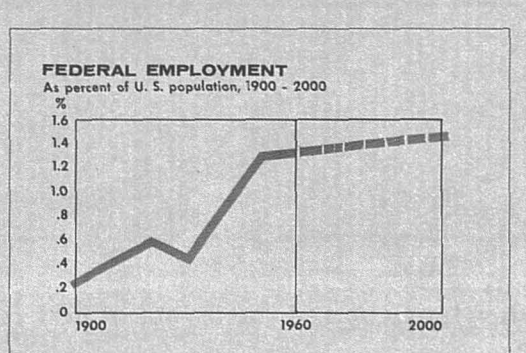

FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT
In the National Capital Region, 1900-2000
Thousands
1900
1960
2000

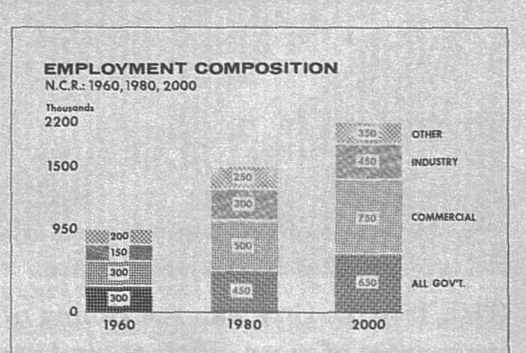

POPULATION GROWTH
In selected metro areas, 1920-1960
Millions
SAN FRANCISCO
BOSTON
PITTSBURGH
WASHINGTON
CLEVELAND
BALTIMORE
1920
30
40
50
1960


FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT: U.S.
1900-2000
Millions
1900
1960
2000


FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT
As percent of N.C.R. Population: 1900-2000
%
1900
1960
2000


POPULATION DISTRIBUTION
N.C.R. 1920, 1960, 2000
Maryland
Virginia
Dist. of Columbia
1920
1960
2000


FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT
As percent of U. S. population, 1900 - 2000
%
1900
1960
2000


EMPLOYMENT COMPOSITION
N.C.R.: 1960, 1980, 2000
Thousands
2200
1500
950
200
150
300
300
250
300
500
450
350
450
750
650
OTHER
INDUSTRY
COMMERCIAL
ALL GOV'T.
1960
1980
2000

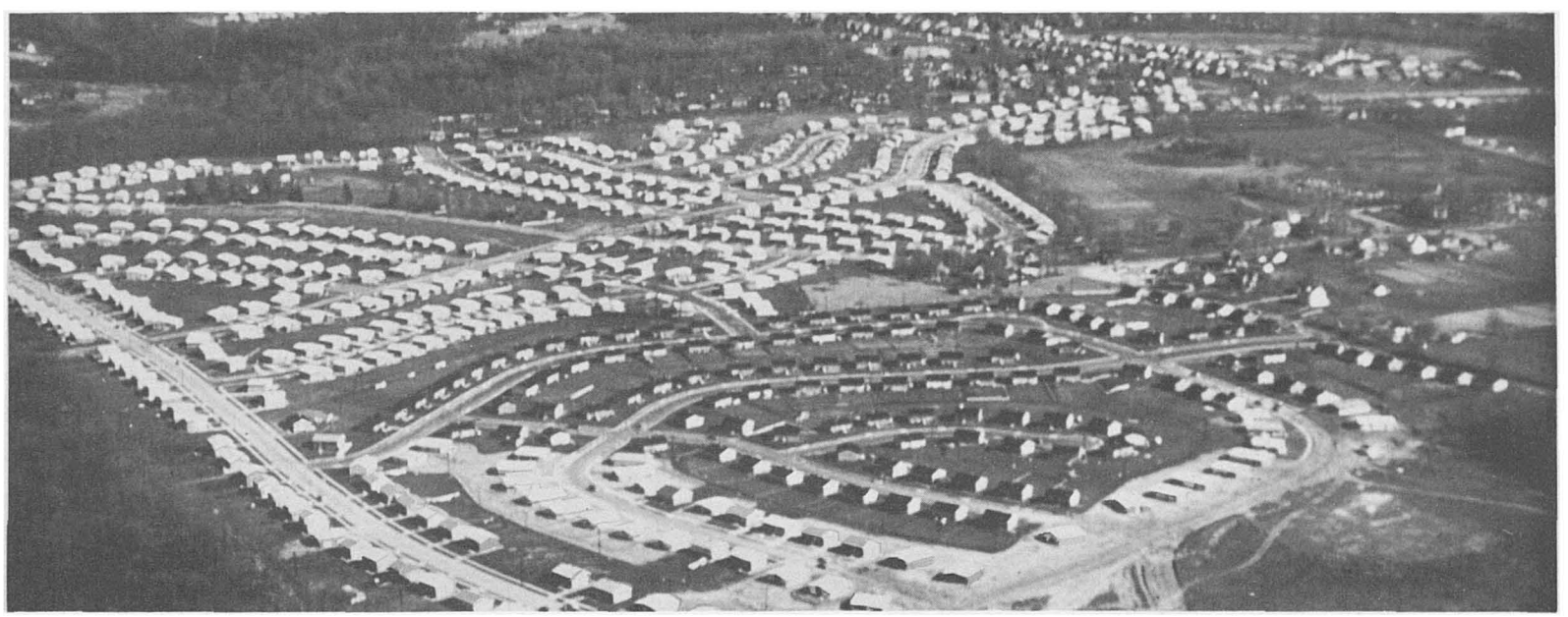
PROJECTIONS FOR THE LAND

Growth within the National Capital Region has brought with it all of the problems of change—mushrooming subdivisions with their new demands for public services, the decline of older neighborhoods, more traffic, higher costs of doing business. Meanwhile, local governments have been too preoccupied with meeting day-to-day needs to consider how to alter the on-going pattern of development. No let-up in the pace of growth is in sight, as Washington becomes more tightly woven into the urban fabric of the Eastern seaboard. There is, therefore, an urgent need to consider some basic issues about the way in which the Region is to grow.

How should this new urban growth be distributed on the land? This is the basic issue to be faced in framing land development policies for the decades ahead. Most of us are familiar with what has been happening to the land during the past years of growth. If these low-density development patterns continue, this metropolis will spread over an area five times its present size by the Year 2000, extending from Leesburg and Manassas to the shores of the Chesapeake, and from the Frederick County line into the middle of Charles County.

RESIDENTIAL LAND

In this metropolitan area, as in all metropolitan areas, suburban growth in recent decades has occurred typically through a process of "scatteration" and "leap-frogging" as new subdivisions have been built beyond closer-in undeveloped land. For the people living in the new communities, the costs of this process are mounting—in daily travel requirements, in extended utility systems, in the burden of maintaining acceptable levels of public service. Those living in the central parts of the metropolitan area, on the other hand, are having to go farther and farther out to enjoy really open countryside.

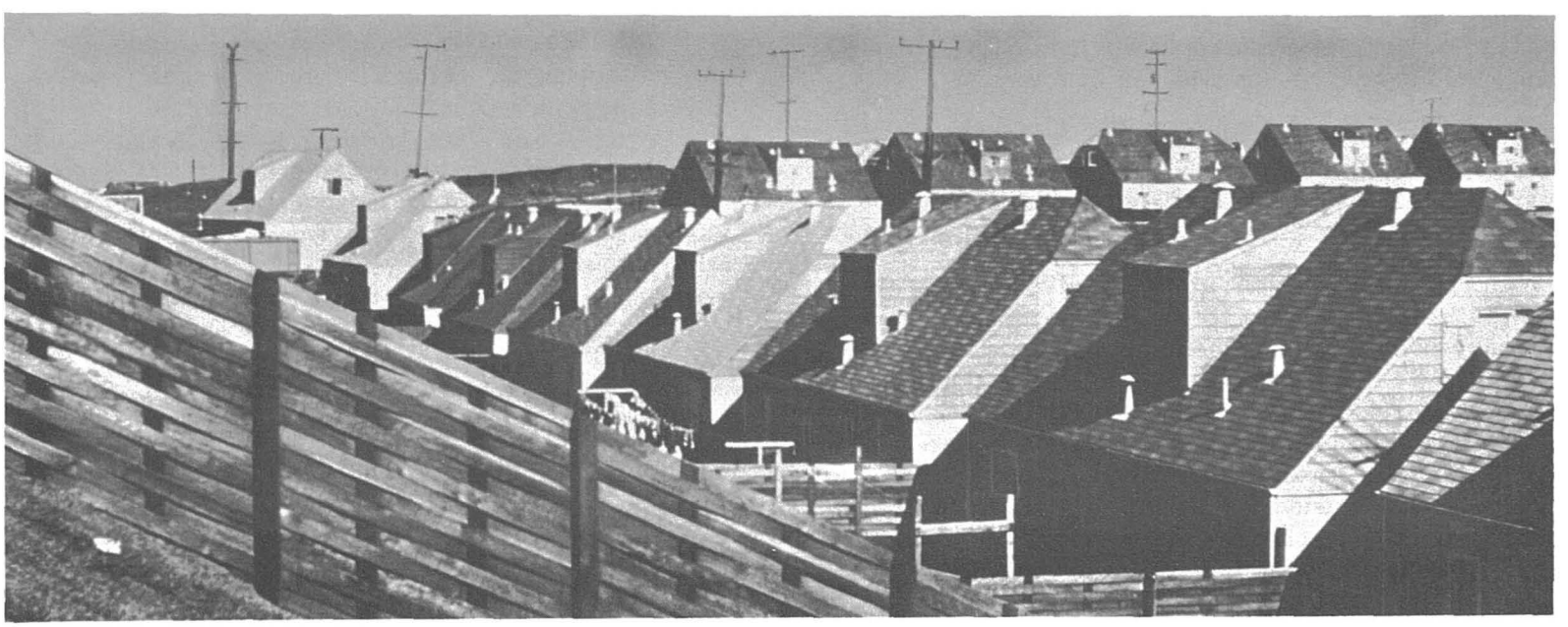


THE ISSUE: How can the timing of development and the layout of new communities be regulated to achieve the economies of more efficient land use?

Even aside from "leap-frogging," the new suburbs use land more extravagantly than the older communities. Each 1,000 inhabitants of the outer suburbs today use about 200 acres for homes and neighborhood facilities, compared to an average of only 70 acres for the same number of people in the previously built-up area. While the new suburban residents appear to be willing to pay the costs of this type of development, they might not be if they had suitable alternatives to choose from. In any case, there will be an increased demand for higher density development as the suburban economy diversifies and its population gains an increasing share of young adults and elderly people.

While low-density scatteration is typical of the outer suburbs, the older residential sections in the District of Columbia and a few of the older suburban areas are suffering from advanced age and neglect. Every year, another portion of this older housing becomes obsolescent. The Region's lower-income population can find little housing except in these inner deteriorated areas, though the decentralization of economic activity is steadily creating new jobs for this population outside the District of Columbia. Conversely, most of the middle- and upper-income population can find acceptable housing only in the suburbs, though a large proportion of this population is employed in Metro-Center. As a result, the choice of housing open to all income groups is limited, and tremendous demands are created for rush-hour transportation between suburb and city.

THE ISSUE: How can the central city and the older suburbs be preserved, renewed, and redeveloped to provide suitable housing opportunities for all segments of the population, thereby extending the scope of choice and reducing rush-hour traffic problems?



THE ISSUE: How should land-use plans for new suburbs recognize from the start eventual needs for a variety of housing types in each suburban community, reserving the proper land at the outset for higher density land uses?

LAND FOR EMPLOYMENT CENTERS

As the principal employer in the National Capital Region, the Federal Government is primarily an occupant of office buildings. The high degree of interchange that is necessary between government agencies has led to a steady build-up of employment at the center of the Region. Many private organizations have also clustered in the central area in order to have convenient access to Federal offices. In fact, the pattern of employment centers in the National Capital Region is more dominated by downtown than is true in any other major metropolis of the United States. Today 40 percent of all jobs in the metropolitan area are located in Metro-Center, whose growth during the past decade was equivalent to two new business districts larger than the biggest suburban center, Silver Spring. If Metro-Center should maintain its present share of regional employment over the next 40 years, it would grow in jobs from the present 380,000 to 940,000 by the Year 2000. Even with an extensive rapid-transit system, such a massive concentration of daytime population would pose enormous problems of congestion.

THE ISSUE: What employment objectives should be set for Metro-Center, recognizing the costs of expanding the systems of transportation and utilities to serve a significantly larger concentration?

Metro-Center locations are high-value locations, and can be afforded only by those activities which derive special benefit from being there. Not all Federal facilities have found the advantages sufficient to offset the costs of congestion or their own particular land needs, and today one half of all Federal employment in the Region (including military personnel) is located outside Metro-Center, most of it outside the District of Columbia. Some agencies have even chosen to locate their administrative offices at the outer limits of the metropolitan area.

THE ISSUE: What practical alternative is there to the extensive use of new high-cost sites within Metro-Center in accommodating the growth of the Federal establishment during the decades ahead?

Within Metro-Center the density of employment reaches peaks in the central office areas. These peaks are lower than in the centers of other cities of comparable size. This is part of a long-standing tradition in Washington—the spaciousness of broad streets and frequent small parks, plus the limit on the height of buildings. Yet the lower the density of employment in the central office area, the more it will have to spread out to accommodate the growth in prospect, at the risk of losing the concentration and accessibility within the center which are the prime attractions of a Metro-Center location.

THE ISSUE: In accommodating the forty-year prospective demand for new office buildings, how can Metro-Center maintain its traditional character of spaciousness without becoming over-extended?

The last decade has in fact seen a significant stretching out of the business district, as the weight of new construction (notably office buildings) has shifted toward the northwest sector. This stretching out of the central office area has drawn it apart from the "downtown" retail and service area. The latter, meanwhile, has been in a relative decline, with retail sales remaining almost stable in the past decade in the central business district while growing by seventy percent in the metropolitan area. A look at the trade area of Metro-Center shows some of the reason. People do most of their shopping within a ten-minute drive from their homes, and the population in the areas close to Metro-Center has been declining both in numbers and in average income. Nonetheless, Metro-Center remains the only place in the Region where many specialty shops can exist, and it is still by far the largest single concentration of retail floorspace in the Region.

THE ISSUE: How can Metro-Center best adapt to its new role as the specialized commercial center of the Region?

A new Federal office building, with its hundreds or even thousands of employees, can transform a suburban area. Twice every day its traffic loads fill the streets and highways. It may trigger the growth of new subdivisions that cater to the rest of the metropolitan market as well as to its own employees. Some of its employees will probably want apartments near their work, creating a new pattern of demand for housing in the suburbs. Taken together, these and other effects make the location of a new Federal facility decisive in shaping the growth of a suburban area.

THE ISSUE: What must be done to reconcile the needs of new suburban Federal facilities with the long-range development objectives of the local community?

THE ISSUE: How can the critical sites required in suburban areas for major employment centers be reserved long enough for commercial activities and employment facilities to develop in variety and depth?

Private employment in the suburbs has developed on a dispersed pattern. Of the 60 percent of private employment within the Region that is located outside Metro-Center today, less than one-fourth is located in centers of over one thousand employees. Only five of these have as many as five thousand employees, and the largest only about twelve thousand. The small size of most employment centers in the suburbs does mean certain conveniences to employees, in the form of free parking and a minimum of congestion at the center. Yet if all the half million new non-government jobs expected to locate outside the District of Columbia during the next four decades were to consist of small centers, the congestion on the highways carrying this vast dispersal of trips might be severe. Larger suburban centers on the other hand could justify (as well as benefit from) transit service, particularly if they have a concentration of 10,000 or more potential riders. Two more points: many goods and services can be provided in an economical manner only at major concentrations of business and daytime populations; and apartment clusters are most efficiently located at concentrations of business and employment in major regional centers.

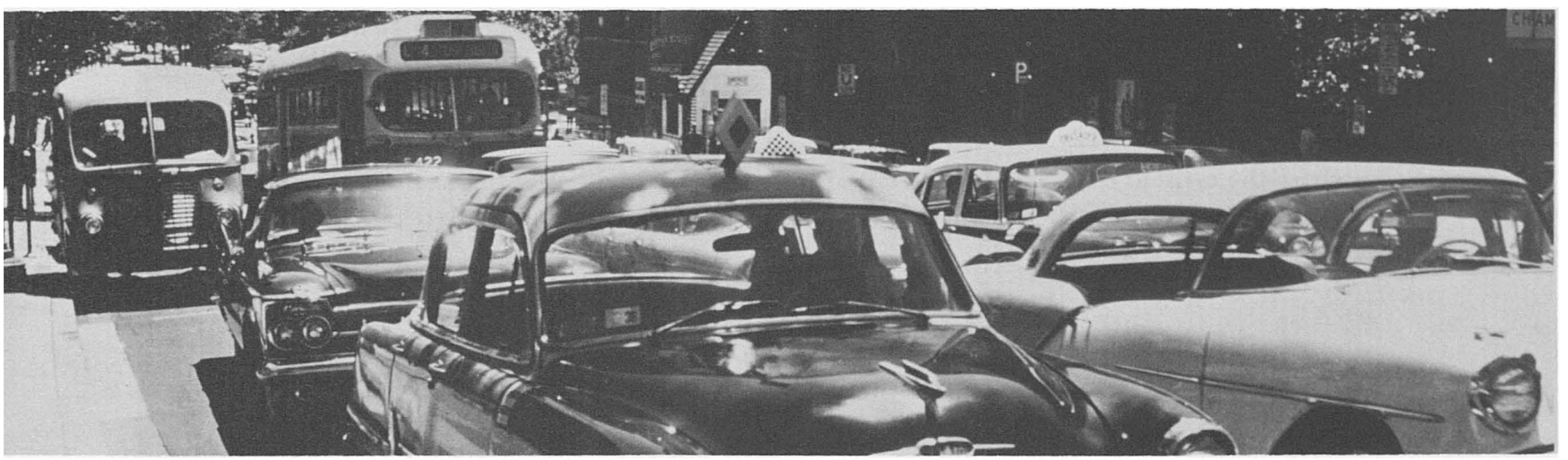
At present, industrial land is not a major problem in the National Capital Region, but as the preceding section has projected, space may well be needed for 200,000 new industrial jobs within the Region by the Year 2000. This Region has a unique opportunity to plan for its industrial growth and to avoid many of the conflicts between industry and other land uses that are typical of older industrial cities. Modern industries are, however, looking for large tracts of land for their one-level production lines, for auto parking, for landscaping, for freedom to expand. At present, many of the sites they pick are far out in the open countryside, forcing employees to travel long distances in heavy traffic on rural roads, and providing even greater impetus to the dispersion of low-density residential areas.

THE ISSUE: How can the Region's industrial growth potential be accommodated while avoiding both disorder and over-extension?

TRANSPORTATION SYSTEMS

Traffic in the National Capital Region will increase even faster than population during the next four decades, as a result of anticipated increases in car ownership, income per family, and leisure time. The new freeways and other major arterials will have their most immediate impact on the nearby properties, but their influence will not stop there. Perhaps most significant of all will be the long-range effects these new systems will have upon community-wide commercial and residential development patterns and traffic movements. This fact has often been overlooked in the process of selecting routes for new arteries. For example, in order to reduce the cost of rights-of-way, major freeway projects have sometimes been located in vacant land between the suburban developments or along their edges, rather than designed to serve directly the highest generators of traffic. The result is often a whole new pattern of arterial streets and commercial centers next to the freeway, resulting in new patterns of development and corresponding changes in property values.

THE ISSUE: How can the required new transportation arteries be introduced so as to encourage the realization of a sound pattern of growth for the metropolis and its communities?



The greatest single transportation problem in the National Capital Region today is moving commuters in and out of Metro-Center during the morning and evening rush hours. Today's inadequate highway system is badly overloaded. Two years ago the Transportation Plan for the National Capital Region demonstrated that highways alone will be inadequate to meet the Region's transportation needs by the time the population of the area reaches three million, and already the National Capital Transportation Agency has been created to develop a new system of rapid transit. But even the most modern rapid-transit system will not eliminate the barrier of distance in the metropolitan area. The average speed of travel on the radial routes will not exceed forty to forty-five miles per hour. Whether or not a given suburb can support rapid transit will depend both on its distance from Metro-Center and on the extent to which its residents' homes and destinations are concentrated near points that can be served by transit.

THE ISSUE: Will the new outer suburbs be so designed, and sufficiently interdependent with Metro-Center and other concentrations of activity, to justify an extensive rapid-transit system?

OPEN SPACE

A metropolis needs many kinds of open space for many different purposes: for recreation, for conservation of natural resources, for preservation of scenic beauty. For a growing metropolis, the essential open space problem is summed up in the simple fact that, as the demand for open space increases, the supply nearest at hand is consumed at an accelerated rate.

The amount of land needed for recreation, for example, has been increasing at a compounded rate from the combined effects of increases in population, in leisure time, in average income, and in mobility. The developing suburban communities find it extremely difficult to acquire needed park lands in the face of their many other immediate financial problems. Also, land costs continue to rise, so that each dollar spent buys less land than before.

THE ISSUE: How can sufficient land to meet future public recreation needs be acquired or dedicated in the proper places in time to prevent loss of the land to other urban uses?

The necessity for keeping the Region's rivers and streams clean requires no argument. The measures required to control run-off from the watersheds feeding these streams can also serve other purposes, particularly recreation.

THE ISSUE: Wherein does concern for protecting the Region's water supply suggest specific programs for the preservation of countryside surrounding the metropolis?

A city is not a completely man-made environment. Many of the living things in a city exist only with man's permission and maintenance. Yet cities are carved out of open lands that once had their own natural ecological balance. Enough of this natural condition should be preserved in every metropolitan area for the enlightenment and enjoyment of its future citizens.

THE ISSUE: How can the appropriate lands be acquired and preserved in a natural state?

THE CITY AND ITS SUBURBS ARE INTERDEPENDENT PARTS OF A SINGLE COMMUNITY, BOUND TOGETHER BY A WEB OF TRANSPORTATION AND OTHER PUBLIC FACILITIES AND BY COMMON ECONOMIC INTERESTS. BOLD PROGRAMS IN INDIVIDUAL JURISDICTIONS ARE NO LONGER ENOUGH. INCREASINGLY, COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT MUST BE A COOPERATIVE VENTURE THROUGH THE COMMON GOALS OF THE METROPOLITAN REGION AS A WHOLE.

THIS REQUIRES THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN EFFECTIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING PROCESS IN EACH METROPOLITAN AREA EMBRACING ALL MAJOR ACTIVITIES, BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE, WHICH SHAPE THE COMMUNITY. SUCH A PROCESS MUST BE DEMOCRATIC—FOR ONLY WHEN THE CITIZENS OF A COMMUNITY HAVE PARTICIPATED IN SELECTING THE GOALS WHICH WILL SHAPE THEIR ENVIRONMENT CAN THEY BE EXPECTED TO SUPPORT THE ACTIONS NECESSARY TO ACCOMPLISH THESE GOALS.

(FROM PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S SPECIAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS ON HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, MARCH 9, 1961)

PART IV

GOALS
FOR THE
NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION

The foregoing issues can be dealt with intelligently only if decision-makers have well-defined goals which provide standards that can be applied in choosing between alternative courses of metropolitan development.

To a significant degree, these standards for development must be keyed to the fact that this metropolitan area is the Nation's Capital. Hence, goals and development policies for this Region should be such that the crucial functioning of the Federal Government is not impeded. More broadly, these goals should be worthy of the fact that this Region is symbol and focus of free world aspirations.

At the same time, the National Capital Region is a major metropolis. Three kinds of goals are to be employed in evaluating the alternatives for the National Capital Region as metropolis. They are: broadening the range of choice open to each resident of the Region, creating an efficient regional pattern, and assuring a living environment of high quality. The following specific goals have shaped the recommendations to be made in Part V:

1. A BROAD RANGE OF CHOICE AMONG SATISFYING LIVING ENVIRONMENTS.

Substandard housing should be replaced with adequate dwellings so that all of the Region's residents will be decently housed. Beyond this, it should be recognized that a variety of housing types and mixes is inevitable in each part of a large metropolitan area, and it is therefore desirable to guide this trend along sound lines.

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2. A BROAD RANGE OF EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES.

The variety of jobs available is one of the key attractions of life in a metropolitan area. Some metropolitan areas are so dominated by an industry sensitive to the unpredictable fluctuations of the national economy that a broader base of employment opportunity must be pursued to help stabilize the local economy. More typically, however, an ample variety of jobs comes inevitably with metropolitan expansion. This goal, therefore, calls for more than a variety of jobs *within* the metropolis: it submits that this variety should as much as possible be available *throughout* the metropolis. To achieve this goal, there needs to be both an extensive distribution of jobs of various kinds in each part of the area, and efficient transportation system links uniting the entire metropolis.

3. AN AMPLE RANGE OF OPPORTUNITIES FOR PARTICIPATION IN THE DECISIONS THAT SHAPE THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE REGION.

The most successful urban renewal programs have owed much of their success to the support and participation coming from within the community. There should be continuing efforts to apply this lesson in future renewal programs, and to achieve equally full participation in decisions on the way in which the new suburban areas will grow and on the overall pattern of regional development.

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4. EFFICIENCY IN THE USE OF THE LAND.

Land is not an unlimited commodity, particularly when that land makes up an area immediately subject to metropolitan growth. In a metropolitan setting, the more efficient use of land implies, for one thing, higher development densities in the suburban areas, through the elimination of "leap-frogging" and other forms of extravagance. In addition, the processes of renewal will present an opportunity to achieve new efficiencies even in the use of areas presently built up (for example, through the consolidation of neighborhood shopping facilities). The creation and preservation of urban parks and open spaces which are appropriately sized and distributed particularly require that other land uses to be accommodated in an efficient way.

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5. EFFICIENCY IN THE TRANSPORTATION OF PEOPLE AND GOODS WITHIN THE METROPOLITAN AREA.

This goal calls for an arrangement of land uses designed to reduce the necessity for travel, as well as for the construction of systems of facilities capable of serving mounting volumes of traffic at least cost.

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6. A HEALTHFUL URBAN ENVIRONMENT.

A giant step in this direction would be to eliminate slums from the urban scene. It is equally important to provide fully adequate systems of water supply and sewage disposal, and to eliminate air pollution.

7. AN ENVIRONMENT WHICH IS VISUALLY SATISFYING, AND WHICH COMBINES HARMONIOUSLY THE BEST CONTEMPORARY EXPRESSIONS WITH THOSE OF A RICH AND VALUABLE HERITAGE.

It is easier to call for the application of good urban design principles than to arrive at a universal agreement on what these principles should be. This goal, therefore, calls more for an awakened awareness of the endless potential for new interest and beauty in the urban scene than for the adoption of any particular set of principles. In much the same spirit, this goal also implies that the processes of regrowth should, while creating new values, respect the architectural inheritance from earlier generations which can still perform a vital role in a living and changing community.

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8. A LIVING ENVIRONMENT WHICH AFFORDS A CLEAR SENSE OF PLACE IN ALL SECTIONS OF THE METROPOLIS.

Solutions to many urban problems can be arrived at only through a process of decision-making and action scaled to the entire metropolis. Nonetheless, most daily living is keyed to a more immediate environment. One important objective for urban development and design can and should be to foster the feelings of identity with and responsibility for one's community.

This is but a partial accounting of the goals which this metropolis should set for itself. They constitute, however, a basis for making a preliminary evaluation of the alternatives for development that are open, and for framing policies to guide metropolitan growth in the years to come.

PART V

THE POLICIES PLAN

REGION ▪ METRO-CENTER ▪ DISTRICT

NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION: INTRODUCTION

A metropolitan area can grow in a number of ways: any one of a number of ultimate regional development forms can be set as an objective. Each direction of development open to the Region represents a particular response to the manner in which growth has occurred to date: each represents a particular interpretation of goals to be established. The first task in planning for a metropolitan area, therefore, is to choose the development form which offers the greatest promise for attaining the goals elected.

The policies recommended herein propose a direction of growth for the National Capital Region that has been chosen over several alternatives. In reviewing alternatives and in setting general specifications for the proposed form of regional development, the focus has of necessity been selective, with attention being directed particularly to four key elements of metropolitan form: the overall pattern of residential development, the general pattern of employment center types and their relation to Metro-Center, the basic region-wide systems of transportation, and the open countryside immediately beyond the built-up area.

In these terms, the present make-up of this metropolis is familiar: residential densities become higher as one approaches the dominant employment center at the core of the Region, and descend rapidly in all directions as distance from the center increases; suburban job centers are small, numerous, and widely scattered; region-wide transportation systems are not adequate; the rapidly-receding open countryside is in most sectors already ten miles or more from downtown Washington.

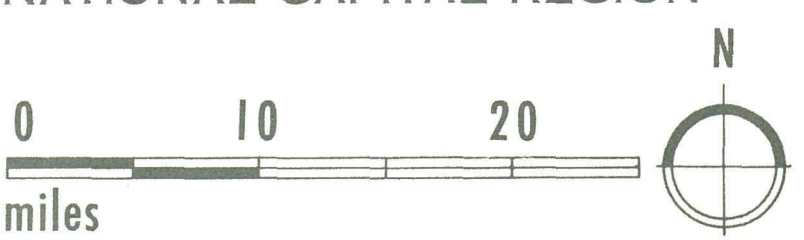
THE REGION TODAY

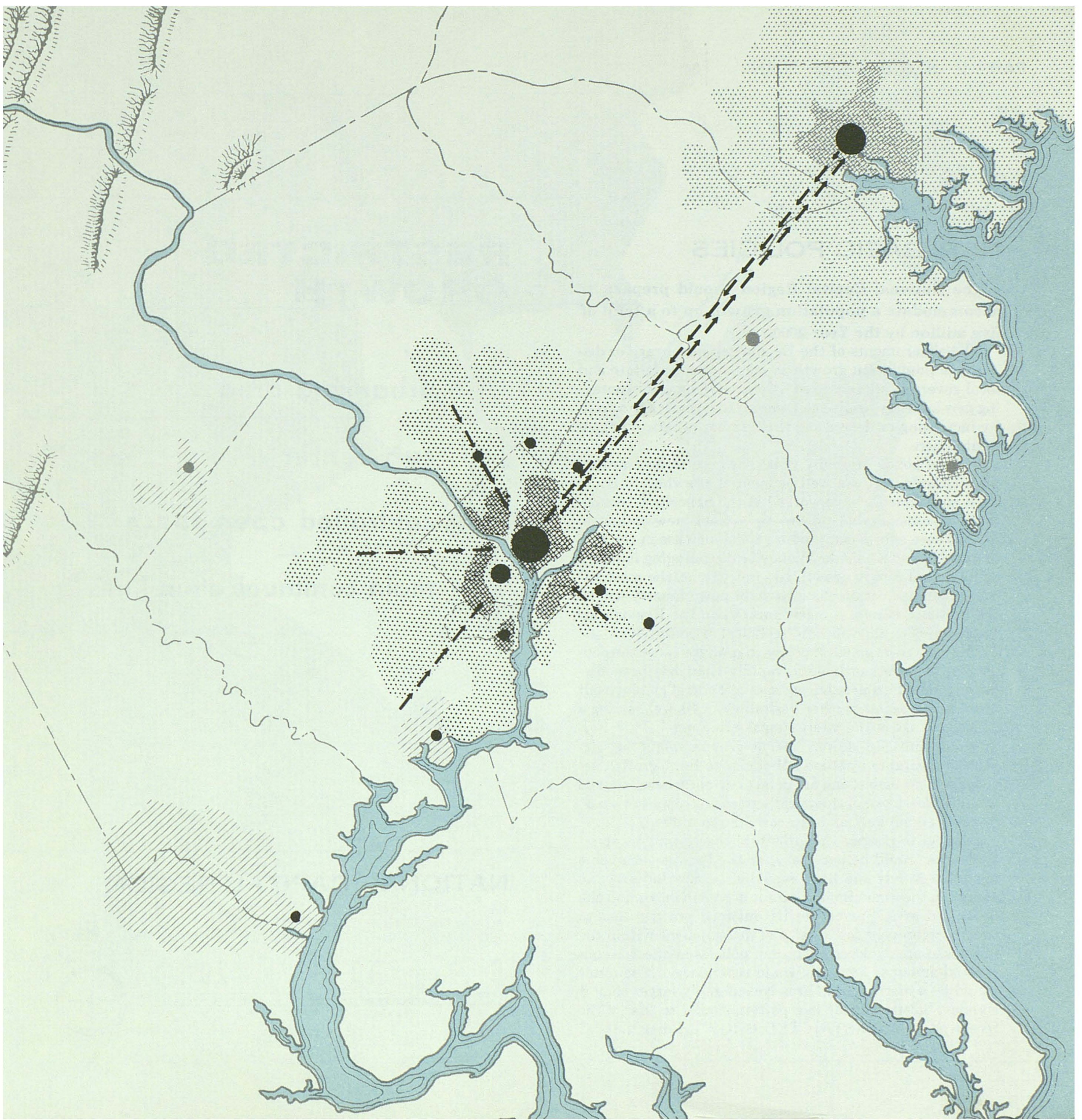
urbanized area

sub-center

main communication lines

NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION





NCR: BASIC POLICIES

The National Capital Region should prepare to accommodate a population growth up to a total of five million by the Year 2000.

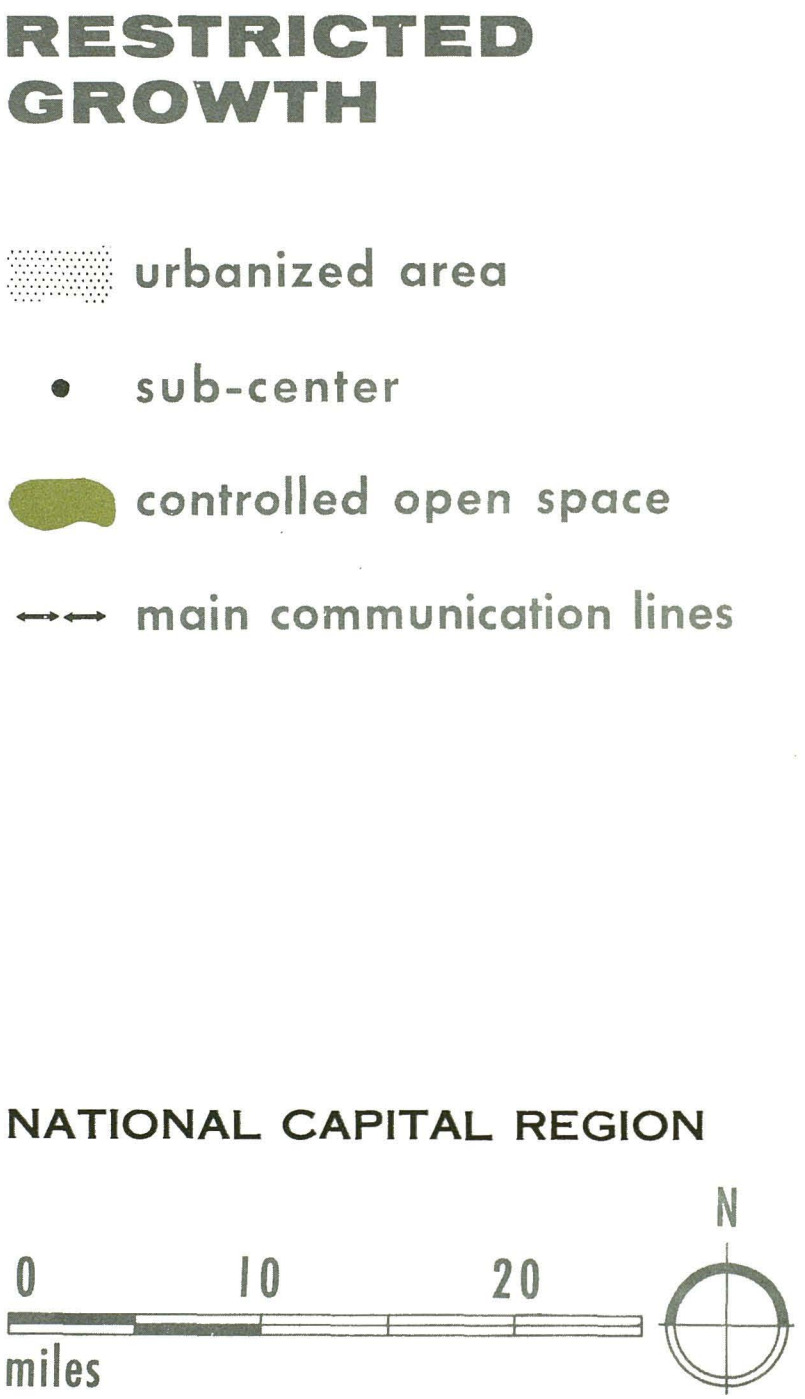
The governments of the Region can encourage or discourage population growth to some extent. State and local governments can do so by encouraging or discouraging new industry, while the Federal Government can do so by increasing or decreasing the number of its employees located here.

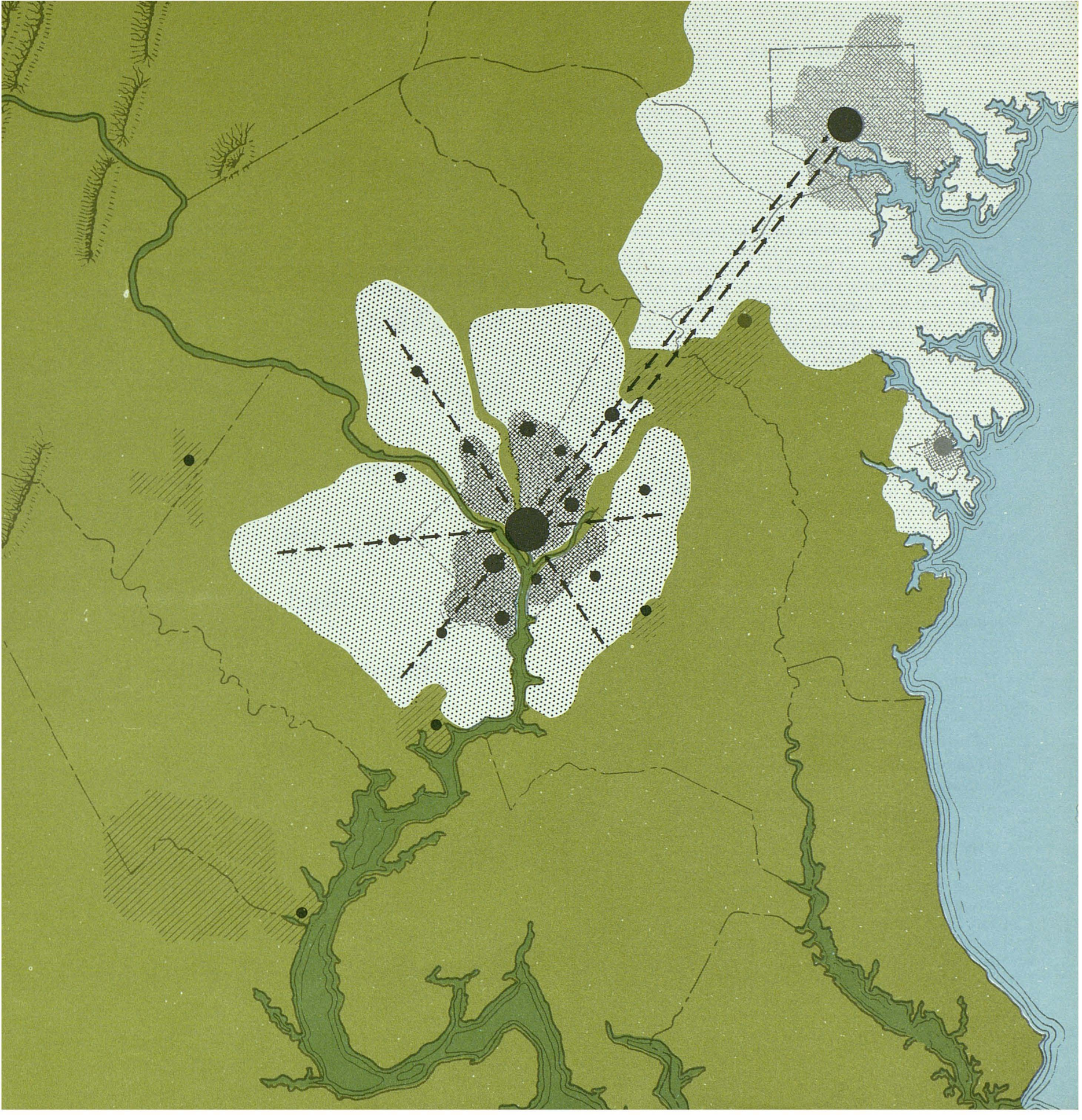
Federal policy for many years has been to decentralize all functions that can well be located elsewhere. Some local governments have worked in the opposite direction, making considerable efforts to attract new industry. While these efforts can produce some increase in the rate of growth, and a contrary policy of discouraging industry could retard rate of growth to some extent, the most important influences on the growth of new industry will be the presence of a local mass market and the Region's attractiveness to scientific and technical organizations.

The only governmental policy that might cause the population to grow much more rapidly than has been predicted would be a massive increase in Federal employment here, which seems neither desirable nor likely, barring a serious change in the international situation.

A substantially slower rate of growth might be considered desirable by some. Policies to limit growth are entirely conceivable, and are in fact currently being applied within at least two of the world's great metropolitan areas: Tokyo (ten million), and Moscow (eleven million).

In order to restrict the growth of the National Capital Region, it would be necessary for the local governments to limit severely the land available to new industry; to acquire large amounts of land for a greenbelt around the urbanized area, preventing its outward growth; and to control rigorously the density of development within the urbanized area. Even with such policies in effect, a substantial amount of growth would take place. The result would be a metropolitan area considerably larger than it is today, but developing in a pattern similar to that of the recent past (see RESTRICTED GROWTH diagram).



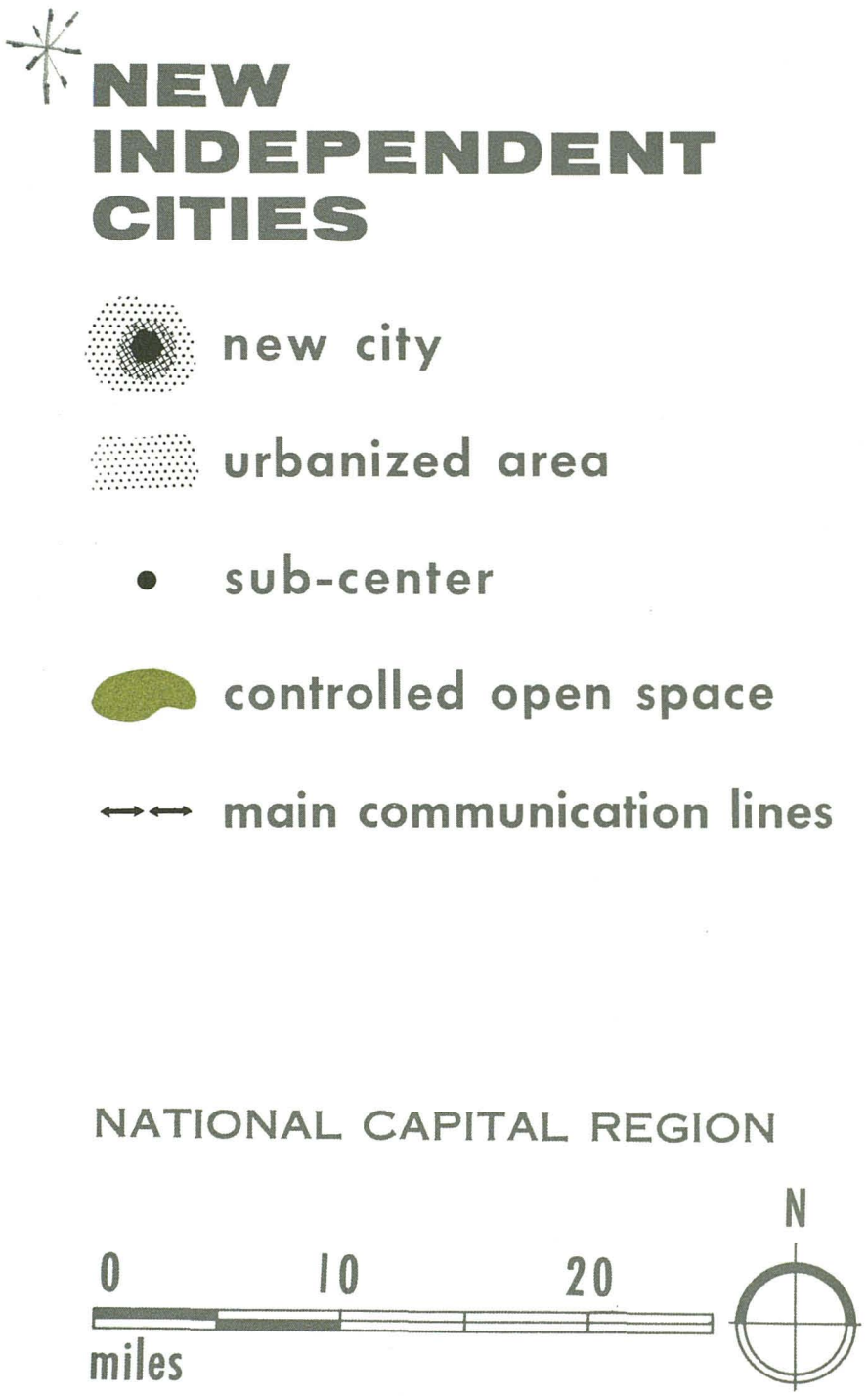


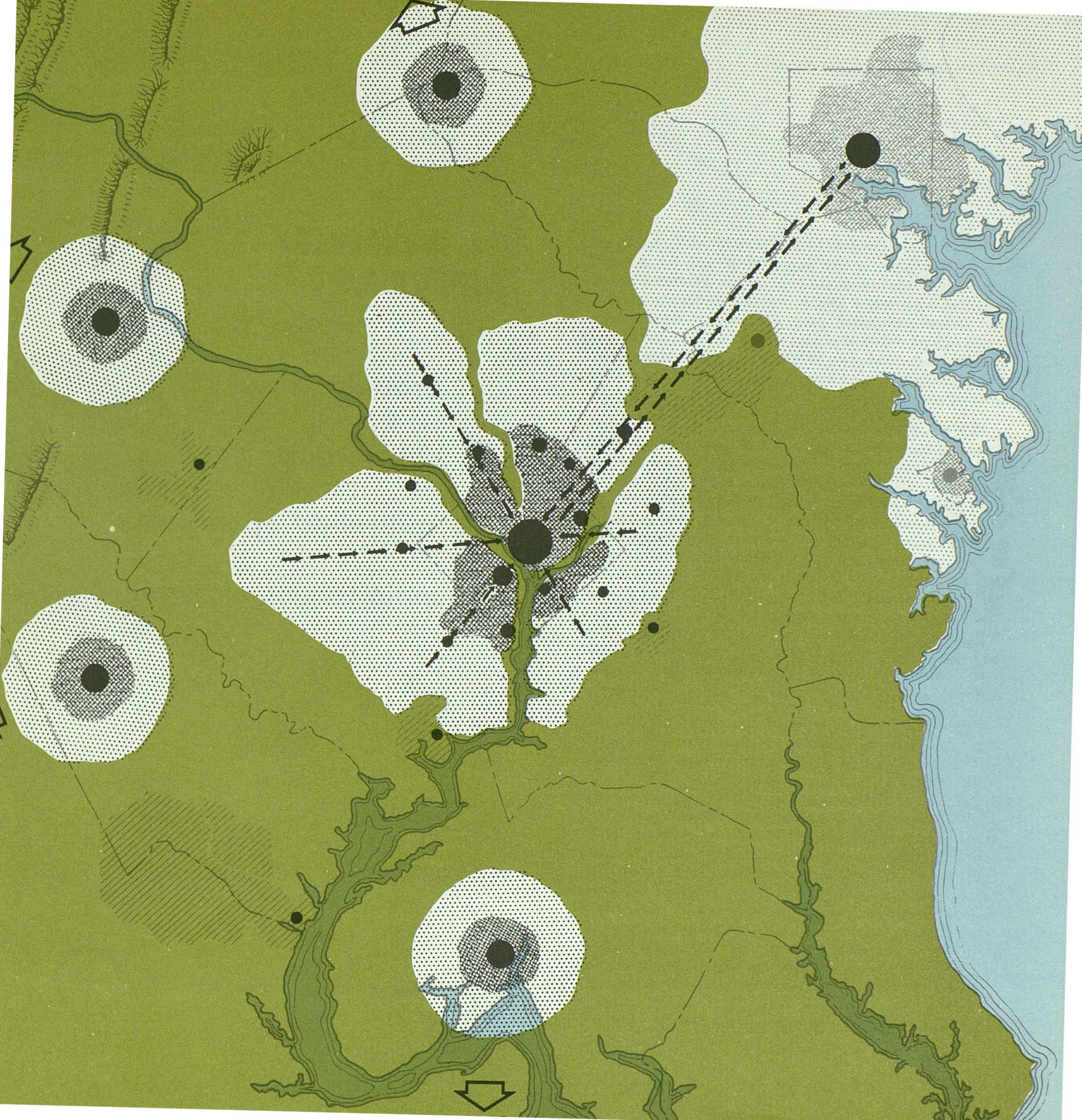
There is little possibility that the people of the Region would accept the measures needed to restrict growth. Furthermore, natural increase of the local population will in any case probably push it close to the four million mark in the next four decades. A substantial increase in jobs will be needed to provide for this population, since there is little likelihood of a net out-migration.

Another way to limit the Region's growth might be to lessen the pressure for new development by creating entirely new metropolitan areas to accommodate much of the growth that would otherwise occur within the Region. Under this policy (NEW INDEPENDENT CITIES) the new growth would be kept at a distance of at least 70 miles from Washington, each new metropolitan center growing to a population of between 300,000 and 500,000 in the next 40 years. To create such new cities would require construction efforts of unprecedented magnitude, as well as entirely new forms of political organization, legal procedures, and administrative and financial arrangements. In an era of national population expansion and increased urbanization, efforts in this direction might well be considered as an alternative to the continuous growth of existing metropolitan centers. But this is a matter for a nationwide policy. Policies for the National Capital Region should be designed to accommodate the population that is expected to result from natural increase and the working of economic forces, as described in Part III.

The outward growth of the Region's developed areas should be channelled along a few corridors radiating from the center and separated from each other by vast wedges of open countryside.

The most important single question facing the Region is the future pattern of development—the direction growth will take, the density of new development, and the layout of new transportation systems, residential communities, commercial centers, and other forms of development. Two main alternatives are open. One is a continuation of the present pattern of development. The other is a new form of development, requiring imaginative design, new governmental procedures, and skilled administration, but offering great advantages in economy, efficiency, and livability.





The first alternative (PLANNED SPRAWL) would accommodate most of the expected growth by outward extension of the urbanized area in all directions at low densities, with only a limited increase in densities within the present urbanized area. Suburban development would extend outward in most directions to a distance of 30 miles from downtown Washington, but leaving considerable amounts of land by-passed and unused in the areas most recently developed.

This would represent a continuance of the current pattern of development, and no major changes in policy would be needed to achieve it. The new suburban areas would have large expanses of single-family housing at low densities, spotted with apartments, schools, shopping centers, and occasional industrial and governmental establishments. Only in the District of Columbia and some older suburban areas would there be large and varied amounts of high-density housing and employment. The automobile would dominate daily lives even more than it does today: travel distances would be longer, and there would be little use for rail transit. Job opportunities would be limited near any one outlying residential area, and the open countryside would be ten to twenty miles from most homes.

The alternative to continued sprawl is to create new urban communities, outside the present urbanized area but within the Region, and to channel a large part of the Region's growth into these new communities. They should be designed at average densities somewhat higher than today's newest suburbs, making more efficient use of land and reducing transportation needs by locating multi-family dwellings, commercial and employment centers, and transit stations close to one another. Each should contain a wide variety of housing types, ranging from tower apartments through single-family homes on small lots to small estates. Each should offer a substantial amount of employment of various kinds, though none could begin to compete with the range of job opportunities offered by the central city. Growth to a population of 100,000 or more should be set as an objective, making these new suburban communities as large as moderate-sized cities.

PLANNED SPRAWL

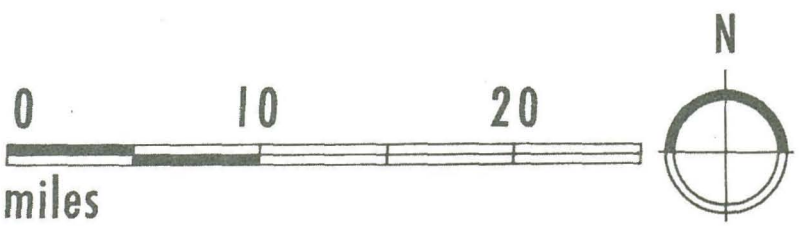
urbanized area

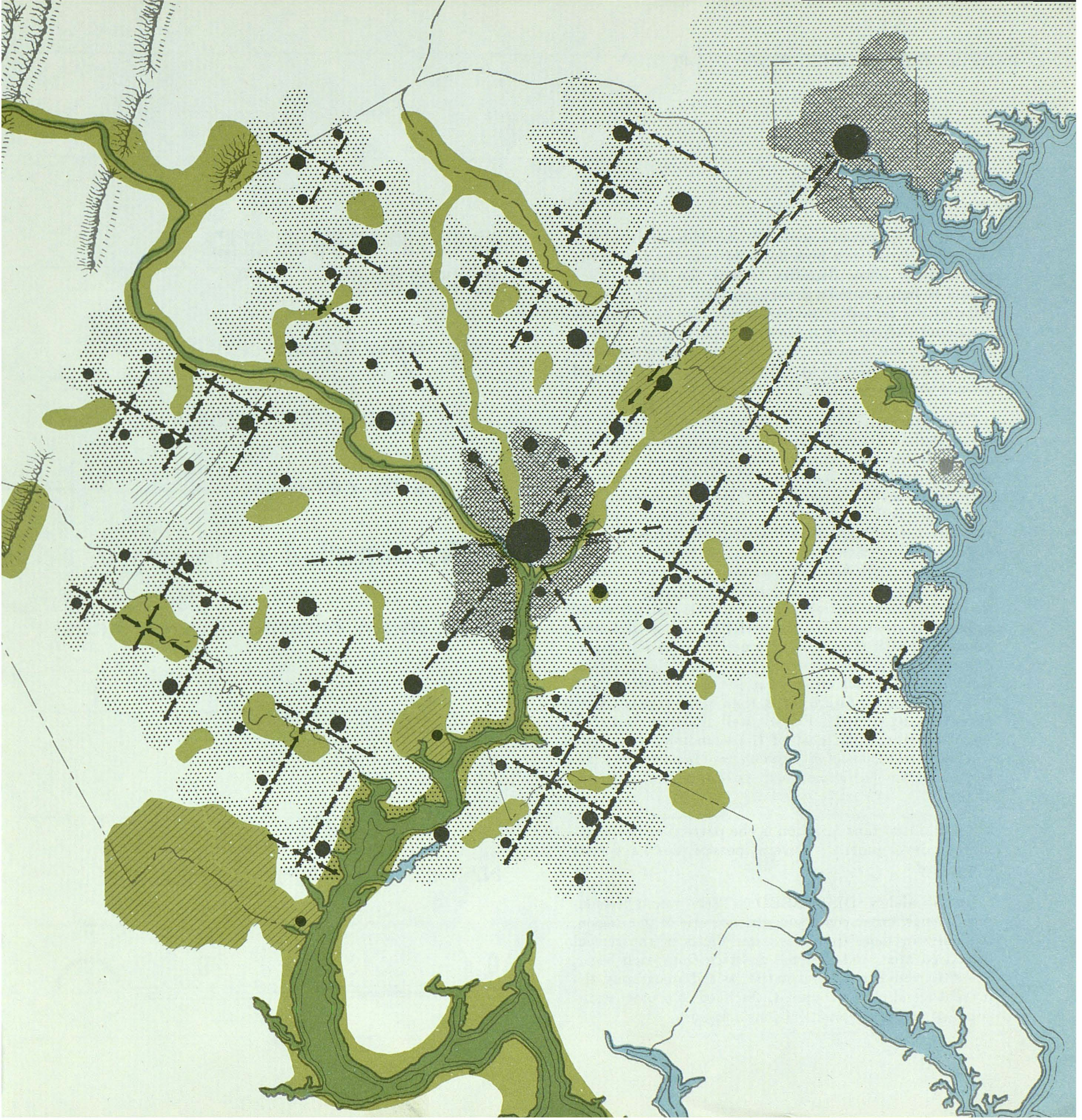
sub-centers

controlled open space

main communication lines

NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION



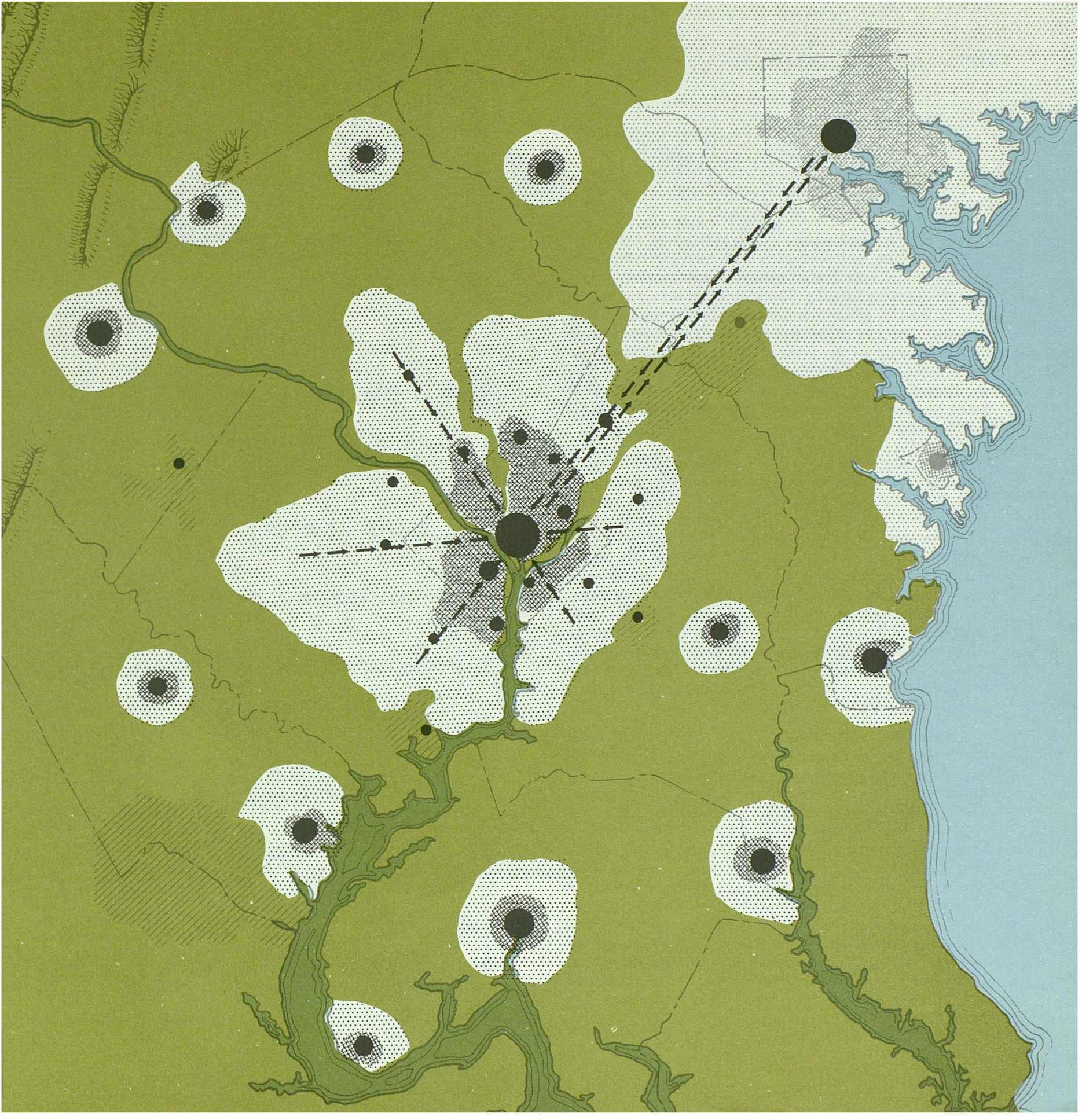


Each new suburban community should be designed in a concentric form, with high densities near the center and progressively lower densities toward the edge. Each should be built around a sizeable business district. Where appropriate, an industrial park could also be within the community adjacent to a freeway giving it good access to the rest of the Region. Creation of these communities should be accompanied by measures to preserve the land outside them in open use.

This alternative offers a number of advantages. It would make a more efficient use of land. Each resident of the Region could find housing suitable to his needs within a reasonable distance of his job; and conversely, each would have a variety of alternative job opportunities within easy reach of his home. This, combined with the concentration of high-density housing near large shopping districts, would reduce the amount of travel that takes place. The suburban communities would offer a much greater range of social, recreational and cultural resources than today's suburbs; and the new business districts would provide for greater choice, be better to look at and more pleasant to visit than most commercial areas of present-day suburbia. This approach to regional development would make it much easier to preserve open spaces, and to reserve land for future needs, than in the case of an all-encompassing sprawl. Finally, well-defined urban communities containing most of the economic, social and cultural institutions of a large city could encourage widespread citizen participation in governmental and civic affairs.

An all-important question is the pattern of new community development. Several possibilities have been considered.

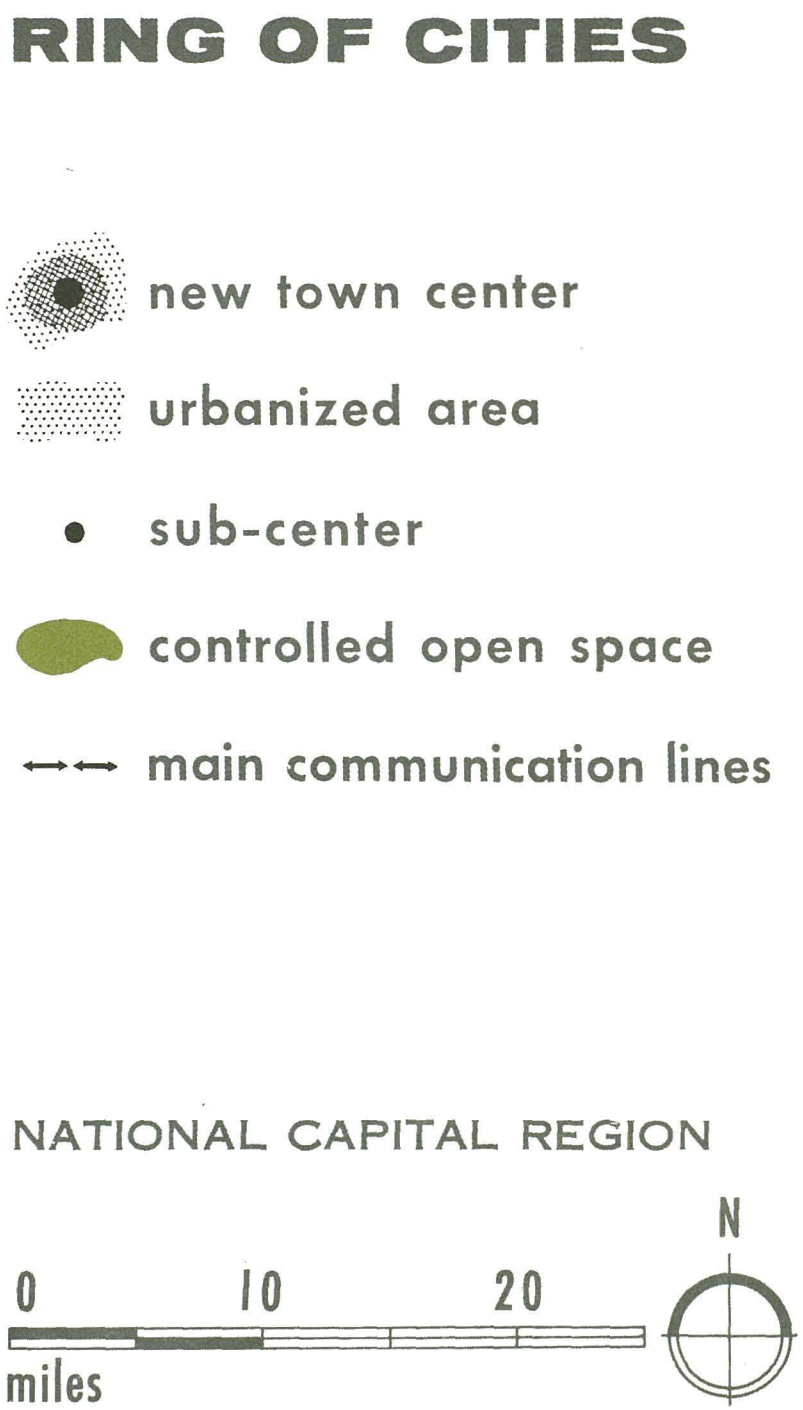
One possibility (DISPERSED CITIES) would be to locate the new urban centers in various parts of the Region, ten miles or more from the outer limits of the central urbanized area, and at some distance from each other. The sites would be selected on the basis of topography, the present trend of development, the need to protect water supplies, and other practical considerations.

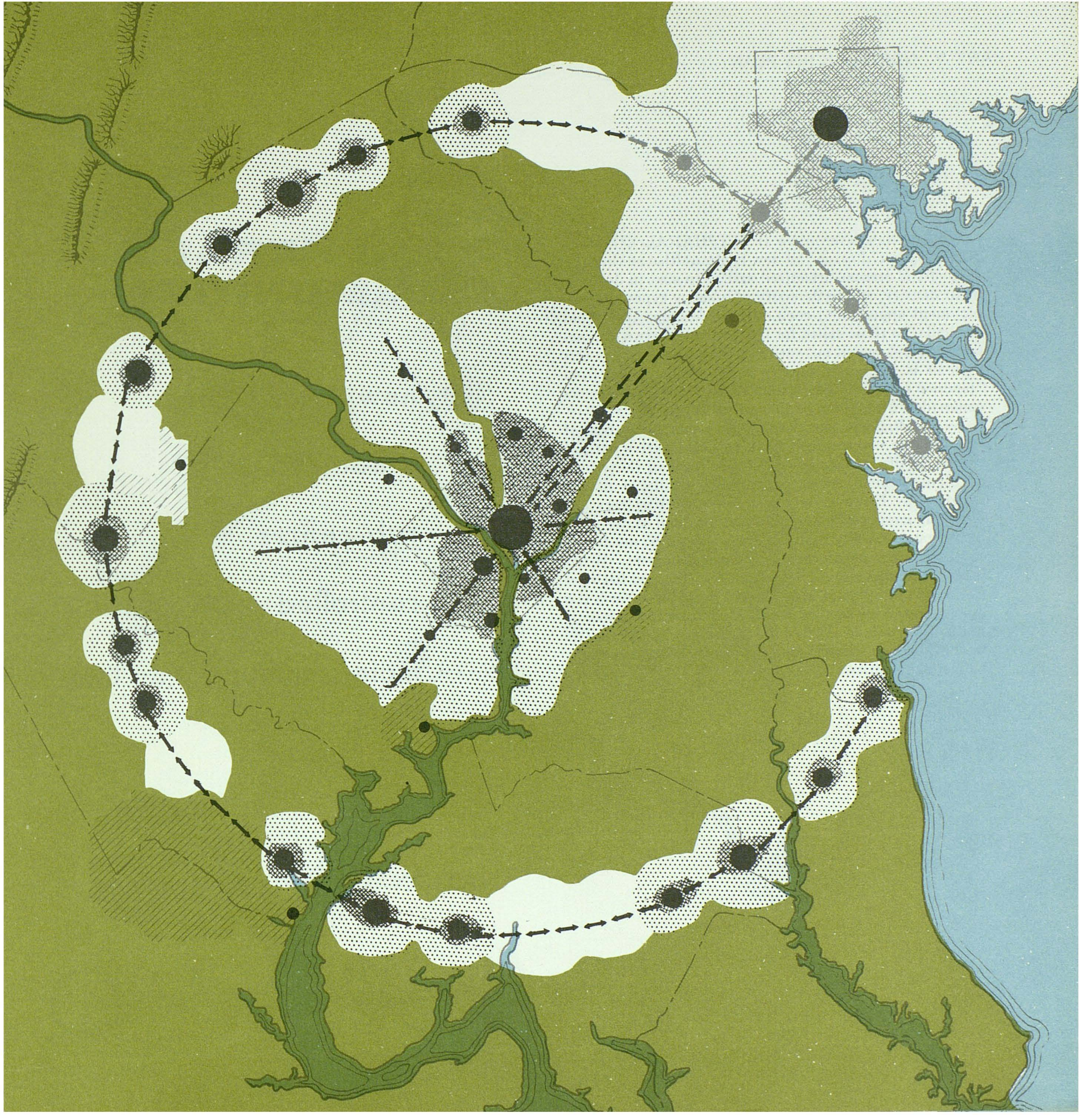


The Region could accommodate in this way a dozen or more new cities, well separated from each other but close enough to the central city to permit a substantial amount of travel back and forth. These cities would contain well over half of the growth anticipated during the next four decades. The rest of the growth would be accommodated by an extension of the present urbanized area, and some increases in the densities of development within it. The resulting pattern of development would be similar to that being pursued in the Greater London area under its post-war "new towns" policy.

This pattern would offer the residents of each new city a wide choice of housing types, within easy reach of many kinds of employment. However, those who work outside the city in which they live would have to commute considerable distances. Furthermore, the continuing economic and other ties with the nearby central city would tend to put great pressure for development on the intervening open land. This would necessitate strong measures, such as rigorous controls over land use and public acquisition of large tracts, to assure the development of the new cities as planned, to prevent their ultimate merger with one another, and to prevent them all from being submerged in time by outward growth of the central urbanized area.

Another possibility (a RING OF CITIES) would be to locate the new towns considerably farther from the present urbanized area along a belt of development at a distance of some thirty miles from central Washington. Such an arrangement would have some advantages over the former alternative: because of their remoteness, there would be less chance of an eventual filling-in between the new cities and the central urbanized area, so controls over central city growth would not have to be as strict; the proximity of each city to several others would put additional employment, social and cultural opportunities within easy reach, partly compensating for their distance from the central city. This is admittedly a somewhat artificial arrangement, however, and extraordinary measures would be required to bring such a pattern of development into being.



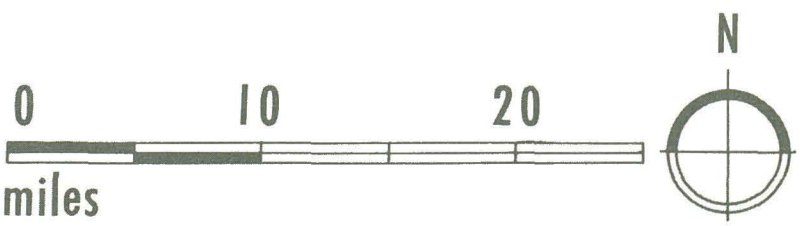


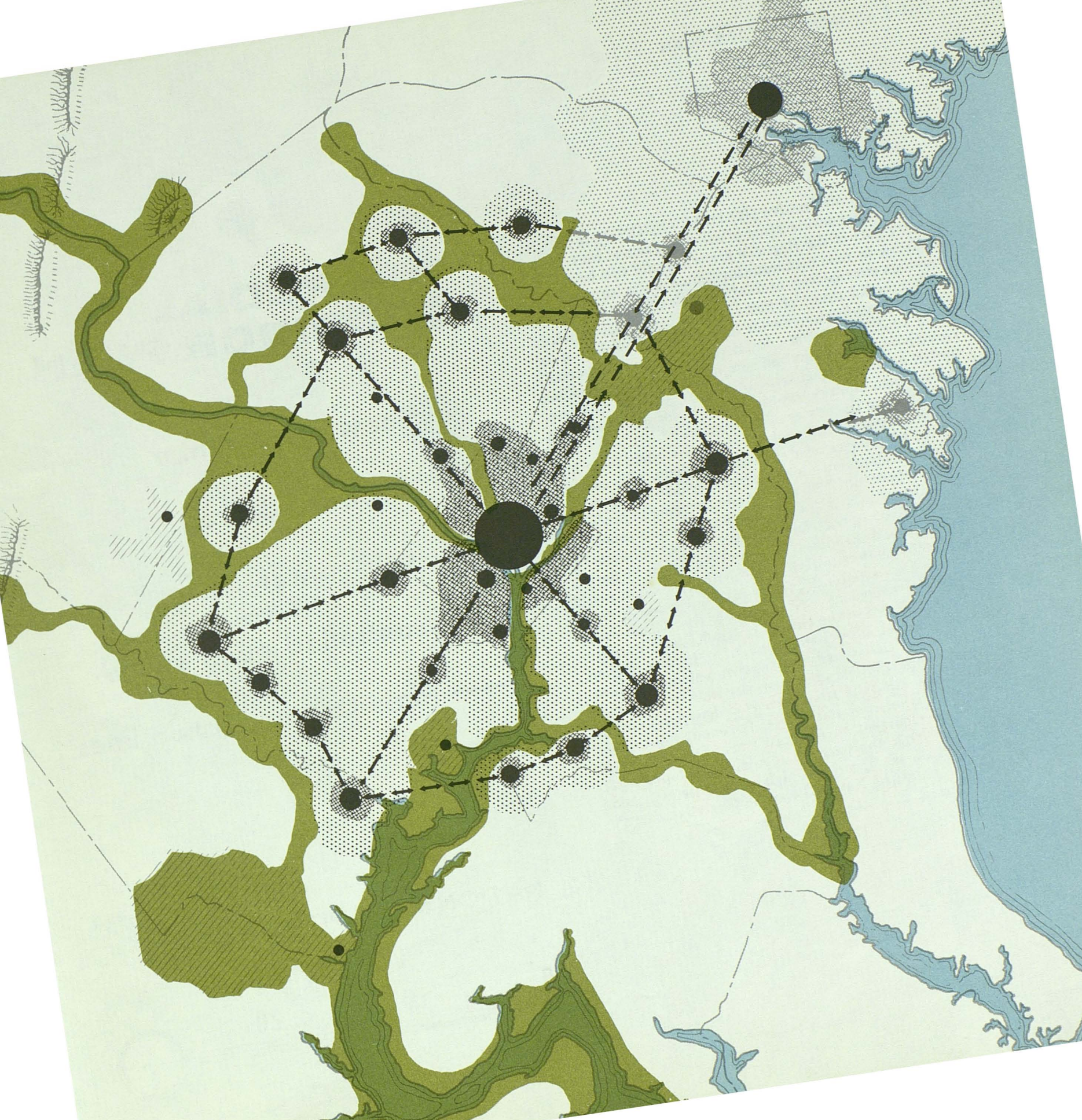
Still another alternative (PERIPHERAL COMMUNITIES) would place the new communities at the very edge of the present urbanized area. In size, in development density, and in diversity of housing types and employment opportunity each of these communities would be similar to those called for by the previous two alternatives. Development outward from the central city in this manner is, therefore, clearly to be distinguished from "planned sprawl." Stockholm's new growth is being accommodated by a plan of this general character.

By avoiding the considerable intervening distances of the previous two arrangements, this alternative puts all the people of the region within closer reach of the wealth of economic and social opportunity available in the metropolis. However, an elaborate network of freeways, including many circumferential and diagonal routes passing through heavily built-up areas, would be needed to serve such a compact form of regional development. While urban open space could be provided within and between the new communities, this pattern would also push the open countryside farther and farther from the homes of most of the people. The pace would not be as rapid as under "planned sprawl," but the results over time would be just as relentless.

PERIPHERAL COMMUNITIES

NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION

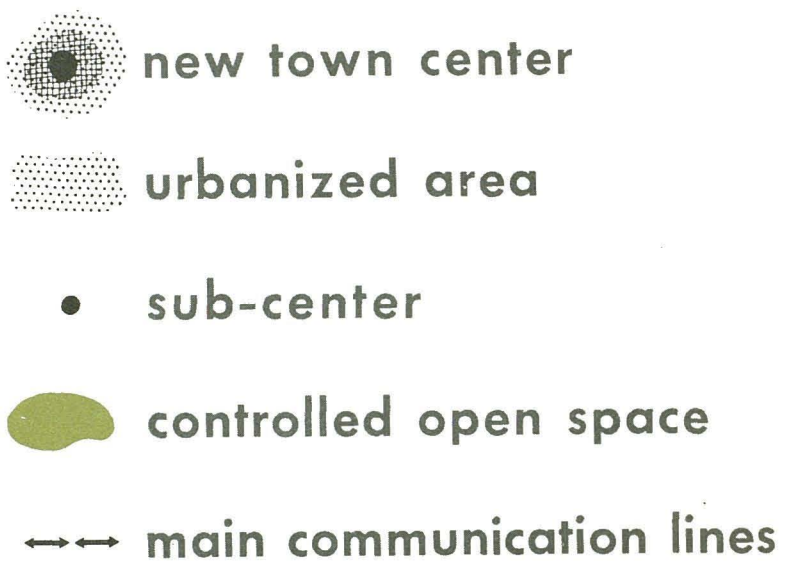




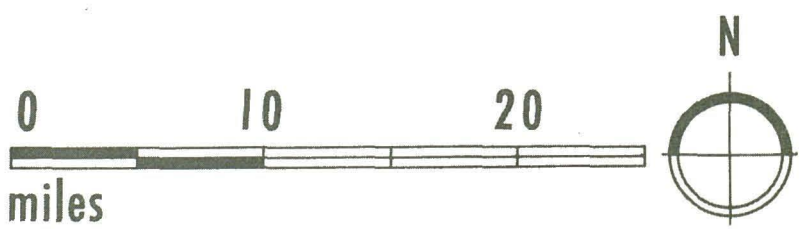
The final alternative (RADIAL CORRIDOR PLAN) profits from consideration of all the previous four. The greater part of the Region's growth would still be accommodated in new communities. Just as in three of the previous alternatives, each of the new urban areas would offer a broad range of housing types, and development density would be somewhat higher than is typical of today's suburban areas. Each would contain important centers of employment and commercial activity providing a high degree of local self-sufficiency. But in this case, the new communities would develop in corridors radiating outward from the center of the Region.

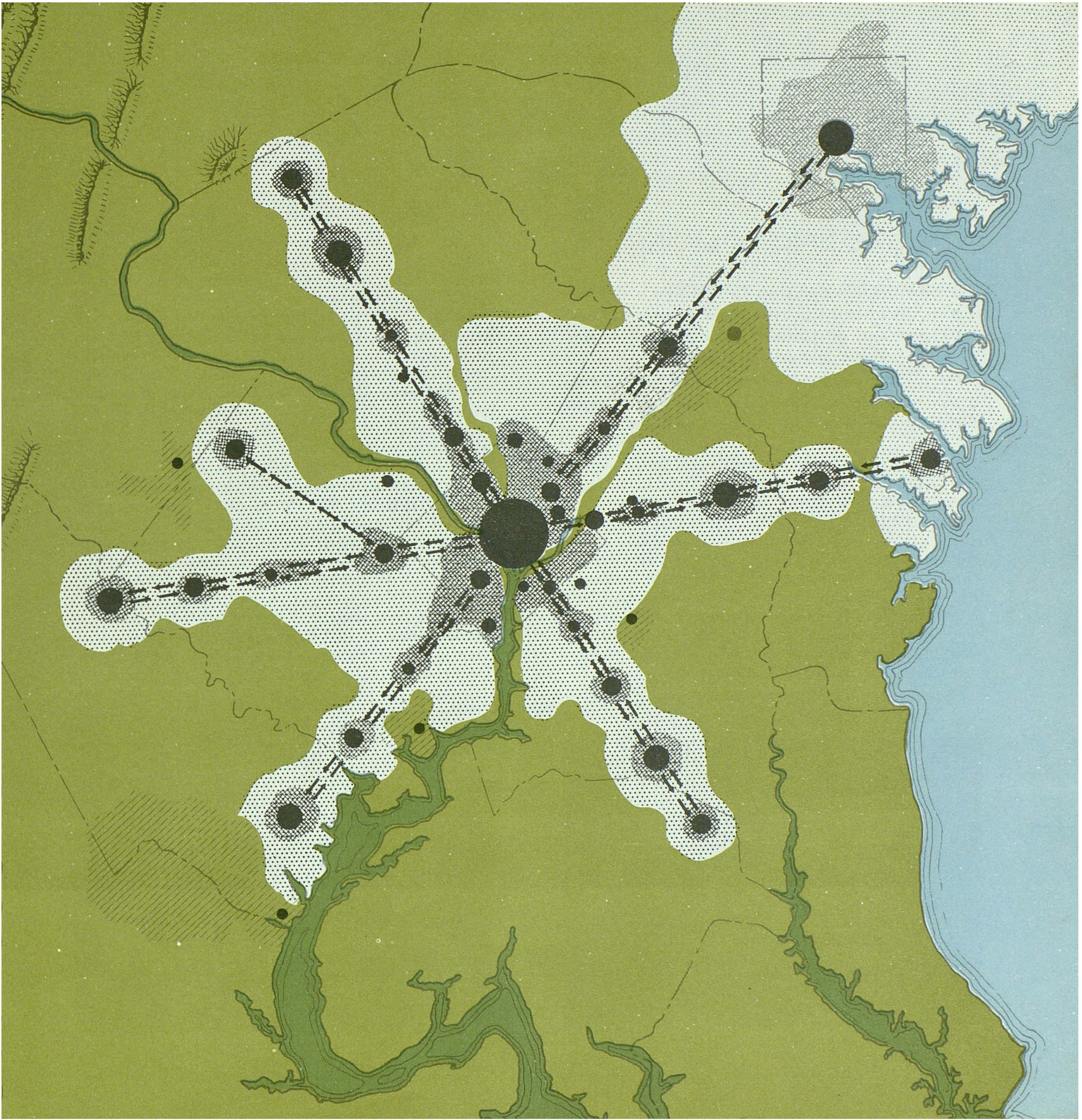
This pattern of regional development offers clear and decisive advantages over each of the others. By concentrating development along radial corridors, it offers the greatest opportunity to exploit the carrying potential of mass transportation. Its radial pattern permits especially efficient access to the central city provided conflicts between local and through traffic can be avoided by design. The employment center at the core of the Region would therefore have a potential for growth not possible under any other arrangement. Every part of the Region would have ready access to the variety of employment opportunity and social interchange available in the Region. Furthermore, the areas lying between the development corridors would provide significant stretches of open countryside penetrating the urban area as wedges readily accessible to the whole population, yet far enough out of the path of development to facilitate their preservation in open use. This approach to regional development is, therefore, seen as offering the highest promise as a guide to the growth of the National Capital Region during the decades ahead.

THE RADIAL CORRIDOR PLAN



NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION





NCR: SPECIFIC POLICIES

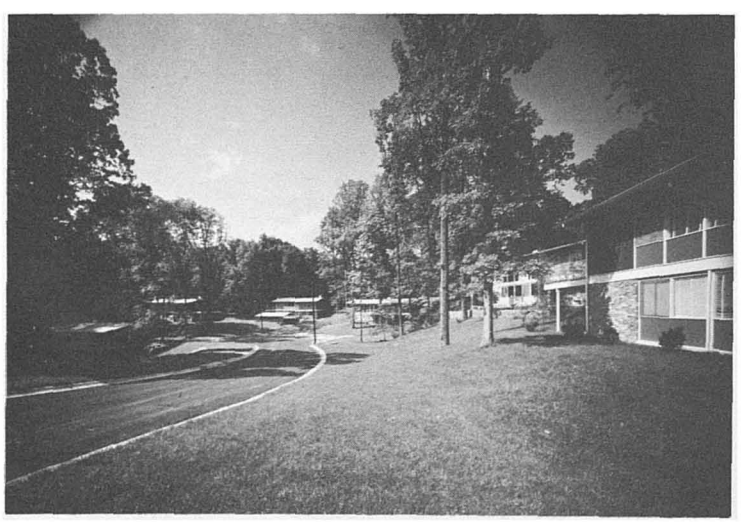
Residential development in the new suburban communities should provide a wide range of housing types, and be planned as a pattern of subcommunity and neighborhood groupings.

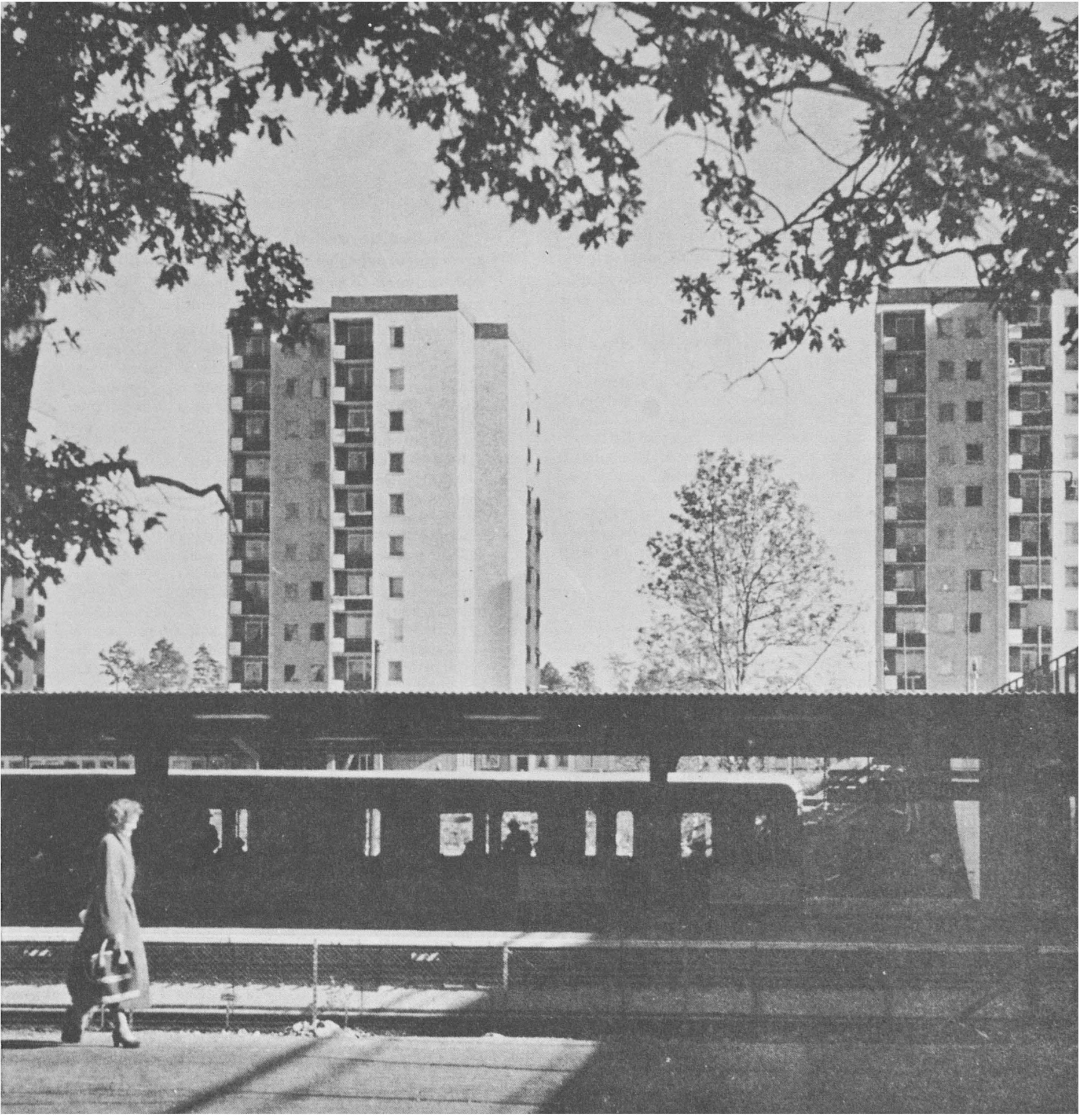
The highest residential densities in the new suburban communities should be located near rapid transit stations and main business districts.

Although the new suburban communities will vary in size, an ultimate population in the 75,000–125,000 range should probably be the objective in most cases. Their average density will be somewhat higher than is typical of outlying suburbs today, but a considerable amount of land will be needed for each. (A city of 100,000 developed at densities typical today of Arlington, Bethesda, or Alexandria would occupy approximately twenty square miles.) If the promise of the new communities is to be realized, they must, therefore, be carefully designed to create an efficient internal organization and a living environment that meets many, varied human needs.

Well-designed, high-density areas will permit a more efficient use of land. New subdivisions will no longer leapfrog across the countryside, by-passing many tracts too large to be wasted but too small to be of much use as open space. Each suburban community will have a wide range of housing types to meet the diverse needs and tastes of its population. There will be high-rise and low-rise apartments, town houses, single-family houses on the small lots, and single-family houses on large lots—all in accord with demonstrated demand. Each community will thus offer housing suitable for everyone who wishes to live near his place of employment, as well as for those who wish to live in one community and work in another.

Efficient transportation also will be a primary objective in designing these communities. Use of mass transportation will be encouraged by locating apartments and employment centers near some transit stations, and by providing ample parking at other stations. The potential amount of time spent in travel will be reduced by having a variety of job opportunities within easy reach of each residential area, by locating apartments close to suburban business districts, and by designing the local street systems in the new communities to focus upon the employment centers.





A series of major suburban business districts offering the widest possible variety of employment, shopping, and recreational opportunities should be developed to serve as "downtowns" for the new suburban communities.

Over one million new jobs will be created in the Region outside Metro-Center in the next four decades. About 600,000 of these will be types of jobs which could be located in major employment centers at fairly high densities. The highest priority should be given to locating these jobs in the major suburban business districts of each new community along the corridors of development. Other jobs will be located at employment centers that cannot be placed at the heart of a community, such as industrial parks, military bases and airports. Some of these may employ 10,000 people or more. The concentration of jobs in major business districts should, however, be the new dominant pattern in the suburban areas.

The suburban business district will serve as the focal point for the economic and social life of each new community. Office buildings will be a major feature, including decentralized administrative offices of both Federal and local governments. Total employment of at least 15,000 will be typical, larger than any existing today. And 30,000 or more will be quite possible for some.

Around the business districts will be the apartments needed by every suburban area. An arterial street system will radiate from each suburban downtown, reinforcing it as the primary local destination. Freeways will come close enough to lend support to the development of these centers. High quality mass transportation will connect each center with the others and with Metro-Center.

For occasional special needs, or for special types of employment, residents will go to Metro-Center. Also, a certain amount of movement between the suburban cities is to be expected, since each major business district should be encouraged to develop its own special character and special services. Nevertheless, the residents of the new suburbs will have the opportunity to satisfy their daily and weekly needs close to home, and to spend less time travelling in the process.

New facilities housing Federal, State and local government agencies should be programmed, located and designed to promote the growth of suburban employment centers in radial corridors.

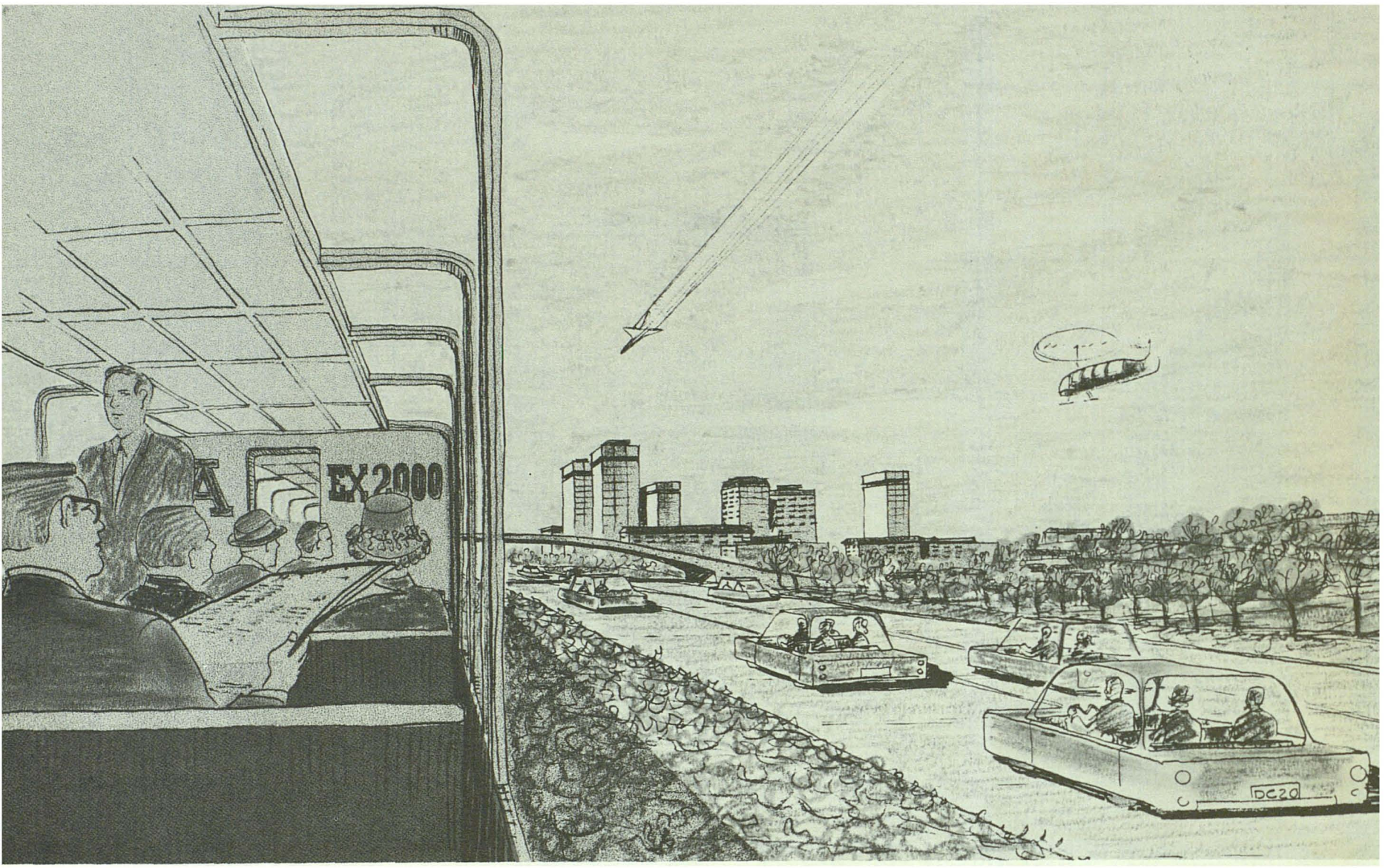
The Federal Government will still be the basic employer in the Region in the Year 2000, even though the Federal share of regional employment is expected to decline from a present 35 percent to about 25 percent. A total of 220,000 more Federal jobs is projected. In addition, State and local governments will be adding an estimated 140,000 new jobs in the Region. Metro-Center should accommodate about 80,000 of this total of 360,000 new government employment. This means that government employment (excluding the military) outside Metro-Center will almost triple in the next four decades, from a present 130,000 to an estimated 410,000.

An increasing proportion of government employment in the suburban areas will be office workers. Some government agencies, notably research laboratories, will require large tracts of land that will be available only at outlying locations. However, the more typical government installation will be the office building for which sites in the planned suburban business districts should be given first consideration.

When possible, construction of Federal buildings at each location should be timed to promote the growth of each suburban business district when it is needed to serve a new cluster of population. Also, the amount of government employment in each district should be scaled where possible to the size of the labor force in the area served by that district, while making room for a plentiful variety of private employment in the same district. Like other major places of employment, Federal offices should be within walking distance of rapid transit stations.

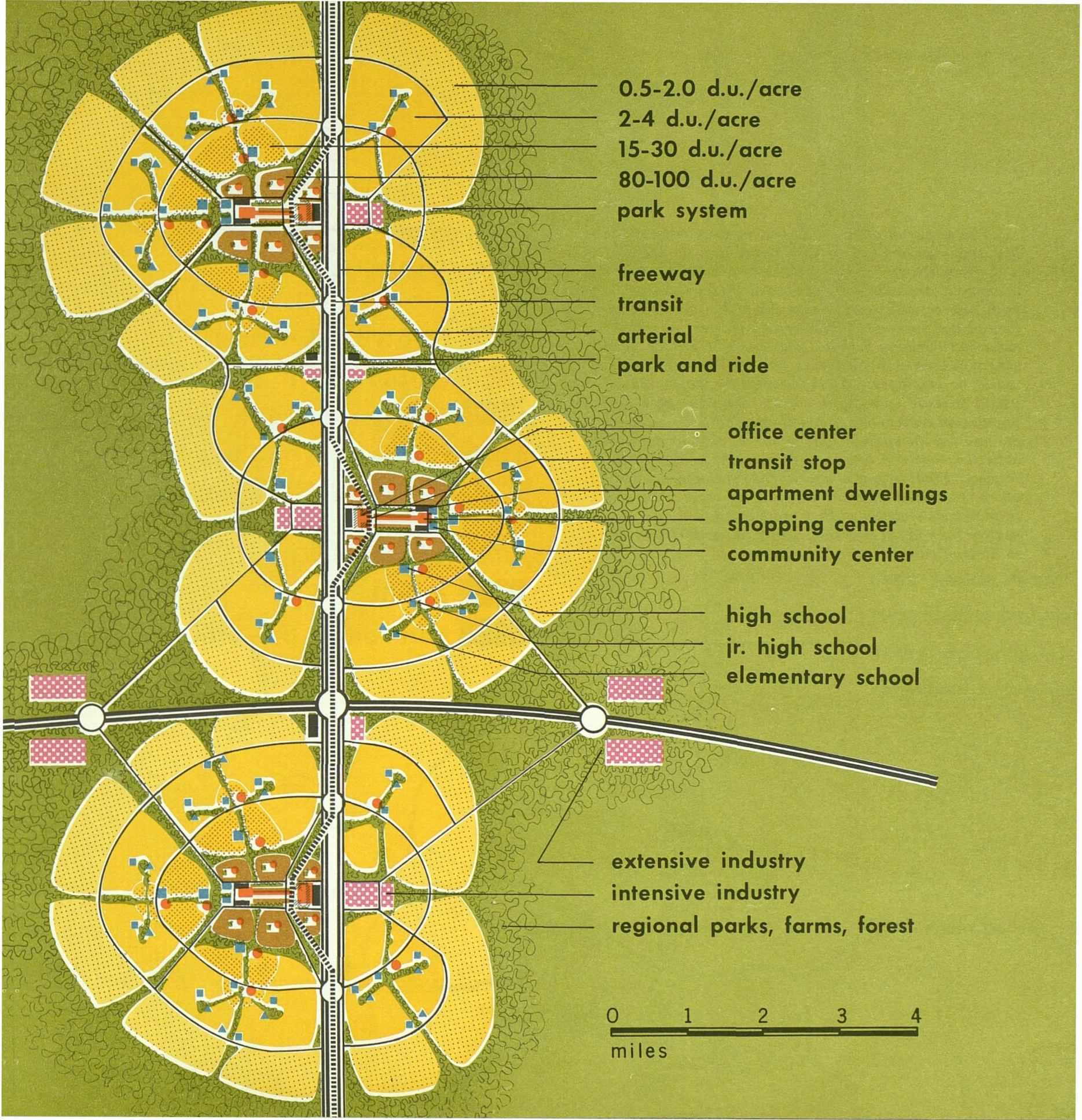
The location of employment is one of the most important factors determining the shape and timing of future suburban development. A large share of all future employment in the Region will be government jobs. New government employment centers are the products of public decision. The location of new government facilities, therefore, offers a unique opportunity for government to set a new pattern of regional development.

The heart of each new suburban community would be served by rail transit. Shown here in an idealized way is the transit station at a level below a larger pedestrian plaza which in turn serves as a gathering place for those employed or shopping in this suburban business district. The train stop itself opens onto a sunken courtyard which brings sunlight and air to the lower level. One side of the courtyard is faced with small shops and restaurants at the base of the office towers. Nearby high-rise apartment buildings can be seen behind these towers.

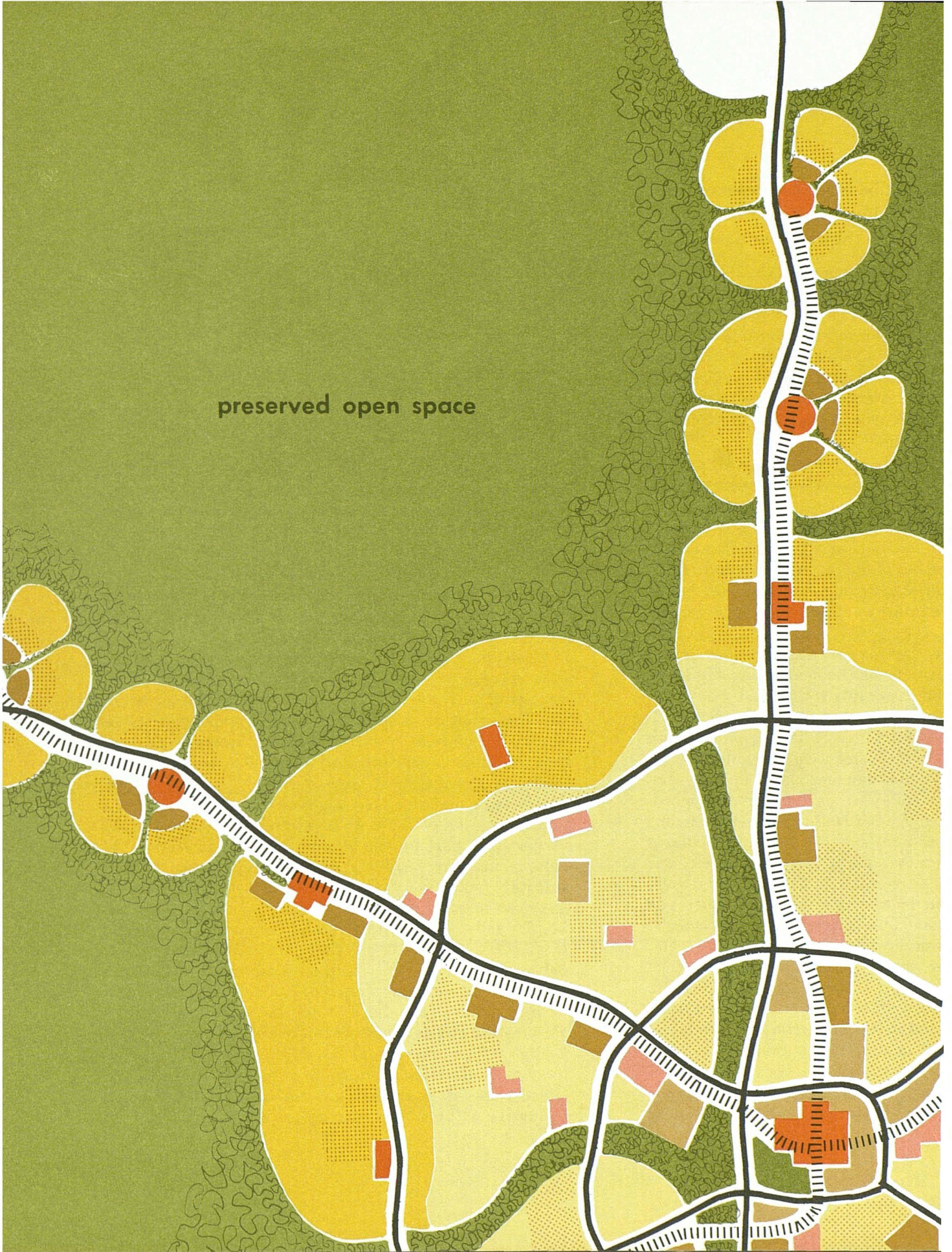


For the rail commuter traveling along a typical transportation corridor, the view would alternate between pleasant areas of green countryside and clusters of development. Shown here is the exciting approach to one of the new communities, identified by the cluster of office and residential towers at its core.

The model corridor opposite, illustrates the principles according to which new suburban communities might be designed. (In actuality, there would be great variety between communities as the influence of existing development, topography, and other factors comes into play.) Essentially, the design of each suburban community, including that of its basic circulation systems, would focus on its center. Most high-density employment and residential development would cluster within walking distance of the transit stop. On the other hand, the low-density major retail, cultural and governmental center of each community should extend away from the high-density core and into the community itself. The residential neighborhoods surrounding the central area would diminish in density as distance from the center increases. The entire system of local shopping and community facilities should be linked by parks and greenways so that easy access could be had throughout the community to all kinds of recreation facilities; including the real contrast with open countryside nearby.


0.5-2.0 d.u./acre
2-4 d.u./acre
15-30 d.u./acre
80-100 d.u./acre
park system
freeway
transit
arterial
park and ride
office center
transit stop
apartment dwellings
shopping center
community center
high school
jr. high school
elementary school
extensive industry
intensive industry
regional parks, farms, forest
0 1 2 3 4
miles

The sectional diagram on the opposite page shows how freeways and transit lines would link the areas of new growth together with the central portions of the metropolis including an expanded Metro-Center. In each new corridor community the higher-density residential development would tend to cluster nearby the suburban business district, which would satisfy most shopping need of the residents, and where many of them would be employed. At the same time, rapid transit would provide convenient service between these new population centers and Metro-Center, both for commuters and for the special shopping or services or cultural activities that can be found only at the center of the Region. Similarly, new apartment development in the older residential sections also should tend to cluster near transit stations so that commuting would be convenient both to the new suburban business districts and to Metro-Center.



growth beyond the
3 million metropolis-
cities in the corridor

space for 1 million
more people in new
communities organized
within presently
committed urban area

1960 metropolis

Vigorous efforts should be made to preserve large amounts of open countryside, located so as to guide the growth of the Region in the corridor pattern.

One of the Region's most urgent needs is the prompt preservation of large amounts of open space which will otherwise be rapidly covered by new development. These open spaces will serve several important purposes. Most important, wedges of open space between the proposed corridors will foster their development by directing into them the growth that would otherwise spread across the entire countryside. Open spaces along the Potomac will, prevent pollution and siltation.

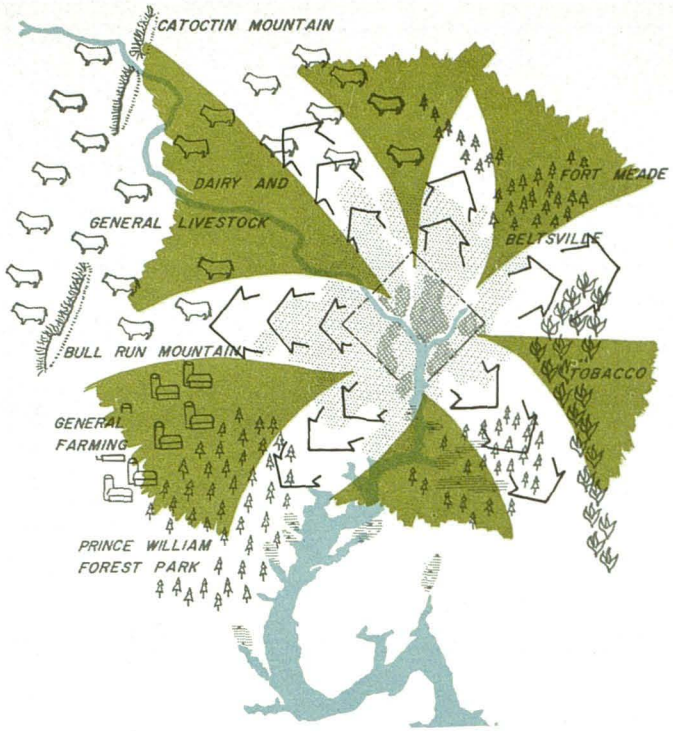
This policy aims also to preserve the Region's natural resources—farming in outlying areas, woodlands, and unspoiled wilderness areas.

Large tracts of open space will be needed as well for recreation in the years to come, as a growing population spends more of its time out of doors. The 80 square miles of recreational land in the Region today should be increased to 400 square miles to meet the needs over the next forty years.

Finally, even in areas that may eventually be developed, the restriction of growth during the near future will make it possible to avoid the pre-emption of land by development that may stultify better ultimate development.

The need for action is urgent. The Region's growth has already consumed more than 350 square miles of land, and each year suburban development chews up vast acreages of farms, stream valleys, and irreplaceable woodlands, pushing the ring of open countryside surrounding Washington farther and farther out. Indeed, current trends indicate that unless drastic steps are taken, over seventeen hundred square miles of land may be committed to urbanization by the turn of the century and the countryside will have been driven back a distance of nearly thirty miles from downtown Washington.

Furthermore, delay will be expensive. Land which might have been bought for $300 an acre in 1920—as in Fairfax County—has been driven up to at least ten times that figure now; Arlington County paid an average of $9,000 an acre for park acquisition in 1960, twenty-five times the amount it could have been acquired for only forty years ago. The cost of land is rising, and will continue to rise in the future. Open space may be preserved

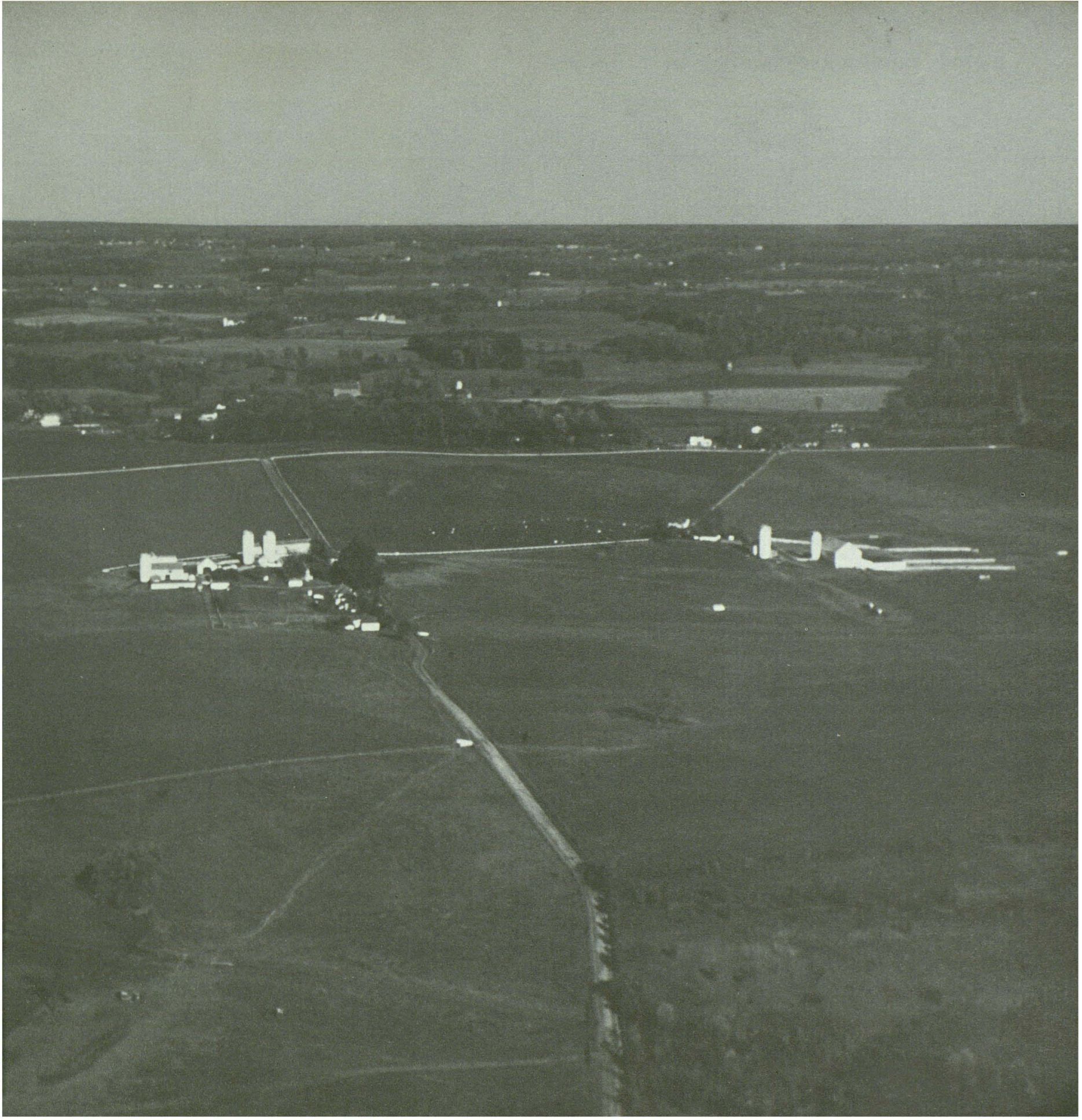


The wedges of open countryside should protect important forested, agricultural and wilderness areas within the Region. Land would be reserved in these wedges also for game preserves, regional outing areas, and the broad expanses of the estate country.

by means other than purchase, such as tax concessions and zoning, but all methods become much more difficult as development proceeds.

Open space preserved as wedges penetrating the urban area between the corridors of development will be highly accessible to the residents of both the central cities and the new suburbs. The preservation of open space in this way could be readily accomplished if growth pressures can be largely concentrated along the corridors: the strongest measures will be needed near the inner apex of each wedge, and along the edges of the corridors.

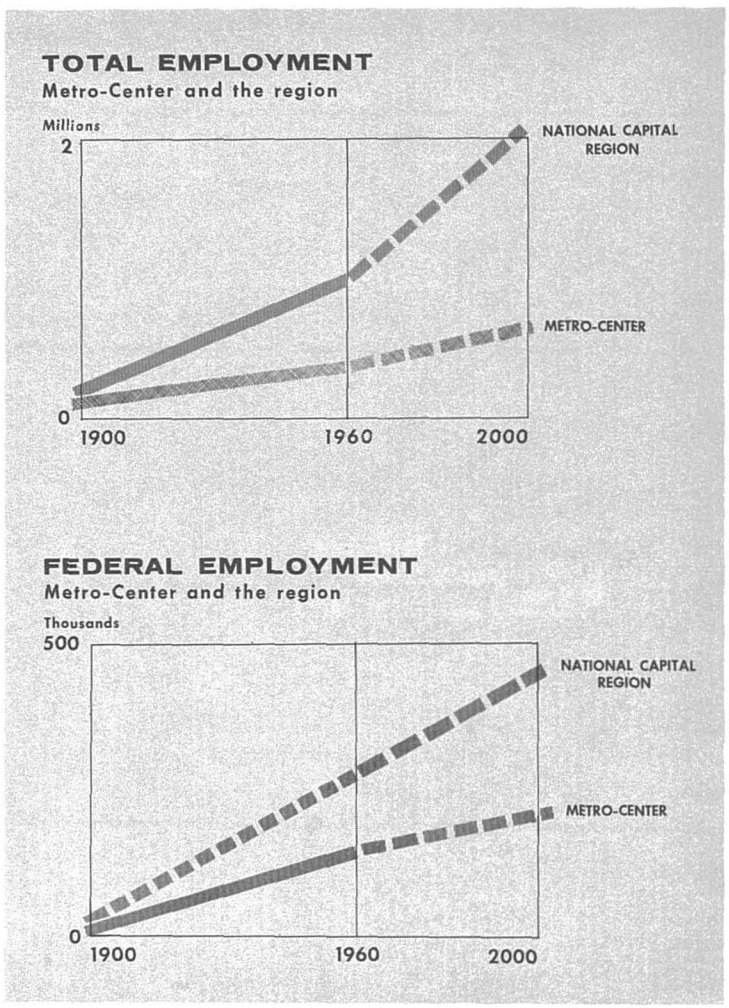
The location of these wedges of open space will be determined in part by the location of the corridors of development. Conversely, the presence of areas especially suitable for preservation in open use will in many instances indicate directions in which corridors should *not* be planned. Every effort should be made, for example, to preserve the best of existing natural, scenic, and agricultural resources—the Piedmont dairy land in Loudoun and Montgomery Counties, the tobacco area in Prince Georges County, the shores of the Potomac and Patuxent Rivers, and the extensive forest areas in Prince William County. The pressure for development would, however, have to be diverted from these areas as a matter of regional policy if, as areas of low economic return, they are to survive within the greater metropolitan Region.



Metro-Center should be encouraged to grow as the dominant employment center within the National Capital Region.

Metro-Center is by far the largest business center, and the only one that serves the whole Region. It now contains over forty percent of the Region's employment and, although it will certainly not retain this proportion over the years, it is expected to remain predominant. It can contain more than one quarter of the Region's employment if growth follows the corridor pattern. Metro-Center's dominance will be manifested both in its size and its service area: it will remain many times larger than any other center, and will continue to be by far the most diversified center, drawing customers and employees from the entire Region.

One of the reasons for Metro-Center's unusual dominance is the fact that the Region's principal employer, the Federal Government, has chosen to locate the majority of its office facilities in this central area. There has been an increasing tendency to locate new Federal offices outside Metro-Center, but over two thirds of the Region's Federal employees are still located in the center. It is assumed that a large proportion of Federal agencies in the Year 2000 will still require central locations, and that in spite of some further decentralization, Metro-Center will retain at least half the Region's total.



An expanded system of regional rapid transit should consist primarily of radial lines focusing on Metro-Center.

The continued growth of Metro-Center will require a system of rapid transit, since highways alone cannot handle the eventual volumes of rush-hour traffic in and out of the center.

The availability of high-speed, high-capacity mass transportation will be decisive also in the development of each radial corridor, especially in the creation of the suburban business districts and adjacent apartment developments. Rail rapid transit extended to the center of each new community as it is developed could well reach out twenty miles or more from Metro-Center by the Year 2000. In the new suburbs, with their moderate densities, the distance between transit stops would probably average about two miles. Since the new suburban business districts would generally be spaced about four to six miles apart, transit stations would frequently alternate between those serving business districts and high-density residential developments, and stations serving low-density industrial development and large parking lots for those who must drive to the stations from surrounding single-family residences. Transit lines would normally use the median strips of freeways. Occasionally, however, these lines would swing off the freeways to provide direct service to the centers of parking areas or to the suburban business districts.

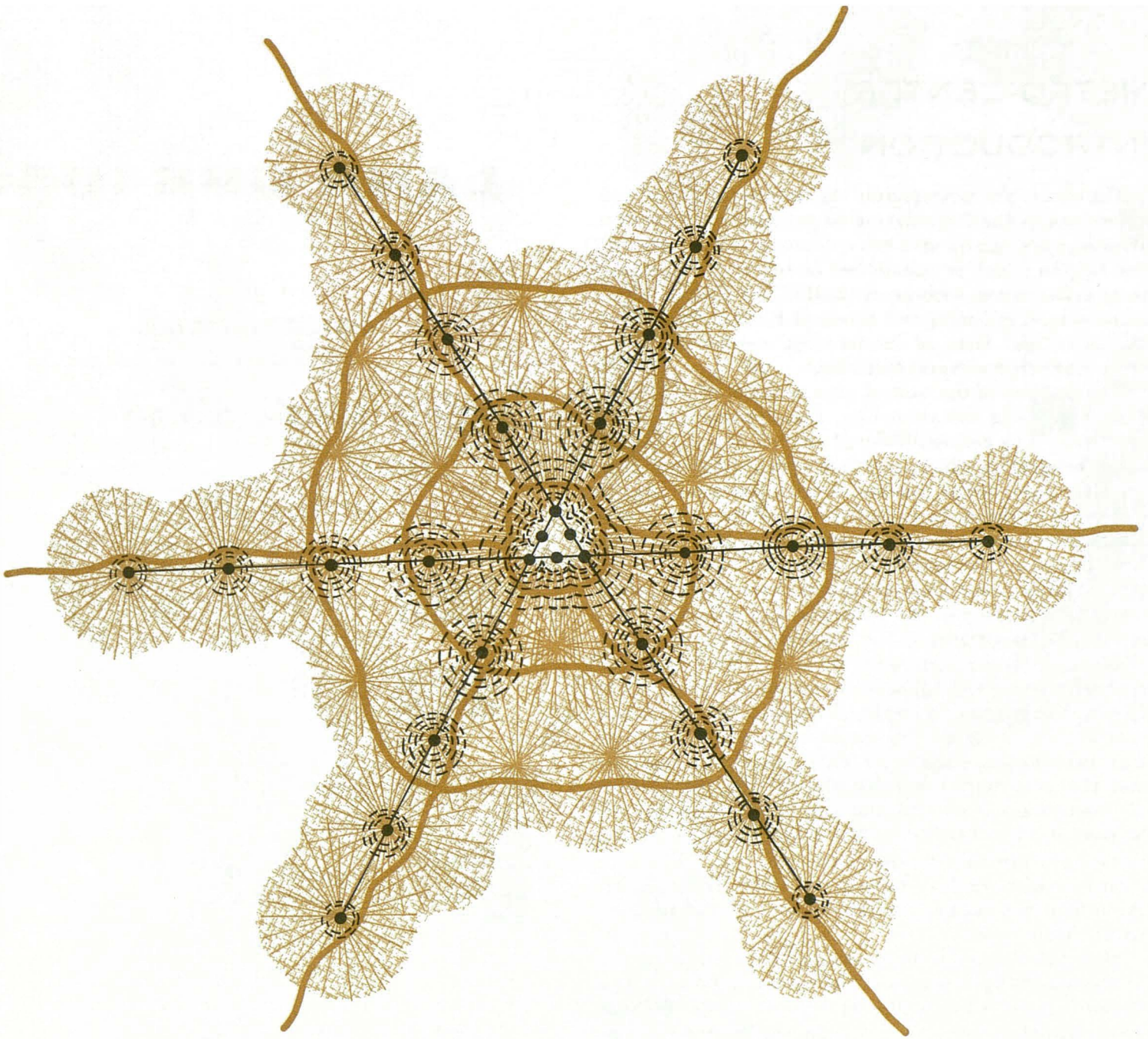
Within the inner areas of the metropolis, where three million people will be living by the Year 2000, the radial rapid transit routes should be carefully located to serve high-density apartment areas and uptown employment centers, and should be closely coordinated with renewal of the inner areas. On some of the radial lines three or four tracks or lanes may be needed to handle the combined traffic to Metro-Center from these inner areas and from the new suburban communities. On these lines, special tracks or lanes should be designated for express service to and from the suburbs.

The regional network of freeways should be designed especially to handle those trips for which there will be no convenient rapid transit service.

Even with the extensive rapid transit system that is recommended, most of the travel in the Region in the Year 2000 will take place in automobiles, no doubt of a design much advanced over today's models. The rapid transit system will be keyed particularly to the critical peaks of traffic to and from work during the weekday rush hours. Even during rush hours, less than half the people traveling about the Region will be using transit, since many destinations will not be convenient to the stations. Furthermore, much suburban travel will consist of trips less adaptable to transit service, such as trips to shopping centers or to weekend recreation areas. Thus, a broad network of freeways will still be needed even though the rapid transit system will handle the bulk of the trips in and out of Metro-Center and between points on each corridor during the rush hours.

The freeway routes should be located so as to reinforce the planned pattern of new land uses, connecting the centers of population and employment, but passing between neighborhoods since they act as barriers at this smaller scale. They should be supplemented by a system of arterial streets, particularly as this will achieve a separation between local and through traffic. The radial routes in particular should come close to the suburban business districts, so that their median strips can be conveniently used for rapid transit lines. Controls over the use of land abutting freeways will be particularly important along those crossing the open wedges of countryside.

New freeway rights-of-way should be wide enough to allow at least a sixty-five foot median strip between the paved lanes, for future expansion of the capacity of each route. This is especially important in the central areas, where later acquisition of additional rights-of-way would be very expensive.



Rapid transit radials would focus on Metro-Center. Freeway radials, on the other hand, would be supplemented with a limited number of circumferentials serving the highly developed central sections of the metropolis. Patterns of local circulation would focus on transit stations particularly.

METRO-CENTER:

INTRODUCTION

The core of the metropolitan region calls for special consideration in the formulation of policies for the future. Washington's central area has a degree of dominance over the Region which is unmatched in any of our country's large urban areas, with nearly half of this Region's total employment, including two thirds of Federal civilian employment, and most of its theatres, museums, concert halls, and other cultural facilities.

The position of the central area in the Region is, however, now being threatened by, among other things, its very size. The concentration of activity there is causing traffic congestion which, together with a deterioration of the older parts of the business district, has resulted in an increasing tendency for potential central-area activities to locate elsewhere. Some observers here and elsewhere have predicted the continuing decline of the city center, but in the National Capital Region there are imperative reasons for seeking its revitalization and growth. These include the importance to the whole country of having an efficient, attractive and inspiring capital city; the greater economic, social and cultural opportunities which will be open to the people of a metropolitan area having a strong central core; the huge investment already made in buildings, monuments, streets and utilities in the central area; and the fact that the rebuilding of the considerable blighted areas not far from the very center of the city will be possible only if there is continuing growth to create a demand for centrally-located land.

In view of its critical importance to the entire Region, the urban core has been designated as a special planning area: Metro-Center.

Metro-Center is the area containing the important activities requiring locations at the center and focus of the Region. It lies between Florida Avenue and the Potomac and Anacostia Rivers. Within it are the important public buildings and monuments, the Central Business Area, the future Inner Loop Freeway, and the central terminus of the projected subway system. Its potential for change is indicated by the fact that it contains all but one of the existing urban renewal areas. The policies recommended below are aimed at achieving the maximum benefit from these and future renewal efforts.

LAND USE 1960

commercial

public office

industrial

institutional

public institutional

residential

open space

METRO-CENTER

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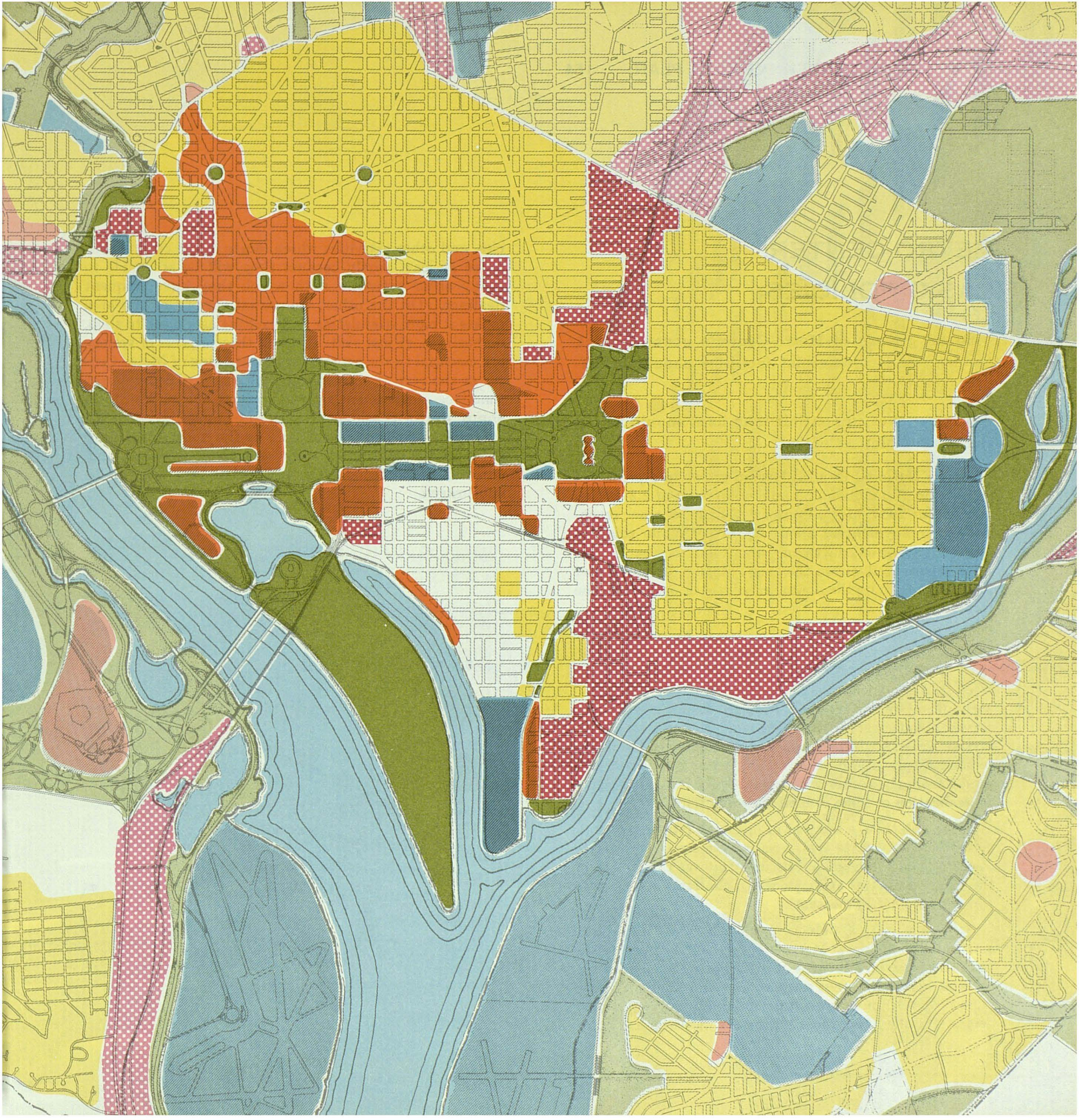


METRO-CENTER: BASIC POLICIES

Sound growth of Metro-Center's governmental, cultural, and commercial facilities should be encouraged.

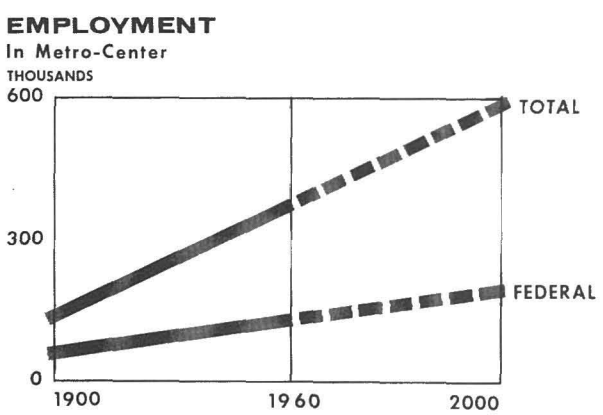
A mixture of compatible land uses should be encouraged in Metro-Center.

As the National Capital Region grows to a projected population of 5 million and an employment of 2.2 million in the Year 2000, Metro-Center will likewise grow, reaching an employment of about 650,000. While this will represent a rate of growth only about half as great as that to be experienced within the entire Region, Metro-Center will continue to be the dominant center of activity in the Region.

The employment growth expected in Metro-Center is to some extent inevitable. In the past decade over one sixth of the Region's total growth occurred here without rapid transit, without a downtown renewal program—without any of the influences toward expansion that are currently anticipated. As these new programs take hold, further growth will be assured. On the other hand, the continued spread of population at greater and greater distances from the center will undoubtedly result in the decentralization of some central-area functions.

There are, then, a number of opposing influences, tending both to accelerate and to retard the growth of Metro-Center. The policy should be to encourage the growth of the many activities appropriate to the National Capital which need central locations.

Greater variety should be one of the most important attributes of the new Metro-Center. This variety will take the form of mixtures of different downtown functions as well as different sizes, shapes and styles of buildings: it should have both functional and perceptual aspects. On one hand, most businesses, government agencies, and other activities which locate in the central area do so at least partly because they will be accessible to many other activities with which they have frequent dealings. On the other, the visual variety of the area makes it more stimulating and exciting as a place to shop, do business, or just visit. Both of these aspects of variety are essential to the satisfactory functioning of Metro-Center as the core of a great city. Mixtures of central-area functions—government agencies, private offices, downtown shops, in-town residential—are to be encouraged to the extent that their intermixture is to the mutual benefit of the activities concerned. Similarly, the harmonious mixture of building shapes and styles is also to be encouraged.



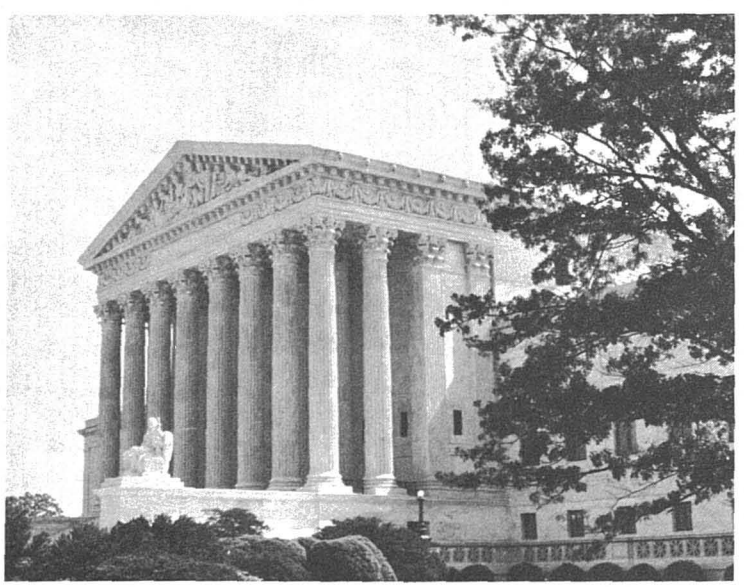
METRO-CENTER: SPECIFIC POLICIES

Every effort should be made to complete and enhance the basic monumental areas of The Mall and Capitol Hill. New public buildings which should be appropriately monumental, and memorials of unique and monumental character, should be located on sites consistent with their importance.

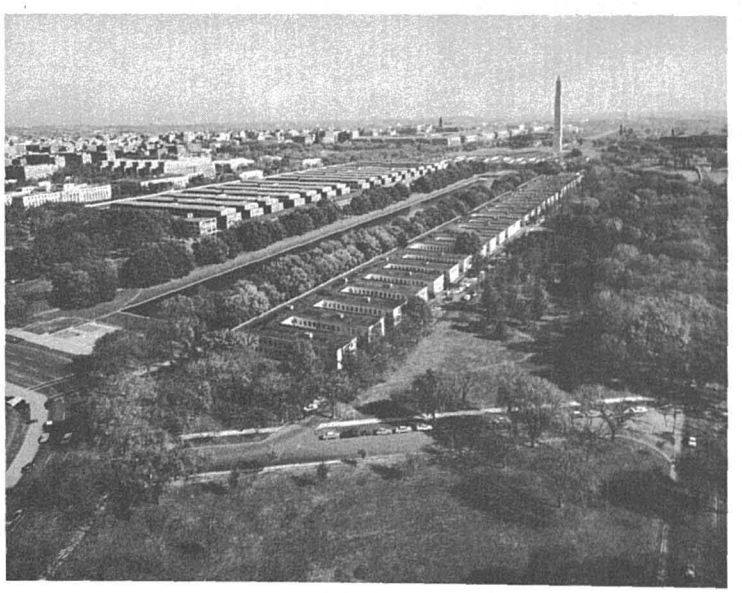
The monumental areas of central Washington—The Mall and Capitol Hill in particular—are the outstanding physical features of the city, and form the image of Washington in the minds of people throughout the world, notwithstanding the fact that these areas are marred by temporary structures and unfinished buildings and building complexes. Public effort should be concentrated on the removal of the temporaries and the completion of the monumental groupings of buildings intended for these settings.

Implicit in this proposed policy is the distinction between monumental public buildings and another type of public structure. As Federal and other public activities have grown in scope and variety, the symbolic or monumental expression of many of these activities has tended to become secondary in importance to their operational requirements. This policy proposes, therefore, that a monumental treatment be reserved for such special functions as the various courts, the National Archives, and the like, and not extended to such purely operational functions as, for instance, the Internal Revenue Service or the Federal Housing Administration. This policy also proposes that monumental buildings be given sites which will enhance their monumentality: sites facing suitable open spaces, on the axes of streets, or other locations allowing them to be viewed in a special way.

As the Nation's Capital, this is the natural setting for the major monuments of our heritage. True monuments should have inspiring settings and the highest order of design.



The very nature of a monumental design concept demands completion before esthetic impact can be perfected. The Mall, Capitol Hill, Federal Triangle, and other such areas fall far short of their potential, because of their uncompleted state.

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New public offices of an operational nature should be housed in non-monumental buildings which will satisfy all of the requirements of efficiency and which will at the same time, by virtue of the highest quality of design and strategic siting, have the dignity and strength to establish their public identity.

This is a necessary complement to the preceding policy. Current estimates of Metro-Center's new growth in Federal employment to the Year 2000 place the increase at about 75,000. A very large proportion of this growth will have to be accommodated in buildings not included in current plans, since those now being planned will house only a few more employes than are now working in temporary and obsolete structures. At current public-building densities, the needed additional public space would occupy over 250 acres of Metro-Center land.

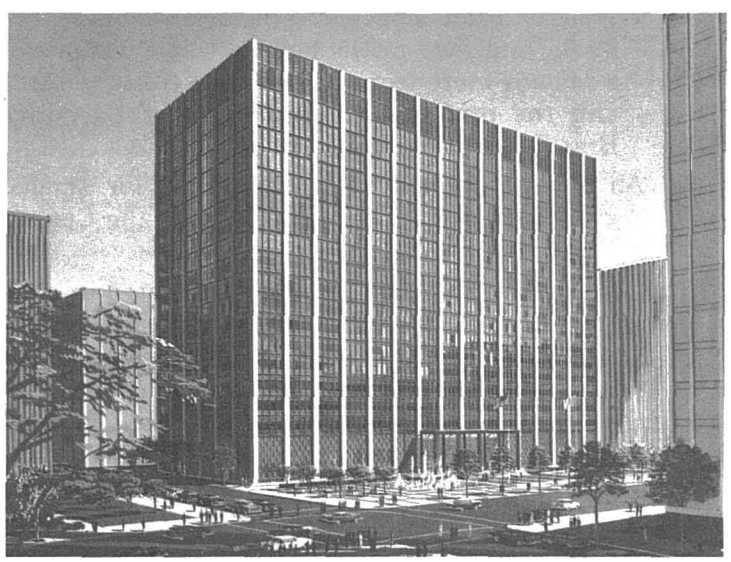
Expanding public activities are becoming increasingly operational in nature, and it is inconsistent and often wasteful to house such activities in monumental buildings. This policy proposes that new public office buildings be designed and constructed using the best of proven contemporary techniques, providing more efficient, flexible space and allowing many economies in construction and operation which would not be possible in monumental structures. These new buildings would make more efficient use of ground area; they could be developed at densities as much as twice those of 1960 without exceeding today's height limitations or reducing the amount of useful open space provided.

It is anticipated that operational public buildings would establish a new image, different from the conventional "public" image (which has in any case been weakened through its use by such private activities as banks, insurance companies, and chambers of commerce). The public character of the new buildings would be expressed both by the design of structures and by their location in relation to streets, open spaces, and other buildings. Operational public office buildings would be smaller in perimeter than is the current practice, and possibly higher, and would create small usable outdoor spaces at pedestrian scale. Their siting would take advantage of the unique prerogatives of the government as a builder: streets might in some cases be spanned by structures to create a sense of closure, structures might be extended beyond the normal building-line to establish a special prominence, sidewalks could be placed in arcades to broaden pedestrian access, usable open spaces could be created to achieve small parks, plazas, sitting and strolling areas lending prestige and amenity to adjacent commercial areas. These are only a few of the special techniques which could be used to give the public offices an immediate visual distinction from other buildings in the community.

THE SINGULAR IMAGE OF GOVERNMENT
The typical monumental enclosure of everyday governmental business functions inevitably results in a confusion of form and purpose.

THE ANONYMOUS IMAGE OF COMMERCE

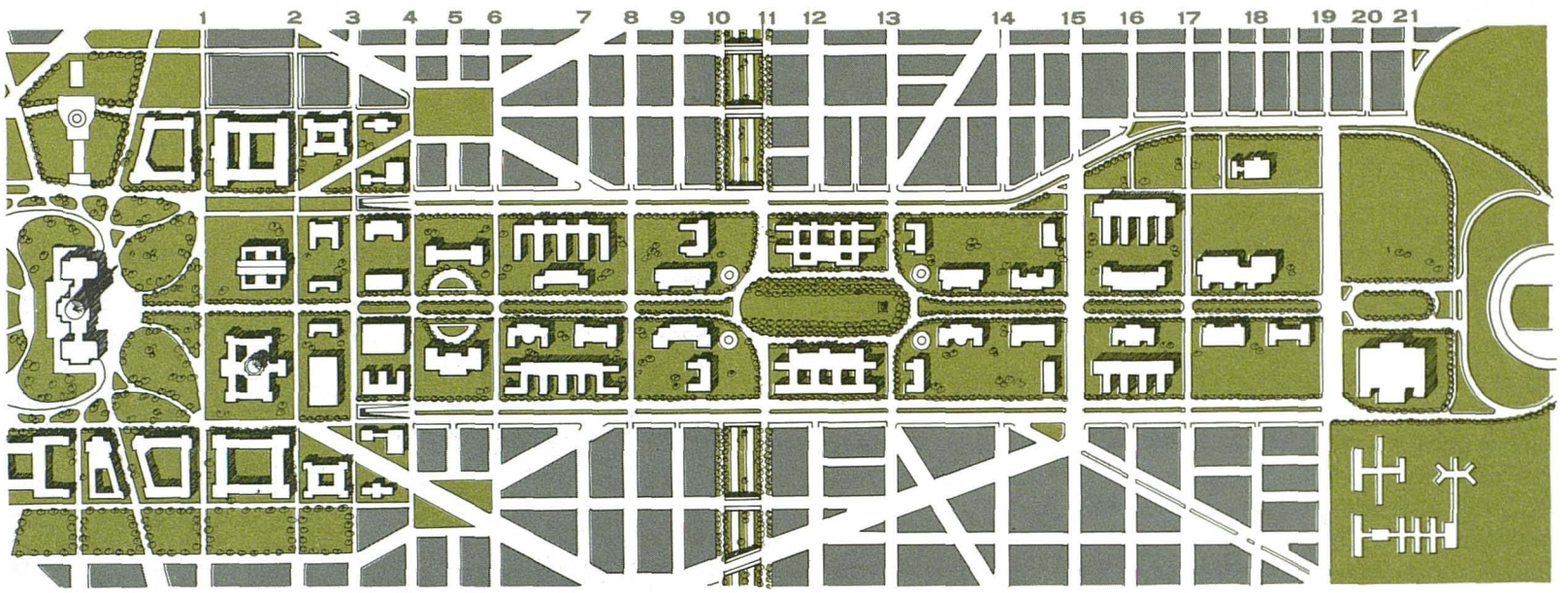
Due to the limitations on building height and the speculative nature of most commercial office buildings, the typical Metro-Center business street presents a simple rather unified picture, consistent with its purpose.



A NEW GOVERNMENTAL IMAGE

If monumental structures can be reserved for true monumental purposes, a new, business-like form can emerge to house operational government activities. Together with the highest quality of architectural design and related intimate urban open spaces, these new Federal buildings could become a vital feature of Metro-Center.

The General Services Administration is attempting to find such new expression for its operational buildings in other cities, this is an example of one in San Francisco. The real challenge will be to arrive at a scale and character unique to Washington, D.C.



The Downer-Clarke Plan—1941

New public office structures of non-monumental character should be located within the central area of the city in a series of important, relatively small, but strategically-located groupings with a degree of visual continuity.

One of the major questions to be answered in the planning of Metro-Center concerns the location of new public office buildings. Study of this question has narrowed a broad range of possibilities to two basic alternatives:

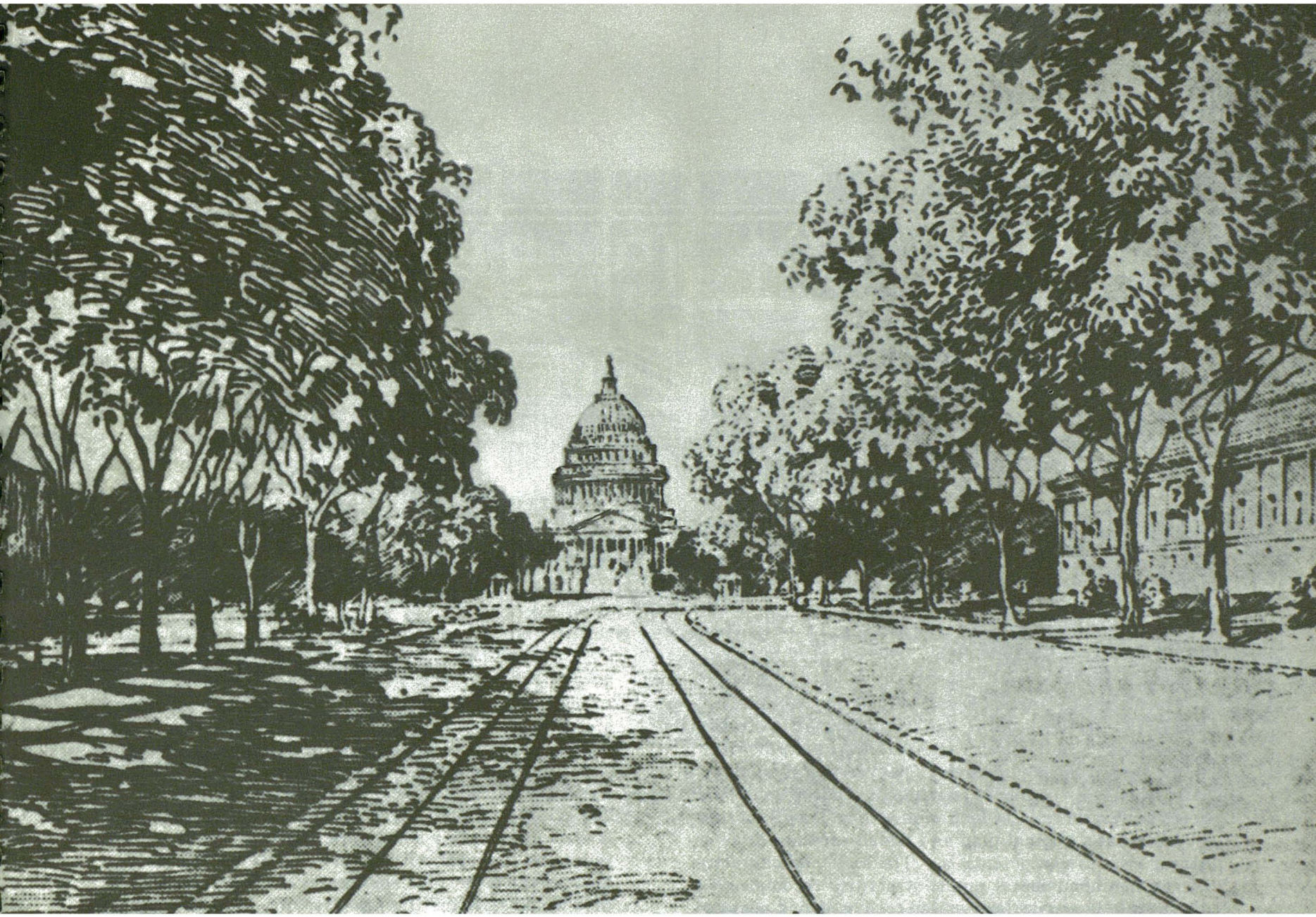
a. The "East Mall" concept, a linear development of public and semi-public buildings at a distance of a mile or more from the Central Business Area and the principal concentration of Executive Branch facilities; and

b. An alternative concept, which calls for smaller groupings of buildings in and near the Central Business Area.

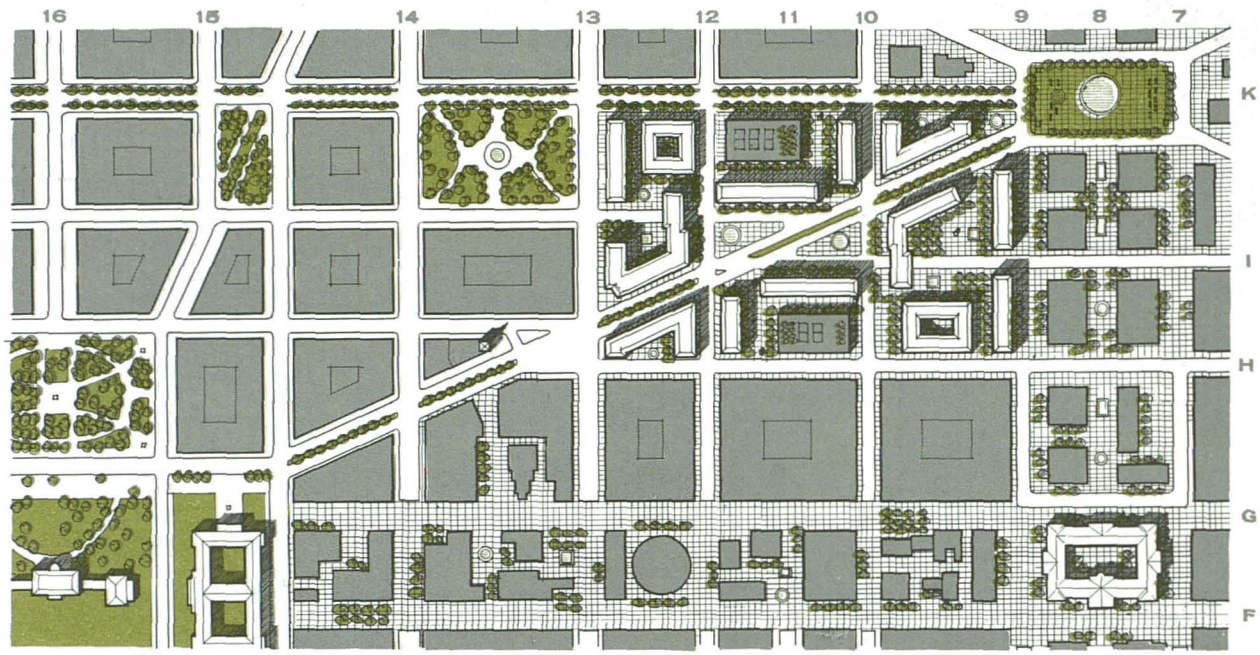
The idea of an East Mall probably originated in 1929, when an "Avenue of the States" was proposed to replace East Capitol Street. This Avenue would have provided sites for a number of structures, one for each state, containing exhibition and information facilities, offices for Senators and Congressmen, and related offices. This and later East Mall proposals were considered to be extensions of the monumental concepts for central-city areas which had preceded them, although the East Mall itself had no specific precedents in the eighteenth-century plans of L'Enfant or Ellicott, or in the McMillan Plan of 1901.

The East Mall concept in the form in which it is currently being considered was proposed in the "Downer-Clarke Plan," prepared in 1941 for the Federal Works Agency. This plan proposed public offices and institutional facilities in the area between Constitution and Independence Avenues at a density about one-third to one-half that of the Federal Triangle. The development was intended to reduce congestion west of the Capitol, to utilize relatively low-cost land, and to upgrade the declining residential areas east of the Capitol. The Downer-Clarke proposal was included as part of the 1950 Comprehensive Plan. None of the East Mall proposals anticipated the construction of an underground transit system.

The advantages of the East Mall proposal are as cited in the Downer-Clarke Plan: reduction of potential congestion in the central area, upgrading of housing in its vicinity, and lower land acquisition costs. Automobile access would be simpler to handle than in more central locations, and a subway line might serve the whole development if the line were located along, or within a few blocks of, East Capitol Street. The design does, however, seem to call for structures like those, of the monumental type, located on the present Mall. Furthermore, the effect of such a development on surrounding areas is somewhat doubtful: the automobile traffic and parking generated by activities located along this Mall could in fact have unfortunate effects on nearby residential areas.



This view of East Capitol Street, as published in the Washington Sunday Star, June 19, 1938, had the clear intent of depicting a monumental street picture calling for widened streets and great lawns flanked by low white monumental buildings. By contrast, the original L'Enfant Plan set specifications for East Capitol Street as an "avenue (with) pavement on each sid (which) will pass under an arched way, under whose cover shops will be most conveniently and agreeably situated." Thus the original designer of this City sought to bring life an urbanity to the steps of the "Federal House."



THE CELLULAR CONCEPT—an illustrative site plan indicating the role of new Federal buildings and the adjacent open space in the future image and function of Metro-Center.

The alternative to the East Mall concept is "*cellular*" rather than linear in form, and would consist of a series of relatively small clusters of structures, each of which would seem complete in itself. These groupings would be used whenever possible to enhance the wide avenues and small-scale open spaces which were such an important part of L'Enfant's original plan and which continue to offer strong civic design potentials. The scale and character of the nonmonumental public structures recommended here would be particularly suited to sites in and near the Central Business Area, where many of the major avenues and related open spaces are located.

Central sites for Federal offices would expedite the many necessary day-to-day operational contacts with other central-area activities, both public and private. Their architectural quality, provision of open space, and their volumes of business relationships with certain private office activities all should operate to create new prestige centers and attract new private development to nearby locations, this interaction serving to augment the image of the Federal government as part of the living metropolitan core. The development of these buildings and spaces could displace raggedness at the fringe of the business district, and could serve in the future to provide a stable transition area between the Central Business Area and close-in residential areas.

The plan above shows a possible development of one of the spaces intended by L'Enfant to be a special feature of the city. The square, at the intersection of I Street with 10th, 11th and 12th Streets and bisected by New York Avenue, was to be a small park, with one of "Five grand fountains intended with a spout of water"* in various parts of the city. The application of the cellular concept here would surround this space on all sides with buildings of medium height, providing a sense of enclosure and relief to the continual street vista by spanning I Street and by being built to a complementary cornice line. In combination with public or private buildings of similar mass along New York Avenue, they would give this space its intended function: a visual pause as the observer moves along the Avenue. As a location for Federal buildings, this particular site has the advantages of being near the junction of at least two proposed transit lines and other central-city activities and of helping in the redevelopment of a now-blighted area.

* Pierre Charles L'Enfant, *Plan of the City Intended for the Permanent Seat of the Government of the United States.* (1791)

A SENSE OF CLOSURE

The unique quality of this new kind of urban space along the diagonal New York Avenue will result from the selective spanning of minor streets by Federal buildings.

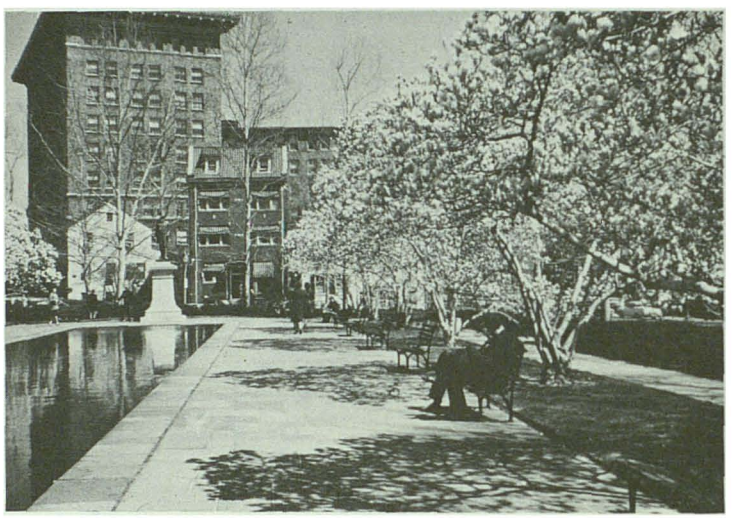
THE LACK OF CLOSURE

The vast openness of the existing street and building pattern fails to bring out the potential of this site.

The major open spaces of a monumental scale in Metro-Center should not be extended or encroached upon.

The very image of Washington in the mind of the Nation is based on this monumental strip of open space and the few significant monuments that relate to it.

The development of small urban open spaces available to the public should be encouraged in connection with new governmental, institutional, commercial, and high-density residential facilities.



Washington is known as a "city of trees," and tucked here and there are some of the finest small urban parks in the country. However, they are far too few in number and restricted in location.

The Mall, stretching from the Capitol west to the shore of the Potomac, is one of the world's great open spaces. Its scale and character are unique, and make it Washington's most remarkable physical feature. There seems no justification, however, in extending The Mall to other portions of the central area. It is in its presently-planned form a complete entity, and comparable spaces elsewhere in Metro-Center could only detract from its effect. Further, attempts to give The Mall a different scale by redesigning it with fountains, outdoor cafes, paved areas, and other "humanizing" ornamentations would also result in a weakening of its unique aspect: human scale, while certainly desirable throughout much of the city, should not be extended to the one area where it was never intended to be and where its presence cannot be justified.

The human scale is, on the other hand, quite appropriate in such places as the Central Business Area, government office areas, and high-density residential areas, where land is intensively developed. Relatively small "urban" parks can be located in these areas, normally no more than an acre or two in extent and often considerably less. They would be developed for passive recreation with fountains, landscaping, benches, and the like, but only in special cases would they contain facilities for the more active pastimes. Public policy should aim at the provision of these urban parks in connection with high-density public and private developments of all kinds.

The great cities of the world are remembered most for the quality of their usable urban open spaces.

A comprehensive open space system should be developed throughout Metro-Center, connecting and providing access to parks and other community facilities and serving all other open space needs.

Both monumental and "urban" spaces should be created as integral parts of an open space system in Metro-Center which would extend through the entire area, providing for different types of recreation, pedestrian and vehicular travel, sites for community facilities, views of important buildings and monuments, and so on. The diagrams illustrate how this open space system could be developed from our present system of streets, parks, public buildings, and open spaces. Important elements of the proposal are The Mall (as it will be completed), a series of urban open spaces extending through the business district and other high-density areas, important avenues and axis streets redesigned as broad boulevards, and park-like pedestrian walkways. These elements, will provide for a range of open-space needs in a varied and interconnected system.

Pennsylvania Avenue being both a major diagonal and having a major functional and visual terminus should have a development consistent with its important potential.

EXISTING SPECIAL STREETS AND PARKS

special streets

potential special streets

parks

METRO-CENTER

0 1 2 miles

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The original L'Enfant plan of Washington was based largely on a very profound concern for the way people would get around and learn to know the city. In his very brief description L'Enfant discussed such things as reciprocal vistas, special squares, places and boulevards. He was indeed concerned with the image of the Capital City in the minds of its users.

The bare bones of major landmarks and diagonal routes and vistas have served the city well. However, much of the quality of the original conception has been changed or neglected. The sum of today's image of "Metro-Center" is limited almost entirely to the singular statement of The Mall and fragments of the diagonal system which have taken on a design quality consistent with their potential. The proposed system shown here attempts to establish a visual structure consistent with the complex functional requirements of today's Metro-Center. The connective tissue of "open space" would utilize special design treatment as a means, to "bring out" the important streets to link special areas visually with each other, and generally to add a series of open spaces at scales ranging from the grand monumentality of The Mall to the informality of special shopping or residential streets and places. Such a system should serve as a constant source of orientiation and delight.

The scale and size of the elements must be precisely related to the type of activity they serve, to the surrounding buildings, and to the number and kind of users anticipated. This framework would serve also to identify important design responsibilities and opportunities where they exist and to create them where none existed before. Thus, each successive builder would have a meaningful point of departure.

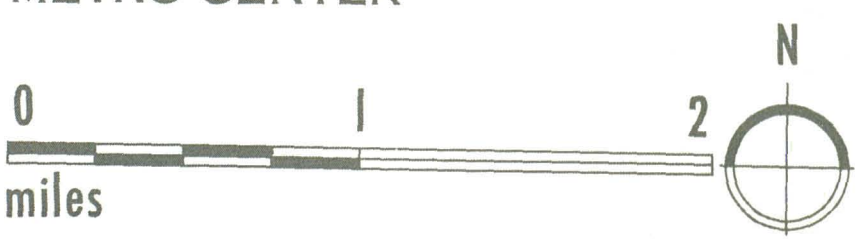
SPECIAL STREETS – PARK SYSTEM PLAN

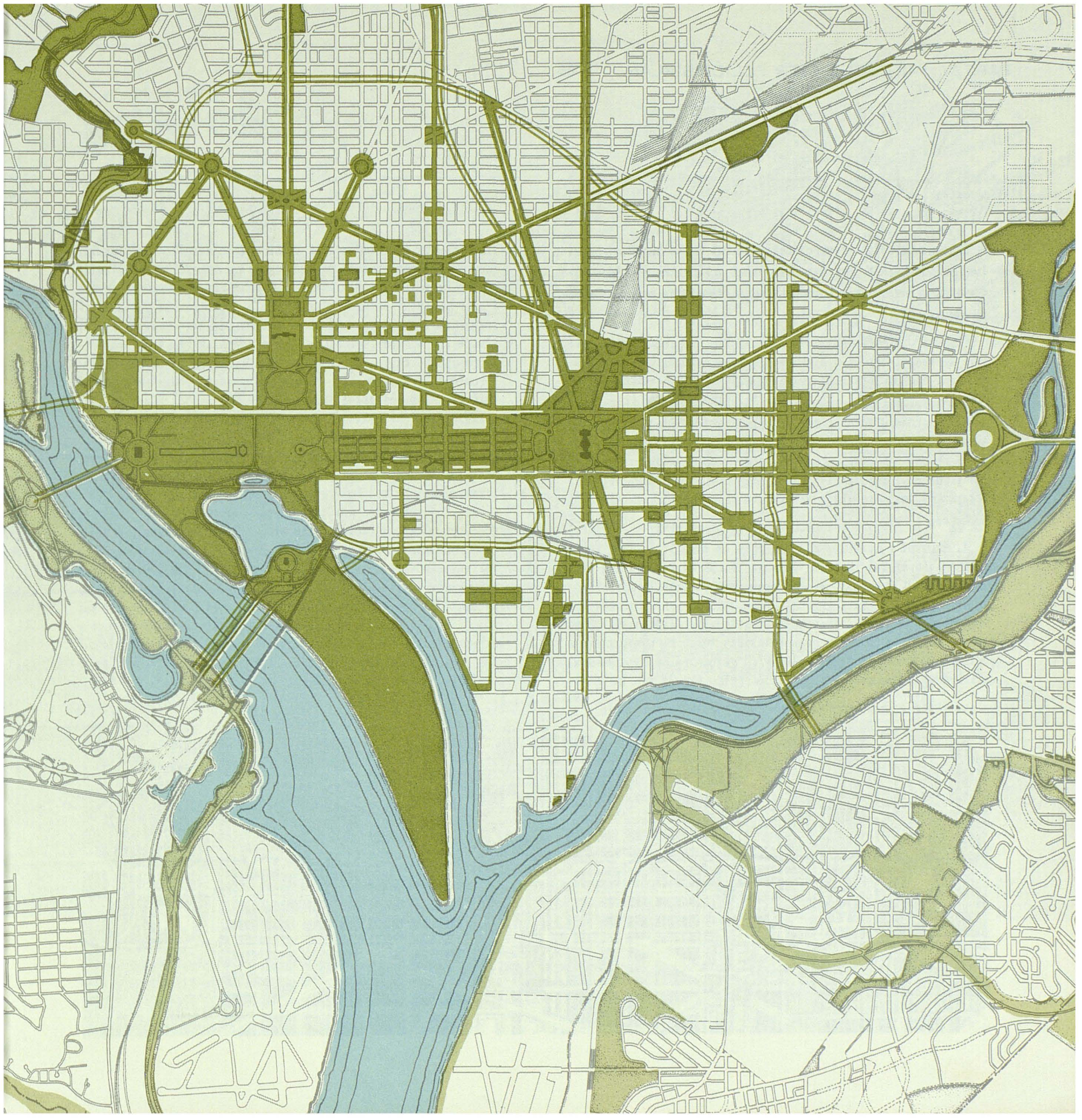
special streets

freeway

parks

METRO-CENTER





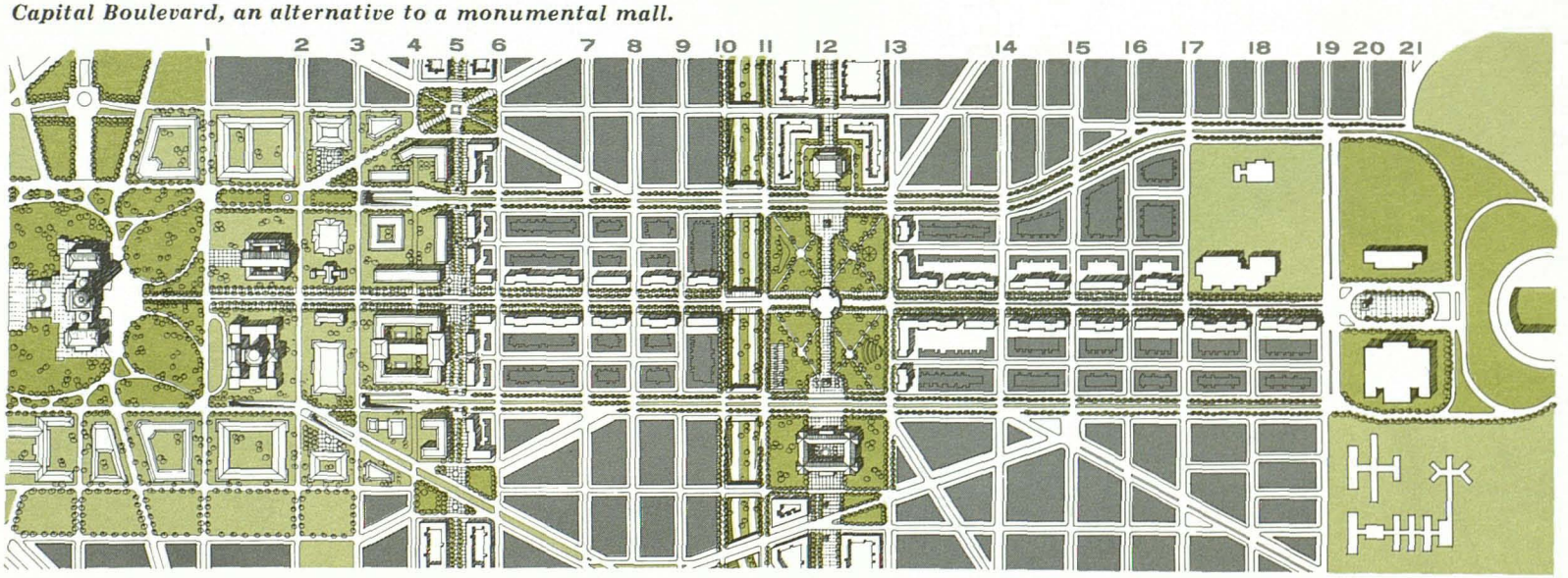
Special design coordination and treatment should be encouraged on streets and avenues in Metro-Center which form important parts of the open-space system.

One of the prominent features of the L'Enfant Plan was the series of broad diagonal avenues which focus on important buildings and monuments in the central area. These avenues have been greatly neglected since the eighteenth century and are distinguishable today primarily because of their great width and contrast with the gridiron street system. Houses, stores, and other types of structures lining them do not differ from buildings in other locations, and are in places part of the city's most blighted areas.

L'Enfant's avenues exist today as one of the greatest design potentials in the Metro-Center area. They are broad, with rights-of-way ranging up to 160 feet. Many of them are lined by mature trees, and provide impressive vistas of the most important structures in the city. It is proposed that these avenues be developed as opportunity allows as special boulevards, with generous sidewalks and park-like settings. Automobile traffic would not be eliminated, but in most cases would be minimized, although some of these streets might serve as arterials. Housing along boulevards would also, to the greatest possible extent, be of a special character. Apartment houses of medium height would be encouraged, to enhance and shape the vistas formed by the streets and to take advantage of the open space provided by their greater width. Arcaded shopping areas might be a part of the residential buildings at specified locations.

The map and sketch show a suggested development of East Capitol Street, one of the important axis streets. The width of the street would be emphasized by the construction of apartment houses along its frontage. At intervals along the street, pedestrian walkways would cross it at right angles, leading north and south into nearby residential areas and incorporating parks and schools into one continuous green space. Lincoln Park would be enlarged and developed with recreation facilities. The north and south frontages of the new Lincoln Park might be suitable as sites for new monumental buildings. This suggested design would reinforce East Capitol Street's effect as an axis and an important open space, and provide a safe and pleasant pedestrian route between Capitol Hill and nearby residential areas.

Capital Boulevard, an alternative to a monumental mall.



PEDESTRIAN FOCUS.

A broadened sidewalk, special tree planting and paving serve as clear indications of the nature of this new boulevard. Sitting areas and compatible community facilities could enhance the life of the street.

Special attention should be given to the development and maintenance of sound housing areas at the edges of the Central Business Area and other non-residential areas.

The fringe of the Central Business Area is one of the most rapidly deteriorating residential areas in Washington. Heavy traffic, noise, smells, and other effects of non-residential uses are only some of the conditions which have made this type of area undesirable as a living-place. Landowners hold residential properties for possible sale to commercial buyers at inflated prices and refuse to make repairs because improvements would increase tax assessments. As a result, tenants characteristically must tolerate a low standard of space and services, and the fact that many of these tenants are immigrants from rural areas, unused to the necessities of urban living, contributes to the general disorder in these areas.

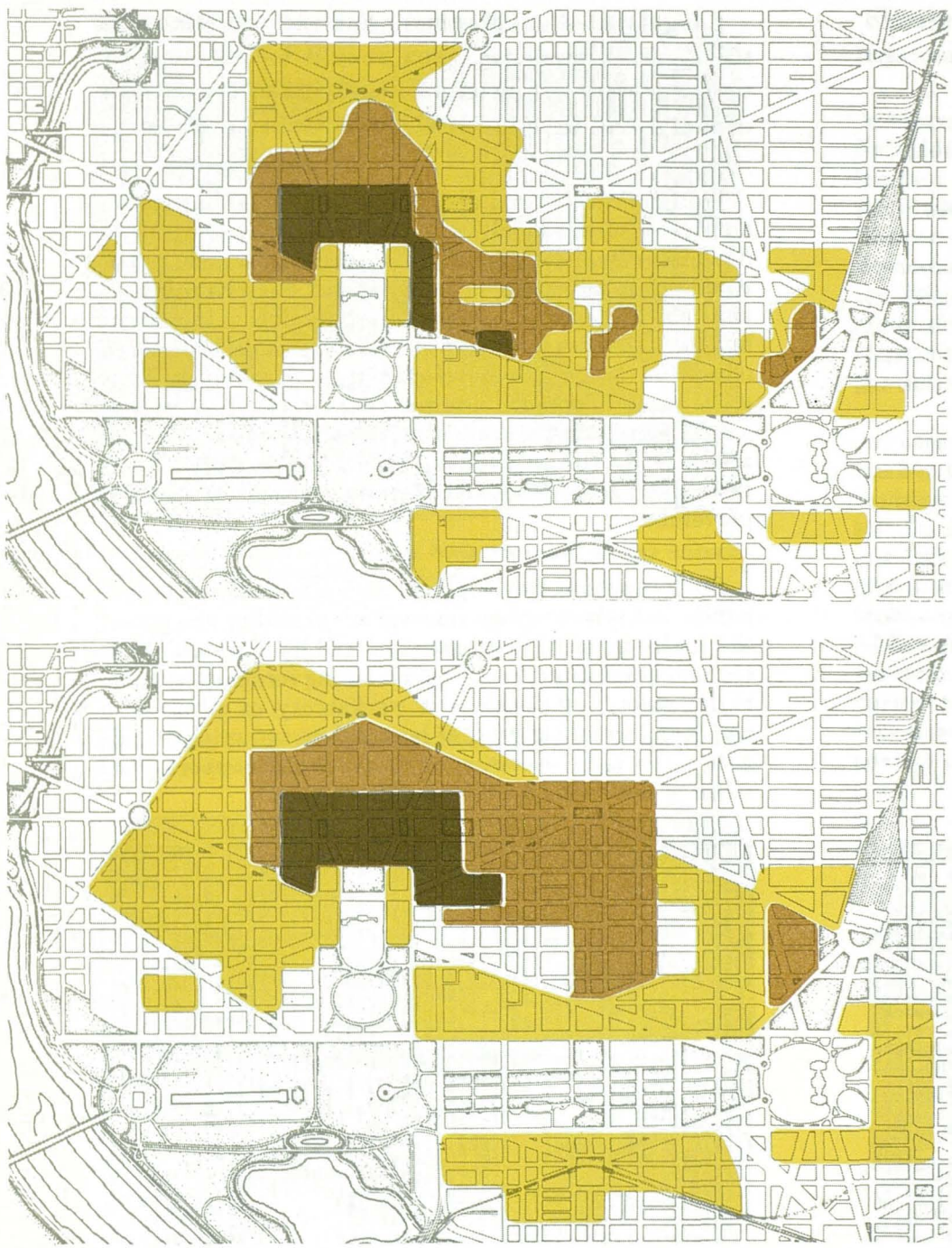
Suitable types of treatment for this area must either stabilize the boundary between commercial and residential or provide for an orderly transition from one use to another. Reuses should be designed to avoid the types of conflicts now existing in these areas. Possibilities might be low-nuisance commercial uses, high-rent apartments designed for tenants who can afford adequate space in high-cost areas, institutional uses, and carefully-designed public buildings.

In the interest of limiting the horizontal extension of the Central Business Area, an increase in typical building density should be encouraged throughout the area, to the extent that this is consistent with good design and the provision of services including access and parking.

The basic policy of growth for Metro-Center involves a substantial increase in central business employment. The increase is expected to be on the order of seventy percent over today's level of more than 150,000, and space in commercial buildings must keep pace with this growing employment.

One of the important advantages of a central business location is its good accessibility to a wide range of activities in the central area. Accessibility depends to a great extent upon the physical proximity of these activities, and it follows that the smaller the horizontal extent of the business district, the better the access will be. It is therefore recommended that new central business development be encouraged to grow "up," rather than "out": to take place at higher densities than now exist rather than through extensions of the present business area.

The recommended increase in density would not necessarily require an increase in existing height limits, nor would it require significant extensions of the area currently designated by the zoning ordinance for the highest permitted development densities. Actual densities in the Central Business Area now average considerably less than one-half those allowed by the zoning ordinance because much of the area was developed at a time when high buildings were impracticable and unnecessary. Even if the forty-year employment increase projected for central business functions were to be accommodated in the area now occupied, the building density would still be well within current regulations. Thus, the advantages of compact development and employment growth could be gained without ignoring the important traditional restrictions on building height and bulk.



CENTRAL-AREA BUILDING DENSITIES, 1960 AND 2000

Substantial increases in central-area floor space can be achieved through increases in densities in areas already predominantly commercial, as illustrated by the contrast between the present pattern (upper) and a conceivable pattern for 2000 (lower).

A greater mixture of compatible functions should be encouraged throughout the Central Business Area.

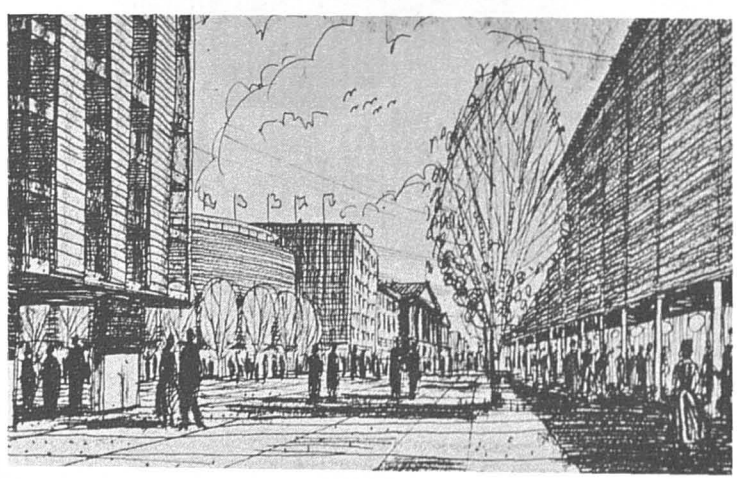
A companion to the attenuation of the business area has been the movement of the office "core" away from the retail district. Retail functions have tended to remain in the same locations while new construction, nearly all in office buildings, has occurred more and more toward the west and northwest. This is due to a number of factors: land is (or has been) less expensive and easier to assemble in that direction, the northwestern portions of the business area are closer to high-income residential areas than the older retail section, and deterioration in the east has discouraged new construction there.

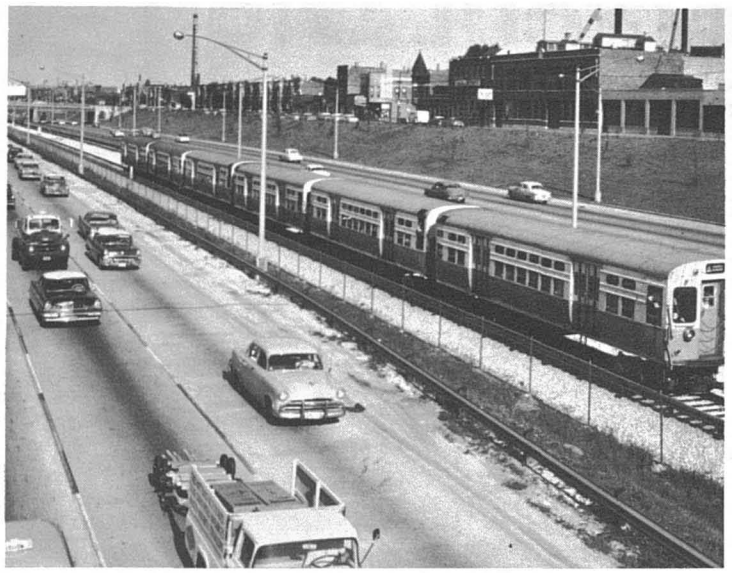
This divergence is undesirable because it discourages interactions between retail and office functions. It has also tended to speed the deterioration of the eastern section of the business area by depriving it of the types of business activity which can best afford the high land costs there. The suggested policy is aimed at the integration of functions which operate well together—such as certain office and retail activities—in the same areas and the same buildings because these activities can profit from physical proximity to each other and because these combinations would allow increases in densities in the central retail core, making possible more intensive utilization of this expensive land.

Large-scaled development and redevelopment of the Central Business Area should be encouraged, together with the careful integration of the designs of individual structures with their surroundings.

Washington's central area has evolved over the years as a series of small parcels of land, each developed by an individual entrepreneur in a highly individual fashion. The result, although occasionally successful, has as a rule been chaotic, uncoordinated, and unattractive. Increasing building densities in the central area will make the coordination of design and development over relatively large areas more and more desirable for practical as well as aesthetic reasons, since higher densities will tend to intensify all of the land use conflicts which already exist in the central area. These conflicts must be anticipated and prevented.

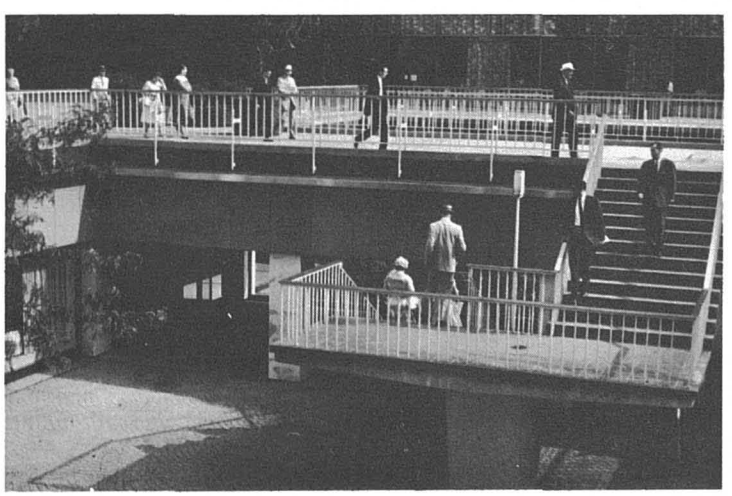
Such emerging development techniques as large-scale public and private urban renewal are providing the potential for larger-scale developments, and landowners, builders, and developers are giving increasing recognition to the better safety, efficiency, and workability of cooperative and coordinated planning of both public and private facilities. It will be necessary to discover and support a full range of methods for achieving these ends.





Where good transit service has been provided, it has always met with public acceptance and use.

The subway must be a pleasurable experience as well as an efficient system.



Every attempt should be made to encourage rush-hour use of transit to and from Metro-Center.

Already in 1960, rush-hour automobile traffic to and from Metro-Center was approaching the capacity of the highway system. The proposed freeway system will improve this situation. Much of its capacity will be used in peak hours, however, by vast increases in traffic with neither origin nor destination in Metro-Center. Even if the freeway system were to make possible greater volumes of traffic to the central area, it is doubtful whether the surface street system in that area could handle these greater volumes.

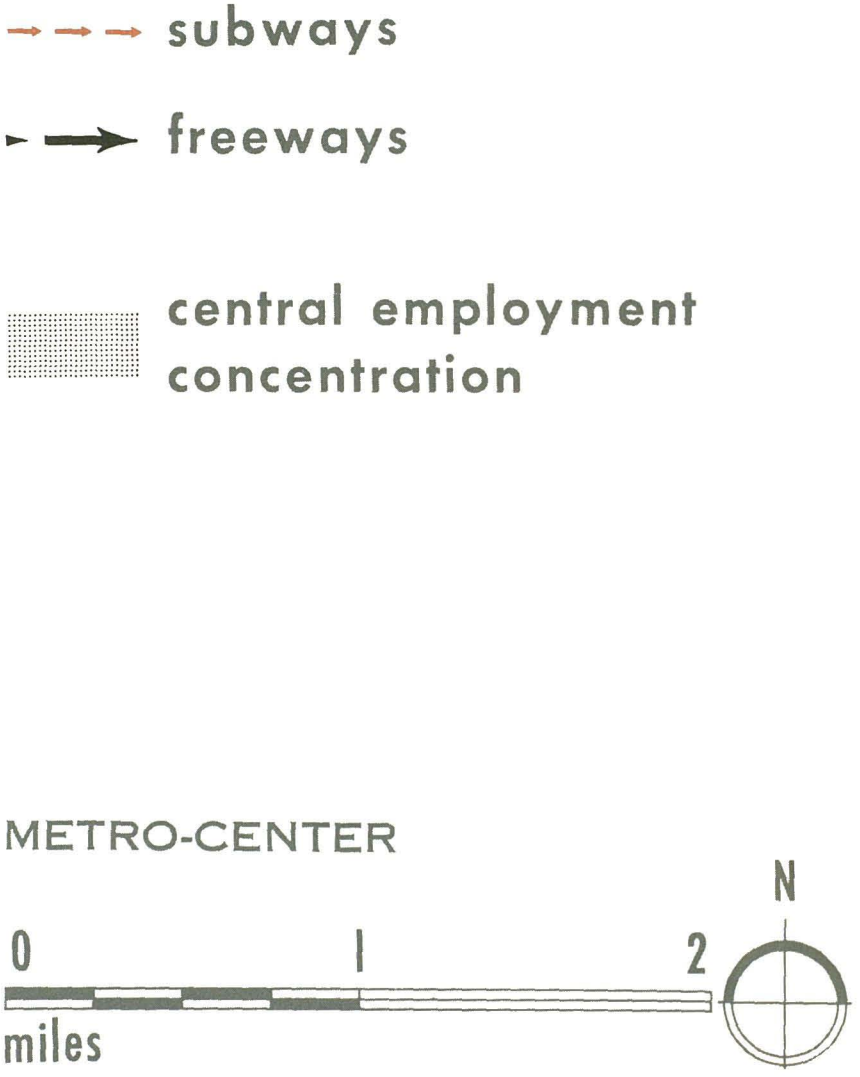
Increased rush-hour traffic can be handled expeditiously only by an integrated transit system including rapid-rail facilities, express busses on freeways and special rights-of-way, and local transit facilities, all coordinated with the street and highway systems. Such a system is now being planned, and will cover a large portion of the metropolitan area by the Year 2000. Although the transit systems will be built to the highest possible standards, most automobile users will be diverted to these systems only after congestion on the highways reaches intolerable levels. A number of public actions can be taken, however, to encourage the use of transit by commuters before these limits of tolerance are reached: control of the number of vehicles allowed on freeways during peak hours, limitation of long-term parking in employment areas, careful location of transit routes and terminals, and so on. These must all be investigated thoroughly from the points of view of feasibility and effectiveness as the transit system is built and extended.

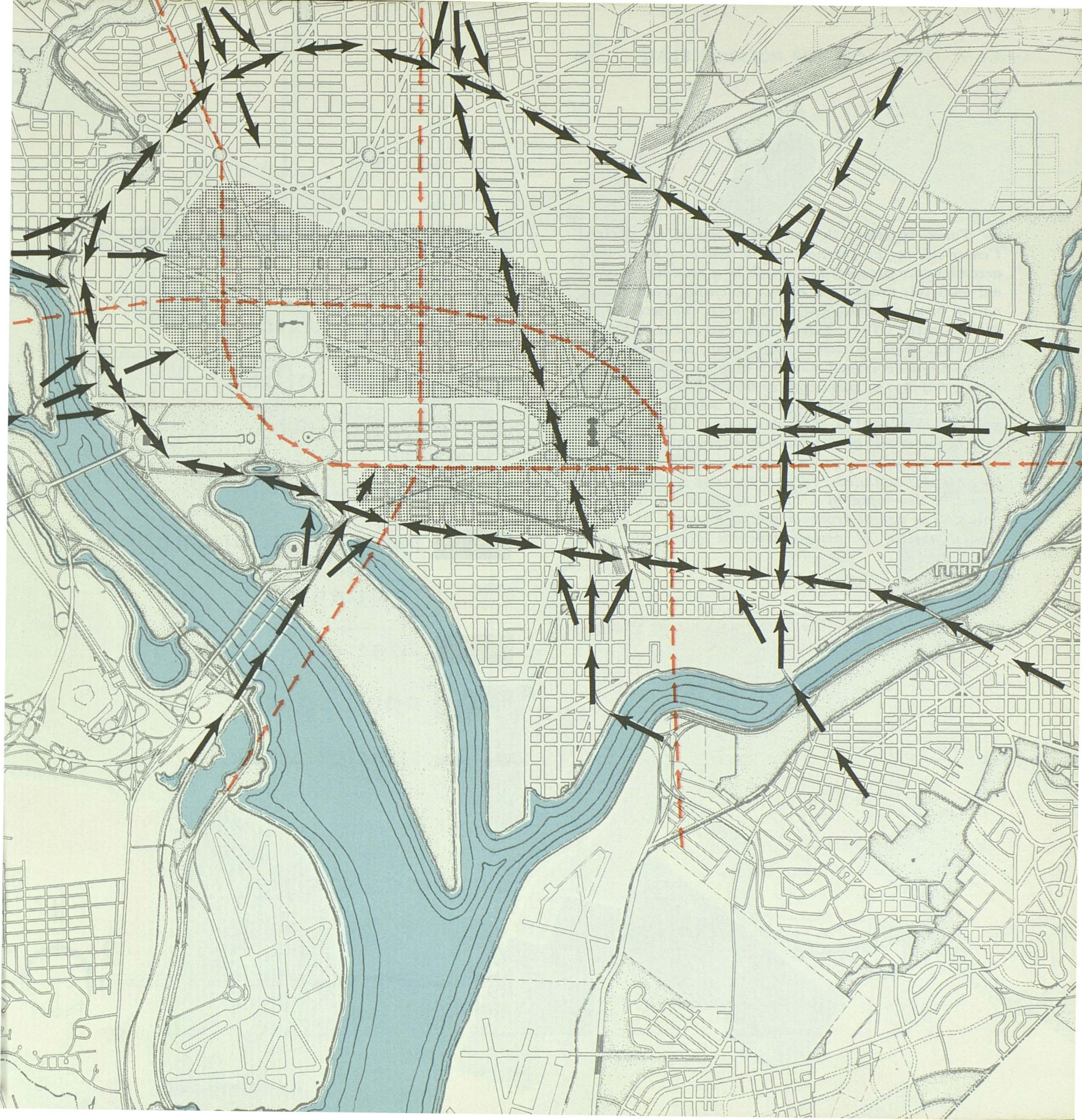
The different portions of the highway system should be designed to serve specialized functions during times of highest traffic volumes.

The specialization of portions of the transportation system during peak hours is desirable because the specialized design of facilities can increase their capacity. The Inner Loop should be the principal carrier of through traffic, even during peak hours, while center-bound traffic from the outer city and suburbs would be the more characteristic function of the radial freeways and arterials focussing directly on the downtown area. Traffic bound downtown from the nearer residential areas of the city can be expected to stay on surface streets.

The schematic diagram at the right illustrates this principle. Through traffic passes around the central area on the Inner Loop, while center-bound vehicles move directly downtown with a minimum of lateral motion. The subway is the only high-capacity system which actually penetrates the central area. Since it is completely separated from other traffic streams and does not interfere with development and circulation on the surface, it can be routed directly to and through its major destinations. Surface streets, not indicated on the diagram, would serve nearly all rush-hour traffic from the close-in portions of the city. This diagram illustrates only rush-hour movements; off-peak movements would be far more flexible.

CIRCULATION 2000



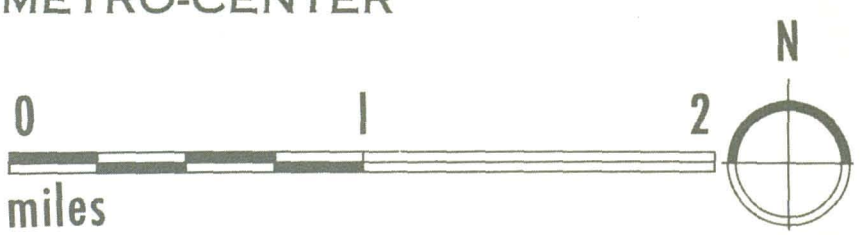


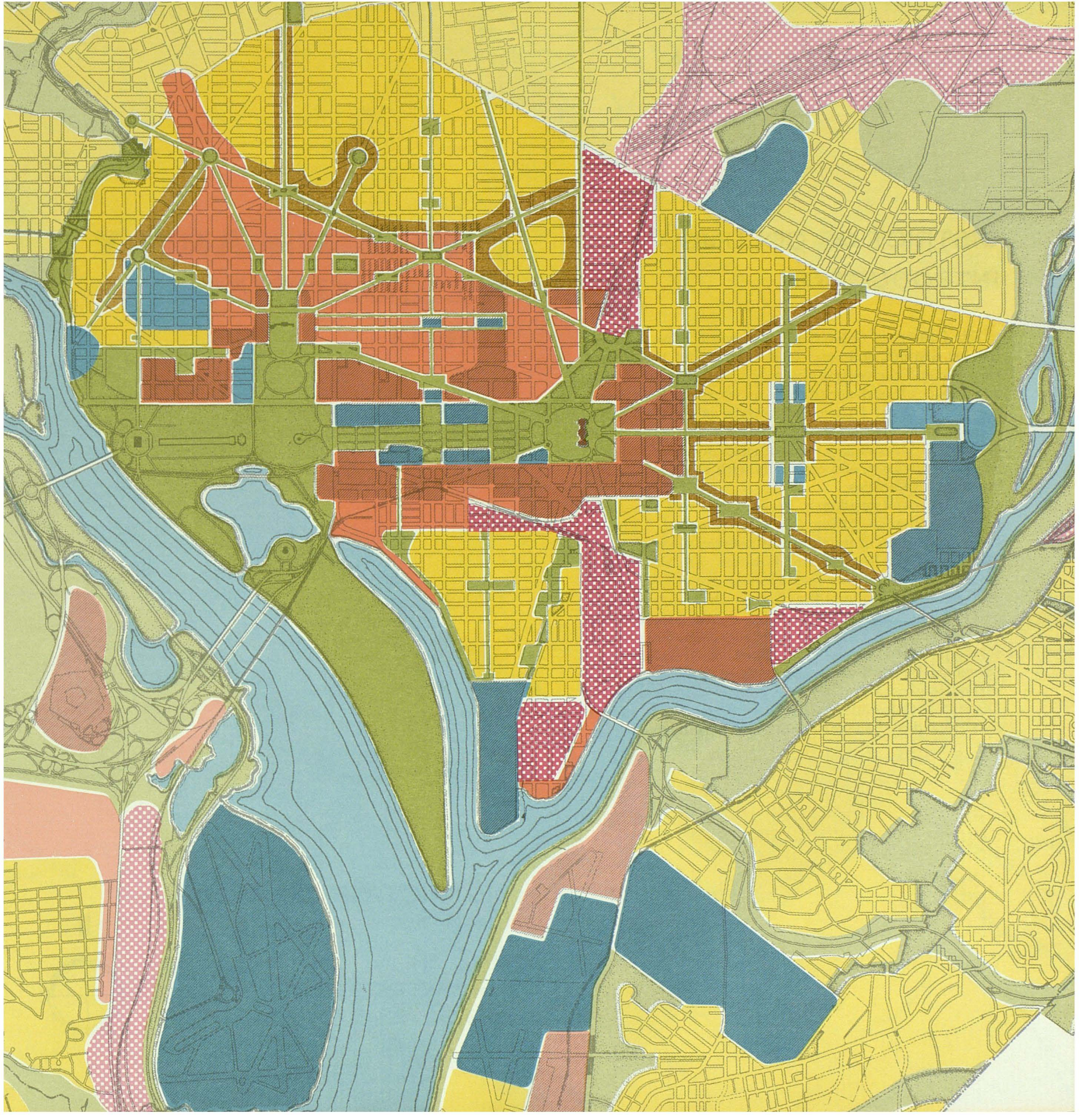
Taken together, the policies proposed for Metro-Center call for an arrangement of land uses which will accommodate prospective growth in a manner consistent with this area's high design potential, while eliminating basic conflicts which now beset the sections of Metro-Center. The Central Business Area, although somewhat more extensive than today, would still be compact and developed at higher-than-today's densities. New groupings of public offices would be integrated in with the Central Business Area at selected locations and also developed at somewhat higher densities than are characteristic of government employment areas of today. Monumental areas would be completed and not significantly extended. Key avenues and special streets would be developed in such a way as to realize their potential as unique frontage and as elements of an extended system of non-monumental greenways and urban parks.

LAND USE 2000

- commercial
- public office
- industrial
- institutional
- public institutional
- residential
- special residential
- open space
- special streets

METRO-CENTER

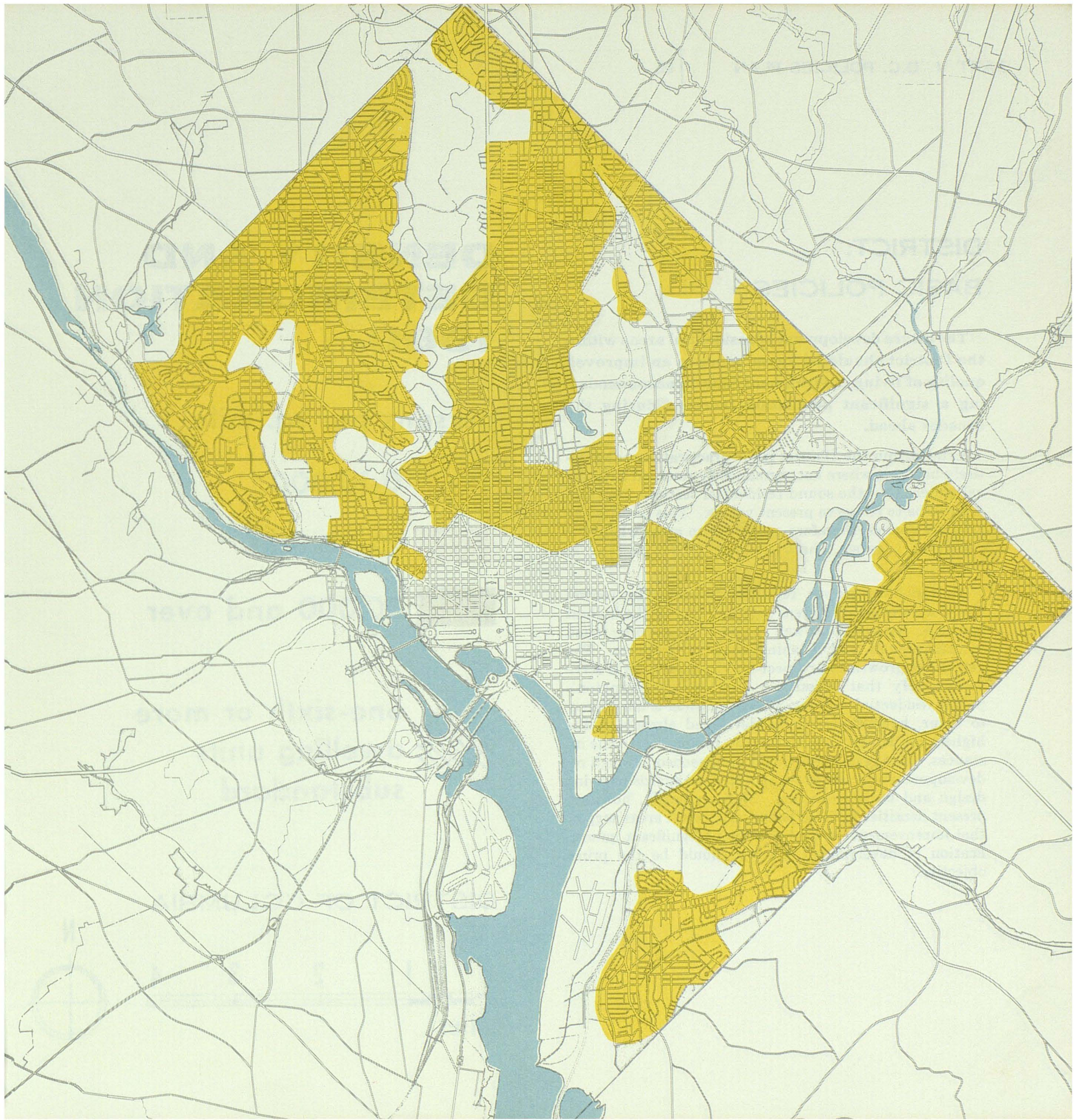




DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: INTRODUCTION

The District of Columbia plays several roles, each calling for distinct policies. It is the seat of the Federal Government, the central city of the metropolitan Region, and a place of residence to three quarters of a million people. Most of the District's functions as a capital and as a central city are performed within Metro-Center. Policies for the District as a place of residence must deal with its entire territory, and especially with the design of residential communities.

As a place of residence, Washington will experience enormous change during the decades ahead. The deteriorating state of much of the housing plant alone demands it. No less certain, however, are the changes which will be forced by metropolitan growth, by growth of Federal and regional functions within Metro-Center, and by the construction of the freeway and mass transit systems which will focus on and have immediate impact throughout the central city. Positive directions must, therefore, be set if these prospective changes are to be turned to good account. The policies proposed for the District of Columbia are designed primarily to suggest these new directions for *residential* Washington.

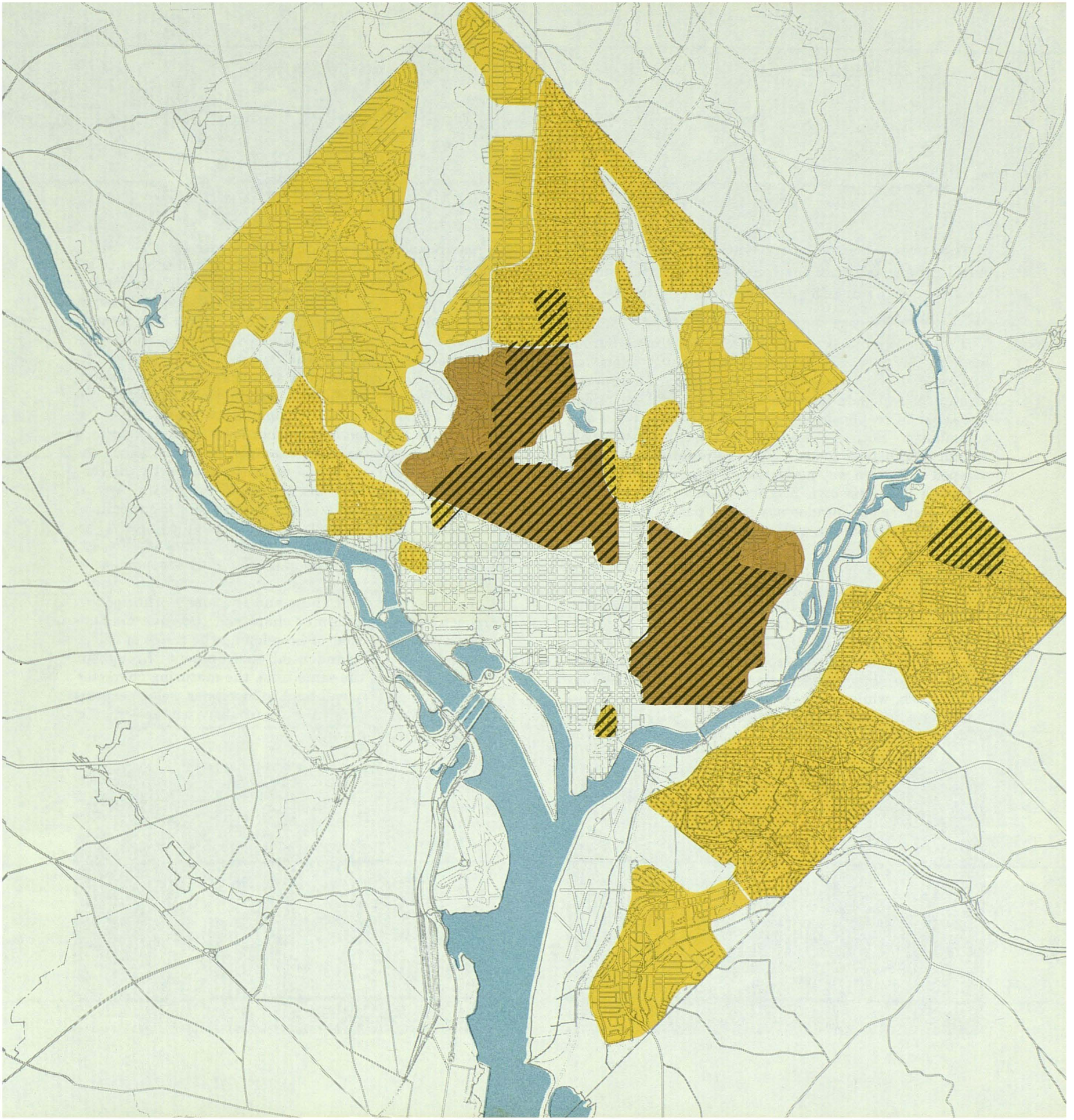


DISTRICT:
BASIC POLICIES

The future development of residential areas within the District should be keyed more to an improved quality of living environment than to accommodating a significant population increase during the decades ahead.

Land within the District is for practical purposes entirely built-up, where not permanently reserved from development. In the sound residential sections the main job will be to conserve present values. This basic policy actually applies, therefore, primarily to areas where the condition suggests that significant changes are in prospect.

Metropolitan growth tends to pressure the central cities of metropolitan areas into building at the highest densities, residential as well as commercial, to be found in their regions, and Washington is no exception. The very large growth in prospect for this Region will serve to intensify that pressure. However, Washington's poorer residential sections, where regrowth is most likely to occur, happen also to be developed already at the highest residential densities in the Region. In some instances, existing densities could be exceeded through redevelopment and still meet accepted standards covering design and basic amenities. More typically, however, present densities in these potential renewal areas suggest that improvements in quality without significant intensification of development density should be the prime objective.

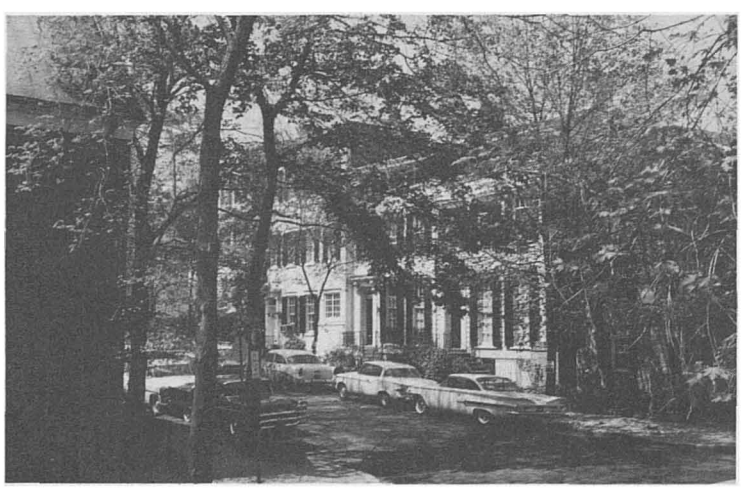


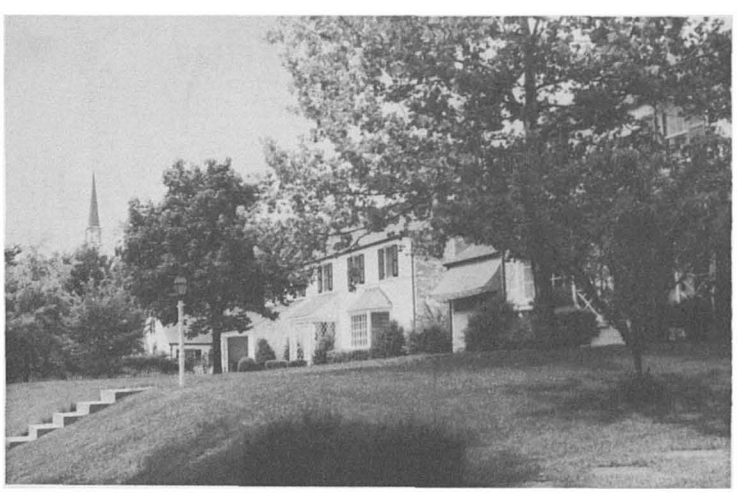
The processes of conservation and regrowth within the residential sections of the District should be directed toward the creation of a city of distinct communities.

Two broad objectives are set for the living environment by this policy: a character which will vary from one section of the city to another; and an organization of environment which, in its scale and layout, will encourage the sense of responsibility for one's neighborhood and community. Both of these qualities are much in evidence within the District today. Each residential section developed in its own way and time, creating in its residents a feeling for their own neighborhoods. This process, which occurred spontaneously in the past, should be an explicit objective in the replanning and rebuilding of residential communities.

To say that an environment of personal scale is to be cultivated is to say that local attachments are to be cultivated. The assumption here is that the physical design of residential areas can do much to encourage residents to develop a pride in their physical surroundings and to act together to maintain and improve their neighborhoods. The objective, therefore, is a scale of environment which, while being extensive enough to have a distinct character, is at the same time sufficiently immediate and well-defined to enable its residents to comprehend it readily and to identify themselves with it.

Besides being somewhat well-defined and subject to its own special pattern of attachments, each community within the District should also cultivate its own unique character as physical environment. Over the decades ahead, the processes of renewal, while respecting communities where they already exist, may be expected to eliminate deterioration as a significant basis for distinction between communities within the District. The unique character of each community must, therefore, come to be the function of other more positive features. Each community can, for example, be expected to contain at least one strong and attractive local activities center. Each community will be defined by its own particular mixture of housing types, and its own architectural character. Each community will create (or preserve) its own special historic or institutional points of interest. The shape and internal organization of most communities will be influenced in special ways by topographic variations. In cultivating these and the many other potential sources of community character, the governing objective should be that of broadening the range of choice between types of residential environment throughout the District. At the same time, the maturing character of each community will tend to inspire as well as express the identification which each resident will feel for his community—and his city.





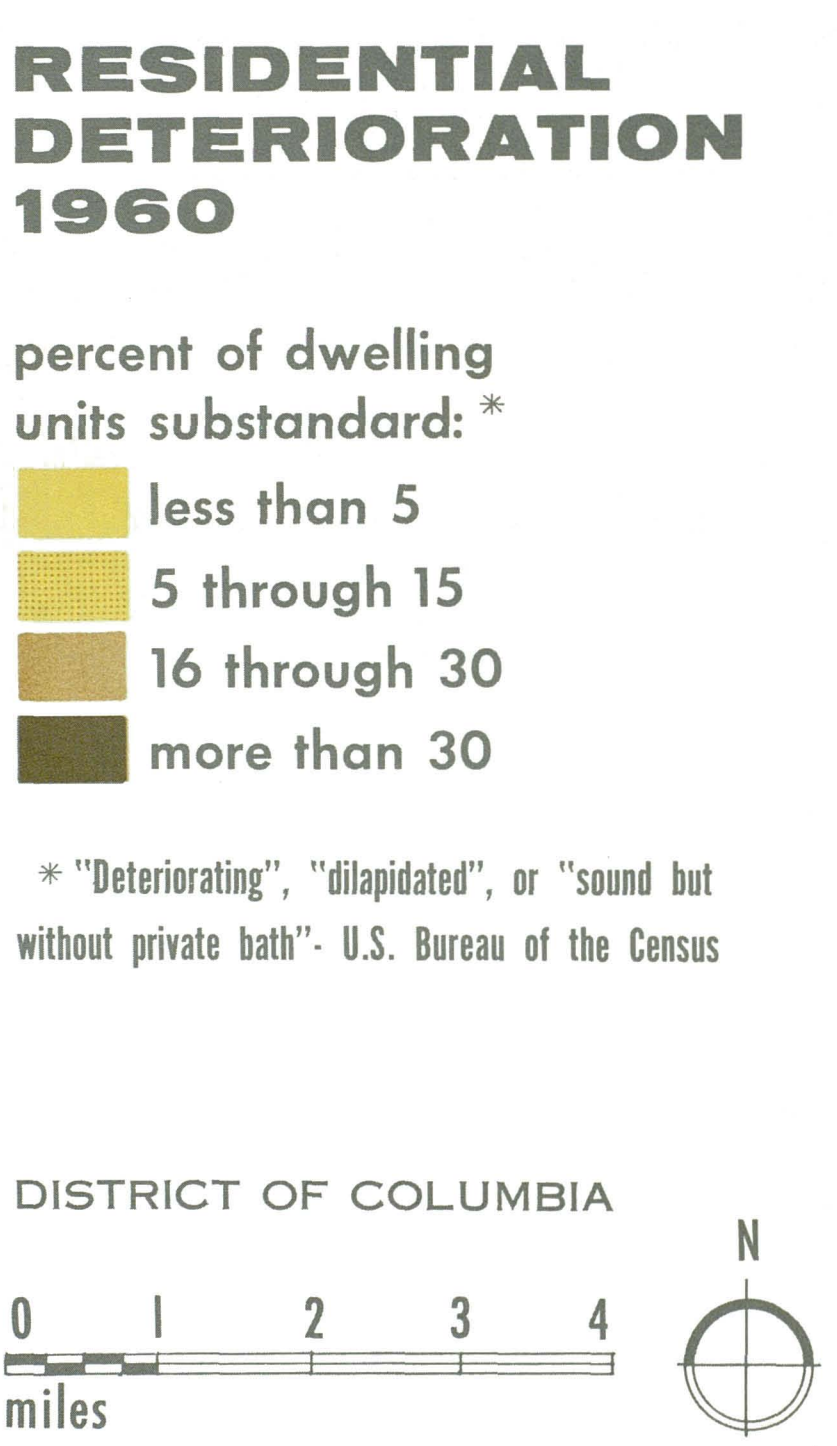

CAN SECURITY
TRUST

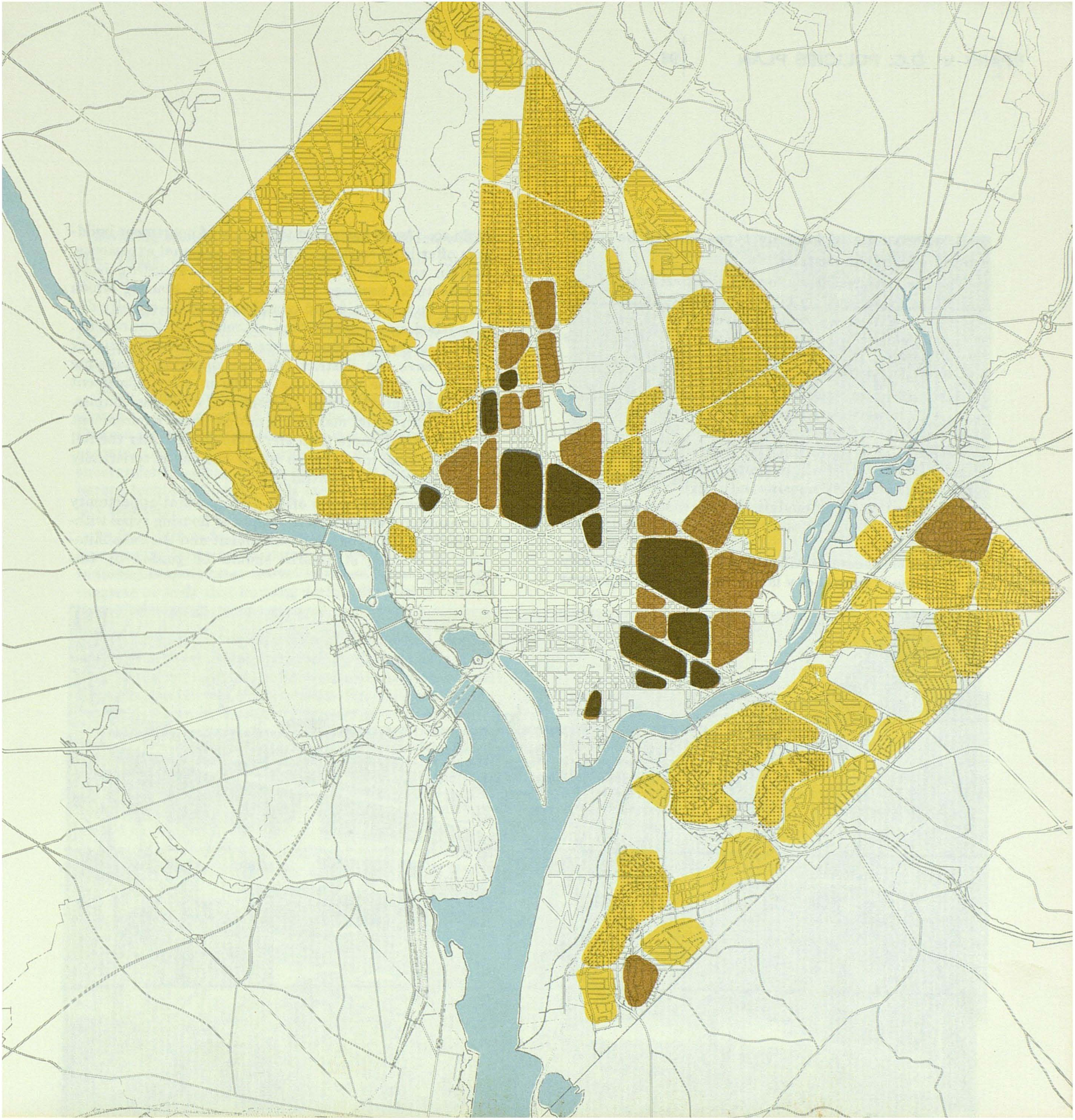
DISTRICT:
SPECIFIC POLICIES

Renewal programs designed to replace substandard housing with sound development should be accelerated. Positive programs should at the same time be instituted to protect sound residential areas.

The magnitude of the renewal problem facing the District has been reaffirmed with new force by preliminary returns from the1960 Census of Housing. In 1960, one sixth of all housing units within the District were found to be substandard (either "deteriorating," "dilapidated," or "sound, but without private bath"). Only one-eighth of the District's housing plant was found in 1950 to be "dilapidated or without private bath." Since the 1950 Census was taken before the start of clearance within the Southwest Redevelopment Area, the significance of this report for 1960 is inescapable: just to keep up with a continuation of the rate of deterioration experienced within the District during the past decade would require something more than the equivalent of a Southwest Project per decade (4,500 units removed), as well as the continuation of restoration programs at their current pace. Significant progress toward the eventual removal of residential blight from the District will require a decisive *acceleration* of the renewal program.

The size of the job ahead is dramatized by the fact that *forty percent* of the District's population lives in areas where unsound housing accounts for more than one sixth of all units concerned, as well as by the fact that *twenty percent* lives in areas where more than one third of the housing is unsound. Even in those sections of the city where, fortunately, unsound housing still accounts for less than one sixth of the total, there have been, with few exceptions, notable increases in reported deterioration over the past decade.





A wide range of housing types should be maintained within the District.

The District presently affords a generous cross-section of housing types—custom-built homes, tower apartments, large-scale garden apartment developments, extensive sectors of older row housing. The principal value of this cross-section is that all family-types have the opportunity to live in the central city if they so elect.

Sustaining a cross-section of housing within the District will, however, be increasingly difficult as the Region grows, generating strong pressures for the more intensive use of land within the District. For the residential sections, this will mean pressures to replace low- and medium-density housing with high-rise apartment development to accommodate the increasing number of persons in need of, or desiring, centrally-located multi-family housing.

While such pressures will be hard to resist, particularly as the value of central-city land rises, it will be important to do so. Areas composed uniformly of apartment buildings offer little variety of living or of visual experience. Certain sections of Washington have a distinguished architectural heritage in lower density housing which should be preserved and complemented by equally distinguished new construction of relatively low density. Furthermore, a predominance of high-density housing would leave the District with a population consisting largely of those who prefer to live in large apartment buildings—mostly single persons and childless couples. This in turn would make for a narrow social environment in a city which more than any other should offer the full scope of social interchange which one characteristically associates with the central city.

The renewal program offers an important opportunity for insuring a well-balanced supply of housing types within the District. Both redevelopment and the rehabilitation of existing structures should be guided by this principle.

Housing should be available in the District, within the limits of economic feasibility, to all income groups.

Washington is becoming a city for the rich and the poor. Families with moderate incomes are finding it increasingly difficult to locate decent housing in the District at a price they can afford.

There is no inherent reason why central city housing should be largely limited to any one income group. The District's large number of low-income residents may, for example, be attributed more to the generous supply of substandard housing within the District than to any inherent locational need of this income group for central-city housing.

In fact, the wide range of employment opportunity found in the central area, combined with the objective of reducing long-distance travel between home and work, suggests in itself that housing within the District should be available to all income groups.

Furthermore, a disproportion of low-income families compounds the problem presented by deterioration, since they not only tend to occupy housing suffering from serious deficiencies in the first place, but are by definition little able to afford necessary repairs and maintenance. An extra burden is thus thrown on the rest of the community, already faced with the need for a greatly accelerated renewal effort. Housing and redevelopment policy for the District should aim at a balanced distribution of population among income groups, by such measures as these:

1. New housing in redevelopment projects should be designed for all income levels, not just displaced lower-income groups.

2. Rehabilitation of existing housing should be emphasized as a means of increasing the supply of middle-income housing.

3. Public housing should be designed and managed so as to permit its absorption in the long run into the private market as tenants' incomes rise.

Most high-density residential development should be located near major streets and highways, rail transit stations, employment centers, and local open spaces.

Efficiency of circulation should be the first objective in designating areas for high-density development. The proximity of high-density development to elements of major transportation systems within the city not only reduces length of trip, but also makes maximum use of the facilities designed to carry heavy traffic volumes. Similarly, the proximity of high-density residential areas to places of employment reduces the overall amount of home-to-work travelling necessary.

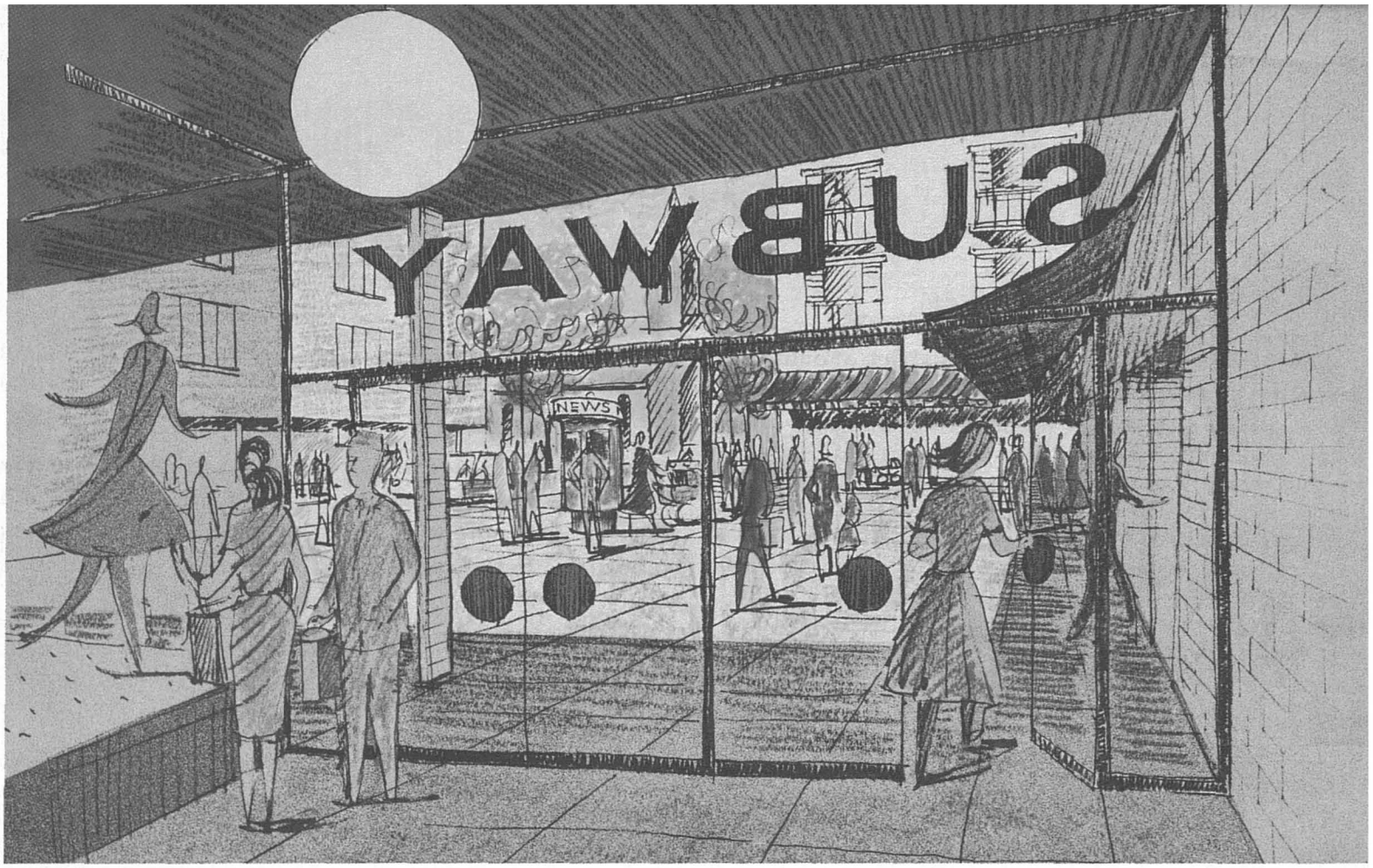
The second objective is amenity. No low-density residential area welcomes the construction of a towering apartment in its midst. The construction of apartment buildings fronting on open space is therefore not only a gain to the apartment dweller, but spares the low-density area from traffic intrusions and overshadowing structural masses.

Entirely new freeway and rapid transit systems are to be constructed within the District (and the Region) during the next twenty years. At the same time, the system of public open space within the District is not complete in all respects. Hence, at least these implications are suggested by the policy being recommended here:

1. Wherever possible, rail transit should be routed so as to serve existing or potential high-density development.

2. Since sites for high-density residential development fronting on existing open space are limited, every opportunity should be taken to create new open space in conjunction with high-density construction.

This policy does not necessarily imply an increase in residential densities within the District. It would apply even if the impact of the renewal and highway programs serves only to redistribute development densities.



NEW COMMUNITY FOCUS

The process of building the subway and of renewing older communities in the District will afford the opportunity to create new community centers at strategic locations throughout the district. These new centers of employment and shopping would establish pedestrian precincts of great interest and vitality.

"Uptown" employment centers should be encouraged at locations which will enjoy high accessibility upon completion of the basic transportation systems.

Metro-Center presently accounts for three fourths of all employment within the District. The institutions, neighborhood shopping streets, and industrial activities outside Metro-Center which account for the bulk of the remainder are widely distributed throughout the city, and generally limited in function. Few commercial or industrial concentrations account for more than 1500 employees.

The prospective freeway and transit systems within the District may be expected to have a significant effect on the location and character of uptown employment centers. One important effect should be the development, at selected transit stops, of centers considerably larger and more diversified in function than any present uptown center. Office activities will predominate at these centers, although a wide range of retailing and consumer services should also be provided to serve the nearby residential neighborhoods as well as the employees of the centers. Size may vary, but an employment total of between three and five thousand could be typical, with possible growth to ten thousand in some cases.

One or more of these sub-centers should be developed at points along the Inner Loop, particularly where radial transit lines intersect it. In most cases, however, these centers should be developed somewhat farther from downtown at sites accessible both by freeway and by transit.

New sizeable concentrations of industry and other goods-handling functions may never be desirable within the District. Since the construction of new freeways within the District will tend to encourage activities of this kind, special controls over the use of property adjoining all freeways may be needed.

Public open space within the District should be protected against conversion to any other use.

Perhaps the most serious problem confronting the system of public open spaces within the District is the continuing pressure to use this Federal parkland for other purposes—highways, bridges, monuments, institutions, memorials. Within the past decade alone, 250 acres of public open space within the District were converted to other uses. Moreover, this pressure can be expected to mount as the central city becomes more intensely developed, and as the economies to be realized by encroaching upon public open land become more tempting.

Some use of public open land for essential public improvements may become unavoidable. Limited exceptions may be tolerated provided they meet an essential need which cannot be met in any other reasonable way, and if the use of public open land for such improvements can be shown to produce substantial benefits to a large segment of the community. In such cases, an effort should be made to minimize the loss of open space.

Open space should be looked upon as a precious resource which would be virtually irrecoverable once converted to other uses. The temptation to release bits and pieces to accommodate non-essential needs in order to realize short-term economies should be stoutly resisted. If not resisted, such temptations could in effect "nickel and dime" Federal parkland within the District into bankruptcy.

Proposed additions to the open space system should be evaluated not only for their recreation and aesthetic potential, but also for their potential as stimuli to the renewal of the District.

One clear purpose of the system of public open space within the District should be to provide for the varying recreational needs of its resident population. At the same time, there are important secondary uses of open space which also should be taken into full account in the design and programming of additions and improvements to the open space system.

For example, open space properly located can provide not only *service* to a residential area, but also can help to *form* it—to physically define it and to separate it from other clusters of development. Open space thus employed could act as a common thread running through the fabric of the residential community, tying the various units of its physical composition into a structured, cohesive whole. By linking together important institutions and facilities serving residential areas, such as churches, schools, recreation centers and playgrounds, open space can also provide internal structure within a neighborhood.

Another important secondary use of open space lies in its potential as a stimulus to private renewal efforts. Creating a new park in an area that is struggling to rehabilitate itself, for instance, could serve a twofold purpose: first, it would give concrete evidence of the District's interest in encouraging community initiative; second, the very existence of a new park would raise the area's desirability as a place to live and in itself add to the incentive to renew. As noted earlier, a pronounced acceleration of the renewal program is essential if the District is to rid itself of substandard neighborhoods and housing. The strategic extension of the system of public open space within the District can serve as a key contribution to that effort.

THE SUBSTANCE OF URBAN LIVING

History bears out the assumption that good and appropriate parks and open spaces stabilize and nurture residential values.

Particular care should be applied to correct and in future to prevent the encroachment of commercial and employment centers upon the surrounding residential areas.

One way of carrying out this policy is to consolidate strip-commercial areas into compact "uptown" shopping centers of unified design having adequate parking space, accessible by mass transportation, and offering a full range of goods and services. The same policy should apply to industrial centers within the District.

The adverse effects of indiscriminate mixtures of residential land with retail and industrial uses have been widely chronicled, and methods of avoiding inherent conflicts are well known. Limited industrial and commercial activities may be included within generally residential areas if they are so located and serviced that they do not conflict with residential qualities and needs. Nevertheless, commercial activity should be located and controlled so that it does not overspill into neighborhoods or precipitate heavy traffic movements through residential areas. Conversely, industrial and commercial areas can be hampered by residential development scattered within them. Separation is to their mutual benefit.

Careful design will be required if the new consolidated centers are to succeed, both commercially and as elements in a new urban design. The clear benefits in efficiency and amenity to be gained are undeniable.

THE URBAN SHOPPING CENTER

If carefully planned for access and service, district shopping and employment centers can be a happy neighbor to high density residential sectors.

The transportation systems within the District should be located and designed so as to encroach as little as possible upon residential areas.

The residential sections of the District lie across the path of much of the traffic passing back and forth between the suburbs and Metro-Center. The volume of this cross-movement may be expected to multiply as metropolitan growth continues. The construction of the new freeway and transit systems should go far toward relieving present arterials (and their adjacent residential sections) from much of this through movement. Nonetheless, particular care must be exercised to avoid the replacement of one set of conflicts with another.

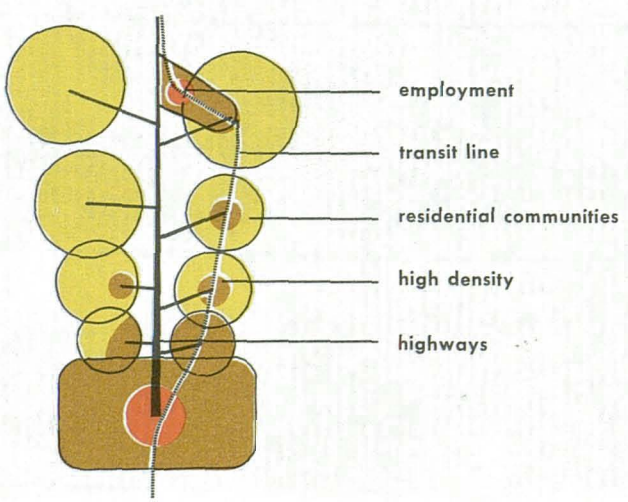
This principle implies that the District's mass transportation system should be located, as far as possible, in subways. The freeway system, which cannot be placed underground, should be limited to that being currently planned for. It was a finding of the Mass Transportation Survey that, with mass transit as proposed, the freeway system underway would adequately serve the automotive traffic generated by a regional population of three million. As the Region grows beyond this size, increases in traffic to and from Metro-Center should be met by additions to (and maximum use of) the transit system, rather than more freeways. Such freeway systems as are constructed should not be built through established neighborhoods, wherever this can be avoided.

"EVERY FREEWAY A PARKWAY"

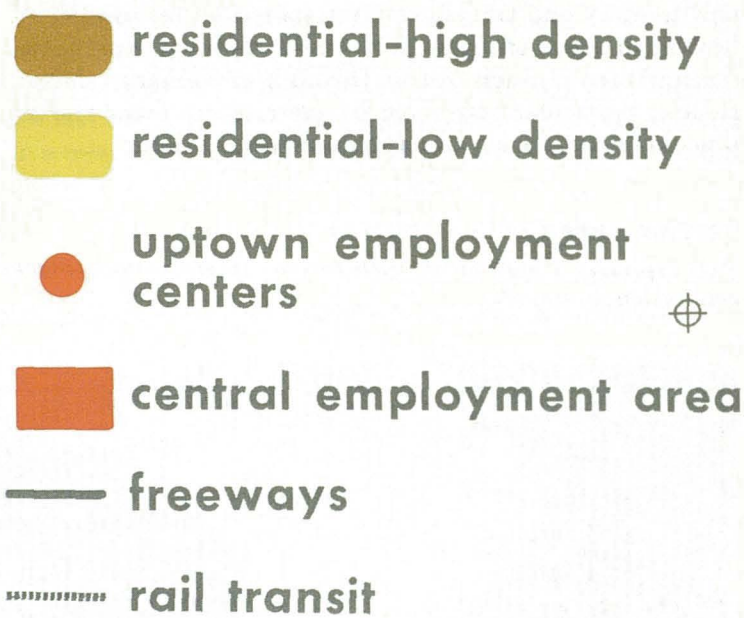
This expresses a high ideal; with careful design and quality materials, noise level can be negligible, and the freeway itself an actual asset as environment.

The diagram below illustrates in a highly idealized way the desired relationship between residential development patterns and major circulation systems, "uptown" employment centers, and "downtown." Freeways pass between rather than through residential communities, whereas access by transit, where available, would be more direct. Highest residential densities would tend to be adjacent to rail transit stations and employment centers, both "uptown" and "downtown." The residential communities themselves would in typical cases amount to being physically distinguishable from each other, and would tend to increase in extent as their distance from Metro-Center increases, and as development density becomes less intensive.

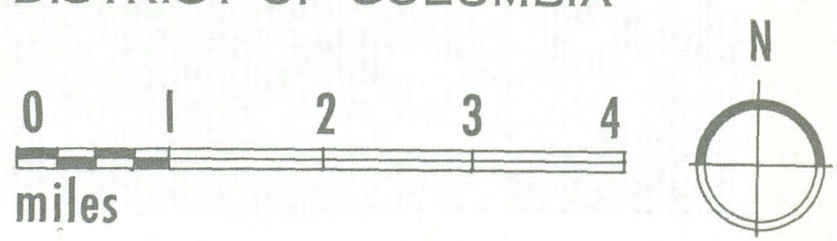
The foregoing policies would apply to the land in a generalized way somewhat as suggested by the diagram at the right. The city as a place of residence would be structured into some two dozen or more distinct communities. Direct service by rail transit would not be available to all communities. Access to the limited number of "uptown" employment centers, however, would in all cases be available both by freeway and rail transit.

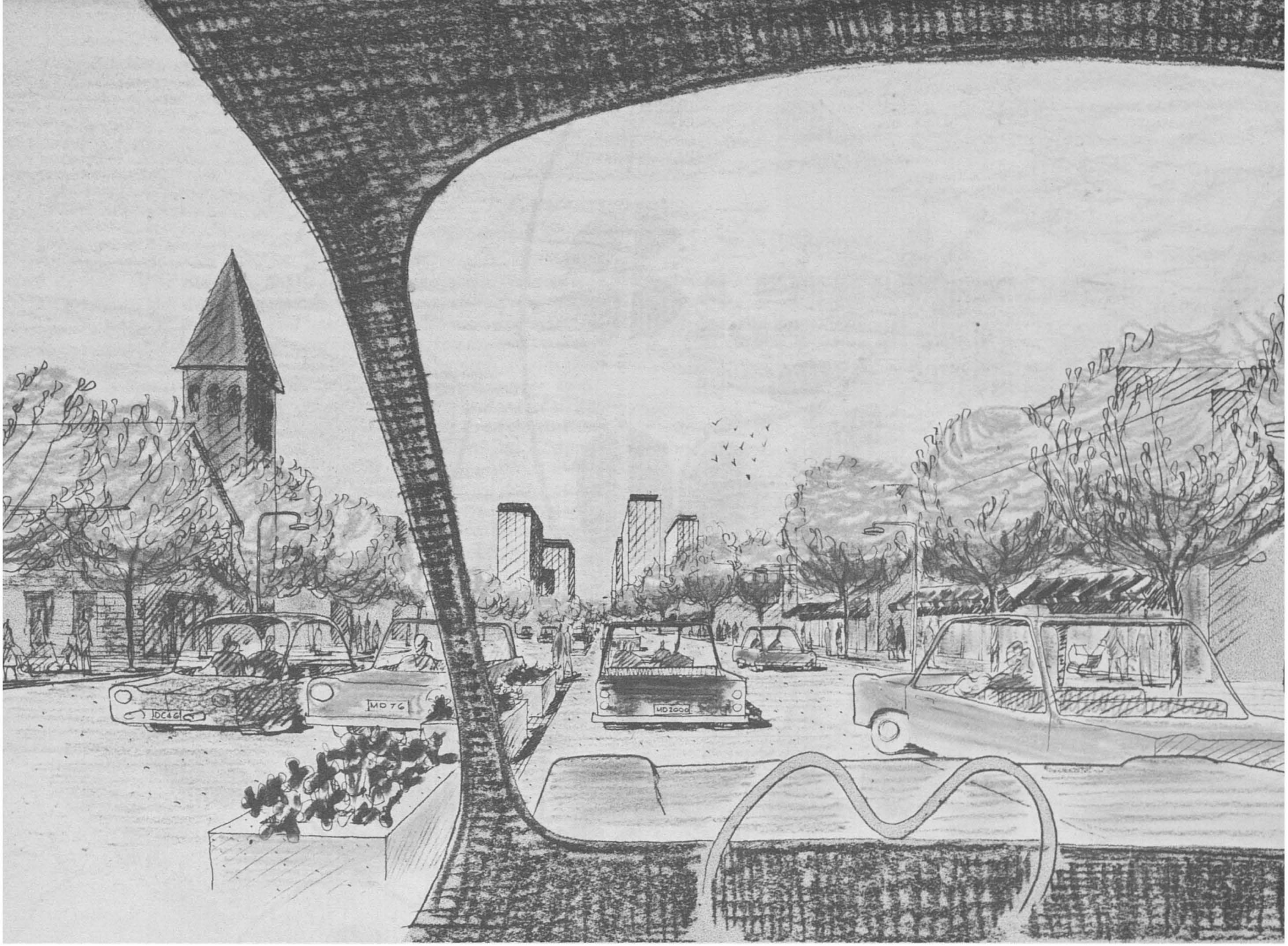


A FRAMEWORK FOR 2000 DEVELOPMENT



DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA





The exciting view of the Capitol and the monuments from all of the Virginia approaches to the District establishes a strong image of the Capital City in the mind's eye. The same experience should be evoked at all points of arrival into the City. The selective and logical distribution of employment centers in high-rise towers could well serve to symbolize the "gateway to the Capital District".

PART VI

NEXT STEPS
IN THE PLANNING PROCESS

How can the recommended policies be put into effect? How can the Region be given the form that has been proposed?

The National Capital Region in the Year 2000 will be a product of many decisions and actions by many government agencies and a host of private individuals. It is hoped that this report will constitute a first step in a lengthy process of discussion and decision-making that will eventually shape the Region along the lines recommended here. The next step should consist of a consideration of this report by each public official and agency, and by all interested organizations and citizens. To the extent that the goals set forth in this report and the policies for achieving them are accepted, these policies should begin to influence public action—the adoption of official plans in each jurisdiction, the zoning of land, the regulation of new subdivisions, the location of new highways, Federal buildings and other public works, and the allocation of funds to various projects. Such governmental action, combined with a wide public understanding of the new policies of regional growth, will in turn encourage harmonious private action. While the effect of these policies will only be felt gradually, now is the time to make a start.

But something more than action by individual governmental bodies is needed. Only by a *concert of policies* among the Region's many governmental jurisdictions and agencies can a sound pattern of development be achieved.

There is a need for consultation among public officials, both in securing agreement on the policies recommended here or on some other policies, and in the complex task of carrying out the policies agreed upon. It is hoped that the Washington Metropolitan Regional Conference will take the lead in securing agreement on development policies with the District of Columbia and the State and suburban governments. At the same time, the National Capital Planning Commission, in its statutory role as the planning agency of the Federal Government in the Region, will work with Federal agencies in the same direction. The Commission and the National Capital Regional Planning Council will also proceed with a variety of activities looking to the implementation of these policies, including economic analyses, development plans, and studies of legal, administrative and fiscal arrangements.

FOR THE REGION

In carrying out the recommended policies, or indeed any policies aimed at the creation of high density urban centers in the suburbs, certain major governmental decisions and actions of an entirely new kind will be required. Under the corridor plan, the first major decision will be to determine the directions in which growth should be channelled. This will be largely determined by current highway plans, the trend of growth, the need to avoid pollution and siltation of water supplies, and similar considerations. Another major decision will determine where the first of the new suburban cities should be located along each corridor. This choice will probably be narrowed considerably by the limited availability of large tracts of suitable land. The Federal Government should play an important part in creating the new cities, by choosing sites for new employment in the new city centers.

Once such basic decisions are made, attention must turn to the new governmental organization and procedures needed to assemble land, to set the overall pattern of development, and to arrange for the necessary utilities and public works. It may be desirable to establish a new division of local government (perhaps an Urban Development Agency) in each outlying jurisdiction to perform these functions. Such an agency would also serve as a means of reaping for the public the increased land values resulting from the decision to concentrate development at given locations, thereby providing some funds for the public works and services needed by the new cities. While the first of the corridor cities are being planned, decisions about eventual sites of additional cities on each corridor, as well as new corridors, should be made.

At the same time, plans should be made for high-grade mass transportation along each of the corridors, closely integrated with freeway construction and with plans for the new cities. The National Capital Transportation Agency should work with the highway departments in securing rights-of-way for transit lanes in the median strips of freeways, and providing transit stations and parking lots at suitable points along the freeways. The Agency should cooperate with the local agencies in planning to bring into each urban center the high-speed transit that serves that corridor.

Another set of activities will be needed to preserve the wedges of open space separating the corridors. The full range of public powers, including zoning, acquisition of land or development rights, and tax concessions should be devoted to this end by the State and local governments, the new development agencies, and Federal agencies where appropriate.

While these actions are proceeding, the National Capital Regional Planning Council will proceed to revise and refine the 1980 general development plan, and to make information and advice available to the various agencies making decisions leading to the creation of corridors. Each local planning commission can play a similar role in its own jurisdiction.

FOR THE DISTRICT

The first step in implementing the foregoing policies will be complete revision of the Comprehensive Plan of 1950 by the National Capital Planning Commission. In this effort, the Commission will work closely with District and Federal agencies responsible for specific systems of improvements (parks, highways, transit, libraries, firehouses, etc.), citizen groups from all parts of the city, and with organizations of businessmen and others having a city-wide interest in future development.

Paralleling the revision of the Comprehensive Plan will be the preparation of a Community Renewal Program—the first detailed city-wide analysis of housing and environmental conditions which will provide an understanding of the magnitude of the problem of bringing all parts of the city up to minimum living standards. Meshed with the Comprehensive Plan, it will result in a twenty-year development and redevelopment program spelling out what needs to be done with both private and public capital investment. All renewal projects thereafter will be guided by both the Community Renewal Program and the Comprehensive Plan. Both will be prepared in cooperation with welfare agencies to assure that undue hardships to the District's low-income residents are avoided. The cooperation of citizens' groups will be sought in an effort to meet the needs of each part of the city and help each community establish its own identity.

At the same time, the Federal Government should reexamine its holdings in the District of Columbia. Some sites now owned by the Federal Government will probably not be needed in the future. A land purchase revolving fund would be a useful device to expedite the return of unneeded land to the tax rolls and to provide funds for the purchase of sites at more desirable locations.