file union membership. The members of the negotiating union group would be required to judge what is best for the rank-and-file. To some extent, this also applies to employers; but it is less likely that among employers, associated for the one purpose of bargaining, there would be the same diversity of opinion that might arise among union members.

Multi-employer bargaining may be initiated by varying circumstances and methods. First, it might come about through strong-union pressure on weak and poorly organized employers, as in the highly competitive United States garment industry to which reference has been made. Or it might result from the desire of employers to seek protection in numbers from powerful unions. Thus, in the San Francisco area, master agreements with unions have been largely due to the insistence of employers, working through associations formed for the purpose. Finally, multi-employer bargaining might be introduced by legislation, through the success of union political pressure, to apply only to speci-

fied industries. This last method would be the most dangerous and least satisfactory, for it would imply state backing for the unions concerned and might precipitate harmful union activity; and, in an atmosphere of compulsion (especially state compulsion), the attitudes of the parties would be anything but cooperative. Differences in the origin of multi-employer bargaining, whether on the national or regional scale, will condition both the atmosphere in which negotiations are conducted and the results which are obtained.

Multi-employer bargaining is the subject of a growing body of research literature issued in the United States. Of particular value is the National Planning Association's new series of reports on "Causes of Industrial Peace under Collective Bargaining" (see p. 37 of this issue of PUBLIC AFFAIRS). The University of California at Berkeley has recently published the following studies: Kerr, *Collective Bargaining on the Pacific Coast*; Kerr and Fisher, *Multiple Employer Bargaining: The San Francisco Experience*; and Kerr and Randall, *Multiple Employer Bargaining in Pacific Coast Pulp and Paper Industry*. Another pioneer study is Braun, *Union-Management Co-operation*, published by the Brookings Institution of Washington.

New Towns in Britain

DONALD P. REAY

ONE of the most interesting features of post-war planning activity in Britain has been the setting up of Corporations, under the New Towns Act of 1946, for the construction of new towns where and when they are deemed necessary in the public interest. In England and Wales the decision to start a new town is taken by the Minister of Town and Country Planning and in Scotland by the Secretary of State for Scotland. In each case the designation of an area for new town development and the creation of a Corporation charged with the duty of building the new town is preceded by a long period of study and research into the need for new devel-

opments in certain areas, into the rival claims of different sites, and finally by a public enquiry into the new town proposal itself, where the pros and cons of the project are thrashed out in public, and, if necessary, alterations made to produce a workable proposition.

Why are these new towns required? Why is it desirable that yet more built-up areas be created in an already densely populated country like Great Britain? Quite a number of new town Corporations have now been set up and among them they illustrate nearly all the reasons for which, in Britain, the need for a particular new town is likely to arise.

Relocation of "Overspill"

Probably the most obvious and common reason is that associated with the replanning of a large congested conurbation such as the London Region, the Clyde Valley, or the Liverpool-Manchester industrial area. In each of these areas the Industrial Revolution has left a core of congested and obsolete industrial and residential districts. Replanning to higher standards invariably means a lowering of density. Existing residential densities in some parts of Central Glasgow, for example, run as high as 700 persons per acre. Relieving congestion in such areas, however, produces an "overspill" of industry and population which has to be located elsewhere. Relocation may be undertaken (a) on the periphery of the built-up area, (b) in ribbon development leading out of the town, (c) in new or (d) expanded towns beyond some form of green belt, or (e) in development outside the region of the parent town altogether.

The theoretical overspill figures arrived at in replanning these central areas are usually so large as to necessitate the use of (a), (c), (d) and (e). In consequence, new town projects are either on the stocks or under way outside of each of the three conurbations mentioned above. As the reduction travelling time between living and working areas is, for obvious reasons, one of the key features of town and country planning policy, the new town or the expanded old town forms the most satisfactory solution to the overspill problem: for decentralized housing and industry can be most effectively placed in relation to each other on comparatively free sites such as these new locations provide.

Stevenage, Harlow, Crawley, Hemel-Hempstead, Welwyn-Hatfield, Basildon and (lately) Bracknell are all basically overspill towns for the congested population and industry of central London. Even these will only accommodate about a quarter of the total overspill to be catered for eventually in the London Region. In Scotland, East Kilbride is being constructed partly to assist in the decongesting of Glasgow and northwest Lanarkshire, and in the north of England a search has been going on for a long time to find a suitable site to receive the overspill from the centre of Manchester.

Regional Re-Development

A second reason for the creation of new towns has been the necessity for the injection of new life and industry into the "development areas" of Britain —the former "depressed areas." A particular locality in one of these areas may possess all the physical requirements for development—good transport facilities, industrial sites, good location in relation to markets and raw materials —and yet will not develop of itself due to the area having a recent history of industrial decay, caused by overspecialization, obsolete plant, uneconomic production or some other reason. The younger generation may be moving out due to lack of opportunity, industrialists may be reluctant to move in because of the characteristics of the labour supply, and the psychological atmosphere may be generally one of depression. In such a case, the creation of a new town, as a spectacular feature of a regional development plan directed at the diversification of industry and the regrouping of the population into a more effective pattern, can do much towards creating an atmosphere of hope and enterprise, can attract industrialists through the provision of industrial sites, well laid out and serviced, and with housing, shops and schools to hand. East Kilbride is very clearly a town of this type, in addition to its overspill functions, and new towns contemplated in South Wales would fulfil a similar purpose.

New towns more similar in origin to some Canadian and American cities are those which are being started primarily to develop a new basic industry tied to a

Town Planning

Legislation alone cannot achieve the sort of complete integration of a community's present and future activities that adequate planning demands. Legislation may provide the skeleton, but it must be given flesh and blood by the townspeople themselves.

Towns that have not already taken steps to adopt a Plan are reminded that the Department of Municipal Affairs has prepared a manual on Community Planning for Nova Scotia municipalities which is available to them upon request.

Even where towns have enthusiastically embarked upon a program of planning there is a danger that, because of the tedious day-to-day work involved in effective implementation, interest will subside. In a recent special issue of MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS the Nova Scotia Municipal Bureau draws attention to the fact that planning is a *continuing process*. Spurts of interest which die away quickly cannot succeed.

Effective planning depends upon the continued understanding and active support of your local community. The need for a continuous program to inform the public about the aims and objects of planning is therefore clear.

M. A. PATTERSON
Minister of Municipal Affairs

particular place by reason of the natural resources there. A good example is Glen Rothes in East Fife, which will eventually form an integral part of the planned development of the new East Fife coalfield. Similarly the invention of new processes and changes in world supply or demand may make it worthwhile to exploit mineral deposits which previously could not be worked economically. The new town of Peterlee in County Durham is located over two deep coal seams now being worked for the first time and is resulting in a large scale shift of the Durham mining population eastwards to new pits and new homes.

Co-ordination of Resources

An especially interesting basis for new town development is the demand on a particular locality which derives from a combination of favourable economic factors, none of which taken individually may be decisive in itself. In the last three decades, such factors as the expansion of road transport, the development of electric power and the telephone, and standardization in manufacturing have had a profound effect on the growth of towns and on the distribution of industry and population. These factors have converted formerly undesirable sites into industrially attractive districts; they have reduced to some extent the dependence of industry on labour of special and skills, and have made it possible to supply wider markets from new locations. The expansion of English towns like Port Sunlight, Coventry and Slough, for example, can be traced in part to these causes. Similar factors provide the basis on which new towns are being planned for South Wales. The conscious diversification of the industry of the area, the construction of a new South Wales highway leading directly across the Bristol Channel to London and the Midlands, the southward movement of population out of the narrow mining valleys towards the coastal plain, and

the possibility of technological unemployment resulting from the reorganization of the steel and tinplate industry and the regrouping of the coal mines— all these factors indicate the necessity for a regional approach to the area's problems. The solution now projected envisages, amongst other things, a group of new and expanded towns lying along the new highway, near the South Wales ports, taking the overflow population out of the mining areas, and containing new industries which will contribute to the economic diversification of the whole region.

Two further and less important types may be discerned in the list of new towns. Occasionally a locality develops sporadically over a period of years and results in a large area of low density ribbon development and patchy building, thus ruining successfully the amenities of once pleasant countryside and good farming land. It has become neither a residential nor a rural area, but an unsightly negation of both. The town of Pitsea-Laindon in Essex was such a conglomeration when it was decided to designate the area as a new town with a view to co-ordinating the straggling development, raising the density, planning its careful expansion and thus creating a much needed new town for the overspill from some East London boroughs.

Finally there is the almost unique case of Newton Aycliffe in County Durham, where an enormous Royal Ordnance Factory was built during the war in open country, causing far reaching changes in the working lives of the population for miles around. The invaluable industrial asset thus created was taken over by North Eastern Trading Estates after the war. Here we have the peculiar situation of having to build a town around an industrial area which already exists.

Integration With the District

Clearly, the siting of new towns is a national just as much as a regional mat-

ter, particularly when pre-war population movement figures tend to suggest that prospective new town population is relatively mobile and not necessarily tied to a parent city. Thus it might be possible for a new town sited in East Anglia for strategic economic reasons to serve as an overspill town for a conurbation as far away as Birmingham.

However, in this connection, the impact of a new town on its region has to be considered. For example, a new town in a rural region will possibly introduce new and better facilities of all kinds into the district and attract the existing district. Such an attempt, if feasible, would only create great friction.

The most promising approach to this problem is twofold in nature. On the one hand, the disparity in the standard of life between the town and the district must be reduced consciously by providing gas, electricity, water, drainage, housing, etc., in the district as well as in the new town. On the other hand, such amenities as can only be provided in the new town (schools, shops, etc.) must be made readily available and large enough for at least part of the population of the surrounding district.

Are *Canada's* urban centres too big? At the 1941 census, about 3 of every 7 persons in Manitoba lived in Greater Winnipeg (above), and about one in every 3 in Quebec lived in Greater Montreal. Should *Canadians* embark on a program of New Towns?

population for shopping, education, amusement, work and housing. In these and other respects it will compete with existing nearby centres, possibly to their detriment. Thus careful study has to be given to the effects on other towns as well as to the effects on agriculture and other essential activities. It is impossible to make a new town independent of and non-contributory to its

It will be easily seen that locating a new town in a predominantly rural region will probably prove to be a more elaborate proposition than locating it in a more urban part of the country.

The Optimum Population

The plans prepared for the new towns so far have a good many points in common. They have a tendency to be about

the same size—50,000 to 60,000 population, since this is the minimum size town in which complete educational facilities from nursery school to county college can economically be provided. They tend to have residential areas planned on the neigh ourhood unit principle, isolated from traffic arteries— although the size and the residential density (number of persons or houses per acre) of these neighbourhoods varies considerably in different towns. They all have a carefully designed continuous park system, but here again the acreage of park space within the built-up perimeter of the town varies greatly. They all try to develop a clearly defined town centre, although in this respect the new towns which are based on a small village, like Stevenage, have a distinct advantage over a town like Hemel-Hempstead which already has a population of 20,000. In the former case, the existing village of 5,000 or 6,000 can be left largely intact as a neighbourhood in the new town, while a completely new town centre is built adjacent to it. Hemel-Hempstead however has a large and thriving town centre in existence already. It is too large to serve as a neighbourhood centre or to be subservient to a new town centre (although the existence of a new and old town nearly equal in size is common in many famous cities) and too small to serve as the main centre for the new town. It is hemmed in by existing deve'opment and so cannot be expanded without an undue amount of demolition. Architecturally the problem may be more difficult, but socially it may be easier, for a psychological centre exists to hand which will not have to be shifted—always a very difficult procedure.

The Social Aspects

The social aspect of planning in these new towns is naturally of very great importance. In effect the opportunity is presented of designing (subject of course to definite economic limitations) the whole environment, almost the whole way of life, if you like, of a sample section of the population. The Development Corporations are very much alive to this aspect of their work. A great deal of discussion is in progress concerning the particular social and cultural patterns which are likely to emerge by themselves or to be encouraged to emerge by virtue of the particular building layouts employed and the social and cultural facilities provided. It is hoped to complete the construction of the towns in 15 to 20 years, and this rate of growth alone produces special social and population problems which will prove extremely interesting to control and to observe.

Altogether, Britain's new towns should prove to be thoroughly worthwhile living and working places for their inhabitants. In addition, they should prove to be exciting social, planning and architectural laboratories for many years to come.

HENRY FRASER MUNRO, 1878-1949

It is with regret that PUBLIC AFFAIRS records the death of Henry Fraser Munro, M.A., LL.D. A member of the Journal's Editorial Board since 1937, Dr. Munro has left a distinguished record as an educationist and as a public servant.

Born in Pictou, Nova Scotia, he was graduated from Dalhousie and Harvard Universities; in 1926 he was granted an honorary Doctorate by Acadia University. His career as a teacher began with ten years as Master in Mathematics and in English at Pictou Academy. He lectured in international law at Columbia University and was an instructor for United States military personnel during World War I.

From 1921 to 1926, Dr. Munro held the Eric Dennis Memorial Professorship in Government and Political Science at Dalhousie University. Appointed Superintendent of Education for Nova Scotia in 1926, he was permanent head of the Department through twenty-two years of expansion and increased activities.

Dr. Munro's wide interest in public affairs was evidenced in his writings on Canadian history and international relations, including "The Berlin Conference," prepared at the request of the United State's Department of State, and "International Cases," written in collaboration with Ellery Stowell, Secretary of the 1907 Hague Conference. As President of the Canadian Education Association and of the Canadian Association for Adult Education, he gave leadership and active support to movements of national significance.