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NATIONAL AND REGIONAL PLANNING OF TOWNS AND COUNTRYSIDE

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I. THE ORGANISATION OF PLANNING IN POLAND

THIS report on "National and Regional Planning of Towns and Countryside" is based upon the agreed assumption that the national and regional plans are indeed being prepared and that they form the basis for plans of individual towns and villages.

The title suggests, moreover, dealing mainly with those elements of town and country planning which result from planning on a higher grade, leaving the problems of actual local planning work to be discussed only in so far as they affect the region and the country as a whole.

A report of this sort must therefore be preceded by a brief outline of the organisation of planning.

Planning in Poland forms an organic unity, subdivided into three branches. Such an organisation is implied by the Planned Physical Development of the Country Act, issued on 2nd April, 1946. This comprehensive Act has already been presented in the Polish Report for the Hastings Congress. Therefore, the present report will deal primarily with the actual forms of organisation, created under that Act.

Together with economic planning, physical planning is today, in Poland, a distinct, separate branch of Government of both central and local authorities.

The Minister of Reconstruction is responsible before Parliament for all physical planning.

The highest planning authority is the Central Office of Physical Planning. Its activities are divided into two parts. First, there is the preparation of the national plan of physical development, to form a basis for the building activities and the policies of the various Departments of State (Ministries) and the guiding principles for planning at lower levels. The second is the organisation, supervision and instruction of subordinate agencies.

Authorities of second grade are the Regional Offices of Physical Planning. At present there are fourteen of them; their number corresponds to that of the *voivodships* and the boundaries of regions correspond to the boundaries of these administrative units.

In many cases the present boundaries of *voivodships* do not meet present economic and social needs; neither are they adjusted to the changed conditions due to the shifting of Poland's territory towards the west.

Defining the proper division of the country into regions is, therefore, one of the tasks of physical planning. This will serve as a guide for the future readjustment of administrative boundaries. On the basis of present studies the number of regional offices is ultimately likely to be increased.

So far as their organisation and professional functions are concerned, the regional offices are subordinate to the central office, but administratively they are linked with the regional authorities under the general direction of the *Voivod*.

The functions of regional offices are similar to those of the central office; they consist in the elaboration of the regional plan to form a basis for local plans (of towns and villages) and in the general supervision of Local Offices of Physical Planning.

According to the Act, local physical planning belongs to local authorities. Offices may be of two types: city offices and county offices. Their task is to prepare and supervise local plans for individual towns and villages. In spite of the development of physical planning on a regional and national level, local plans still, in a sense, occupy a key position, as they form the principal basis for all actual building activity.

The importance of local offices is fully appreciated in Poland; it must be stated, however, that there are at present serious obstacles to their proper organisation. In addition to financial difficulties with which local governments have to cope as a result of the war, the main problem from the planning point of view is the shortage of trained planning staffs. The total number of workers employed in offices of physical planning throughout the country is about 700, including clerks and minor employees. Out of this figure some 100 people form the staff of the Central Office of Physical Planning, 300 persons are employed in regional offices (each having between fifteen and forty workers), which leaves about 300 persons for all local offices. The majority of these, moreover, work in Warsaw and other large centres.

The organisation of local offices (apart from larger cities) has been in full swing only since the end of 1947. It involves the creation of over 100 local offices for incorporated towns, and about 170 county offices. Assuming that each of these offices should employ at least seven or eight people, the number of workers required will amount to about 2,000.

The relation of qualified planning personnel to clerks and assistant workers being at present as 1 : 1, this means that some 1,000 planners will have to be trained to satisfy the immediate demand.

It is obvious that under these circumstances local planning must at present be done partly by regional offices, with already an inadequate personnel.

This is, by the way, the real answer to a frequent question: Why is planning in Poland so highly centralised? It is by no means intentional—it is simply a necessity resulting from the divergence between requirements and possibilities of the limited number of available staffs.

It is the intention of present planning legislation that local plans are to be worked out by the appropriate local authorities. These plans have, at the same time, to conform to the guiding principles offered by regional and national plans.

The town planning experience of the inter-war period clearly proves that the planning of a town or village as an isolated unit cannot solve the several elements of development which are the result of the relation of the given locality to the region and the entire country. In pre-war planning, such factors as the rank of a town, its main line of development as a service or industrial centre, the importance of various communication routes running through its area, etc., could be defined only inasmuch as the foresight of the individual planner permitted. Experience has further shown that the divergence between these anticipations and the actual development of the town was so great that it often totally compromised the value of the plan itself.

The question is, however, not merely one of more or less correct foresight. Planned economy in Poland aims at fundamental changes in the economic and social structure of the country. These changes are bound to entail equally fundamental changes in physical development. In addition to this, there is the necessity of linking together the individual areas which have so far been artificially divided by political boundaries. Thus planning is a means of achieving certain predetermined aims, resulting from the basic principles of economic and social policies. Plans prepared for individual areas must necessarily be considered as parts of the national plan. Forecasts based on observation of local development trends are of secondary importance, and may influence the stages and methods of execution of the proposed structure, but not the structure itself, which in many cases opposes these trends.

In the present practice of planning in Poland, therefore, the national plan establishes a number of basic principles to serve as guidance for planning at lower levels. Discrimination must be made between large cities and small towns. The former, being important centres of transport, population and industry, are of immediate concern for national planning.

In relation to them the national plan establishes :

- (a) the proposed and estimated population in given periods of time ;
- (b) the basic functions to be performed within and for the nation, and the resulting professional structure of population ;
- (c) the main pattern of communications, as a part of the national networks of transport ;
- (d) lastly, the national plan establishes the successive stages of development of those cities, according to economic plans and building policies.

For the largest urban centres the national plan recommends a special layout which allows for flexible development and includes land reserves for functions which today are not yet fully developed. Such layouts decentralise excessive concentrations of population, transforming big cities into metropolitan communities.

As regards smaller towns, the national plan determines only their approximate size and character, leaving the closer definition of their character to regional planning. In local planning, the regional plan plays a similar part as the national plan does in regional planning.

This entire method of approach is based on the assumption that the region is not a mere sum of the administrative areas of towns and villages, just as the country is not a mere sum of its regions. Both region and country are considered as socio-economic units of superior order, their characteristics and interests resulting from the interrelation between their component elements.

Finally, there should be a description of the way in which the executive authorities and the community participate in the elaboration and approval of plans.

Present legislation determines the manner of elaboration and the passing of plans of physical development at all three levels. Thus :

(1) The proper local authority is obliged to notify the public before embarking upon the preparation of a local plan. After that, each inhabitant and all authorities and institutions concerned have the right to send in their proposals with regard to the plan. After the plan has been prepared, it is open to public inspection, and all persons or institutions concerned are entitled to raise objections. These objections are examined by respective commissions and whenever they are not contrary to public welfare or requirements of a higher authority, they are incorporated in the plan.

When the plan is finally worked out, it is approved by the regional office, next it is laid before the city or county national council which either passes it or returns it for revision.

(2) Regional plans are, however, not subjected to the procedure of public inspection in the course of their preparation. They should be discussed and agreed by the authorities and social organisations concerned. When finally prepared, they are approved by the Central Office of Physical Planning and voted by the *Voivod* National Council.

(3) The national plan is discussed and agreed in the course of its elaboration with the Central Board of Economic Planning and with interested State authorities. Finally it is to be approved by the Council of Ministers and passed by a vote of Parliament.

Moreover, the Act provides for the appointment of Planning Councils in which the community and professional experts are equally represented.

The functions of these Councils consist in expressing opinions on the individual plans or their parts in the course of their preparation.

Thus, not only the plans of towns and villages in Poland are based on plans of higher level, but the participation of the community is proportional to the scope of problems involved and the degree of interest of the community in question.

Plans of higher level and general solutions are approved by representatives of the higher community. The more detailed the plan, on the other hand, the greater the share of the smaller communities and of the individual.

II. PROBLEMS OF TOWN AND COUNTRY PLANNING IN THE NATIONAL PLAN

Physical planning being divided, as stated, into local, regional and national levels, it is essential to understand fully the scope of planning problems proper to each.

The regional plan determines the location, character and size of towns (with the exception of large urban groups which, owing to their size and importance, exercise an influence over an area larger than that of a single region and should be treated from the point of view of the nation as a whole). The national plan determines the interrelation between towns of all types, particularly those of regional or national importance.

It is self-evident that all towns and villages are not isolated units, independent of each other, but that they are linked together and interdependent. The interrelation of all towns and villages in a given country affects their number, size, location and character. This gives rise to the concepts of the structure of settlement, that is to say, the relations which exist or should exist between the size and number of towns and villages and the pattern of settlement, e.g., their distribution throughout the country. The structure and pattern of settlement can and should be planned. Such a plan gives the basis for a programme and plan of the regionalisation. It should define the fundamental and organic division of the country into administrative, economic and cultural units.

According to these principles the national plan should include the theoretical structure of settlement for the entire country, the pattern (network) of larger towns and the plan of division of the country into regions.

The regional plan will provide for any necessary regional alterations of the theoretical structure of settlement adopted for the nation. Furthermore, it establishes the pattern of towns and villages of all other types, and the subdivision of the region into small administrative, economic and cultural units.

Theoretical Structure of Settlement in the Preliminary Draft of the National Plan

The existence of certain definite types of towns and villages, the necessity to establish the approximate number of localities belonging to each type, and, lastly, the definition of the mutual relationship between all types—all these premises justify the need for a hypothetical structure of settlement and form integral elements of the actual hypothesis. It should be noted that such a hypothetical structure of settlement is not necessarily bound with any particular theory of settlement.

However, it is necessary to rely on some theory in order to formulate such concepts as are necessary for the statement of the hypothesis, and to analyse all the problems involved.

Naturally, the theoretical types of towns and villages do not correspond exactly to those actually in existence. The difference between theoretical, historical and actually existing types should be kept clearly in mind. The basic hypothesis is concerned with the latter.

Moreover, the types accepted in the hypothesis must conform to the economic model (structure) proposed and assumed for the country.

It is wrong to believe that a definite economic model entails necessarily one particular structure or pattern of settlement. On the contrary, a number of different solutions may be adaptable to such a model. Nevertheless, there may, and do, exist structures and patterns which are incompatible with a given economic model. The Polish economic model provides for the collaboration and existence of a number of economic agents, e.g., the State, local authorities, co-operative societies and private enterprise. Place must

be found in the towns and villages for all of them. Together they must form one inseparable and organic whole, although each represents a different type of utilisation of buildings and land. Such a pluralist structure is not alien to Polish tradition, to mention only the mediæval towns, or the 16th and 17th century towns of Eastern Poland, the population of which was composed of several nationalities. It also complies with contemporary trends of growth of towns and with the requirements of modern town planning.

In the present studies, the pattern of standard types is based on the pattern of service centres, for that is the only pattern common to all and independent of the economic and cultural role of the individual region. Thus, the types of service centres constitute the basic standard types.

The existence of nine types is assumed :

- (1) group of houses (hamlet) ;
- (2) simple village or parish ;
- (3) urban village (rural or urban district) ;
- (4) market centre (small town) ;
- (5) county town ;
- (6) sub-regional urban centre ;
- (7) capital of region (*voivod* town) ;
- (8) provincial city ;
- (9) capital of the country.

A brief explanation is necessary to justify the introduction of a seemingly large number of types. It is not merely a result of theory and abstract considerations, but also the logical consequence of certain requirements of life and practice. In the first place, a larger number of types makes the whole pattern of settlement more flexible. It would be unwise to limit the number of types to those now performing administrative functions, for the present division of administrative functions is neither permanent nor necessarily satisfactory. Administrative functions do not create types ; they merely endow some types with additional importance, making them in a sense privileged. Differences which exist at present between towns performing identical administrative functions prove the need for introducing intermediate types.

Emphasis must be laid on the unchanging character of the network of service centres. A higher density of population, resulting directly from the increase of population, whether natural or due to migration, and being, in fact, the outcome of the increased intensity of economic life, does not entail changes in the location of towns and villages, at least in a country where the network of settlement is normally developed. It does, however, affect the importance of particular towns, and the population both in the town itself and in its surroundings.

Production, whether extractive or manufacturing, largely determines the so-called dominant function of a given service centre. Among the most important are the agricultural, industrial, commerce and transport (ports), administrative, cultural and recreational functions.

In addition to the simple standard types there may also exist intermediate types, which unite within one locality several types or several dominant functions. We then speak of correlated towns. When one func-

tion is divided among several towns, we are faced with split towns, the simplest example being twin towns. Finally, a clustered group of towns forming one organic and planned entity is called a metropolitan community.

All these modifications of standard types are introduced with the object of making the entire structure and pattern, or hypothesis of settlement, even more flexible.

When preparing such a hypothesis for a country or a region, the existing network and the historical origin of its pattern, structure and types must be included in the studies, for continuity of development and tradition ensures a proper appreciation of the natural qualities of site and population and is the best guarantee of a proper linking of the plan with the requirements of life.

A detailed description of standard types includes :

- (a) the characteristics of the type ;
- (b) the trends of its development, and
- (c) the limits (upper and lower) of that development.

All proposals concerning the hypothesis of settlement are based on the following data : the status for 1946 and the status anticipated for 1950 (end of the reconstruction period), 1965 (end of industrialisation), and 1980 (end of full urbanisation). These periods should be treated as flexible and the dates regarded as very approximate.

In some cases, only approximate phases of change were defined, while any closer definitions were suspended until the moment when sufficient data are available for the establishment of the rate at which the changes will presumably occur. As the lack of adequate statistical data constitutes a serious impediment to any reckoning in absolute figures, it was considered safer to apply the method of index numbers and percentages, thus giving the forecasts a still higher degree of flexibility.

A few words should be added about the division of future development into two periods, that of industrialisation and the other of full urbanisation. It is assumed that growth of basic industrial production is characteristic only for the first phase of urbanisation. Further evolution in the urbanising process will bring general growth of consumption (e.g., among others of urban industries producing consumer goods) and of economic and cultural services. This second phase will be characterised by a growth of cities on the one hand and by full regionalisation of the country on the other.

Smallest localities.—Characteristic for the three smallest types of villages (at any rate so far as the most numerous group of agricultural villages is concerned) is the fact that they usually form complex groups bound by multiple relationships. Subordinate to each urban village are several simple or parish villages, while subordinate to them are hamlets or groups of houses. Thus the physical structure of these villages is graded and organically developed.

It should be noted that as a rule this structure does not wholly determine the manner of grouping, e.g., the dispersal of the houses and holdings in relation to service centres. The extremely important consideration, whether the village is to be integrated, grouped together or scattered, depends on the type of farming, on the average size of individual farms, on the agricultural technique applied, on the forms of economic co-operation,

Type of service centre	Service radius km.	Service area sq. km.	Administrative function	Localities with prevalence of:					Special notes
				agricultural services	industry	commerce and transport services	cultural services	leisure facilities	
<i>Special localities :</i>									
1. Group of houses	1	4		hamlet : based on rural or forest			(nursery)	summer resort, tourist centre	Within metropolitan cities the smallest units are : 1. blocks (groups) of houses, 2. neighbourhood units, 3. districts which, though corresponding to general types, are more closely spaced. Special types : in the vicinity of metropolitan cities ; gardening villages ; on the coast ; fishing villages.
2. Simple village (parish)	4	50	decentralisation of rural local administration	rural village	mining, artisan or factory village		(primary school, first years)	health resort, spa	
3. Urban village (rural or urban district)	7	152	rural district	rural market village		third-class harbour	(primary school, seven years)		
<i>Towns :</i>									
4. Market town	21	400	centralisation of rural district, decentralisation of county administration	market town	industrial village	market centre, railway junction or frontier (customs) station	(secondary school or professional schools)	main summer resort or health centre	special types : in the vicinity of metropolitan cities : satellites.
5. County town	12	1,200	county				(high school)		
6. Sub-regional urban centre	36	3,600	centralisation of county, decentralisation of <i>voivodship</i> (regional) administration		industrial town	second-class harbour	centres of regional culture (single-faculty universities)	main tourist centre and leisure town	
7. Regional capital	62	10,800	<i>voivodship</i> (region)						
8. Provincial city	108	32,400	centralisation of <i>voivodship</i> , decentralisation of central administration		con-urbation	first-class harbour	university town		
9. Capital city (Warsaw Metropolitan Cmnty.)			central authorities						

in other words, on the accepted economic structure. The hypothesis of settlement accepted in this report allows for a certain variety of applied forms ; it possesses a high degree of flexibility.

Another problem that deserves notice is the fact that the present group of agricultural villages—the rural district—has already reached its maximum of population ; indeed, the optimum figure is below the actual one.

In view of the strong urbanisation which is bound to take place in the future, it is necessary to reckon not only with a change of employment for a part of the population, but with a partial decrease of rural population in absolute figures.

Particular notice should be given to those small localities where the prevalent function is other than agricultural. This class includes artisan, mining, and factory villages, railway junctions and fishing harbours, summer and health resorts and the like. Their structure is obviously different from that of rural villages, and requires special analytical studies and surveys, some of which are already being carried on.

In the proposed system of types for service centres, bordering between the class of smallest localities and that of towns are the urban village and the market town.

The size of the urban village depends on the corresponding number and sizes of lower localities. Both its service character and radius depend on natural conditions and on intensity of economic development. The urban village is the centre of a rural district ; at the same time it is the seat of an agricultural school which constitutes an important socio-cultural bond within agricultural districts. In average conditions the urban village has a service area of about 152 sq. kilometres, or the surface of a circle with a radius of 7 kilometres.

The professional structure of the urban village reflects the latter's service character. The percentage of agricultural population (assuming the optimum distance between fields and farm buildings) will be equal in number to the entire population of a rural village. Comparing the service areas of the rural village (50 sq. kilometres) and urban village (133 sq. kilometres), we find that the remainder of the population of the urban village is exactly that employed in services.

The market town and the county town.—When there is a tendency for centralisation of functions, the urban village tends to become a locality of higher rank, namely a market town, a centre of local distribution and of exchange of goods.

In reality, a market town is the smallest type of town, ranging from 1,000 to 5,000 inhabitants, the average being 3,000 inhabitants. Its service area is about 225 to 250 sq. kilometres in the eastern, and 130 to 180 sq. kilometres in the western part of the country.

In spite of a high percentage of agricultural population, such localities deserve the name of "small towns," both on account of their layout (usually of great historical value) and because of the advanced urbanisation of their economic life, bringing, in consequence, an urban pattern of land and buildings.

If an area is predominantly agricultural, its centre is at the same time a marketing centre.

If industrial production is the prevalent function of the locality itself or its immediate surroundings, the place of the market town is occupied by an industrial village. Its zone of influence will depend on the location of other similar centres, as services characteristic for this group are provided by the whole group of industrial towns and villages. Another frequent type with a prevalence of manufacture are small artisan towns, possessing a tendency to specialise in one branch of handicraft and simultaneously performing commercial services for the surrounding countryside.

The function of transport is the same in all towns of the same size, even though they are not service centres in the strict sense of the term. The dominance of transport functions affects both the demographic character and the layout of the town. Large railway junctions and frontier (customs) stations belong in this class.

These local centres occupy the lowest grade in the town group; they develop out of urban villages as a result of the centralisation of service functions.

Towards the end of the period of full industrialisation their population will presumably reach an average of 5,000 people, and at the end of the period of full urbanisation the ultimate figure of 6,000 inhabitants is anticipated.

The next type of town is the county town, which provides services for an area of between 1,200 and 1,600 sq. kilometres.

Assuming that in each grade of settlement there exists a unit whose area is a certain number of times larger than that of a unit of inferior rank, we find that the county contains six or seven urban villages, one or two of which grow to the size of local centres (market towns). Thus, there is no multiple, closely correlated relationship between the county town and the market town.

The market town will, in the first place, relieve the county town of some of its functions by offering marketing facilities for areas situated outside the theoretical circle of the county.

The service radius of the market town is about 12 kilometres, and its service area about 450 sq. kilometres; this area will, however, be included in the sphere of influence of the county town as well. When the county town is properly developed and the units of lower rank are crystallised, the market town will become static. Tendencies of expansion are liable to appear with the increasing prevalence of industrial or transport functions; they may, however, disappear, or even change into reverse tendencies, if the same functions increase in the county town, thereby enlarging its zone of influence and service area.

When there is a tendency toward the centralisation of functions, the county town may rise to the next level, that of the sub-regional urban centre with a service area embracing probably three counties (about 3,600 sq. kilometres). On the other hand, decentralising tendencies will reduce it to the rank of local centre (market town).

Actually, the typical county towns, especially in smaller counties, possess a population of 5,000 to 10,000 people.

In the present phase of work on the national plan, the ultimate population of a typical county town at the end of the period of full industrialisation

is estimated at 10,000, and at the end of the period of full urbanisation of the country, at 15,000 people.

The sub-regional urban centre.—The next standard type is the capital of the sub-region. It is the largest in the group of medium-sized towns. Such towns, though quite definite in type, do not as yet perform any administrative functions. On the other hand, they are characterised as a rule by some prevalent function, whether economic or cultural, making them industrial towns or centres of regional culture. In the present phase of studies we are inclined to consider this type as specially good for the development of industry and professional education. Consequently, it should occupy a privileged position in plans of physical development, in economic plans and building policies. The expansion of sub-regional urban centres should be strongly encouraged as a means of checking the excessive cultural centralisation of the country. The balanced development of all types of towns is considered and accepted as an essential principle of the national plan. In reality, there exists a serious menace in the greater and more rapid growth of large cities.

It is estimated that at the end of the period of industrialisation the population of this type of town, which today averages some 15,000 to 20,000 people, will amount to some 30,000, and at the end of the period of full urbanisation, to about 50,000 people.

The regional capital.—The three remaining types of towns, classified as large cities, are particularly closely interrelated and interdependent. The policy concerning them should be particularly careful, for it is only too easy to disturb the natural balance and cause irrevocable and detrimental changes in the entire network of towns and villages in the whole country.

The regional capital corresponds to the typical *voivod* town and has today a population of about 50,000 inhabitants. All the towns of this type already exist, although some of them do not perform the functions of *voivod* towns. Emphasis must be laid on the fact, that from the point of view of proper services for the whole country, the present number of *voivod* towns is too small, while from the point of view of some needs of the population the same number appears excessive. Hence, although it is necessary to reckon with the gradual increase of the number of *voivodships* in Poland, and, consequently, with the increase of regional capitals, we should provide for a partial centralisation by transferring some of the functions now performed by *voivod* towns to the next standard type, namely, to provincial cities. This process is not likely to be very difficult or detrimental to the interests of the community, for the distinct type of provincial city is already clearly evolved. The difference between Cracow or Poznan, and Rzeszow or Kielce consists not merely in quantity, but in quality as well.

As regards regional capitals, according to present forecasts their typical population in the period of industrialisation will amount to some 100,000 persons, and in the final stage of full urbanisation, to about 150,000 persons. The total number of cities of that type in the entire country will be about twenty. The layout of these cities will require careful replanning: by introducing a division into districts and satellites, a partial decentralisation of the city itself will be achieved.

The provincial city.—Like the sub-regional urban centre, the provincial city has not so far any administrative functions. It remains an open question

to be solved in the future, whether the increase of the number of *voivodships* (regions) on the one hand, and the excessive growth of the capital on the other, will or will not necessitate a partial centralisation of regional authorities and decentralisation of central government, by way of an intermediate, provincial government. However, even in the present circumstances the provincial city plays a very important part both in economic and cultural life. Relieving the capital city of some of its essential tasks and playing a leading part in the life of several regions, the provincial city has, moreover, specific functions of its own. These may be either commercial and transport functions, as in the case of first-class ports; productive, as in conurbations or large concentrations of mining and industry; and finally, cultural, connected with science and arts, or the provision of recreation facilities for the population of the entire country. The relatively small number (six to eight) of provincial cities allows an entirely individual treatment in planning. Nevertheless, their anticipated growth (from a present average of 250,000 inhabitants to 400,000 at the end of the period of industrialisation and 600,000 at the end of the period of full urbanisation) and their size class them among metropolitan communities. If this is not true at present, then certainly in future. This means they should form groups of well-developed units, loosely spaced, but organically bound together.

The proper development of provincial cities is a particularly important item of national settlement policy, and should be carefully studied and controlled.

The capital city.—The last element in the general structure of settlement, the real keystone of the entire pattern, is the capital of the country, Warsaw. Being a city of the highest rank, in a class all by itself, it constitutes a separate and distinct planning problem. It seems superfluous to enlarge upon the role of Warsaw in the pattern of settlement. Here, we will limit ourselves to the basic principles of its development and planning. It is anticipated that the development of the city will be rapid and unusually powerful, actuated among other things by the necessity of reconstruction of all that the war has destroyed. This will involve such a concentration of economic means that it will exceed that which the normal functions of the capital city would justify. Hence the growth of Warsaw will require very careful control and—most probably—a strong effect to check its growth. The excessive expansion of the capital would be a cultural catastrophe for the whole country; it would disturb the balance of population and hamper the development of other cities. Hence, the postulate of decentralisation of the capital. It is to be twofold: the decentralisation of functions within the country, and the decentralisation of the city within its region. Having been a city of over one million inhabitants, Warsaw is a strongly developed metropolitan community. Its plan should follow a special pattern of dispersal. This should not merely mean dispersal of functions and in space; it should be organic. The individual component parts of the pattern should live their autonomous life as independent units with accommodation for work, dwelling and leisure, and a community life of their own.

The Proposed Distribution of Population and of Main Urban Centres in Poland

The proposed network of settlements in the country must be based upon the anticipated and intended distribution of population, which in

turn is a result of the general pattern of employment. The distribution of the first of the three principal groups of employment, e.g., of the population employed in the extraction of raw materials, is closely correlated with the distribution of natural resources. Coal is the chief mineral resource of Poland, its quantity being such as to influence the location of a large part of the population (the central coal basin in Upper Silesia and the basin of Walbrzych in Lower Silesia). It should be noted here that State policies attach at present particular importance to miners' settlement and housing.

In the agricultural field the main factors affecting the increase and intensification of agricultural production (and, consequently, the increase of employment in agriculture) are natural conditions and the proximity of large concentrations of population, which are the main markets for agricultural products. The richest soils in Poland are in the areas between the Odra and the Sudetians, and in the loess areas in the southern parts of the Kielce and Lublin regions. Areas of great potential consumption are: the Warsaw Metropolitan Community, the ports and cities of Gdansk and Szczecin, the industrial conurbations of Upper Silesia, Lodz, Walbrzych (in future, also those along the rivers Notec, Middle Narew and Kamienna), and the provincial cities of Cracow, Wroclaw, Poznan, Lublin and eventually Bialystok. The highlands and lakelands of Pomerania and Mazuria will specialise in breeding, while that part of Lower Silesia, between Legnica and Zielona Gora, is predestined for orchards and culture of vegetables on account of its mild climate.

Large forest areas requiring different, special forms of settlement are to be found in the mountains (Sudetians, Carpathians and the mountains of Swiety Krzyz), on the right bank of the Upper Odra, in the fork of the Vistula and the San, on the Lower Pilica, on the Nysa and Bobrawa, the Middle Odra and Middle Notec, the Narew, and in the Pomeranian and Mazurian lake districts.

In these areas the theoretical types and standards of settlement will have to be adjusted to regional economy and to density of population. Stress must be laid on the fact that in all cases the basic postulate is an industrialised service centre (village).

To sum up, it should be stated that the plan of agricultural settlement is the outcome of general settlement standards and of the plan of rational distribution of crops and regionalisation of agricultural production.

The population employed in industry may, in principle, be divided into two groups:

- (1) those employed in basic industries located near the sources of raw materials or near the places where raw materials imported from abroad are received; and
- (2) those employed in the production of consumer goods and in service industries.

In the national plan the network of industrial towns and villages corresponds in principle to the plan for the location of basic industries. The policy contemplated at present consists in the control of industrial expansion in the two coal basins already mentioned, the diversification of industry in the district of Lodz (so far almost exclusively a centre of textile industry), the increased expansion of industries connected with first-class seaports,

and the creation of new major industrial centres along the Upper and Middle Narew, the Middle Notec and the valley of Kamienna with Sandomierz as the main centre.

Secondary consumer goods and service industries are to be located regionally, according to the following principles :

- (1) Food industries should be located primarily in small towns (market and county towns).
- (2) Most secondary industries should be located in medium-sized towns to counterbalance the probable tendency towards excessive centralisation of economic life in large cities and the capital.
- (3) Industries in large cities should be dispersed ; special care should be taken to eliminate any superfluous travel by the inhabitants between their homes and places of employment.

The present work on the location of industry is carried on with the co-operation of the Central Board of Economic Planning and the Ministry of Industry and Commerce by the Central Office of Physical Planning.

The distribution of population employed in services requires the application of entirely different criteria. While the distribution of agricultural, mining and industrial population was based on economic criteria, on meeting the needs of production and on the necessity of taking advantage of natural conditions and possibilities of development—in this new field the object is to meet the immediate individual and collective, cultural and economic requirements and needs of the population. Hence the postulate of “even distribution in space,” which has not appeared in the previous considerations. It is only in relation to services that the problem of a network of settlements evenly covering the entire country acquires a full significance.

The national plan is concerned with the network of smallest service centres only in so far as it defines their type and the standards of their spacing, while sub-regional and regional capitals, provincial cities and the capital must be exactly defined and located. The national plan therefore establishes the location of service centres only so far as medium-sized towns and large cities are concerned.

A separate problem in the field of services is that of leisure and health resorts.

To sum up, the desired distribution of population and the pattern of settlement based upon it find expression in a plan including :

- (1) the definition of agricultural, mining and industrial settlement and smallest service centres by establishing the desired densities of population for each of these groups in all parts of the country ;
- (2) the distribution of medium-sized towns and large cities throughout the country, with specification of their dominant functions and anticipated size ;
- (3) the definition of leisure areas, e.g., tourist centres and summer and health resorts.

Supplementary to the plan are theoretical patterns and standards of service centres which form (for already mentioned reasons) the basis of the entire structure of settlement.

The Relation of the Network of Settlement to the Division of the Country into Regions

The structure and network of settlement is to serve as the basis for the division of the country into regions, and subsequently, in compliance with the provisions of the Planned Physical Development of the Country Act of 2nd April, 1946, for the administrative division as well.

As the result of recent studies, the main criteria accepted for the regional division are: the criterion of services (economic and cultural) and the existence of economic (productive) unities. Obvious physiographic and historical boundaries may influence the division into regions for planning purposes either indirectly, that is to say, in so far as they constitute or affect sociogeographical phenomena, or directly, when the ultimate delimitation of boundaries is in question.

As a result of such an attitude, the problem of the network of medium-sized and large towns and the definition of their present and anticipated economic and cultural service radii occupies a key position in the preparation of the regional divisions.

Attention should be drawn to the fact, that, in consequence of these principles, the actual division into regions becomes possible only when the towns proposed for the regional capitals are actually existing and developed. Hence, when a new region is to be established around a new centre, the development of that centre is prerequisite. The direct consequence of this is the need of two plans for regional division: the first, based upon existing urban centres, is called the possible (short term); the second, based both on existing and proposed urban centres, is the postulated (long-term) plan.

The transition from the possible to the postulated plan depends on appropriate building policies. Notwithstanding this, the possible plan must, in a sense, comply with and include the postulated plan. In the first place, it is imperative that the future (postulated) regions should no longer be divided and incorporated into different administrative units. If this principle is adhered to, the transition from possible to postulated regions would take the form of simple divisions, following the actual realisation of the plan. Thus the postulated plan would gradually become one with the possible plan.

Another noteworthy fact is that the regional division thus obtained will, in each phase, contain units of unequal size, but of more or less equal value so far as economic and cultural potential is concerned. In other words, the more intensively developed the region, the smaller its area will be.

In highly invested wealthy areas with distinct economic functions, the network of administrative divisions will be denser than in poorer areas.

The short-term plan does not correspond to the present administrative divisions, which bear the traces of three distinct administrative systems (German, Russian and Austrian), and a number of artificial, political divisions, sometimes utterly absurd from the administrative point of view. The possible plan should be introduced at once, immediately after its completion and approval.

Let it be added that the present number of *voivodships*, fourteen, is not likely to be increased in the short-term plan—if at all—by more than two or three; their boundaries, however, will be altered. On the other hand,

the postulated plan foresees some thirty regions, which will be grouped into larger units—provinces, around six to eight major cities.

III. MAKING OF PLANS FOR INDIVIDUAL TOWNS IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD

The preparation of plans of physical development for individual cities in Poland is based on premises resulting from :

- war destructions ;
- the transformation of social structure and the need to adjust urban functions to the new role of towns ;
- the contemplated change of economic structure of the country from a purely agricultural to an industrial and agricultural one ;
- the nationalisation of basic industries ;
- the resettlement of population in connection with the cession of eastern parts of the country to the Soviet Union and the recovery of the western territories ;
- the subdivision of big land estates as the result of the land reform ;
- the disposal of German property, taken over after the war by the State.

In consequence, there was a strong necessity for a concentration of efforts, specially as the reconstruction of devastated towns and cities was a matter of extreme urgency.

Early planning was also required to establish the land policies of local authorities.

In this way the tremendous devastation of the country has set new and urgent tasks before planners. On the other hand, rapid action was hampered by the fact that the war has occasioned the loss of already prepared town surveys, research studies, professional literature, town muniments, etc. If one considers, moreover, the irreparable loss in human resources (particularly among the foremost specialists), the disproportion between demands and possibilities would appear insurmountable.

In the face of such tasks and difficulties, physical planning authorities decided, in the first place, to tackle the preparation of local plans for destroyed towns, the reconstruction of which began immediately after the cessation of hostilities. Next came the planning for towns possessing a strong tendency to expansion, and those in which the construction of dwellings is a prerequisite to the bringing of industry into production.

The third phase of planning included all towns in the recovered territories, where the transfer of population offered an opportunity for the improvement of their physical structure and integration into Polish economy and social and administrative life.

According to the Planned Physical Development of the Country Act, the preparation of local plans is, in principle, entrusted to local authorities. In view, however, of the financial difficulties with which towns (particularly heavily damaged ones) were faced and of the need to accelerate activities and to standardise the preparation of plans, Government has undertaken both the organisation of the planning work and the costs that this work involves.

Special studios and staff were organised for large cities as Lodz, Poznan, Wroclaw, Cracow, Szczecin, for the ports and cities on the Bay of Gdansk, and for the Silesian Basin. Each of these employs from ten to fifteen

persons on the permanent staff. The co-operation of specialists from outside, in cases of necessity, is ensured.

In view of the impossibility of organising a Local Office of Physical Planning within the agencies of local authorities (owing to the shortage of specialists), planning for the remaining towns is, for the time being, carried on by regional offices. This, naturally, is limited only to the preparation of the plans; the legal procedure for approval of the executed plans remains with local authorities.

The Bureau for the Reconstruction of Warsaw, created in 1945, with the purpose of elaborating a plan of physical development for the capital, is organised on different lines. This Bureau has two tasks:

- (1) the preparation of a regional plan for the Warsaw Metropolitan Community; and
- (2) the execution of the plan, that is to say, the preparation of plans which are to serve for the realisation of the plan itself.

Towards the end of 1946, as the result of the granting of title-deeds to settlers, the urgent need arose for simplified development plans for all towns in the recovered territories. This problem, owing to its scale (about 300 towns), and to the difficulties resulting from, among other things, the lack of surveys, would surpass in normal conditions the physical possibilities of the present generation. Nevertheless, it had to be tackled, for otherwise the process of resettlement might have been detrimental to public interests, aggravating the faulty physical structure of many towns. On the other hand, the damages occasioned to towns by the war and the temporarily fluid status of property made this moment appear most appropriate for the introduction of changes and new elements.

It should be emphasised that this process is nearing completion. In other words, planning is enlarging land reserves, improving the structure of property in, and the functional pattern of, the towns in question. Simultaneously, advantage has been taken of the opportunity to clear the surroundings of historical monuments as churches, town halls, city walls, etc., and to relieve mediæval parts of towns of functions which under modern conditions they were unable to perform.

A similar policy has been by now adopted for the remaining towns in Central and Eastern Poland in somewhat similar circumstances, especially as in most cases all the surveys were completely destroyed.

In comparison with the previously applied methods of town planning, the present one is characterised by a close relationship between the local plan of the town itself and that of its service area. Contemporary town plans are concerned not only with the physical development of the urban area proper, but also with the organic unity between the town itself and the larger area whose economic, cultural and social needs the town is to satisfy.

After the town's service area has been defined, the character of its natural and cultural landscape is established, and the plan of its physical structure and pattern modified to meet the requirements of the future. The actual local plan of the town is elaborated first on general lines (in 1 : 10,000 or 1 : 5,000 scale, and then gradually in a more and more detailed form, down to a scale of 1 : 500 for such parts of the town as are foreseen for earliest development).

Such a method, embracing the whole area of the town and the entire scope of its problems, from the most general to the most detailed, ensures a purposeful and economic use of means, and links the plan of the town with its ultimate object : the planned utilisation of land within the region.

Restatement of the Results Achieved

The planning of towns in Poland, the theoretical, legislative and organisational basis of which was prepared by underground workers during the German occupation, was undertaken immediately after the enemy's retreat. The work began with the collection of the basic materials which had escaped destruction, and with the organisation of local offices. One of the earliest organised was the Bureau for the Reconstruction of Warsaw.

The results of 2½ years of town planning in Poland include :

plans for fifty towns entirely finished ;

plans for 125 towns practically finished ;

simplified plans for 283 towns in the Recovered Territories, to be finished by 1st July, 1948 ;

pre-war plans for thirty-seven towns brought up to date.

Of the total number of 875 towns, plans are ready or about to be finished in this way for 495. For the remaining 380 towns in Central and Eastern Poland the preparation of simplified plans of physical development is at present already begun. This work will presumably be completed by the end of 1948.

It would be an error to assume that in this way all town planning problems will be definitely solved. In the first place the form and scope of these plans is not sufficiently comprehensive. Moreover, there are many villages which, though now included among rural districts, will in the course of the next few years develop into industrial or urban villages and centres, and their transformation must be preceded by careful studies and follow some established principles and plans.

This retrospective glance at the results of town planning activities in Poland permits one to draw the following general conclusions :

The devastation of Polish towns and villages caused by the war has determined the course to be followed in the field of reconstruction. Simultaneously, far-reaching changes have occurred in the political, economic and social life of the country. With the advent of new cultural trends, new town planning ideas are being evolved to express the spirit of the times. In other words, the destruction resulting from wars has determined the evolution of town-planning thought in Poland and, consequently, the legislation and organisation of planning. Planning has never been an abstraction ; it is a condition *sine qua non* to the proper reconstruction of towns.

A few words should be said about those towns whose expansion, entire development, or reconstruction have been made to conform to the plans.

In addition to these towns in the Recovered Territories, where there is a steady improvement in land utilisation and the performance of the main urban functions, the destroyed towns (Warsaw, Poznan, Gdansk, Wroclaw, Szczecin, a number of smaller and some smallest towns) are being reconstructed according to plans. Their reconstruction is generally of a permanent

character. In large industrial conurbations new dwellings for workers have been and are being built in conformity to regional and local plans. The reconstruction of other destroyed localities is carried on whenever our means permit.

The results achieved so far may, in the given conditions, be considered satisfactory.

IV. PLANNING FOR INDIVIDUAL RURAL DISTRICTS

The activities of the Central Office of Physical Planning in this field consist of work conducted in the Office itself and in the supervision and guidance of planning carried on by subordinate planning offices and local authorities.

Long-term planning in the Central Office consists in the solution of rural and agricultural problems involved in the national plan. This requires a thorough knowledge of the country's needs in that respect, and frequent checking up of preliminary concepts with the representatives of lower planning levels: regional and local. Such confrontation of the national with the local aspect seems to guarantee that the national plan will be free of poor generalisations and one-sided solutions.

The importance of rural problems is, on the whole, eclipsed by that of a number of other problems, e.g., of the capital, of industrial districts, and of ports, which are more attractive to planners and investors, as they ensure quicker and more tangible results. This often leads to one-sided plans and decisions. Each problem should be viewed from as many angles as possible, if physical planning in Poland is to be really integral, and various planning trends most favourably co-ordinated.

The main problems of long-term rural planning are :

- (a) the use of land, involving a division into forest and agricultural areas and the specialisation of different regions in various types of farming ;
- (b) the location of industries dependent on agricultural production;
- (c) the division of the country into regions and administrative units.

The pre-war and present state of development are the starting point for plans for the agricultural development of the country and the structure of arable lands and sowings in the period of reconstruction (up to 1950).

A plan of the optimum agricultural development for the country was evolved on the basis of data concerning the distribution of soils and morphological, climatic and economic conditions. This plan will deal with the regionalisation of corps, breeding, and the growing of fruits and vegetables. The problem is tackled first on the national, then on the regional and local levels, consideration being given to the principle of specialisation.

The location of industries dependent on organic raw materials, that is to say on products of rural areas, is established on a similar basis. Special attention is being given to the linking of industries with the areas producing necessary crops.

This work is carried on in close co-operation with the Central Board of Economic Planning and appropriate State Departments (i.e., Ministries :

of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform, Industry and Commerce, Public Administration, Recovered Territories, etc.), as well as agricultural research institutions and social organisations.

Short-term planning on the State level consists in approval of and guidance in the location of investments contained in the National Investment Plan. The guiding principles apply both to the three-year general plan and to the partial plans for particular years. Thus, in 1946, advice and direction was given in reconstruction of the destroyed zone along the rivers Narew, Vistula and Wisloka, and several other devastated areas in Central Poland; in 1947, for the same areas and in addition for the zone along the rivers Odra and Nysa, particularly for the environs of Pырzyce, the region south of Wroclaw and a part of Zulawy; finally, in 1948, for a much smaller part of the aforementioned devastated zone in Central Poland, for the same areas in the recovered territories (particularly the Pырzyce and Zulawy areas); as well as the south-eastern part of Poand (areas formerly inhabited by Ukrainians in the *voivodships* of Rzeszow and Lublin).

Decisions as to the activation of chosen areas naturally result in surrounding them with particular care by the central planning authorities. Planning for these areas or their parts is carried on with increasing success by the Regional Offices of Physical Planning.

This work of planning headquarters may be termed direct planning. The choice of tasks for regional and local planning offices entails constant participation of central authorities in their work in the form of professional and financial assistance.

The co-operation between planning authorities at all three levels is so close that an exact delimitation of work and achievements is practically impossible. Nevertheless it should be stressed that planning the physical development of regions and sub-regions is included in the duties of the Regional Offices of Physical Planning.

According to the Planned Physical Development of the Country Act, the activities of Regional Offices of Physical Planning consist in:

- planning on a regional scale, in other words, preparation of regional plans of their parts;
- supervision of local planning throughout the area of the region;
- in some cases, preparation of local plans (on the special recommendation of the Minister).

According to principles established by central authorities, the regional office divides the area of the region into sub-regions and into "micro-regions" or areas for which local plans should be made (rural or urban districts).

Beside the division into major regions a division into "micro-regions" should be devised constituting compact organic units.

The Regional Office of Physical Planning also:

- plans the network of public services;
- prepares guiding principles for local plans;
- works out proposals concerning administrative division.

This last job is an urgent and responsible one, particularly in the recovered territories which, in German times, were composed of single parishes only; the rural districts, uniting several parishes, were created in

the first year of Polish administration but have an accidental and imperfect character. So far as their boundaries are concerned it should be realised, moreover, that with time the establishment of proper administrative divisions into rural districts will become more and more difficult. Proposals for change in district boundaries are almost completed in the *Voivodship* of Szczecin, and are in an advanced stage in several others. Recognising the role of each individual area and its value, the regional office selects particularly important ones in preparing their plans; it also offers guidance to various authorities concerned in their development.

Such areas are usually chosen for their national importance, e.g., areas supplying food to the urban agglomerations, areas heavily damaged by the war, and areas of special importance as a result of resettlement processes. Areas of mixed industrial and agricultural character, and those possessing numerous health resorts are given special care. Typical agricultural areas are under special observation.

Examples may be given of the work carried on in connection with the activation of the sub-region of Pyrzyce-Mysliborz-Gryfin, also in the district of Zulawy, the sub-region south of Wroclaw and that of Hrubieszow and Tomaszow. This year attention is to be focused on the eastern sub-Carpathian area and the areas east of the River San. Independently of decisions as to the activation of certain areas, some typical agricultural counties, like Szamotuly, Skwierzyna, Lebork, Grojec, Pultusk, Pulawy, Konin, Myslenice, several counties in the *Voivodship* of Kielce (Kozienice, Pinczow, Jedrzejow), areas between the counties of Cieszyn and Pszczyna, and the Podhale sub-region. The county of Szczytno is to have a very detailed survey, being the area of a large group of estates belonging to the Mazurian Foundation.

Beside its work on the analysis and synthesis of the region, the regional office co-operates in the working out of programmes for individual rural areas. This programme includes:

- (a) the change of agricultural structure (subdivision and re-division of land, improvement of villages, etc.);
- (b) the investment policy (building, draining or irrigation, roads, power development, etc.).

The regional office in order to be able to offer guidance in these matters must be informed of the short-term intentions of various bodies, local authorities and social organisations.

Once the essential concept is established, and the plans of physical development prepared, the regional office will exert a more authoritative influence over the investment programmes, especially as regards their location.

In addition to these, Regional Offices of Physical Planning have prepared some 3,000 guiding schemes for rural localities throughout the recovered territories and in some parts of Central and Eastern Poland. These schemes contained:

- (1) general layout of all settlements based on the concept of community of parishes (rural district);

- (2) the proposed use of land (for cultivation, building and other purposes); and
- (3) the descriptive part, stating the principles of rural development, adopted for the area in question.

In 1948 further modification of agricultural structure for an area of about 2,200,000 hectares is contemplated. Physical planning authorities will have to make efforts exceeding those of preceding years in giving their direction and advice.

In addition to everyday work on the planned development of rural districts throughout the country, the Central Office of Physical Planning, prompted by the wish to check on the adopted forms of physical development, prepares with particular care plans for a number of experimental villages, promoting at the same time acceleration in their realisation.

In this way experience is gained in various matters, namely:

- the planned physical development of rural areas;
- the proper standard of rural investments;
- methods of construction and use of building materials;
- the rational organisation of planning and investment;
- the cost of investments;
- the co-operation between authorities and the community in the planning of economic and social changes;

Experiments comparing various forms of rural economy are of particular importance, e.g.:

- individual farming based on consumers' co-operative societies;
- individual farming based on co-operative use of certain means of production (i.e., tractors);
- individual farming with some branches of production on a co-operative basis (i.e., grain production, fruit-growing, breeding, etc.);
- co-operative societies organised for a period of five years or more, in connection with settlement and subdivision of land.

Experiments in this field are highly instructive; nevertheless, conclusions should be drawn only after a certain time, when a number of different factors have been taken into consideration, and more experience has been gained concerning their management on a larger scale.

The various forms of farming may exist simultaneously in the same area, specially as so far no dominance of one over the others has been established.

The first experimental village (reconstructed in 1945-47) is Piaseczno, in the county of Grojec, the next are: Mulowo, county of Skwierzyna; Warnica, county of Pyrzyce; and Wilczkowice, county of Wrocław.

Owing to difficulties of execution and because it was intended to experiment under typical conditions, the localities chosen were mostly small, simple villages.

The choice was based on general reasons as established by the Central Office of Physical Planning, and—in a lesser degree—by the proposals of the inhabitants themselves.

While still recovering from the strain of war-time experiences, the rural communities show increasing initiative in the improvement of living

conditions. As the result of this, the Regional Offices of Physical Planning, in close co-operation with the Central Office, are collaborating with the movement of co-operative communities, by giving assistance to the organised rural communities in the introduction of public services, both economic and cultural. In the beginning, this policy is to be applied to some 120 villages. Planning authorities are to analyse and prepare the materials for the choice of proposed localities, then to select the most proper sites for buildings within the villages and to control their actual execution. Although the development of co-operative communities and experimental villages is started for different reasons and serves different purposes, the two are complementary to each other. Their combination will provide a proper frame for the growing emancipation of the countryside, and at the same time it should increase our knowledge so far as the correct development of rural life is concerned.

Once the Local (County) Offices of Physical Planning are fully organised, they will develop planning activities in two main directions :

- (a) preparation of local plans of development, rural districts being usually considered as a whole. Pending the time when the plans become valid, local offices will guide local bodies in the preparation of the different schemes for areas which have undergone a great change as the result of the land reform ;
- (b) co-operation with regional offices in the preparation of parts of regional plans ; in the beginning this will consist in gathering data, and later on, when the plan has become valid, in the preparation of detailed working plans to be executed in definite periods.

In conformity with the principle that no investment should be made without a local plan, and, on the other hand, that no local planning is possible without the knowledge of the possibilities of investments, exhaustive and practicable plans of development may be evolved on the county level with ample participation of the parishes concerned.

NOTE : PAPER RECEIVED TOO LATE FOR PREPARATION OF SUMMARY AND TRANSLATION BEFORE PRINTING.