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# A NATIONAL PUBLIC WORKS INVESTMENT POLICY: A STRATEGY FOR BALANCED POPULATION GROWTH AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

GOVERNMENT

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## HEARING BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS USE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NINETY-THIRD CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

NOVEMBER 26, 1974

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## CONTENTS

---

	Page
Testimony of Task Force Chairmen, Science Advisory Panel, Committee on Public Works:	
James Sundquist, chairman, Task Force No. 1, on National Population Distribution -----	6
Ralph Widner, chairman, Task Force No. 2, on Governmental Structures -----	19
Gerald Kraft, chairman, Task Force No. 3, on Transportation -----	36
Arthur Davis, acting chairman, Task Force No. 4, on Values and Public Works Investment Policy -----	41

### MATERIAL RECEIVED FOR THE RECORD

“National Population Distribution Policy,” summary report of Task Force No. 1, James Sundquist, chairman -----	10
Replies to questions posed by Hon. Don H. Clausen -----	15
“Organizational Structures,” prepared statement and summary report of Task Force No. 2, Ralph Widner, chairman -----	30
“Transportation,” report of Task Force No. 3, Gerald Kraft, chairman -----	39
“Values and the Public Works Investment Policy,” report of Task Force No. 4, Leonard Duhl, chairman -----	47
“Interstate and Substate Approaches to Growth Policy,” a Reconnaissance by James G. Coke, David K. Hartley, Kenneth D. Rainey and Ralph R. Widner -----	53

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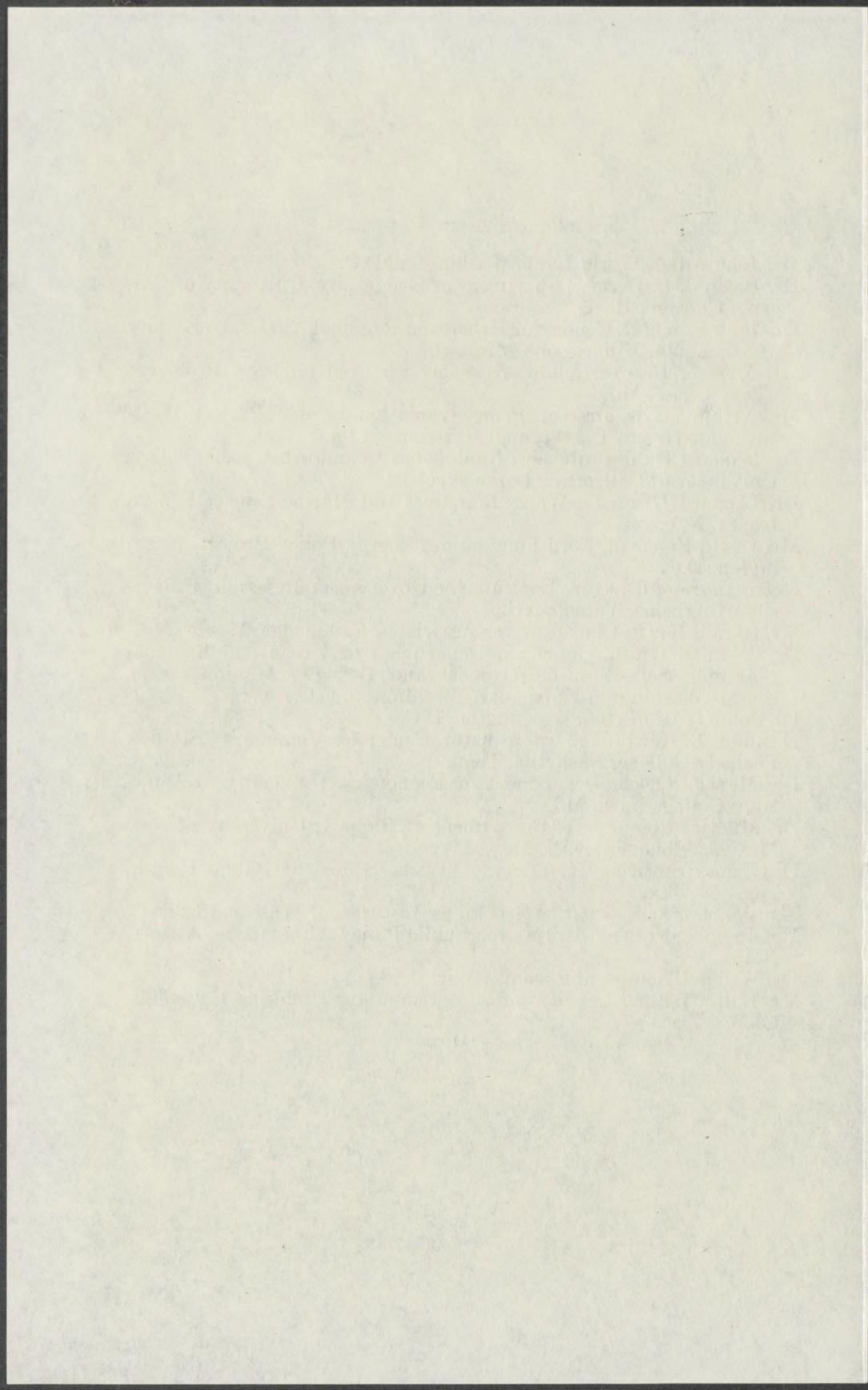
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Mr. James Sundquist, the Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C.  
Mr. Joseph Swidler, Institute for Public Policy Alternatives, Albany, N.Y.  
Dr. Wilbur Thompson, Phoenix, Ariz.  
Mr. Ralph Widner, Academy for Contemporary Problems, Columbus, Ohio.



# A NATIONAL PUBLIC WORKS INVESTMENT POLICY: A STRATEGY FOR BALANCED POPULATION GROWTH AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1974

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS,  
*Washington, D.C.*

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:17 a.m. in Room 2167 Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. John A. Blatnik, chairman, presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The House Public Works Committee will please come to order.

Increasingly, it has become apparent that the Congress, in becoming more responsive to the needs of an ever-changing society, must seriously consider the development of a national public works investment policy that will better enable the Congress, through its public works policies and programs, to more effectively stimulate and direct national growth and development.

It was in recognition of this that the Committee on Public Works, through the urging of many of its members, began hearings late last fall, into the development of a national public works investment policy. We are here today, in public session, to continue these hearings.

If I may, I would like to reflect for a moment on last year's hearings. Throughout the hearings, it was demonstrated that there is indeed a great interest in reaching a clearer understanding of how and where we should be making our public works investments. It was also shown that such a policy must truly be a national concern: rural and urban development are inseparably linked, and one cannot be discussed without also discussing the other.

The hearings also pointed to the hard, unavoidable fact that a national growth investment policy cannot be formulated in a single, legislated policy. As our problems are many and varied and changing, so must our solutions be numerous, flexible, and diversified.

The committee, in no way, expects the outcome of these hearings to be some carefully delineated master plan for directing the multitude of public and private investments in national and regional economic development and growth. To the contrary, the hearings represent a single element in the committee's search for better formulas for the allocation and distribution of public works moneys to more effectively and rationally shape and stimulate national growth.

The committee's Science Advisory Panel represents another such element in this search.

For many years, many of us in Congress have been concerned with the need to develop policies and programs more responsive to the needs of a rapidly changing society. At the same time, however, none of us feels completely adequate in confronting those problems of such great scientific and technical complexity that are now before us. In response to these conditions, the Committee on Public Works has undertaken a unique endeavor in attempting to provide a continuous, two-way process of communication between the legislative community on the one hand and the scientific and academic community on the other. This is our Science Advisory Panel.

Consisting of some 20 scientists, academicians, and administrative experts, the Science Advisory Panel was organized last spring around the many related issues brought out during the earlier hearings on a national public works investment policy. At its first meeting, the panel was asked to consider perhaps one of the most critical issues now before the committee; that is, the need to create more rational patterns of national growth and economic development in order to achieve the more effective management of our natural, technological, and human resources.

To do so, the Science Advisory Panel organized itself into four separate task groups to examine four integral elements of national growth: (1) national population distribution and settlement; (2) governmental structures; (3) transportation; and (4) values and public works policy. Having met repeatedly throughout the summer, each group has completed its initial inquiry into the subject matter, and now is prepared to summarize its findings for the committee.

The chairmen of the task groups of the Science Advisory Panel appear before us today to report on the conclusions of their respective task groups. It is my understanding that only summaries of the reports will be presented today, and that at a later date the complete report of each task group will be available from the committee.

I must admit that I have studied the preliminary conclusions of each group, and I can truthfully say that the efforts undertaken by each task group have been both considerable and fruitful. I can only commend highly the individual efforts of each panelist, as well as the effort of the panel as a whole.

In reflecting upon the work of the panel, the extreme difficulties in formulating any type of coherent and comprehensive national population distribution and public works investment policy must be kept in mind. As recognized by the Science Advisory Panel, any such policy should embrace nearly everything we do, as a nation, both publicly and privately, that shapes the future of the country. Accordingly, the undertaking of the panel was necessarily so broad as to encompass the whole body of the committee's concerns—the environment, regional economic development, the impact of Federal expenditures, resource use, transportation, institutional structures for public decisionmaking, and the quality of life of our population.

The findings of the Science Advisory Panel, then, are not so much blueprints for action as they are expressions of broad objectives. Though not explicitly stated, the reports of the Science Advisory Panel point to the need for the Congress to understand fully the forces at work in shaping national and regional growth and development, the need to identify recent developments at all levels of govern-

ment for coping more effectively with growth, the need to identify Federal actions undertaken to deal with growth problems, and the need to deal explicitly with the challenges of growth and development.

What is important is that the committee, in encouraging the blunt and frank presentation of ideas, has given free rein to the Science Advisory Panel. Each panelist has been asked not to hold any punches. The suggestions set forth by the panel may or may not be the most appropriate and feasible means by which the committee can begin to better grasp the many forces at work in national growth and development. Regardless, the committee will not ignore or disregard any or all ideas presented before it.

We are fortunate to have appearing before us today the chairmen of the task groups of the Science Advisory Panel. I appreciate the considerable effort each has made in coming here today, and I proudly introduce you to a longtime good friend, Jim Sundquist of the Brookings Institute, well-known Mr. Ralph Widner of the Academy for Contemporary Problems, Gerry Kraft of the Charles River Associates, and Art Davis of the Pennsylvania Land Policy Project, who has an outstanding record in the field of land use.

Now before turning the meeting over to these fine gentlemen, I will call upon my respected colleague, a very personal longtime friend and coworker in bringing the committee into the important field of national growth and development, the gentleman from California, Mr. Clausen.

Mr. CLAUSEN. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I want to associate myself with the remarks that you have made. I partially read your statement, and I think that the record should reflect, as a follow-on to your remarks, the fact that we have been attempting to move this committee in a bipartisan way toward recognizing the very key role that this committee can, in fact, play through the advancement of the concept of a public works investment policy that could have a very important impact on many of the problems and programs not only for our committee, but the problems of this Nation, and I would allude more specifically to the concerns that some of us have about doing something about inflation.

I think the Public Works Committee, with the jurisdiction over the subcommittees that we now have as a result of the recent reorganization of the House that was adopted, can, in fact, play a very key role and we have a unique opportunity to move towards a coordinated interaction effort wherein the water resources and the transportation, as well as the public facilities, needed in the communities of America can do something about improving the quality of life and broaden the economic base and subsequently the tax base if it is properly coordinated.

And I would only—I would state, Mr. Chairman, that I will have an additional statement to make, but I am pleased that you are in the chair for this first hearing of the panel of experts because you will be leaving the Congress this year, but each and every one of us on this committee on both sides of the political aisle would state in a very positive way that while John Blatnik may be leaving the committee, he leaves a legacy of leadership as initiated here today by this public works investment policy hearing that will be, in my judgment, un-

matched by this committee, at least since the time that I have been serving on this committee.

You have been a great chairman and certainly a great friend, and I know that I state for the minority when I state that you have been a great chairman because you have been open-minded and willing to listen, irrespective of party affiliation, to the suggestions that have come from every individual member sitting on this committee.

And with that, Mr. Chairman, I, too, would welcome the opportunity to hear this outstanding panel of experts that have been convened here today.

The CHAIRMAN. I thank the gentleman for his kind and generous comments.

Let me respond by saying that it has been the active participation, the full cooperation, and the great willingness of all the members of this committee that has resulted in this committee being the most respected and productive of all the committees in the House of Representatives. The members' willingness to carry on for others in their absence has made this truly a joint effort, and we hope to continue this fine record.

All members will be allowed to revise and extend their remarks prior to the closing of this session, since we have not had time to prepare opening statements due to the perhaps short notice and the enormous amount of activities that are going on in preparation for congressional adjournment.

Will the task group chairmen please take their places at the table.

The respected chairmen have prepared well done and concise summaries and statements of the work covered by their respective task groups. They are before you. If anyone does not have a copy, please raise your hand and the staff will furnish you with one.

The order of business will be to have each chairman give a brief report, a brief summary statement, and then to respond to questions.

The summary statement for each task group will appear in the transcript of this hearing, while task force reports, in their entirety, will appear in a very important committee report to be available at a later date.

I now call upon Mr. James Sundquist, senior fellow at the Brookings Institute, Washington, D.C., to report on the findings of the Task Group on National Population Distribution.

#### STATEMENT OF JAMES SUNDQUIST, CHAIRMAN, TASK FORCE NO. 1 ON NATIONAL POPULATION DISTRIBUTION POLICY

Mr. SUNDQUIST. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Our task group consists of nine members. It is a very diversified group. It consists of a geographer, a forester, a hydraulic engineer, an urban planner, a biologist, a public health physician, two economists, and a political scientist, and I have the impossible job of trying to represent all those points of view and disciplines today.

We met four times during the summer and finally put together the 14-point summary that you have before you. Each of these points is amplified and documented in the longer report.

The CHAIRMAN. Jim, could you move your microphone a little closer?

Mr. SUNDQUIST. Our first point of agreement was that the United States should have an explicit national population distribution policy. This was a point that the panel as a whole agreed on in general principle at the original meeting at Piney Point.

It is not an original idea, because the Congress itself on two occasions has passed statutes declaring that the Federal Government should have a national growth policy or a national urban growth policy, which in effect is what we have been referring to as the national population distribution policy.

In the Housing and New Community Development Act of 1970 the Congress called upon the President to make recommendations each 2 years as to what should go into a national population distribution policy. He has not done so and in a sense, then, the ball is back in the court of the Congress to develop the kind of population distribution policy that it has committed itself to.

It is hoped that these suggestions we have today will help in that process.

A population distribution policy covers two aspects. One is inter-regional distribution; that is, the broad distribution of population among regions and among metropolitan areas; and the other is the distribution within the urban regions or metropolitan areas—that is, the distribution of people between the central city and suburban communities of various kinds—and the population distribution policy of the country should cover both.

Now, when it comes to determining what should go into a population distribution policy, our reasoning was that insofar as possible it should reflect what the people want unless there are overriding economic, social or environmental considerations to the contrary. So the question is what do the people want, and here we have to rely on the data in public opinion polls.

There has been extensive polling on this subject and the responses all point in one direction: The people want—or, as we phrased it in the report, they think they want—a more dispersed pattern of population settlement than they now have. To cite just one poll—they all tend to agree in their general findings—the one commissioned by the Rockefeller Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, in response to questions 53 percent of the people said they would prefer to live in a rural or small town setting; 33 percent said they would prefer a small or medium-size city, and only 13 percent specified a large city.

This is in sharp contrast to the population distribution pattern we now have. Whereas 53 percent would prefer a rural or small town setting, only 32 percent actually live in one now. The difference is 21 percentage points. Whereas 13 percent would like to live in a large city, 28 percent, or more than twice as many, actually live there.

If you express this in terms of satisfaction of people with where they live, 88 percent of the people interviewed in rural areas and small towns said that that was the kind of a setting which they preferred; 55 percent were satisfied in the small or medium-size cities; in the large cities only 39 percent, less than 2 out of every 5, thought that was the size of city that they preferred to live in.

In response to the question, "Do you think the Federal Government should discourage the further growth of large cities?" the vote was

52 to 33 in favor of the Federal Government's taking action to discourage.

We discussed at considerable length in our task group meetings the validity and reliability of these polls, and there are a lot of flaws to them. One thing on which we felt quite strongly was that if the Federal Government—the Congress or the executive branch—really gets seriously into the business of population distribution policy, certainly it needs to commission much more sophisticated data than any we now have.

It may be that when people say they prefer rural areas and small towns they are expressing a nostalgic sentimental viewpoint without any real comprehension of what life in a small town is like, so we worded our conclusion. "Mounting evidence from public opinion surveys indicates that most Americans think they would prefer to live in a more dispersed settlement pattern than now exists. The majority of individuals would prefer to live in a small town or rural setting but within easy commuting distance of a small metropolitan center. Relatively few people would prefer living either in big cities or in remote rural areas."

If we assume, then, that the people would really like a more dispersed settlement pattern, the question is whether there are considerations that compel concentration. The principal argument in favor of population concentration comes from the economists, who point out that productivity does tend to rise with increasing size of place—up to a point. Nobody knows quite where that upper limit is, but there is substantial evidence already in the movement of many industries from the big cities to the smaller communities that the point of diminishing return for those industries has already been reached in our largest metropolitan areas.

When we turn to the social questions, the data is very scanty but it would appear that some forms of social pathology at least, tend to increase with the size of the metropolitan cluster.

On the cultural and recreational side, only big cities have museums and first-run plays and concerts and so on, but only the smaller places have ready access to the outdoors. So that perhaps tends to break even.

In any case, we concluded that there is no compelling reason, economic, social, cultural or environmental to dictate that, if the people prefer a dispersed pattern of settlement, they should not have one.

One objective of the national population distribution policy, therefore, should be to help the smaller metropolitan areas and those non-metropolitan areas that have substantial growth potential to attract a larger share of the country's employment expansion and, hence, its population increase than they have been able to attract in the past. Application of this policy should be closely monitored, of course, and adjustments made as better information becomes available.

Turning now to the intraregional aspects of the population distribution policy—the planning for the distribution within urban regions and metropolitan areas—that kind of planning should, of course, take place not at the national level in Washington but at the multistate regional level, State, substate regional, and local levels. But the national population distribution policy would be an essential guide to planning at those lower levels. Such a policy would help to modify un-

realistic expectations at the local level, especially those that cannot be mutually reconciled at the regional or national level.

The State, substate, and metropolitan regional plans and policies should supplement the national population distribution policy by seeking to bring about better distributions of population within metropolitan areas and within and among substate regions. Particularly, central cities need to be restored to their former vitality and the tendency toward urban sprawl controlled.

We turn now to the implementation of those two kinds of policies. In order that comprehensive plans will be developed in every State, the Congress should find appropriate means to encourage comprehensive development and land use planning at the State level and State action that will insure suitable planning mechanisms and processes at substate and local levels.

We conceive this population distribution policy planning as requiring a network of planning activity at the national level, at the multi-state regional level, at the State level, at the substate regional level, and at the local level, each dealing with those aspects that require planning on that particular scale.

The Federal Government, however, has an interest in getting established adequate planning mechanisms, particularly at the State level where planning processes are quite spotty at the present time, not only to prepare good State plans which will dovetail with the national policy but also to establish adequate mechanisms at the local level—which only the States can do—to get proper planning universal there.

National public works investments should be programed so as to implement the national population distribution policy.

Our point 10 is that the Federal Government should assist State and local public works only when they are embodied in comprehensive State, substate regional and/or local land use and infrastructure plans. It should encourage comprehensive substate regional planning by appropriating funds authorized for that purpose.

Point 11 is a key point. To influence private investors to locate jobs in areas designated for development by the national population distribution policy, a system of incentives or a combination of incentives and charges should be instituted. Presumably the benefits would be paid to investors who put their plants where the population distribution policy calls for them to be—presumably, again, in the smaller growth centers and in the deteriorating central cities.

Incentives for relocation of individuals to areas designated for assistance under the population distribution policy should also be offered.

The Congress should recognize the potential of new communities in locations relatively distant from presently urbanized areas. Further experimentation by both public and private enterprise in the development of outlying new communities should be encouraged.

And, finally, population distribution measures are no substitute for policies and programs that will help to bring an end to the country's aggregate population growth within the space of five to seven decades.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Sundquist, does that complete your summary, your 14-point summary statement?

Mr. SUNDQUIST. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. We will see that the prepared summary statement appears at this point in its entirety because it contains some extremely impressive and enlightening information, is very well-organized and, yet, is in beautifully condensed form.

[The material referred to follows:]

NATIONAL POPULATION DISTRIBUTION POLICY—REPORT OF TASK FORCE NO. 1 OF THE SCIENCE ADVISORY PANEL, COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, SEPTEMBER 1974

(James Sundquist, Chairman; Brian J. L. Berry; Michael Brewer; Arthur Davis; Leonard Dworky; Dorn McGrath; Michael Rosenzweig; James Sterner; Wilbur Thompson)

SUMMARY

1. The United States should have an explicit national population distribution policy, covering both inter-regional and intra-regional patterns of settlement.
2. The policy should be designed to help the American people distribute themselves according to the preferences of individuals and families at any particular time, insofar as these can be reconciled with general well-being. Thus popular preference should be balanced against economic, social, and environmental consideration.
3. Mounting evidence from public opinion surveys indicates that most Americans think they would prefer to live in a more dispersed settlement pattern than now exists and oppose further concentration in large urban agglomerations. The majority of individuals would prefer to live in a small town or rural setting but within easy commuting distance of a small metropolitan center. Relatively few people would prefer living either in big cities or in remote rural areas.
4. While data on the comparative advantages or disadvantages of a more dispersed settlement pattern are scanty, there appear to be no compelling economic, social or environmental reasons favoring further concentration.
5. One objective of the national population distribution policy should therefore be to help the smaller metropolitan areas and those nonmetropolitan areas that have substantial growth potential attract a larger share of the country's employment expansion—and hence of its population increase—than they have been able to attract in the past. Application of this policy should be closely monitored, and adjustments made as better information becomes available.
6. The national population distribution policy would provide a necessary guide for planning at multistate regional, state, substate regional, and local levels. Such a policy would help to modify unrealistic expectations at the local level, especially ones that cannot be mutually reconciled at the regional or national level.
7. The state, substate, and metropolitan regional plans and policies should supplement the national population distribution policy by seeking to bring about better distributions of population within metropolitan areas and within and among substate regions. Central cities need to be restored to their former vitality and the tendency toward urban sprawl controlled.
8. In order that comprehensive plans will be developed in every state, the Congress should find appropriate means to encourage comprehensive development and land use planning at the state level and state action that will ensure suitable planning mechanisms and processes at substate and local levels.
9. National public works investments should be programmed so as to implement a national population distribution policy.
10. The federal government should assist state and local public works only when they are embodied in comprehensive state, substate, regional, and/or local land-use and infrastructure plans. It should encourage comprehensive substate regional planning by appropriating funds authorized for the purpose.
11. To influence private investors to locate jobs in areas designated for development by the national population distribution policy, a system of incentives, or a combination of incentives and charges, should be instituted.
12. Incentives for relocation of individuals to areas designated for assistance under the population distribution policy should also be offered.
13. The Congress should recognize the potential of new communities in locations relatively distant from presently urbanized areas. Further experimenta-

tion by both public and private enterprise in the development of outlying new communities should be encouraged.

14. Population distribution measures are no substitute for policies and programs that will help to bring an end to the country's aggregate population growth within the space of five to seven decades.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any questions or comments?

We will begin with Mr. Wright.

Mr. WRIGHT. I just have a couple of observations.

Mr. Sundquist, I commend you and the group for an excellent statement.

Further, I think you are deserving of commendation for having placed the highest priority on the question of where people themselves desire to live.

I am impressed by the volume of polls that has increasingly indicated that most people would prefer to live in relatively smaller communities. This is indeed reinforced by the statements of those who do live in relatively small communities that most of them enjoy living there and want to continue to do so.

Those who have been crowded into evermore congested metropolitan areas seem to feel a yearning, which you might identify as nostalgia, but which also expresses malaise and disappointment and dissatisfaction with the current status of their lives in these crowded areas.

It seems to me that your point No. 4, in which you state that "\* \* \* there appear to be no compelling economic, social or environmental reasons favoring further concentration," is very much understated, if anything. I should think there probably do exist rather compelling economic, environmental, and social reasons favoring dispersal and opposing further concentration.

For one thing, there is the question of crime. Crime has magnified everywhere, but to a greater extent in the larger communities and the more congested areas, in areas where great numbers of people, surplused by rural migration, flock like moths to a flame only to find disillusionment, to find that jobs and opportunities do not really exist where they had hoped to find them.

The CHAIRMAN. Would the gentleman yield at that point for just one brief statement?

This is so pertinent. You refer to one of the most important degradation factors that we find, the overcrowding of the population. In your task force report you state, and I quote:

The most concrete bit of evidence relating pathology to city size is the finding that violent crime increases strikingly with the size of the city. In 1972, cities over 250,000 had a rate of violent crime nearly five times that of rural areas.

That is startling. That is a very startling statement.

I am sorry for interrupting. Thank you.

Mr. WRIGHT. That certainly reinforces the thought I was trying to express.

Very briefly, I simply would add that there are additional social and environmental reasons. Environmental pollution continues and is evermore difficult to control as population increases and continues to concentrate in ever smaller areas.

Psychosomatic illness, I am advised, increases with concentration. Civility of a human kind seems to decline as density increases and people are less prone to be polite and more prone to be rude, less prone to

be hospitable, more prone not to want to see other people. They are surfeited and fed up with other people.

It seems to me that Plato and Aristotle may have had something when they said no city of more than 100,000 people was a community worthy of civilized man. While we might find some changes have occurred since their day, the racial difficulties that we have experienced have been most pronounced in the bigger, more conglomerated metropolitan areas—there are relatively few difficulties in the integration of schools in small towns. The smaller communities, for the most part, have moved right ahead and performed those tasks. Nobody considers anybody else a threat to him because they are in a relatively small community.

It just seems to me that there are impelling environmental, social, and economic reasons that the country should set before itself the very definite policy of dispersing population, and that it makes sense environmentally, sociologically, criminologically, logistically, economically, and just about any other way you can describe it.

That is all I would say, Mr. Chairman, except to congratulate the gentleman on an excellent statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Dorn.

Mr. DORN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to ask the distinguished witness what the trend in migration for the country as a whole is at this moment. I know the trend for the last 50 or more years has been from the rural, small town community to the urban areas. But is it not the fact that this trend has begun to reverse itself? Is it not the fact that now people are beginning to shift back, wherever possible, toward smaller cities and to rural areas?

Mr. SUNDQUIST. Yes; it is a fact that the historic trend toward concentration has apparently been reversed in about the last 5 years.

There was still a net migration from nonmetropolitan areas to metropolitan areas in the decade of the 1960's, but, since the 1970 census, the trend has been the other way and the rural areas and nonmetropolitan areas that have been benefiting have not been only those which are on the peripheries of metropolitan areas, but even some of the most remote.

This reflects a movement primarily of manufacturing industry to the nonmetropolitan areas. In the 3-year period, 1970 to 1973, more than half of the net growth in manufacturing was in nonmetropolitan areas. It also represents the movement of retired people and people obtaining second homes, the development of the recreation industry, and so forth.

The demographers I have talked to seem to believe that this is a permanent reversal in the migration flow. To some extent it reduces the urgency for a national dispersal policy, but in our judgment it by no means removes it, because most of the absolute growth in population is still in the metropolitan areas.

Mr. DORN. Is the trend toward overall population growth leveling off? Has it not leveled off considerably in the last 4 or 5 years?

Mr. SUNDQUIST. The birth rate has dropped. The projection now—is if you take the lowest projection—is that about another 50 million people will be added in the country before the population finally stabilizes.

Mr. DORN. Historically—and this kind of augments what the chairman mentioned about crime—as far as recessions and depressions are concerned, are they not much more severe in the urban areas than in the small town, rural areas?

A few of us—not many of us, but a few of us—remember the depression in the early 1930's, and this was my observation then; that where you have a large rural population, more agriculture, and smaller cities, the depression was much less severe. But it doubly hits those in the urban areas.

Mr. SUNDQUIST. I do not believe I can speak with much authority on that point.

Mr. DORN. Well, you are a young man. You do not remember the depression days. However, I think that is historically true.

And also along the line of social upheaval and anarchy—I think historically, going back to the city of Rome or even earlier, that major population agglomerates have been the scenes of most of the trouble.

I can only commend the panel for devoting its time and considerable energy to this problem. It very definitely is becoming a great problem and will increase in importance as the years go by. There is definitely something that the Congress and the Government can do, and I think this is the point that you are making, and the distinguished chairman of the committee is making. For these reasons, I think this study is very timely and most worthwhile.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Clausen.

Mr. CLAUSEN. I want to join my colleagues in complimenting you most sincerely for this provocative beginning as far as the panel and their presentation is concerned.

Now, I would like to have elaboration on a couple of points. In defining growth policy on a national scale, it is my view that some areas of the country would encourage growth, and other areas would desire little or no growth, a leveling off so as to not create further migration. In some areas, it might be in their best interest to have negative growth. For example, it may occur, as has been stated, where those overpopulated areas are faced with the situation of outmigration.

So there are two areas that I would like to have you address yourself to. One: What role can transportation play in bringing about this balanced growth policy for movement toward a more balanced population pattern? As I see it, in many of the areas of the country where people are actually living, we all recognize that they have a vested interest and in fact an equity, if in nothing more than in their home or in their desire to stay in these areas. That is something that has to be considered and addressed.

But now that we are having the jurisdiction of all transportation other than rail transferred to this committee, what role do you see that transportation can play in bringing about a more desirable pattern of population distribution?

Mr. SUNDQUIST. Mr. Clausen, I would prefer to defer to my colleague who headed our transportation task group devoted especially to that question.

Mr. CLAUSEN. All right. Well, then, more directly to your point No. 3, which alludes that an economic growth center strategy may very

well be a requirement for any population distribution policy. How would you describe what is needed in the way of such an economic growth center strategy? We have been moving in that direction in our Subcommittee on Economic Development and we are also moving in that direction in our highway program.

What sort of growth center strategy do you believe to be necessary?

Mr. SUNDQUIST. This was not something that our task group felt was a matter on which we should try to reach a conclusion but, speaking personally, the growth center strategy has always made sense to me. There are economies that come with some degree of urbanization. It is the only way to put together a substantial, diversified labor market; it enables suppliers and producers to cluster close together; it reduces transportation requirements, and so on.

We did not arrive at a specific recommendation on this point because, in our view, the determination of the location of growth centers and the particular infrastructure patterns in particular local areas is a matter to be left primarily to planning at those levels. The growth centers would be determined essentially by the substate regional bodies and to some extent by the States. They might choose growth corridors or growth areas as distinct from the smaller centers.

With our modern transportation facilities, I believe we can conceive of growth centers as encompassing somewhat broader areas than perhaps the term is usually interpreted to mean, not simply a point on the map but the point and its commuting range, which can be up to 75 or even 100 miles even in diameter. And if you think in terms of the growth area, then the infrastructure distribution within that area is a matter on which the local planning process needs to concentrate.

I am very skeptical of any attempt to designate growth centers out of Washington. It just seems to me that that kind of judgment has to be made lower down and that the principal interest of the National Government ought to be in assisting and encouraging and insuring that the proper kind of planning apparatus exists down there and it is coming up with plans that do make some kind of sense.

Mr. CLAUSEN. Well, now, I am pleased to hear you make the remark that you have just enunciated because I learned a long time ago that you can lead horses to water but you cannot necessarily make them drink. Regardless of whatever we have in the way of an alternate planning process, unless there is action and initiative and acceptance on the part of the local political subdivisions, in most cases you will have at best a stalemate with no forward progress being made. I think there is a tendency to reject and resist, as a matter of fact, any hand-me-down direction from the top, and I think we tend to mislead people.

We think it is going to be possible to get the American people to accept an edict or dictation from the top as opposed to the initiative being taken from the local level.

Now, is someone going to respond to the question on transportation, as you say, Mr. Sundquist?

Mr. SUNDQUIST. Yes; I believe Mr. Kraft will speak on that and probably Mr. Widner as well.

Mr. CLAUSEN. Well, then, Mr. Chairman, I would simply ask that I be allowed to submit some further questions in writing to Mr. Sundquist.

[The following was received for the record:]

THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION,  
Washington, D.C., December 16, 1974.

Hon. DON H. CLAUSEN,  
Committee on Public Works, U.S. House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CLAUSEN: I appreciate the opportunity to respond to the questions contained in your letter of December 3, for inclusion in the record of the November 26 hearings. The questions and answers are attached.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES L. SUNDQUIST, *Senior Fellow.*

Enclosure.

*Question.* Recommendation 2 on page 10 suggests individual preference should be balanced against economic social and environmental considerations for population distribution policy. Could you elaborate on this point, and specifically on just how one could formulate a policy with such diverse factors. There may be a conflict in the choice of the individual versus the choice of society in where an individual will live. Could you comment.

*Answer.* Recommendation 2 is intended to be read in conjunction with points 3 and 4, which are our elaboration and application of the recommendation. Our position, basically, is that unless there are compelling economic, social, or environmental reasons to the contrary, the national population distribution policy should reflect what people want. Under point 3 we summarize the evidence as to what people want, which all points in the same direction—in favor of dispersal and against further concentration. After an examination of all the available data on economic, social, environmental, and other considerations, summarized under point 4, we conclude that there are no advantages to population concentration of sufficient weight to require that the evidently strong public preference be overruled in a national policy.

At the present time, there is a considerable conflict between the choice of the people and the "choice of society," because society—by permitting job-creating investment to be concentrated—has in effect forced people to live in huge population agglomerations against the will of a large proportion of them. If society made the choice for a more dispersed settlement pattern by influencing employers to disperse investment (as the other advanced democratic countries are doing), then the degree of conflict would be reduced. Individuals who prefer to live in large cities could still do so, but the great number—apparently about 15 percent of the total population—who now live in large cities but would prefer to live in smaller places would have the opportunity to obtain a livelihood in the kind of surroundings they desire.

A caveat must be entered, however, that we need more sophisticated data than now exist on the aggregate of individual preferences, and if a national population distribution policy were adopted, the data would need to be kept current constantly to guide the implementation of the policy.

*Question.* In finding #3 on page 10, you suggest a growth center strategy. Am I correct in this observation?

*Answer.* Point 3 only summarizes public opinion data, which does not bear directly on the question of growth center strategy. The popular preference for a dispersed settlement pattern would, however, be consistent with such a strategy, assuming that the strategy permitted nonmetropolitan communities to be eligible for designation. In point 5, we suggest that programs to assist nonmetropolitan areas as part of the national population distribution policy should be limited to "those nonmetropolitan areas that have substantial growth potential," but our view was that the growth strategy for each state—including the identification of growth areas as centers of growth—should be primarily a matter for state determination through its comprehensive state planning process, which under the recommendation in point 8 the federal government would encourage.

*Question.* Finding #7 on page 10 suggests a strong national plan guiding the policies at lower levels of government. Such a plan may or may not be acceptable to our diverse patterns of life. Is our society too pluralistic for this kind of plan?

Answer. We use the phrase "national policy" rather than "national plan," because the latter phrase carries more of an implication that detailed decisions affecting local growth patterns would be made by the national government. Those decisions, under our scheme, would be a matter for state and local planning, and the "new and far stronger planning institutions and land-use controls" called for under recommendation 7 would be state and local, not federal.

There is, however, a sufficient national interest in land use to warrant action by the federal government to encourage and stimulate action by the states, both to build planning capacity at the state level and to use the states' legal powers to organize effective planning mechanisms at substate regional (particularly metropolitan) and local levels where they do not now exist. The national government also has a responsibility for participation in planning the development of multi-state regions, as recognized in current programs, as well as for management of the public lands. The better the states are organized for purposes of land-use planning and control, and the more closely the federal and state governments collaborate, the more effectively these responsibilities of the federal government will be discharged.

Certainly, in a society as pluralistic as ours national objectives must be achieved through programs that take diverse forms in various places. But the means by which diversification has been traditionally achieved in the United States is through cooperative federal-state-local arrangements in which general policy determinations are made at the top of the intergovernmental hierarchy and specific programs consistent with those policies are initiated, planned, and carried out at the intermediate and lower levels. The temptation to centralize too much decision-making at the national level must constantly be guarded against, and actions to devolve authority to the states and/or local governments must be taken from time to time, as the Congress is now doing in the case of many programs that have previously been highly centralized. But, with that approach, it is entirely consistent with the values of pluralism to establish broad national policies and achieve them through state and local plans and programs that federal action encourages and supports.

*Question.* Population growth is a concern of all of us especially in light of the growing cost of food, shortages and potential health problems that accompany a shortage of food. Even though our country is the wealthiest in the world there are many who do not share the fortune of this well being. Point #14 suggests a population control measure. Could you elaborate on this point as a means of an adequate population distribution solution in the long run and as potentially a means of solving the nutrition problems that we face.

Answer. The consideration of specific governmental measures that might be taken to slow the growth of the country's total population was not part of the assignment of any of the task groups. Our purpose in point 14 was only to point out that the adoption of a national population distribution policy would not reduce the need for policies to stem aggregate population growth. Specific policies to the latter end were considered at length by the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future.

*Question.* Is sufficient data on economies of scale and diseconomies of scale relating to our current settlement patterns available to suggest whether higher costs of providing public service and facilities and the cost of conducting private business in metropolitan areas is excessive? Could economies be achieved in the future by absorbing more of our projected population increase in places of smaller size?

Answer. No, the data is far from sufficient. After examining all the studies that have been made of the relative public service costs of metropolitan complexes of various sizes, we concluded (under point 4) that intermediate-sized urban areas "probably" have an advantage, but that "such few careful studies as have been made offer conflicting evidence." This is a subject that is clearly researchable, and one where Congressional initiative to get the necessary research under way would be desirable.

Relative public service costs are only one among many factors, however, that should be weighed in a cost-benefit balance sheet to determine whether a national policy favoring a more dispersed settlement pattern should be adopted. Other of the many economic, social, environmental, governmental, cultural, and even esthetic factors discussed under point 4 may be more important. The greatest weight

of all, we feel, should be assigned to the aggregate of individual and family preferences. Even if public service costs in a more dispersed settlement pattern were significantly higher—which we repeat would probably not be the case—the people might well be happy to pay the higher costs to get the living environment that would be nearer to their collective preferences.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vander Veen has been waiting for some time.

Mr. VANDER VEEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to ask Mr. Sundquist how the recommendation in Point No. 1, that is, the recommendation for a national population distribution policy, would fit into the idea that has been expressed by many that there be a national planning board. You are familiar, I am sure, Mr. Sundquist, with that idea which has been advanced by different people, and I think there has been some response in the Congress to the idea.

Dr. Leontieff is one of the principal proponents of the idea that we have a national planning advisory board. How would you see your recommendation for a national population distribution policy fitting in with that kind of concept?

Mr. SUNDQUIST. We did not, of course, examine the larger concept, whether there ought to be a national planning body for all kinds of policies.

If there were such a body, then this would fit as an integral part of it.

The French have a very elaborate economic and social planning system, with commissions that plan each sector of the economy and then regional planning bodies which slice across the national sector plans in geographic terms. In a system like that population distribution policy is woven into the entire process from beginning to end.

Whatever planning process we were to adopt here, population distribution should be in the same way a central part of it.

However, in the absence of anything as ambitious as that, there would need to be—if the Federal Government decides to have a population distribution policy—some planning mechanism where data would be assembled and analyzed, definitions written, and all the rest of it. There is no suitable mechanism now for that purpose anywhere in the Government. Presumably it would have to be in the Executive Office of the President.

Mr. VANDER VEEN. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Ms. Abzug.

Ms. ABZUG. I find a very monumental matter of conflict in these reports. There is a tendency on the part of many people—and I see it in this report here—to talk about national population distribution policy in the abstract.

All the problems seem to have always been in major centers. There are the biggest criminals, the biggest revolutionaries, all kinds of things, and that is obviously because, that is, if there is any validity to that point, we have a huge concentration of people with tremendous needs, and we have to move to fulfill these needs.

On the other hand, if we are talking about a basic national investment policy program—which I think is the basic purpose of this thing, to discuss a national public works investment policy—we really have to stipulate that there are many different environments and many different population distributions and we must deal with them where they now are. I am not sure that we have the time and the luxury at this moment to talk about moving around a lot of the population.

Now, I would like very much to start from the beginning and have a whole national growth program and a plan and a planning board which redistributes the population. I would love to begin with everything new, because heaven knows we have made a mess of things economically and politically in this country and we are suffering for that. But I get very, very anxious when we begin to discuss a fundamental national policy based upon how we can now begin to properly plan, evaluate, and move populations around.

Now, I know it has to be done. I think one of the biggest failures in this country, in the Government, has been the failure to have national planning for land use and transportation and so on, and the effect that investment in each has, jobs and the economy and so on—in other words, that we let the country just grow.

And, you know, I realize that you are trying to address yourself very scientifically to this problem. On the other hand, if we are now going to mount very soon, as we should in this committee, a much more major national public investment policy which will create jobs in this country, which I think has to happen immediately—not just a public service employment program which would give a few crumbs around here and there for a few people that are starving, but a program that is really going to deal with the very serious economic condition we find ourselves in, and this committee has a responsibility to develop such a construction program which is going to provide enormous numbers of jobs—then I am not certain that we could deal with the problem effectively of redistributing the population at this moment. We do not want to have those little things that Mr. Dorn is worried about occurring in the cities. We have got to give the people some food and some jobs.

Mr. SUNDQUIST. I guess our report is not particularly relevant to the question of providing employment to people who are currently unemployed. Obviously emergency employment has to be where the people are rather than where the planners would like them to be.

Ms. ABZUG. If I may interrupt you, sir, your report does deal with the question of developing a national public policy which is essentially a public works investment policy, which I think has to be fundamentally economic, does it not?

Mr. SUNDQUIST. We were thinking there—the words were supposed to mean the infrastructure rather than—

Ms. ABZUG. You are dealing more abstractly than I care to at the moment.

Mr. SUNDQUIST. No doubt, but I would like to clarify one point. We are really not talking here about moving people around. We are trying to address ourselves to the question of where should these additional 50 million people that are coming into the population live.

The question is, should our policies be such as to channel them into the less settled regions of the country or to let them pile up in the major centers like New York.

Ms. ABZUG. Let me reassure you. I think it could be very effective for many of the urban areas if we were able to move a certain amount of industry and a certain amount of the economies which go with those industries, such as low- and middle-income housing and jobs and so on, out further, but we have not been too successful in doing that because we have received a little bit of resistance as to the kind of housing

we need and the kind of schools we need. In other words, a lot of these big companies like to move their firms out of the city, but they really only want to provide housing for their executives in these areas.

Mr. SUNDQUIST. The problem with the central city and the problem of the smaller communities is the same. In both instances, these areas are where the people reside that need jobs, but the jobs are being located to a great extent in the suburbs, where the people have to be transported.

Ms. ABZUG. That would be the question raised by Mr. Clausen on transportation.

Although I recognize the need to distribute the populations that are coming in in one form or another in many different places, I still feel that there is fundamentally a problem, a conflict, in this question of distribution of population and dealing with existing environments as they are and how we improve these environments as a matter of national growth.

Mr. SUNDQUIST. Yes, I think there is a conflict. Personally, I would try to resolve it by doing both.

Ms. ABZUG. Well, that is very ambitious.

Mr. SUNDQUIST. In fact, I think our report is specific on that point.

The CHAIRMAN. Any further questions?

May we then proceed to the chairman of the Task Group on Organizational Structures, Mr. Ralph Widner of the Academy for Contemporary Problems.

The academy is a unique structural organization set up as a joint effort by the Ohio State University and the Battelle Memorial Institute in Columbus, Ohio.

Mr. Widner, you are now recognized. I believe you have a summary statement prepared by the task group entitled "Toward a National Public Works Investment Policy; Organizing for Implementation." Would you please proceed with your summary, and we will see that this fine, well-organized prepared summary appears in its entirety in the record.

#### STATEMENT OF RALPH R. WIDNER, CHAIRMAN, TASK FORCE NO. 2, ON ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES

Mr. WIDNER. Mr. Chairman, I appear before you this morning in two capacities. At the request of the committee, the Academy for Contemporary Problems has prepared a series of background studies, three of which, I understand, are being published separately by the committee, but in conjunction with these hearings.

Of these three studies, one reviews the existing research available on the impact of Federal policies on the development of the Nation's regions. Another of the studies reviews the growth problems in each of the country's major regions. And the third looks into the utility of the concept of carrying capacity for guiding future investments in public works.

A fourth study, recently completed, which provides an overview of interstate and substate organizations and their usefulness for implementing a national public works investment policy, is now avail-

able. I have with me a copy of this study, Mr. Chairman, and I would like to ask your permission to have this made part of the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection. So ordered.

[Statement referred to appears in the appendix beginning on p. 53.]

Mr. WIDNER. This fourth study was used to a large degree by our task group in its review of interstate and substate organizations and their utility for a public works investment policy in the future.

While we recognize that these general studies are far from definitive reviews of the complex issues that you are addressing here in the committee, we do think that they give you a starting point in the inquiry.

If I may have your permission, Mr. Chairman, I would like to submit for the record a somewhat longer statement that summarizes some of this material for inclusion in the record.

Also, with your permission, in case the questions might warrant it, I would like to have my colleagues Mr. Brewer and Mr. Rainey sit with us at the table since they played a key role in preparing this work.

The CHAIRMAN. So ordered. Would you please take a seat, Mr. Brewer and Mr. Rainey.

Mr. WIDNER. The Task Group on Organizational Structures of your Science Advisory Panel consists of John Adler of the World Bank; John Borchert, a distinguished geographer from the University of Minnesota; Leonard Dworsky of the Water Resources Center at Cornell University; Helen Ingram, a political scientist with the University of Arizona; Bob Edman, an authority on area development; and myself. We drew heavily on some of this work that I mentioned in reaching our conclusions.

In recognition of the fact that many of our water resources, transportation, economic development, and public works needs transcend state and local boundaries, you asked us to assess the present effectiveness of the interstate and substate mechanisms that have been created to help meet these needs by this committee and other committees in the past.

The question the committee faces is this: Are these mechanisms sufficient to meet any needs that might be envisioned should the country adopt a national public works investment policy? Should they be extended to cover the entire country and if they should not, does this mean that the existing mechanisms we have are inadequate to meet the tasks they have been assigned under existing legislation? If that is true, what courses of action might be appropriate?

Now, it is obvious that we cannot answer these questions carelessly and the time available to us certainly prevented us from reaching any definitive conclusions, but I think it is fair to say that the panel did come forward with a number of ideas that will be useful to the committee. I might add, Mr. Chairman, that prompted by the committee's interest the Charles F. Kettering Foundation and our academy have proceeded to undertake a major assessment of the impact of national policies on the settlement of the United States and the urban and rural developmental problems of the United States, and I hope at some future date to be able to submit that for the committee's consideration.

The conclusions our panel reached are as follows: First, that major public works programs should be affirmatively used as tools to directly

influence the distribution of population and economic activity between regions and within regions of the country. To that extent, we are in agreement with Jim Sundquist's panel, but, as you will see, there are some differences of opinion across the whole Science Advisory Panel on this question.

Second, future national public works investment policy should take account of the changing social, environmental, economic, and regional needs of the American people. We would submit to the committee that a new departure in policy is required. It is true that in earlier years our public works policy was dominated by economic considerations; more recently, social considerations have come into play, such as the relocation requirements for highways and other public works, and now, of course, the environmental concerns. A national public works investment policy or a national growth policy is essentially concerned with how we balance off our environmental, our social, and our economic objectives.

Third, future national public works policy should seek to balance national and regional social and economic objectives against those for environmental protection and the conservation of resources and energy. In this connection we believe that Congress should adopt as a formal part of its legislative procedures a process of legislative assessment that would improve the Congress' ability to review the possible consequences for the Nation's future growth and development that might flow from any major legislation under consideration. In other words, try to anticipate in advance what the consequences might be instead of dealing with the problems after they have occurred, and we have some ideas about what that process might look like, but there are bugs in it and we are not prepared to say this is the definitive answer.

The Committee on Public Works should consider amending the Public Acts and Economic Development Act to establish advisory committees on national developments that are more broadly based and technically competent than the existing advisory committees that we have.

Fourth, the future growth and development of the nation requires that we evolve more effective organizational bridges between Federal, State, and local governments for cooperative planning and implementation of public works in harmony with other social, economic, physical, and regional development and conservation policy programs.

Now, experimentation with various interstate and substate organizational approaches over the past several decades, many of them led by this committee, have provided the Nation with some basis in experience to approach the present and future problems of growth and scarcity. We believe that any "New Federalism" has to address itself to organizational as well as fiscal reforms in terms of intergovernmental relations.

The present policy of, "Let the States and localities do it," will leave unmet some basic needs of the country. We do not believe that revenue sharing and a number of the other proposals by themselves will necessarily resolve some of the concerns that this committee has.

Fifth, building on its past experiences, the Nation should now move to new organizational frameworks that will permit the linking of Federal, State, and local governments together in cooperative efforts, and we believe that these mechanisms should be directly accountable

to elected officials at each level. In other words, we do not favor the creation of special authorities essentially run by technocrats like myself that are not directly accountable to elected bodies directly responsible to constituencies.

Now, there are five alternatives available to the Nation—at least five that we could identify in trying to deal with this organizational problem in a public works investment policy.

The first would be to leave decisions solely to the States and localities. While the panel itself did not make direct recommendations with respect to that alternative, there was a firm conviction on all of our parts and in the backup studies that that by itself is not sufficient.

Second, we could establish a policy that simply sets Federal standards of various kinds but not require direct Federal involvement in implementation. In other words, everybody would have to meet a certain kind of standard of performance, whether it be for highway construction or water quality improvement or air pollution control or whatever.

The third would be to provide Federal incentives and rewards for regional cooperation at the interstate or substate level but without direct Federal involvement of the kind we have had in recent years. This would require, however, a national policy on regions and regional development, but it would not require direct Federal participation.

The fourth is to just keep experimenting with different arrangements, which is our present policy.

And the fifth, which has been proposed by a number of organizations, would be to establish a national system of interstate and substate organizations. There are a variety of proposals in that direction. One is unkindly referred to as the “wall-to-wall Appalachia” recommendation; another is an attempt to take the Federal administrative regions, the 10 Federal administrative regions, and convert them into intergovernmental commissions with many of the principles embodied in them that we have in the economic development commissions at the present time. Then the States could set up within their boundaries substate regional organizations to deal with the planning and programing requirements at that level.

Frankly, our panel felt uncomfortable with the fifth alternative because it felt we would be imposing on the country a straitjacket that might not fit the needs that vary from one section of the country to another.

Now, the backup study upon which we relied basically recommends a hybrid between all of these. It would argue that perhaps the models we established in the Title V Commissions with the exception of New England and the Appalachian program are not appropriate as a nationwide system simply because they do not define true regions when it comes down to the basic public works and regional development needs of the country.

It is very hard to do things in the upper Midwest without taking the Twin Cities area into account, for example. That is a key center for that part of the world. Similarly, Atlanta plays a key role in much of the South. As you know, between the Coastal Plains Commission and the Appalachian Commission you have what is unkindly referred to as the “demilitarized zone,” a block of counties that run down through three States not in either region. There have been enormous pressures in that area to get in one or the other for some time.

The backup report, for our panel, argues that if there is a need to provide for interstate and substate regional approaches to public works needs, environmental protection, and so on, that we should provide for as much flexibility as possible. We do not believe that drafting a blueprint in Washington and then imposing it on the country uniformly works. We are basically convinced that what we should really go toward is a Federal policy of reward or bonuses for local and State initiatives to respond to these problems within their own context and terms and give them an extra incentive, if you will, to solve the problems themselves—

Mr. CLAUSEN. May I interrupt the witness and say thank you, Mr. Widner.

Mr. WIDNER. All of us were very much enthused about the multi-county districts that have been established over the last 10 years under your leadership and that of the Banking and Currency Committee, and we think there is much to commend them. But we find a disconcerting development in the last 12 to 18 months. Many local officials and the organizations that speak for them here in Washington are becoming very negative about them, primarily because most of them are being created to meet Federal requirements without any strong roots locally. There is a belief that they are just created to get grants. We want to get away from that problem. That is why we suggest this bonus or reward system: To encourage the States and localities to move in this direction but not impose an iron maiden on the way they might do that.

So we see a format that would be highly flexible, and I just think in closing I might quote to you, just to show you how history repeats itself, from a study that was done, believe it or not, back in the 1930's by the predecessor committee to the National Resources Planning Board. Mr. Vander Veen asked about a national planning board. That was, of course, an experiment in that direction that aborted when World War II came along—but they, by and large, recommended that we get away from—

The CHAIRMAN. So I can refresh my recollection, is it the National Resources Committee you are talking about prior to World War II, the one headed by Mr. Delano?

Mr. WIDNER. That is right. Mr. Delano was the Chairman and Mr. Charles Eliot was their Executive Director.

The CHAIRMAN. Who from the University of Chicago was very active?

Mr. WIDNER. Merriam.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Charles Merriam.

Mr. WIDNER. It is an outstanding report. I know you do not have much time for bedside reading, but if you can get their report on Regional Factors in National Development, you will find it is the most useful document anywhere that we can find on the whole question that this committee is addressing.

The CHAIRMAN. We read most of those reports back in those years and I think one of the last ones dealt with population, migratory population, as I recall.

Our interest, of course, was in the earlier reports concerning the Upper Great Lakes area—the North Upper Peninsula of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. This region had one primary common ail-

ment, and that was the extractive character of the economy; on the one hand, that of cutting and then burning the region's timber resources, which was partially renewable or reversible; and, on the other, that which was associated with iron ore and the copper deposits. With the extraction of these minerals, that was it. The process was irreversible until a new technology made possible the manufacturing of high-grade ore from a hard rock called taconite.

So these studies are very important. By the way, are they still available?

Mr. WIDNER. Yes, sir. I suspect the Congressional Research Service could make them available to the committee in Xerox form.

Mr. CLAUSEN. What was the name of that report?

Mr. WIDNER. It is "Regional Factors in National Planning," I believe.

Mr. CLAUSEN. And national planning?

Mr. WIDNER. In national planning. It looks at the regions of the country. As a matter of fact, you will find that the material we have submitted is kind of an update of the direction that they were taking in their investigation.

Mr. CLAUSEN. That is by Mr. Merriam?

Mr. WIDNER. The primary author, I guess, was Mr. Eliot, Charles Eliot. Mr. Merriman and Mr. Delano were both on the Committee.

I think that summarizes our findings, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CLAUSEN. Mr. Widner, you heard my question to Mr. Sundquist earlier as it related to what transportation could or should provide for a national growth policy. Are you prepared to respond now or will Mr. Kraft or someone else be commenting on the transportation?

Mr. WIDNER. I can give you our point of view in our panel and Mr. Kraft then will undoubtedly give you—

Mr. CLAUSEN. I think it would be appropriate at this time.

Mr. WIDNER. We reached the following conclusion, and it is in the extended report that we submitted: That in terms of linking the country together as a coherent economic unit national public works policy over the last 100 years has met its objectives and met them extremely well. Our past policies stack up extremely well in terms of that objective.

Now, there are some inadvertent results that flowed from past policy that obviously concern us.

We believe that in transportation the need is not any longer the knitting together of the Nation except in a few places, but is what we call an "intraregional" need, that the rural hinterland that lies away from the metropolitan and urban centers needs to be more effectively integrated into the core economy of that particular section of the country so that people, whether they choose to live in an urban area or a rural area, can have equal access to good employment, good services, and so on. We believe transportation is a key to accomplishing that objective.

We have in mind a kind of wagon wheel model where the spokes and a series of rims are the transportation systems that link these cells—there are about 350 cells that one of the members of your Science Advisory Panel, Brian Barry has identified. These commuting fields or cells are what make up the United States today and they cover most of the rural and urban territory of the country.

Now, if we can use transportation and investments in other public works and community facilities in the right way within each of these cells, it means that any family could choose to live in either an urban or a rural setting without paying the heavy price they are paying now in terms of access to quality services, quality of life, and so on.

It would require some fiscal reforms as well.

Mr. CLAUSEN. In that regard, I am going to go back and refer to my own previous experience in county government. References have been made in the past to model cities as a means to an end, and I think in certain cases there have been benefits. But I think there have also been disappointments. I believe that may be the phrase "model counties," which minimizes the types of jurisdictional constraints that are placed on incorporated areas, permits a more expansive planning process wherein you take into consideration all these factors, be it land use, transportation systems and planning in a comprehensive way.

And I am wondering, in light of what you used as a means of describing the wagon wheel approach, if the concept of "a hub economic growth center" or "satellite economic growth center" would fit into that description.

Mr. WIDNER. It does in some counties, Mr. Clausen, but in, for example, my own area of Appalachia, the counties in some cases are too small by themselves to provide a viable means for doing that. The hub may be in one county, but the surrounding rural territory might be in four or five.

Mr. CLAUSEN. In California, for example, and in other States where there are no constitutional limitations, there exists the latitude of forming districts. I encourage you to take a good look at this. It is the one thing that is more acceptable in most instances than imposing another layer of government, and it is a "joint exercise of powers" agreement on a bicounty or multicounty basis, to serve whatever needs or functions that might be desirable.

Now, in addressing ourselves to the question of transportation, that is in general terms, I would like to have you narrow it down to more specific terms of what modes and how would they be applied under your evaluation.

Mr. WIDNER. I am afraid I do not have good news for you on that. The transportation panel, I am sure, will speak to this definitively, but our panel felt that the social organization of this country has been so locked into private means of conveyance, particularly in rural areas but also in urban areas once you get outside of the core itself, that we do not see an alternative to the private means of conveyance as one of the keystones for any development strategy in the country.

Obviously there is a place for rail and waterways and air, but when you look at the way people commute, the way we deliver educational services, health services, you go down the whole list, that mobility that came with the automobile is going to be extremely hard to get away from.

Our feeling was that we had better look at some other way of driving those vehicles rather than look at totally new modes, particularly those that are fixed in place.

Now, the transportation committee dealt with this in some detail and I think I ought to defer to them.

Mr. CLAUSEN. Well, are you suggesting that maybe we should concentrate on the corridor concept for the use of the automobile, taking into consideration the individualism and the attitudes and the flexibility that goes with the automobile; that we should concentrate on trying to provide to the individual and the automobile more corridors to and from their work?

Mr. WIDNER. Well, corridors, I guess, in a broad sense, but we think you can get away from the notion of main arterials and get down to sort of the fine grain of how you tie these rural and urban places together. You may be talking about something more analogous to almost a secondary or primary road system.

Mr. CLAUSEN. Could you hit on what I think is going to be a key point in the upcoming session of Congress, and that is whether or not we go forward with the national highway program and the legislation both from this committee and the Ways and Means Committee for dealing with a trust fund?

Do you believe that there is going to be a need for a future funding commitment on a coordinated basis through national legislation to update and upgrade the primary and secondary road systems, including the bridges and so forth, or will the existing rights-of-way and highways that we now have be adequate. The needs report reflects a very substantial need in the future for the rural areas if they are going to become viable economically? Could you comment on that?

Mr. WIDNER. Obviously that latter point is the key. The key transportation need in the country now is out in those hinterland areas and basically it struck us that the improvements would probably come at that primary and secondary level but in many cases along the existing alignments.

But, again, I would like to defer to the transportation committee because they spent a good deal of time on this.

Mr. CLAUSEN. I will have to pursue this a little bit further, but just let me make this final point. You know, we have taken a very strong stand on trying to maintain a balance in our allocation formula between the rural and the urban highway system development. I will allude to the latter because I firmly believe that, irrespective of what we do in the area of mass transit, if there is going to be a fixed guideway, fixed rail system, there will also be a need for a restructured urban highway system to serve as a feeder route up to those fixed guideways. As a consequence we will want to maintain the kinds of positive funding mechanisms necessary to meet the needs of each mode so that the transportation and traffic engineers from each mode can, consistent with the funding capabilities and with the desires of the people in the area, meet these intermodal transportation requirements. I would like to have you continue to make that point, if indeed we are accurate in our appraisal of what the need is going to be. Are we accurate in our appraisal?

Mr. WIDNER. I think so, but the transportation committee has been wrestling with this question, and Mr. Kraft may have something more trenchant to say.

Mr. CLAUSEN. Yes. Could you comment just briefly. Mr. Kraft, on that question?

Mr. KRAFT. The question is of course, very complicated. Unfortunately, the task force did not address itself in any detail to the ques-

tion, although it pointed out some of the difficulties in designing policies to accomplish one thing without at the same time inadvertently accomplishing something that is undesirable. So I think the task force's conclusion on this question would generally be to proceed with great caution. Because of the complex interrelationships between transportation and other economic activity and various other policies that are imposed on, say, a metropolitan area or a larger substate area, the effects that are most desired might very well not be achieved in fact.

Let me provide an example of one of the points that we did find. Extending mass transit systems, particularly rapid transit systems, radially outward from the central business district tends to have a dispersing effect. Often people want to use these radial extensions to provide a greater vitality to the central core by encouraging people to stay in the city rather than move out to the suburbs.

Mr. CLAUSEN. Now, when you say dispersing, that suggests that it tends to expand the urban sprawl problem.

Mr. KRAFT. Mr. Clausen, I believe that it might very well have that kind of effect.

Mr. CLAUSEN. Is this the reason that most people are rejecting mass transit as the answer to avoiding urban sprawl? If I understand your testimony, just exactly the opposite is likely to occur, isn't it?

Mr. KRAFT. Mr. Clausen, it is a very complicated issue. But let me point out that I am an economist and one of the things that economists always believe, although sometimes it is hard to convince others, is that when the price of something goes down or the quality is improved, people tend to use more of it. So if we extend our transportation system to provide greater comfort and convenience to our suburban and exurban residents, they are likely to use more of it. People who live in the central city or in the fringe of the central city might very well take the position that now that cheaper and more convenient transportation is available, they can lower their housing cost by moving out further and living on cheaper land. Such land is often, as Mr. Sundquist suggests, more desirable because of greater open space and other amenities. So, in fact, instead of encouraging people to remain in the city, the opposite result might occur.

I think, we must give this very careful consideration before extending our mass transit system to solve the urban sprawl problem.

Mr. CLAUSEN. Well, that is one of the reasons that many of us have felt that there was a need to place a very high priority on the development of an economic growth center strategy.

And further amplifying on that, the one thing that I am personally going to be interested in, if for no other reason than the fact that I have a great interest and background in aviation, is the development of our air transportation systems. There is great need for an updated master plan for airport site selection, which could in fact possibly provide a new dimension to the transportation sector that has long been needed in bringing about the kind of balanced national growth policy that we are now addressing ourselves to.

And I state this for this very important reason \* \* \* for those people in decisionmaking positions, time and the reliability of their schedule is of utmost importance to them. The right kind of air transportation system, both interstate and intrastate, could very well determine

whether or not there is going to be a successful growth center in those areas where it would be in line with the kind of economic growth that is desirable. So, I am suggesting that maybe, as we evaluate this in the broad perspective, we very well may need to have an updated airport site selection plan as the beginning point.

Up to this time, there has been a tendency to adopt surface transportation system routes prior to the selection of an airport site, and, as a result, the airport is built after the fact, and oftentimes is not consistent with any overall growth strategy for the region. Perhaps we should first determine where the airport is to be located, that is, consistent with the region's economic growth center strategy, and then we should design the surface transportation system to meet that need. This was the thrust of the economic growth center development highway provision that we included in the highway legislation recently passed.

Simply stated, it would mean that we could have an airport located in an area that indicates, one, a desire, and, two, the capacity for growth in that region. We would then find the air, rail, and highway transportation systems serving to include all access to that area as well as the movement of people, goods, and services within the region. Thus, as a part of our total strategy, we would select the airport site, but then link all these transportation systems together by the economic growth center development plan to provide the missing link in tying them together.

I am making this point in the form of a personal observation. I served on the airport site selection committee for the State of California and I intend to provide to this committee the benefit of the committee's findings and the expertise that developed those findings.

But in the broad national sense, do you agree conceptually at least with the observations and the comments that I have made?

Mr. KRAFT. The task force did not deal with the question of airport site selection at all.

Mr. CLAUSEN. Why not?

Mr. KRAFT. There are a very large number of transportation issues facing the Nation today and we attempted to select those that we thought were the most pressing. Our feeling was that the air network is quite ubiquitous on an interregional and national scale. I think there may very well be some supplementing of interregional or more local kinds of air service that may be required.

Our general feeling, I believe, was—and perhaps I speak more for myself than for the task group in this matter—that there are many airports in the country, some of which might well be expanded somewhat or at least improved to provide some greater level of air service. However, the basic sites available in the country are very numerous.

I, personally, would be somewhat hesitant to suggest that the airport site be the first consideration in the development of a region's transportation network. As you point out yourself, there are large numbers of considerations that must be interplayed, and whether the site selection for an airport or the site selection for a highway or a railroad should come first, I would rather say that they should all come simultaneously in order to consider the entire problem of regional growth.

Mr. CLAUSEN. I have taken up more time than I should and we will get to that later on. But I just wanted to put some of my thoughts in perspective.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other questions?

Mr. Hammerschmidt.

Mr. HAMMERSCHMIDT. I think Mr. Widner's testimony is very valuable to the committee because I think it goes to the heart of one of the major concerns that we have.

As I am sure you recognize, Mr. Widner, the value of the past activities of this committee, as it pertains to the planning of economic development districts and the Title V Regional Commissions, the grandfather Appalachia, and the way each of these has grown, is that we are continually looking at this situation, seeing if it is a base to build on for national growth policy. You have suggested that perhaps it is, or that it is one of the alternatives that might be used.

If I can recall with you \* \* \* the Title V Regions were originally created to provide a more rational evaluation of regional economic criteria, and then they were expanded politically, you might say, under the pressures that existed there, the same has applied to Appalachia. We have a broader base example in Appalachia because of its special multistate character—that is, there is a larger multistate structure in Appalachia than we have on those Title V's and with longer experience.

You say we need to provide legislative assessment. Would you elaborate a little more on what you mean by legislative assessment and the hitch that you found in it?

Mr. WIDNER. Well, we can certainly say what the bug was that we found.

Let me just sketch out a process that we think bears some exploration.

Let us suppose that the Congress extended the notion that it already has embarked on in the Office of Technology Assessment. Let us suppose it had some instrumentality under the Congress' direction for assessing a major piece of legislation in advance of its adoption in terms of what it might do to the settlement structure of the country and the economic and social consequences that might flow from it, and let us suppose that that major bill is moving through a committee and quite obviously is going to be up for debate.

Congress could then require that this assessment mechanism present to the committee that is holding the hearing a short, simple, lay-language assessment of the possible consequences to the Nation's growth and development that might flow from that bill, and they take that into account during the hearings procedure. Then if the bill is reported favorably, when the legislative report is laid on the desk of each Member, on the back of it you would have a summary of the assessment so that each Member has that at his or her disposal when they vote.

Now, the problem that we had with the concept is an obvious one. If the mechanism is essentially a technocratic one, you have created a new center of power. Obviously, if the committee wants to move in one direction and the technocrats over here say, "No, you should not do it," you have created a problem, and we tried to figure a way to remove that bug so that the assessment is part of the value or choice process of the Congress itself.

One of the ways to do it is to actually create a majority and minority staff either under the leadership of the two Houses or through some other arrangement. Obviously there are different ways of looking at the same problem or the same facts and coming out to two different conclusions.

So we are still massaging the idea, but it seems to us that this society has no alternative now but to think more about the future consequences that might flow from its decisions than we ever have in the past simply because of the enormous complexity of the social system we are dealing with now and the fact that it is so rapidly changing.

Mr. HAMMERSCHMIDT. Your suggestion on this assessment of any legislation flowing through the Congress is that it be held at the legislative level, and not moved on to the executive branch or to a group of technocrats, which already has obviously created real problems in our energy and resource conservation. It has created a lot of delay in many projects.

Mr. WIDNER. There is a second piece to the argument which I didn't mention, unfortunately. Once the bill is enacted and implemented, it seems to us that we have to do a much more effective job of oversight evaluation than we have ever done in the past so that you can make adjustments almost year by year in policies that seem to be going awry and not producing the results that we are after. There must be a much stronger capability on the legislative side for making sure that what Congress wanted out of those policies is indeed what happens.

As we all know, people like me get hold of a piece of legislation and try to interpret it administratively in running an agency. It comes out quite differently from the way it was originally envisioned by the people that recommended it to the floor. Somehow we need a way to perfect the oversight process.

Mr. HAMMERSCHMIDT. Well, I would like to discuss this with you further, but because of the time, Mr. Chairman, I will conclude my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. I appreciate your consideration. We are under serious pressure for time.

Thank you very much, Mr. Widner, for your splendid presentation. Your prepared statement and summary statement of Task Force No. 2 will appear at this point in the record.

[The statements referred to follow:]

STATEMENT OF RALPH R. WIDNER, DIRECTOR, ACADEMY FOR CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS, COLUMBUS, OHIO

Mr. Chairman, it has been a privilege to respond to the Committee's request to assist in exploring the feasibility and possible desirability of developing a National Public Works Investment Policy for the United States. I appear before you today in two capacities:

As the Chairman of the Task Group on Institutional Structures of the Committee's Science Advisory Panel; and

On behalf of the Academy for Contemporary Problems which undertook a number of reconnaissance studies at the Committee's request.

One survey reviews existing research on the impacts of Federal policies on development of the nation's regions.

One survey reviews the growth problems in each of the country's major regions.

A third survey looks into the utility of the concept of carrying capacity for guiding future investments in public works.

And a fourth reconnaissance provides an overview of interstate and substate organizations and their usefulness for implementing a public works investment policy.

My colleagues at the Academy for Contemporary Problems, Michael Brewer, James Coke, Lucia Findley, David Hartley, and Milton and Janet Patton together with numerous Associates of the Academy conducted these preliminary surveys.

While these general overviews are far from being definitive studies of the problems you asked us to address, they should provide useful first steps for the Committee in its investigations into the future character of public works policy for the country.

The Task Group on Organizational Structures of your Science Advisory Panel consists of John Adler, of the World Bank; John Borchert, a distinguished geographer from the University of Minnesota; Leonard Dworsky, of the Water Resources Center at Cornell University; Helen Ingram, a political scientist from The University of Arizona who is an acknowledged expert in regional water management organizations; and Robert Edman, a Consultant to many area development groups throughout the United States.

Our Task Group drew heavily in its work upon a reconnaissance of Interstate and Substate Approaches to Growth Policy prepared by the Academy which, with your permission, I should like to submit for the Record.

In recognition of the fact that many of our water resource, transportation, economic development, and public works needs transcend state and local boundaries, you asked us to assess the present effectiveness of the interstate and substate mechanisms that were created to help meet these needs.

This Committee has authorized or required a variety of regional mechanisms at both the interstate and substate levels over the past 15 years.

You have required comprehensive transportation planning for metropolitan areas under the National Highway Act.

Under the Public Works and Economic Development Act you have authorized funds to support establishment of multi-county development districts to plan and coordinate area-wide economic development programs.

Under the Appalachian Regional Development Act you have similarly authorized assistance to Local Development Districts in the Appalachian Region.

Under Section 208 of the Water Pollution Control Act, you require regional organizations for the purposes of planning water quality control.

Under Title II of the Water Resources Planning Act, river basin commissions that are frequently interstate in character are authorized.

And we presently have eight Federal-Interstate Commissions authorized under the Appalachian Regional Development Act and the Public Works and Economic Development Act.

The Committee also has jurisdiction over the granddaddy of regionalism, the Tennessee Valley Authority.

The question the committee faces is this:

Are these mechanisms sufficient to meet any needs that might be envisioned should the country adopt a National Public Works Investment Policy?

Should they be extended to cover the entire country?

If they should not be replicated, does this mean that they are not adequate to meet the tasks they have been assigned under existing legislation?

If not, what courses of action might be appropriate?

Obviously, these are not questions that should be carelessly answered. A fair evaluation of existing mechanisms would require extensive weighing of much complex evidence and the brief time available to our Panel and the Academy did not permit deep, expensive, and time consuming evaluation.

Fortunately, however, we had many evaluations to draw upon, some by the General Accounting Office, some by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, some by the Brookings Institution, some by independent scholars, plus evaluations carried out directly by Panel Members and Academy personnel. All of us possess intimate knowledge of some of these organizations having been directly involved in operating or evaluating them in past years. The reports have been submitted to the Committee. If I may, we shall proceed to summarize their findings.

SUMMARY RECOMMENDATIONS OF PANEL ON ORGANIZATIONAL  
STRUCTURES, SCIENCE ADVISORY PANEL

1. Major Public Works Programs should be affirmatively used as tools to directly influence distribution of population and economic activity between regions and within regions of the country.

2. Future National Public Works Investment Policy should take account of the changing social, environmental, economic and regional needs of the American people.

3. Future National Public Works Policy must seek to balance national and regional social and economic objectives against goals for environmental protection and conservation of resources and energy.

Congress should adopt as a formal part of its legislative procedures, a process of legislative assessment that would improve its ability to review possible consequences for the nation's future growth and development that might flow from major legislation under consideration.

The Committee on Public Works should consider amending the Public Works and Economic Development Act to establish an advisory committee on national development more broadly based and technically competent than existing bodies.

4. The Future Growth and Development of the Nation requires that we evolve more effective organizational bridges between Federal, state, and local governments for cooperative planning and implementation of public works in harmony with other social, economic, physical, and regional development and conservation policies and programs.

Experimentation with various interstate and substate organizational approaches over the past several decades has provided the nation with some basis in experience to approach the present and future problems of growth and scarcity.

Any "new federalism" must address itself to organizational as well as fiscal reforms. Present policies of "let the states and localities do it" will leave unmet some basic needs of the country.

5. Building on its past experiences, the nation should now move toward new organizational frameworks that will permit cooperative planning and implementation of public works and services by national, state, and local governments in each region of the country. Such mechanisms should be directly accountable to elected officials at each level of government. There are five basic alternatives available in taking the next steps in evolving intergovernmental cooperation for achieving more satisfactory patterns of national growth and development within the new environmental, resource, and energy constraints we face:

1. Leave decisions solely to states and localities.

2. Establish Federal standards, but without direct Federal involvement in implementation.

3. Provide Federal incentives and rewards for regional cooperation at the interstate or substate level, but without direct Federal involvement. This requires adoption of a national regional policy.

4. Keep experimenting as at present with new Federal-interstate-substate organizations created as the need arises.

5. Establish a national system of interstate and substate organizations:

(a) Conversion of the Federal Regional Councils (administratively created bodies at the moment) into Intergovernmental Commissions on which states (and perhaps major metropolitan areas) would sit in much the same manner as they do on the present Economic Development Regional Commissions.

(b) Strengthening of Federal leadership on national growth and development policy by creating in the Domestic Council or the Office of Management and Budget a position answerable to the President for Federal Coordination and Planning. The Chairman of each Regional Council would answer to this representative of the President.

(c) Requiring existing regional bodies with special functions to conduct their work under the umbrella of the Intergovernmental Commission. Regional bodies for special purposes could be created or disbanded as need arose. Existing regional economic development commissions could be dismantled and their functions folded into the new intergovernmental commissions.

(d) Development of block grant or special revenue funding that would be administered by these commissions for purposes of managing growth and development on a regional basis. The commissions would be authorized to allo-

cate the funds in accordance with plans for influencing the distribution of population and economic activity, construction of public works and facilities, protection and enhancement of the environment, etc.

(e) Formal use of substate districts as local planning and development mechanisms for these purposes within the larger regional framework.

The panel drew upon a summary of evaluations of existing interstate and substate organizations conducted by James G. Coke, David K. Hartley, and Kenneth D. Rainey of the Academy for Contemporary Problems. In reviewing evaluations conducted by the General Accounting Office, the Brookings Institution, the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, and others, the group concluded that no set of existing organizations meets all the needs that can be envisioned for effective implementation of a national public works investment policy.

#### SUMMARY EVALUATION OF EXISTING INTERSTATE AND SUBSTATE MECHANISMS

For more than a decade the country has been engaged in a federally-sponsored, wide-ranging effort to create a network of regional institutions, some made up of sets of counties, others encompassing several states, to meet those needs that transcend political boundaries.

One set of regional mechanisms consists of interstate mechanisms such as interstate compacts, TVA, the multi-state regional commissions created under Title V of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965, and the Appalachian Regional Commission.

The second consists of multi-county or substate organizations. Earlier, these were formed entirely at the initiative of local governments acting under state enabling legislation. More recently a national system of such organizations has been encouraged through the Federal regulations concerning the processing of grants-in-aid (A-95) and Federal legislation itself. State actions in response to these Federal initiatives has led to a nearly nation-wide set of substate districts, some highly competent and with many effective powers, others nothing but forums for talk, and still others a little more than lines drawn on paper.

A survey of evaluations of these institutions finds that most have been useful steps in the evolution of our Federal system to meet contemporary inter-jurisdictional problems. But, with the exception of the Tennessee Valley Authority, those interstate and substate organizations created solely for the purposes of Federal legislation unfounded on any locally perceived need or constituency are weak and unlikely to endure. They lack both the credibility and the powers needed to play an effective role in implementing public works investment policies or policies on growth and development. They are vulnerable to the parochial whims of separate public agencies and jurisdictions.

And none are equipped to fill all our regional planning needs.

Future Federal policy should be designed to encourage and reward attempts by states and localities to develop their own regional approaches to regional needs rather than attempting to impose standardized structures and approaches which may be inappropriate from one section of the country to another.

#### *Interstate mechanisms*

No single set of interstate regions can meet all of our administrative, environmental, economic, and social needs. We must preserve diversity and competition in our national political structure and not stifle it through creation of a monolithic system that might degenerate into a public monopoly.

However, we do require procedures to facilitate interstate cooperation.

It would appeal that the establishment of Intergovernmental Commissions in each of the Federal Administrative Regions organized on the same principles as the existing Economic Development Commissions might provide the means for developing Federal-interstate approaches to our problems when they are necessary.

Ironically, just such an alternative was proposed 40 years ago by a distinguished team of scientists and public administrators who were serving on a Task Group of the National Resources Committee. The 1935 study adopted a very pragmatic approach to the question of regional boundaries, recognizing that territories will change depending upon the problem being addressed. Instead, the panel argued for establishment of Federal-state "planning centers" in a key city in each of 10-12 Federal administrative regions. These centers would pro-

vide joint Federal-state assistance to interstate or substate groups attempting to deal with a regional problem. But the scheme called for no formal definition of a set of regions.

The panel warned against national attempts to define regions on a "problem" basis as has been our custom under Title V of the Public Works and Economic Development Act and the Appalachian Regional Development Act. It argued:

"If regions with serious problems were to be given geographical boundaries, the tendency to defend their regional interest at the boundary, so characteristic of Europe, might be encouraged in America. On the other hand, a series of inter-related regions, closely cooperating with the Federal establishment, would tend to cement the Union and to promote the solution of intersectional adjustments."

This observation was echoed in 1967 by the *National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty* in its report *The People Left Behind*, but for somewhat different reasons. It asserted that regions should consist of social and economic wholes and not just the economically and socially-troubled "backyards" of regions as is the case in most of our Economic Development Commissions, except for New England.

In recent years, the National Governors' Conference has adopted resolutions expressing support for Federal legislation that would support a national set of interstate regions jointly determined by the states and the Federal government.

These and similar resolutions passed by other bodies in the past year outline an important policy alternative:

A. Conversion of the Federal Regional Councils (administratively created bodies at the moment) into Intergovernmental Commissions on which states (and perhaps major metropolitan areas) would sit in much the same manner as they do on the present Economic Development Regional Commissions.

B. Strengthening of Federal leadership on national growth and development policy by creating in the Domestic Council or the Office of Management and Budget a position answerable to the President for Federal Coordination and Planning. The Chairman of each Regional Council would answer to this representative of the President.

C. Requiring existing regional bodies with special functions to conduct their work under the umbrella of the Intergovernmental Commission. Regional bodies for special purposes could be created or disbanded as need arose. Existing regional economic development commissions could be dismantled and their functions folded into the new intergovernmental commissions.

D. Development of block grant or special revenue funding that would be administered by these commissions for purposes of managing growth and development on a regional basis. The commissions would be authorized to allocate the funds in accordance with plans for influencing the distribution of population and economic activity, construction of public works and facilities, protection and enhancement of the environment, etc.

Such a framework would preserve the basic Federal-state-local framework of our governmental system while providing means for meeting interstate or substate needs when they arise. It would avoid fractionating the system as present regional development legislation does when it splits states and economic areas with regional boundaries that define problems rather than functional regions.

The disadvantage of such an approach is its emphasis upon structure rather than upon the actual behavior of our organizations. A neat organizational framework will do little to achieve harmonious national policies on growth unless our behavior is correspondingly modified.

#### *Substate mechanisms*

James L. Sundquist of the Brookings Institution has asserted that "the first thing wrong with local government is that very few of the units are territorially adequate. In the metropolitan areas, there are far too many feuding local governments, and in the rural areas they are just not big enough either to provide a working territorial base or to hire the kind of expert staff needed to do the local part of the federal job". He and others call for a system of substate metropolitan and non-metropolitan regions designed to be territorially related to the problems with which they are dealing. To a certain extent, the framework for just such a system is slowly evolving in the United States.

Many Federal programs have come to require area-wide plans, so many in fact that local areas were fragmented by many special purpose area-wide planning organizations. The governmental chaos ensuing from this proliferation of regional agencies prompted establishment of the "A-95" process named for Cir-

cular A-95 first issued by the President's Office of Management and Budget in 1963, requiring states and local governments to submit applications for most Federal aids to areawide and state clearinghouses for review as to conformance with area-wide plans and needs. Under this stimulus, state and local governments have created 455 regional clearinghouses—220 metropolitan and 235 non-metropolitan (as compared with 3,049 counties). Almost all of these clearinghouses at present are voluntary associations of local elected officials, not agencies with power to plan, police, and execute in their own right. All but four states have now taken steps to set up a uniform system of statewide substate districts. But in many cases, these are steps more in name than in substance.

As a next step, the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations is urging that these voluntary councils be given statutory capacity to resolve conflicts between state agency and local governmental actions that have an area-wide impact on the one hand, and officially adopted regional plans and policies on the other.

Some hope this new system will lead to regional budgeting in which the budgets and expenditure patterns of state governments will be based on areawide planning and programming.

Though metropolitan councils and multi-county rural planning agencies had been locally created before Federal initiatives, few areas of the country have found it politically feasible in response to Federal requirements to create more than councils of locally elected officials with only the weakest of pro forma powers. Conflicts between city and countryside in terms of voting representation have resulted in elaborate devices for assuring that only concensus will result in decision. There is some doubt that this will be sufficient for the difficult decisions that lie ahead.

As new partners in governmental powers, which participate in the authoritative allocation of resources for public purposes, the substate district movement is currently at a standstill. In most areas of the country, with the notable exception of Minneapolis-St. Paul, the organizational devices operative in these districts have not progressed beyond the stage of uniting in one organization some of the principal comprehensive and functional planning programs mandated by Federal legislation. Furthermore, the prospect for movement toward additional power, such as the power to deliver services, to approve applications for Federal funds rather than merely review them, or to maintain budgetary and personnel control over special districts, appears at this point to be unlikely. The fundamental reason is that the basic questions of political accountability and political access have not been satisfactorily solved.

The opposition to regional councils seems to have grown in recent months. The rhetoric of cooperation and coordination produced an illusion, in many states, that the regional movement would face few difficulties, and that the infant organization would begin to build the kind of constituency that would make them the major spearheads of local government reform. This has not occurred because the basic parties at interest have not seen, as the implementation of district organizations has proceeded, that their real political interests are substantively reinforced by these district organizations.

At the local level, the reputation and powers of district organizations appear to be at their height in the more impoverished rural areas of the country. These organizations have established their credibility, their importance, because they have been the conduits for substantial amounts of Federal money. It is there that the benefits of joint action appear to be the greatest, and the relative parity of the participants, in terms of population, prevents the kinds of jealousies that arise in the large metropolitan areas where jurisdictions of very widely in size. Some metropolitan councils that were in existence before state subdistricting, and that were simply designated district organizations for state and Federal purposes, are forces to be reckoned with in regional decision-making. But, by and large, they were of that quality before substate districting and astutely protected their interests in the transition period.

The present status of substate districts and the political forces that now seem to be converging against them raise substantial questions for the Congress.

First, the nation will need area-wide planning and action to meet its problems. We cannot abandon the goal of establishing mechanisms to improve public investment policies designed to meet regional needs, but present evidence leads to the conclusion that progress in creating workable regional mechanisms that will endure will not come through Federal requirements that impose alien structures upon local areas.

Future Federal-aid programs should reward those areas attempting to meet local needs through area-wide approaches by providing Federal bonuses to offset some of the administrative and planning costs involved and to provide incentives for region-wide investments.

Federal policies should not continue to force artificial development of a national network of substate districts that may resort in a neat map but leave our basic problems unresolved because the organizations have no real power or credibility. Instead Federal policies should reward the establishment of regional organizations that possess power and credibility at the local level.

Finally, local progress in achieving coordination has been difficult because too frequently the Federal government and the states are in the posture of saying "do as we say and not as we do". How can localities be expected to accept major institutional rearrangements when neither the Federal government nor the states have made much progress in eliminating functional barriers?

The CHAIRMAN. I look forward with special interest to hearing Gerald Kraft, the task force chairman on transportation. With him was Mr. John Middleton, a very good friend from Washington, and a very old friend, Joseph Swidler, whom we've known for sometime.

Mr. Kraft, please proceed as you wish.

#### STATEMENT OF GERALD KRAFT, CHAIRMAN, TASK FORCE NO. 3, ON TRANSPORTATION

Mr. KRAFT. What I planned to do was to submit the prepared summary to the record, and add some amplification in my opening remarks, if I might.

The CHAIRMAN. That is fine. Without objection, the summary will become part of the record.

Mr. KRAFT. If you would like, I can eliminate reading the recommendations themselves to expedite matters.

During our task force's deliberations, we were privileged to have, in addition to the members of the task force, Prof. Alexander Morton of the Harvard Business School address us with respect to the problems of rail freight transportation. Professor Morton is eminently qualified to speak on the subject since he was the Executive Director of the Task Force on Railroad Productivity, which was established by the Council of Economic Advisers and the National Commission on Productivity.

He provided us with a detailed summary of this task force report for our consideration.

In addition, Prof. John R. Meyer, also of the Harvard Business School and a leading authority on transportation economics, addressed us on issues in the urban passenger transportation area. I should note that Professor Meyer was Chairman of the Task Force on Railroad Productivity.

I must add, of course, that the conclusions of our task force are entirely our own.

Early in the task force's deliberations, the role of transportation in regional economic development was considered. While not denying the role transportation can play and indeed has played in influencing regional economic development in the United States and elsewhere, on today's national or regional scale our highway, rail, and air transportation networks are already ubiquitous. On that scale, additional major investments in transportation infrastructure will probably have no major effect on regional development.

We are, however, in serious danger of having our very valuable railroad network deteriorate. While the national and interregional networks are in place, no one can deny that the level of service offered over those networks is far from optimum, and much work remains to be done.

In contrast with the national and interregional system, there may be serious infrastructure deficiencies at the local level both within metropolitan areas and in rural areas.

We have implicitly concluded that transportation may not be a suitable tool for regional development except possibly in conjunction with other interrelated infrastructure investments. In most cases we are likely to find that the transportation infrastructure that is already in place will be adequate.

On the other hand, the distribution of population within a region may be seriously influenced by the presence or absence of transportation facilities.

But as I indicated to Mr. Clausen earlier, because there are so many forces at work influencing people's desired workplace and residential locations, to look at transportation in the abstract is fruitless. It is always hoped that a particular transportation investment will bring about some desired effect. But the complex interrelationships existing between transportation and other economic activities often induce unpredicted and, unfortunately, sometimes undesired effects.

When the task force concluded that it would not be able to offer a definitive statement about the effects of transportation policy on population distribution because of its speculative nature, the task force chose to devote its attention principally to identifying some of the most important transportation problems facing the Nation and, where possible, to offer recommendations for their solution. These problems, if not solved, may have serious implications for the economic health and long-run viability of the various regions of the country.

In its deliberations, the task force considered all modes of transportation for both passenger and freight. On the basis of its study the task force recommended that Congress give top priority to two essential objectives in realigning the Nation's transportation system.

I quote from the report:

1. Innovative solutions to public passenger transportation problems of the cities must be developed and implemented. Before investing in such systems, however, careful consideration must be given to the effect on urban development and growth and on the extent to which the system will generate the need for continuing subsidization.

2. The time has come when this country no longer can enjoy the luxury of prolonged contemplation about how to salvage our vast and valuable railroad network. If prompt action is not taken, we are in danger of losing one of our most important transportation resources. That is not to say that we must preserve it at all costs but, rather, that we place it in a sound operating position so that it can compete on reasonable economic terms with other modes that carry the freight of the Nation.

Our task force report is focused to a large extent on some of the ways in which we can better utilize our scarce transportation resources. The conclusions of the task force are grouped under three heads, general considerations, passenger transportation considerations, and freight transportation considerations.

If you would like, I could highlight the conclusions, Mr. Chairman.  
The CHAIRMAN. Yes, I think that would be appropriate.

Mr. KRAFT. First, our general conclusions:

Transportation planning and investment should be directed primarily to serving present populations where they are now settled.

Future transportation policy and investment must be based on sound cost-benefit standards.

Where subsidies are to be granted, consideration should be given to allowing the recipient community or individual freedom to decide their allocation.

In granting any subsidy for purposes of investment in transportation infrastructure, the possible additional long-run commitment to finance its operation and maintenance should be explicitly considered.

Artificial regulatory and institutional constraints on the efficient operation of our national transportation system should be eliminated.

Jurisdiction over transportation matters should be integrated where possible and at the least be made consistent.

In this regard, we want to commend the Committee reform, except that we would have preferred that the railroads also be moved to the jurisdiction of this Committee.

Sound pricing policies must be applied to the sale or use of publicly provided transportation facilities so as not to distort the choices among and within modes and thereby discourage the development of the most efficient.

It may be necessary to ameliorate the effect of major transportation system changes on those sectors of the economy that are seriously disrupted by the changes.

With respect to passenger transportation, the task force reached the following conclusions:

Before making massive new investments in urban transportation facilities it is essential that we first exhaust the possibilities for improvement by better use of existing infrastructures.

In planning new urban public passenger transportation facilities it is important to distinguish the types of urban trips, the modes presently used and the potential for new ones, the performance of the system, and the socioeconomic characteristics of the users.

The radial extension of high-performance public transit or highway systems from the central business districts will have a dispersive effect on urban population.

Charging the transit system to support various social objectives unrelated to transportation leads to inappropriate social accounting and obscures the proper financial responsibility of urban public transportation.

Reducing the need to provide for peak capacity may be accomplished by low-cost or possibly even no-cost solutions that are presently prohibited by regulation or institutional constraints.

Today's mass transit systems typically do not provide service for the rapidly growing nonradially oriented community.

Past matching fund practices have distorted the priority systems of communities that have found so-called free money irresistible.

Past highway building practices have exacerbated the transportation problems of rural residents, particularly those without access to automobile transportation. Solutions to this problem will be difficult.

Where transportation time is the salient factor, railroad passenger transportation cannot economically compete with the airplane.

Finally, the task force reached several conclusions with respect to freight transportation:

The problems of the Nation's railroads require immediate attention if we are to maintain the valuable transportation resource they can provide.

The regulatory environment in which the railroads operate must be totally reformed and the carriers must be permitted to capitalize on their comparative transportation advantages over other modes.

Railroad management must be encouraged to cooperate and coordinate to improve the level of transportation service they offer.

The recommendations of a task force on improving railroad productivity should become the basis of a new set of policies toward the railroads.

In any new legislation to correct the ills of the rail industry it is imperative that Congress pay close attention to administrative provisions and to the quality of personnel designated to implement those provisions.

The Congress must assure that each mode of transportation pay its share of the cost of publicly provided facilities; Congress should work to eliminate any implicit subsidies that distort the roles of the various modes and artificially lead to the consumption of greater quantities of resources and thus high public and private costs.

Truck regulation should be reformed, recognizing the presence of substantial active competition that can effectively substitute for regulation.

That is the conclusion of my summary.

Mr. VANDER VEEN. Thank you very much, Mr. Kraft, and I would like to commend you for the fine piece of work done by your task force.

I think, because of the limitations of time, we will now call upon Mr. Davis. If he will proceed with the report for his task force. The summary report of Task Force No. 3 will appear at this point in the record.

[Report referred to follows:]

#### REPORT OF TASK FORCE NO. 3 ON TRANSPORTATION

SCIENCE ADVISORY PANEL TO THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS,  
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

(Gerald Kraft, Chairman; John Middleton, Washington, D.C.;  
Joseph C. Swidler, Albany, New York)

##### *Background and Summary of Conclusions*

During the first meeting of the Science Advisory Panel, it was decided that a Task Force on Transportation was to be formed to consider, in as much depth as time allowed, the role of transportation in national growth and population settlement.

It is unfortunate that we do not know enough about the effects of additional investment in transportation services and facilities on the distribution of population and economic activity. The difficulty in forecasting is due, in large part, to the complex interrelationships between transportation and other economic activities. It is always hoped that a particular transportation investment will bring some desired effect, yet too often after the investment is made the forecasts proved wrong. While we can predict certain *general* effects of a transportation investment, the interplay of other nontransportation forces may reinforce, diminish, or even negate the *particular* effect sought.

In our discussions in this report we attempt to identify some of the forces at work. We have refrained, however, from presenting a transportation policy to encourage a desired population distribution—except in the special case of urban public transportation—because we believe that to do so would be totally speculative. Nor have we addressed the issue from the other direction: what form of transportation would be needed to support some new population distribution. It could well be that a transportation system designed to support a desired pattern of population distribution could wind up providing incentives for a much different, possibly undesirable, population distribution.

The Task Force recognizes that many major problems and issues confront the nation's transportation system today, problems which, if not solved, may have serious implications for the economic health and long-run viability of the various regions of the country. Consequently the Task Force has chosen to devote its attention principally to identifying some of the most important of these problems and, where possible, to offering recommendations for their solution.

The conclusions of the Task Force can be grouped under three heads: General, Passenger Transportation, and Freight Transportation. Following is a summary. The remainder of the report is organized along the same outline and provides amplification for these conclusions.

### *General Conclusions*

1. Transportation planning and investment should be directed primarily to serving present populations, where they are now settled.
2. Future transportation policy and investment must be based on sound cost-benefit standards.
3. Where subsidies are to be granted, consideration should be given to allowing the recipient community or individual freedom to decide their allocation.
4. In granting any subsidy for purposes of investment in transportation infrastructure, the possible additional long-run commitment to finance its operation and maintenance should be explicitly considered.
5. Artificial regulatory and institutional constraints on the efficient operation of our national transportation system should be eliminated.
6. Jurisdiction over transportation matters should be integrated where possible and at the least be made consistent.
7. Sound pricing policies must be applied to the sale or use of publicly provided transportation facilities so as not to distort the choices among and within modes and thereby discourage the development of the most efficient.
8. It may be necessary to ameliorate the effect of major transportation system changes on those sectors of the economy that are seriously disrupted by the changes.

### *Passenger Transportation*

1. Before making massive new investments in urban transportation facilities it is essential that we first exhaust the possibilities for improvement by better use of existing infrastructures.
2. In planning new urban public passenger transportation facilities it is important to distinguish the types of urban trips, the modes presently used and the potential for new ones, the performance of the systems, and the socioeconomic characteristics of the users.
3. The radial extension of high performance public transit or highway systems from the central business district will have a dispersive effect on urban population.
4. Charging the transit system to support various social objectives unrelated to transportation leads to inappropriate social accounting and obscures the proper financial responsibility of urban public transportation.
5. Reducing the need to provide for peak capacity may be accomplished by low-cost (or no-cost) solutions that are presently prohibited by regulation or institutional constraints.
6. Today's mass transit systems typically do not provide service for the rapidly growing non-radially oriented community.
7. Past matching fund practices have distorted the priority systems of communities that have found "free" money irresistible.
8. Past highway building practices have exacerbated the transportation problems of rural residents, particularly those without access to automobile transportation. Solutions to this problem will be difficult.
9. Where transportation time is the salient factor, that is, for very long trips, railroad passenger transportation cannot economically compete with the airplane.

### *Freight Transportation*

1. The problems of the Nation's railroads require immediate attention if we are to maintain the valuable transportation resource they can provide.
2. The regulatory environment in which the railroads operate must be totally reformed and the carriers must be permitted to capitalize on their comparative transportation advantages over other modes.
3. Railroad management must be encouraged to cooperate and coordinate to improve the level of transportation service they offer.
4. The recommendations of a Task Force on Improving Railroad Productivity should become the basis of a new set of policies toward the railroads.
5. In any new legislation to correct the ills of the rail industry it is imperative that Congress pay close attention to administrative provisions and to the quality of personnel designated to implement those provisions.
6. The Congress must assure that each mode of transportation pay its share of the cost of publicly provided facilities; Congress should work to eliminate any implicit subsidies that distort the roles of the various modes and artificially lead to the consumption of greater quantities of resources and thus high public and private costs.

7. Truck regulation should be reformed, recognizing the presence of substantial active competition that can effectively substitute for regulation.

#### SUMMARY

In summary, the Task Force would recommend that Congress give priority attention to two essential objectives in realigning the Nation's transportation system:

1. Innovative solutions to public passenger transportation problems of the cities must be developed and implemented. Before investing in such systems, however, careful consideration must be given to their effect on urban development and growth and on the extent to which the system will generate the need for continuing subsidization.

2. The time has come when this country no longer can enjoy the luxury of prolonged contemplation about how to salvage our vast and valuable railroad network. If prompt action is not taken we are in danger of losing one of our most important transportation resources. That is not to say that we must preserve it at all costs, but rather than we place it in a sound operating position so that it can compete on reasonably economic terms with other modes to carry the freight of the Nation.

Accomplishment of these objectives will require extensive revision of our regulatory philosophy so that innovation and imagination is encouraged rather than stifled and so that the Nation is not "protected" from the benefits of competition through policies that distort the use of scarce resources. To achieve this goal will require new approaches to pricing and subsidization of transportation services to avoid uneconomic tradeoffs between the use of resources for transportation and their use for other purposes.

Mr. VANDER VEEN. Next, Mr. Arthur Davis, chairman, Task Force No. 4 on Values of the Public Works Investment Policy.

#### STATEMENT OF ARTHUR DAVIS, ACTING CHAIRMAN, TASK FORCE NO. 4 ON VALUES AND THE PUBLIC WORKS INVESTMENT POLICIES

Mr. DAVIS. Thank you, Mr. Vander Veen. I am pinch-hitting today for Dr. Leonard Duhl, who is the very skillful chairman of our group and is not able to be here.

In addition to Dr. Duhl, a medical doctor, we had a population ecologist, a social psychologist, a geographer who consulted with us, and I am a forester—one of the few of that breed that was born on Manhattan Island, which may explain some of my prejudices on the size of communities.

Mr. VANDER VEEN. It is too bad that the member of our committee from Manhattan is not present.

Mr. DAVIS. Yes, I was very much in accord with the remarks of Ms. Abzug.

It seems particularly fitting that this report concludes the reports of the Science Advisory Panel. When the panel considered how it ought to organize its work last spring, it was the consensus that in addition to our concern about technical and substantive matters, we needed also to explore philosophic and conceptual concerns. These are of such fundamental importance to a national public works investment policy that they cannot be ignored. Our task force was charged with attempting such an overview; with taking a look at the values and precepts that might undergird a national public works investment policy.

Thus our work was intended as a backdrop for the work of the other task forces. Some of us were quite diffident about undertaking this kind

of a study. Moral, ethical, and philosophic judgments are largely subjective, intuitive, and personal. They are hard to quantify; often they are even hard to identify. We were concerned also that our findings not become so many preachments, and restatements of the obvious. Nevertheless, we agreed that the enormous implications of a public works investment policy for changing the lives of all of us demanded an effort to examine the values and ideas that were involved, and tried to develop a conceptual framework for dealing with them.

Put another way, we tried to analyze the values at stake in the various alternatives suggested to this committee, or developed by it, in its consideration of legislation that comes before it.

We considered two basic kinds of values, both paramount: the rights and welfare of the individual and the rights and welfare of society as a whole. If both values were to be kept paramount, we decided that the principal goal of public policy had to be to seek enhancement of the quality of life for all members of the population, consistent with social, economic, and environmental constraints necessary to the public health and safety of us all.

This report addresses the means by which this goal might be achieved.

The Science Advisory Panel was asked at the outset to consider the concept of carrying capacity, that is, the notion that there may be a way of stabilizing population at some maximum level that can be maintained without destroying available resources.

In considering the concept as it is employed by most ecologists, we noted that it was based on the maximum population a region or an ecosystem could support. By definition, all available resources would need to be committed to supporting that population. All options for life would then be severely limited, and a significant part of the population engaged in a continuous struggle for their survival.

Since this would create a future none of us desire, we have assumed that population below maximum carrying capacity would have to be selected as a policy goal.

We noted that values and ideas about "quality of life" have changed with other changes in midcentury America. For example, we have seen marked changes in the age and sex distribution of the population; the number of workers needed and the kind of work they need to do; the products of science and industry; changes in ideas about family, the work ethic, sex, and the educational process.

Such values and the way that they evolve seem to us to have a direct relationship to the kind of national policy goals this committee considers. For example, we developed the following five assumptions that the committee might want to employ in guiding population distribution. Consider how individual values could clearly be involved in each of them:

We could attempt to hold growth and change rates of the population within certain limits, so that the resources necessary for different life styles would be available;

We could attempt to keep national and local population within the limits of the environment and governmental resources;

We could attempt to establish levels that were most efficient economically and technically;

We could strive to allow the greatest set of options for individuals and families; or finally,

We could attempt to provide the means for the local community and its citizens, to participate in setting each of these goals.

What do we mean by quality of life? Is it just some nice piece of jargon, a phrase presently in good currency—or does it mean something more? We thought it meant something more.

We viewed it as a contemporary statement of a commitment going back to the Declaration of Independence concerning the inalienable rights of man to the pursuit of happiness. It might also be defined more narrowly, and perhaps more usefully to the work of this committee, as the kind of life that people want, which they will work very hard to secure.

What are some of the characteristics, we thought, of the quality of life:

The environmental quality;

The quality of health;

The economic quality—we are in trouble on this right now;

Political quality, our leadership;

Religious quality, pursuing one's moral and spiritual belief as he chooses;

Social quality, preserving networks to support daily life, family, relatives, friends, neighbors, social organizations; and

Developmental quality, the physical facilities and resources available to us.

These seven aspects are illustrative of some contemporary ways the idea has been described. It is interesting to note that while each of these is important, and necessary to achieving a satisfying quality of life for all, if any one of them is omitted, it becomes very difficult to achieve that goal.

We understand, of course, that this committee, although it has an important influence over population policy, growth patterns, and the quality of life, cannot dictate such policies. But the committee can help create a process for developing such policies. That process is basic to the well-being of our national future and a heavy responsibility.

Accordingly, we tried to identify those major concerns that relate to such a policy process, and to quality of life considerations.

First, the key need. How do you guard against removing options for the future? As a corollary, what do we need to do now to provide for the quality of life of future generations?

Second, what considerations might the committee keep in mind in considering legislation brought before it? Three time frames are involved: immediate needs; effects over the next 2 to 5 years; and long-term consequences—a generation, 20 years or more.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Davis, will you pause there for a moment? I am sorry. This is very, very important.

What decisions need to be taken now and what decisions need to be arrived at to ensure the quality of life for future generations. I will backtrack if you will permit me, and I hope it will not confuse or interfere with your very fine statement.

When you state in your summary that neither the committee nor the Science Advisory Panel is in a position of dictating a national policy on the quality of life or population, you are absolutely correct. We

certainly agree. The Chair certainly agrees with you. At no time have we had any notion to dictate. In fact, the awareness that something ought to be done has resulted in a form of encouragement for modification of what is now happening; this has not been dictation, but indeed sort of an anarchy, a willy-nilly shifting of population through forces that no one really understands, certainly that no one controls, and that no one really pays any effort to.

The Census Bureau counts the people and finds out where they are. But they don't know why they overpile up in too small a land area. The Council of Economic Advisers gives us economic reports and unemployment statistics, which tell us how the gross national product is doing and what factors or economic sectors within the national gross product, whether it is heavy industry or the retail trade or what, are responsible for the cost-of-living increase.

But what we are trying to say here is exactly what you are now asking in these questions. What will happen if we allow the present situation to go on as it now is going on? Flash on a screen a big picture. What will this country be like in the year 2020? That is what I am trying to get at. Or the year 2000—that is less than 30 years from now. Or the year 1990. I do not know if there is an analogy to be made with soil and resource utilization, where we, in our early history as an agrarian society, had to learn by guess and by gosh. With the depletion of the soil with tobacco and cotton crops, without knowledge of fertilization of the soil or contour plowing, with erosion, step-by-step, some very simple, little elements began to arise: proper fertilization, proper contour plowing, proper rotation of crops, and many other basic, very simple, little methods.

It is obvious the original agricultural methods of draining and extracting the vitality of a soil, if it continued, would leave nothing but a blighted and nonproductive area. And then you had to move further westward and do the same thing again to a new area. When you depleted that source, you went on westward, further, until you reached the west coast.

I do not know if there is an analogy, but what I am trying to say is that we can learn now from some of the unfavorable situations that have developed by this willy-nilly process of people being forced, in most cases, to pile up and overpile just because they are seeking an opportunity to live. As someone said, when they go in some of these degraded, high-crime, congested slum areas, they need a job badly to have to put up with that kind of living, which we now call quality of life.

I do not know if I have made my point, but I agree with you. I want to make clear that we never had any intention—and I know you do not imply it—either of dictating or whatever. We have become alarmed by a totally uncontrollable situation with no controlling forces at work. Unless you raise these questions as to what forces are at work, to what degree, and at what levels, and unless answers to these are found, we will be forced to accept greater instances of these unfavorable and intolerable living situations. You are raising these questions, and we need your help in answering them.

I do not know if my statement fits in with what you are trying to say here.

Mr. DAVIS. It is very helpful, and certainly is consonant with our idea, Mr. Chairman. There is an old saying, "Not to decide is to decide." Whether or not you plan for them, things will happen. Now, you can either plan in such a way as to have some control over what happens, or simply let events overtake you. We believe the committee is to be commended for taking the step it has to try to plot its course. And we are respectful, indeed, of the difficulties involved, and hope that some of these ideas and questions will be useful in that regard.

When a piece of legislation, an idea, is presented to the committee, there are a number of questions that it seemed to us might be useful for the Member to consider. For example: Does this idea, or bill, or proposed program:

Have any specific plans for conserving energy or materials?

Does it develop human skills and social services beyond where they were when the program began?

What are the probable consequences on social institutions—I mean by that the family, as well as others—of this proposal?

Does the policy or program build any resources for the future? And finally, a tough question;

Why will this idea or program probably fail?

We think that all of these questions might be useful to someone in the difficult position of trying to determine national public works investment policies.

Questions are a lot easier to formulate than their answer. However, we do suggest a few standards that seem to us to be useful and important to insuring quality of life, sound policy, and a strong society.

One, it seems to us useful to think in terms of stabilizing change, whatever kind, to rates within limits which do not over-run resources.

Second, we think that resource needs must be structured so that both renewable and nonrenewable resources are used wisely and conserved well.

Third, we believe that population levels should be maintained below carrying capacity, taking into account land needed for natural and historic reserves, and the historic preferences of people for their own environments.

Fourth, we think it important to maintain some reserve of natural, undeveloped land just in case some of our ideas misfire. There would then be a natural reserve available with which to reestablish the environment. We think this is a useful application of the stockpile concept for future welfare.

Fifth, we believe that conserving and strengthening the family and other social institutions has to be an important element of our public works investment policy.

Sixth, we believe also that it would be well to provide for personal ownership as broadly in the society as possible, and to provide ways for people to profit from their holdings. People should feel that they have a stake in what goes on.

Seventh, we think local communities should be strengthened. At the same time, government at other levels also should be strengthened, so that there is a system of capable governments at all levels.

It seems to us unnecessary and divisive to talk about local versus regional versus central governments. We need good government at all levels.

Eighth, we believe it necessary to understand the interrelationships and interchangeability of communications and transportation in our society these days. These are interdependent parts of a total network: One often can substitute for the other.

Ninth, we believe it important to emphasize the general welfare in all legislation, especially in the matter of taxation and public service delivery.

People need to understand the uses to which their tax dollars are put, and to applaud those uses.

And, finally, Mr. Chairman, we think it vital to encourage goal setting, planning, and evaluation at all levels of American life.

These are some standards we developed for your consideration. As a beginning for formulating a public works investment policy, we believe you may wish to consider the following goals:

1. That large urban areas be stabilized to achieve manageable growth or decline levels.

2. That population overflows from rural areas likewise be stabilized.

3. That new population growth be encouraged in areas where there are resources to carry more people, and where there is effectiveness to be gained from new or additional investments in infrastructures.

We do not see walking away from established infrastructures and the human and economic and environmental resources that went into putting them there.

4. We think it would be useful to establish a means of monitoring and reporting on the public works investment from year to year. Such a continuing evaluation, it seems to us, would be of great use to you in determining what new legislation is needed in the short-, medium-, and long-range future.

We hope also that this committee, and the Congress, can continue to assist State and local governments to make long-range commitments to programs and facilities. This is necessary so that short-term projects and annual budgeting do not erode previous commitments either accidentally or capriciously.

Building on these standards, and on the other considerations that I have gone over rather hastily, we offer the following opinions to the committee, with a good bit of the diffidence I mentioned at the outset of my remarks:

We think the guiding vision of the future should be maximizing the quality of life for all citizens, within the framework of our American democratic process.

We think that options must continue to be held open for diverse groups and for future generations. Flexibility and choice are critical values to be preserved.

We think that population distribution policies should be based on the concept that all environments—urban, suburban, and rural—are attractive for some people, and should be regarded as legitimate places to live. Rather than to invest in a new program of population redistribution, stabilization should be explored, with new development and settlement aids explicitly reserved for dealing with population expansion pressures. Abandonment of previous investments in infrastructures should only be undertaken following careful and deliberate consideration.

A system of government that provides maximum communication between the governing and the governed, we think, is the most important single infrastructure need for the future. There are needs to strengthen governance at State and local levels, and to work at systematizing these functions with those of the Federal Government. Planning, evaluation and program performance would thereby be enhanced.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, the task force, in all sincerity, would like to commend the committee for taking the lead in this process of securing external advisement. It certainly has been stimulating and helpful to all of us. I hope in some small way that it has been helpful to the committee as well, and that, by whatever means, you decide to continue it.

That concludes our presentation, Mr. Chairman. I would like to offer for the record our prepared summary statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, so ordered.

[Summary statement referred to follows:]

#### VALUES AND THE PUBLIC WORKS INVESTMENT POLICY

REPORT OF TASK FORCE NO. 4 SCIENCE ADVISORY PANEL, COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, NOVEMBER 1974

(Leonard Duhl, Chairman: Arthur Davis; Michael Rosenzweig; J. R. Newbrough; Robert Aldrich, Consultant)

#### SUMMARY

The Task Force on Changing Values and Federal Policy was charged with examining the changing structure of American life and government. We chose to keep paramount in our thoughts the concept of both the individual and the general welfare, but our goal was toward the overall enhancement of the quality of life for all members of the population.

The House Public Works Committee is an instrument of Congress that has tremendous impact on all aspects of Quality of Life concerns because of its influence on the infrastructures that support the lives of the population. Further, it is establishing the largest set of new governmental entities in the world—in the form of substate, multi-county districts. This can and should have important influences in planning for the future, and in helping state and local governments expand their capacity to effectively deliver services, develop new programs, and conduct an increasing amount of business as it relates to enhancement of quality of life.

A major problem faced by the Public Works Committee is the complexity, diversity and interrelationships of the programs and substance with which it is concerned. Past criteria for making legislative decisions are now only partly useful and obviously provide only part of the picture. In the past, we have too often been forced to use our public works investments to correct problems, rather than as a positive force to shape community growth and provide a better balance between the location of people, jobs and basic delivery systems. Until recently, legislation has generally been formulated in response to some unfilled need. But now the Committee is addressing the possibility of anticipating future needs and avoiding unwanted consequences. In order for legislation to be more accurate and responsive, the Committee should provide for the development of an educational process of input for citizens.

Neither the Committee nor the Science Advisory Panel is in the position of dictating a national policy on quality of life or population. *What is required is the creation of a process for developing such a policy.* Our Task Force Report outlines one such process.

Such a policy process is necessary in order to preserve our unique form of participatory democracy. Each citizen will have to have added to his skills the ability to identify his own (and his family's) interests, make plans accordingly and to negotiate with groups and institutions so mutually acceptable interests can be pursued. This suggests that the citizen of the future America can be

expected to be much better educated and assertive about his own interests. The means for such participation need to begin to be formulated now.

Quality of Life can be seen as a contemporary statement of the phrase in the Declaration of Independence, that all men have inalienable rights to . . . the pursuit of happiness, in other words, the kind of life that a person or family can visualize as desirable and will work hard to achieve. As new kinds of pluralism are now emerging in America, new forms of participatory democracy may have to include resources for citizens and groups to express their concerns, to be heard, and for instituting procedures for redress with regularity and rapidity. Such recourse is essential not only to assuring the rights of the individual, but to seeing that the difference between individual and general welfare interests is kept within just and manageable limits. The heuristic and holistic value of such mechanisms could be enormous.

The Task Force on Changing Values and Federal Policy has attempted to analyze the values that underline the multiple policy alternatives available to the Committee in establishing guidelines for the evaluation of legislation that the Committee itself develops or which comes before it from other sources. In order for the Committee to develop the best legislation possible it must be aware of and take into consideration the changing values in America and the new forms of governance—the structures and mechanisms of participatory democracy—which must emerge to achieve the highest quality of life for all Americans.

The programs and policies of the House Public Works Committee place it in a unique position to plan and develop governance forms that will aid in the translation of new values and the renewal of social and political structures by emphasizing participation in them. The shape, form, and quality of American life may rest more in the judgment and actions of this Committee than in other bodies more classically concerned with the health and welfare of the American people.

The Task Force recommendations are :

1. The guiding vision of the future should be the maximizing of quality of life for all citizens within the framework of the American democratic process.
2. Options must continue to be held open both for diverse groups and future generational needs. Flexibility and choice are critical values to be maintained.
3. Population distribution policies should be based on the concept that all environments (urban, suburban, rural) are attractive to some people and should be regarded as legitimate places to live. Rather than to invest in a new program of population redistribution, stabilization should be explored—with new development and settlement explicitly for dealing with population expansion pressures. Abandonment of previous investments in infrastructures should be undertaken following careful and deliberate consideration.
4. A recursive system of governance—one which provides maximum communication between the governing and the governed—is the most important infrastructure of the future to be considered now. There are needs to strengthen governance at state and local levels, and work at systematizing these functions with the federal government. Planning and evaluation, and program performance will then be enhanced.
5. The Public Works Committee has taken leadership in encouraging innovations in meeting the future. It is recommended that the process of external advisement be continued (be it the Science Advisory Panel or other professional consultants), and that there be more use of such advisors on specific pieces of legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. It is certainly my hope that this effort continues and I think it will come to pass because so many members of the committee recognize the importance of this type of endeavor. We will continue to seek external input, review, and evaluation of all the new concepts and facts to give us a better understanding of the situation at hand; in short, to know better where we came from, to understand where we are, in order to more clearly see what new legislation should be adopted.

I would like to have counsel, Mr. Bob Paul, give us, just for the information of the committee and for the record, a quick summary on the background papers.

We would like to have the witnesses here know and others that we will soon have available splendid material, put together by the various task forces and our various top specialists with special expertise in different disciplines.

Would you make a brief statement so that they will know that we do have a much greater depth of material than we did have time to present this morning?

Mr. PAUL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

In answer to your question, we will have available, hopefully by next week, an extensive publication in which the very fine and professionally done background studies, prepared by the Academy for Contemporary Problems at the request of the committee, will be published. This will include three papers: One, an exploration of the validity of the concept of carrying capacity to a public works investment policy, a study undertaken by Mike Brewer, who is here in the room with us today; two, a reconnaissance study of regional growth issues in the Nation; and, third, an assessment of the regional impact of Federal policies.

Also, we will have available, as soon as possible, two further publications. One, of course, will be the transcript of today's hearings, in which the prepared summaries of the task group reports as well as one further background paper on substate and interstate organizations, also prepared by the academy and submitted earlier today by Mr. Widner, will appear. The complete reports of each of the task groups will be printed in their entirety in a separate volume. It is hoped that these two publications will be available in 3 to 4 weeks.

Mr. VANDER VEEN. Mr. Clausen.

Mr. CLAUSEN. Well, gentlemen, I am as thrilled as anyone on the committee with what we have heard. I guess we are always excited and enthusiastic when we hear presentations that are consistent with some of the thoughts that we have held over the years.

I think that what you gentlemen have presented us with has the potential for landmark legislation that will be coordinated in the future, which could ultimately have the effect of bringing about the new directions in the country that all Americans are really seeking. Accordingly, I think that you have done the committee and the country a great service. The research, the preparation, and now here, this morning, the presentation of this material is deeply appreciated by all of us and, frankly, we will be looking forward to working with you.

If you will note that which you have heard coming from the lips of our chairman, Mr. Blatnik. It is very similar to that which I believe comes from me on the minority side. I do not know whether Mr. Blatnik has brainwashed me, or whether I have brainwashed him, but somewhere from this exchange we have come up with, in conceptual terms, the ideas and the ideals that this country desperately needs and that it is looking for the improvement of the quality of life. What do we have in the way of tools to bring about that improvement? I think that your summarizing recommendations, Mr. Davis, which suggest the key word, "stability," as opposed to dispersal, is more realistic at least in our time.

I think if we move toward stability now, it is conceivable that other forces now at work may very well bring about the ultimate in dispersion. But dispersion is not going to come by edict or by legislative act.

It is going to come about as a result of creating an environment that free men and women can choose on the basis of individual choice rather than force, and I think that there are some forces for good at work in this country as a result of the crises that have developed.

It oftentimes takes a crisis before people move from the status quo to address themselves to the innovative approaches that we know are necessary.

And I do not know that you could be working, frankly, with a better committee. We will see what the makeup of the new committee will be. But, frankly, the leadership of Mr. Blatnik, and we are going to miss the leadership of Mr. Blatnik dearly, has left his imprint on the minds of every one of us that have served under him. I have been with him now for some 12 years.

So I just want to conclude by stating that we will be looking forward to further input from you as we move in, hopefully, a very dramatic fashion, to authorize the basic program direction in all of the public works fields as we develop together this national public works investment policy.

At the economic summit, I represented this committee and I made the comment that what we need to have is a very selective public works investment and transportation policy that can bring about, I think, a check in the inflation trend by increasing the capacity and the capability of all institutions in this country to make more of a contribution in order to broaden the economic base and then the subsequent tax base necessary to fund all of these things. And, so, I think that your input here today has certainly caused me to become even more enthusiastic—and all the members of this committee know that it does not take very long for me to get cranked up and become enthusiastic about something I believe in. I believe in what we are doing here today, and I thank you so kindly.

Mr. VANDER VEEN. Gentlemen, I would like to add my own personal thank you for the tremendous contribution that you have made to this committee and to the Congress. It has been a great personal pleasure for me to become acquainted with you and I look forward to a continuing association. I can say with real enthusiasm that I am glad to be here—be back and at last be looking forward to having the opportunity to continue to work with you.

Thank you for the splendid presentations that have been made here this morning.

The CHAIRMAN. May I briefly join the acting chairman, Mr. Vander Veen, who has played an excellent role in consistently attending meetings when others of us could not be back earlier due to a very difficult campaign year. I know the special effort you have made, Mr. Vander Veen, to keep moving forward, and Mr. Clausen, especially on your part of actively participating. I certainly appreciate your movement that has made possible this splendid presentation.

As much as we comment on the excellence of the work, may the record show that we regard this as just the beginning—as sort of the foundation upon which we hope to really move forward into several aspects, several directions, in this broad area. For this we will need to muster all the combined best information and talent and competence and judgment we can, and to review and exchange it amongst ourselves so that whatever combined consensus does result out of this committee will be as sound as can possibly be to really offer direction in

a badly neglected area—the future growth and development of this fine country of ours and its people. I cannot think of a better time to start than on the eve of the Bicentennial.

Will you thank all the members of your panel? Will you thank all other colleagues and associates of yours that we may not, at this moment, just offhand know of or have the opportunity to also have met personally? Do let them know how much we appreciate this, and their being out of sight was not their being out of mind. We are very mindful of what is going on all the time and we are indebted to you and all of those who worked with you to make this possible.

All I can say is that we will need much, much more help, and we not only invite you to do it, we will tell you we need it badly. We will be grateful for the assistance.

Thank you very much.

MR. VANDER VEEN. I will now declare the meeting of the Public Works Committee to be adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 12:26 p.m., the committee was adjourned.]

...the future growth and development of the  
...of our people. I cannot think of a better time  
...of the Bicentennial.

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I will now close the meeting of the 21st  
...to be adjourned.  
...the meeting was adjourned.

## APPENDIX

### INTERSTATE AND SUBSTATE APPROACHES TO GROWTH POLICY

A Reconnaissance by James G. Coke, David K. Hartley, Kenneth D. Rainey,  
Ralph R. Widner

#### THE ACADEMY FOR CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS

The Academy for Contemporary Problems is a public service institution established by the Battelle Memorial Institute and the Ohio State University. Its purpose is to advance the application of knowledge to public problem-solving by promoting more effective partnerships between decision-makers, citizens, and technical experts.

Its work is carried out by Teams of Fellows and Associates working directly with policy-makers and citizens on specific issues of national importance.

The Academy is responsible for assuring the independence and quality of each Team. Views and recommendations are those of the Team and not necessarily of the Academy or its sponsors.

*James G. Coke*, is a Fellow of the Academy and a Professor of Political Science at Kent State University where he was formerly Director of the Center for Urban Regionalism. He has been Director of the Office of Policy Research for the State of Ohio and a member of the Ohio Local Government Services Commission. He holds a Ph. D. from the University of Minnesota and has worked on regional problems in Kentucky, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, and Ohio.

*David K. Hartley* is an Associate of the Academy and a governmental affairs consultant in Washington, D.C. He was formerly Director for Institute Development of the American Institute of Planners, Director of the Council of State Planning Agencies and Assistant Director of the Montana State Planning Board.

*Kenneth D. Rainey* is a Fellow of the Academy and was formerly Director of Planning and Evaluation of the Appalachian Regional Commission. He has served as Director of Program Evaluation in the Office of the Secretary of Commerce, was Director of the Virginia Rural Affairs Study Commission, and Assistant Director of the Pennsylvania Bureau of Municipal Affairs.

*Ralph R. Widner* is Director of the Academy for Contemporary Problems and served as Executive Director of the Appalachian Regional Commission from 1965 to 1972. He has served on the Committee on Science, Technology, and Regional Development of the National Academy of Sciences.

This reconnaissance has been carried out in response to a request from the Committee on Public Works of the U.S. House of Representatives for a summary of present findings concerning existing interstate and substate mechanisms and to examine their potential utility for planning and implementing public works investment policies designed to support potential national and regional policies on growth and development.

For the study, interviews were conducted in South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Ohio, and Florida, supplemented by discussions with representatives from Arizona, Oklahoma, Virginia, Kansas, Minnesota, Maryland, and Texas. Some of the organizations reviewed have been in existence for more than thirty years. Most have been around for ten years or more. Over the past five years a number of studies and evaluations have been carried out under the aegis of the Advisory Commission for Intergovernmental Relations, the Brookings Institution and other organizations. This review is largely based upon the findings in these evaluations tempered by earlier studies of our own and our assessment of what these mean for the future development of regional organizations.

We particularly drew upon the following works. However, the findings and summaries attributed here were not reviewed by their authors. Any errors, therefore, are our own.

(1) *Regional Factors in National Planning*, National Resources Committee, Washington, D.C., 1935.

- (2) *Making Federalism Work* by James L. Sundquist, Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., 1969.
- (3) *The Role of Transportation in Regional Economic Development*, Charles Rivers Associates, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1969.
- (4) *Governing Metropolitan Areas* by Melvin B. Mogulof, the Urban Institute, Washington, D.C., 1971.
- (5) *Five Metropolitan Governments* by Melvin B. Mogulof, the Urban Institute, Washington, D.C., 1972.
- (6) *Multi-State Regionalism*, Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Washington, D.C., 1972.
- (7) *Regional Decision-Making: New Strategies for Sub-State Districts*, Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Washington, D.C., 1973.
- (8) *Growth Centers in the American Urban System* by Brian J. L. Berry, Ballinger Publishing Company, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1969.
- (9) *Between State and Nation: Regional Organizations of the United States* by Martha Derthick with Gary Bombardier, Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., 1974.

#### I.—INTRODUCTION

Experiments with minor changes in governmental form and process have been a constant theme in the United States. These we hope save us from sweeping and disruptive changes and yet allow for the necessary adaptation to meet new needs. For more than a decade the country has been engaged in a federally-sponsored, wide-ranging effort to create a network of regional institutions, some made up of sets of counties, others encompassing several states, to meet those needs that transcend political boundaries.

This is a summary survey of two kinds of regional experiments. The first consists of interstate mechanisms such as interstate compacts, TVA, the multi-state regional commissions created under Title V of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965, and the Appalachian Regional Commission.

The second consists of multi-county or substate organizations. Earlier, these were formed entirely at the initiative of local governments acting under state enabling legislation. More recently a national system of such organizations has been encouraged through the Federal regulations concerning the processing of grants-in-aid (A-95) and Federal legislation itself. State actions in response to these Federal initiatives have led to a nearly nation-wide set of substate districts, some highly competent and with many effective powers, others nothing but forums for talk, and still others a little more than lines drawn on paper.

A survey of evaluations of these institutions finds that most have been useful steps in the evolution of our Federal system to meet contemporary inter-jurisdictional problems. But, with the exception of the Tennessee Valley Authority, those interstate and substate organizations created solely for the purposes of Federal legislation unfounded on any locally perceived need of constituency are weak and unlikely to endure. They lack both the credibility and the powers needed to play an effective role in implementing public works investment policies or policies on growth and development. They are vulnerable to the parochial whims of separate public agencies and jurisdictions.

Future Federal policy should be designed to encourage and reward attempts by states and localities to develop their own regional approaches to regional needs rather than attempting to impose standardized structures and approaches which may be inappropriate from one section of the country to another.

#### II. THE DEVELOPMENT OF REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

From the first days of European settlement, it has been necessary for Americans to invent governmental institutions to provide for public services and safety.

As the frontier advanced, state and local governments were created in order to provide for and protect the public welfare.

The boundaries of the first states were based more on royal whim and geographic misconception than upon any forethought about their possible future relevance to the needs of governance. As subsequent states were brought into the Union after independence, other factors governed where the line was drawn. When natural barriers were used to delimit their jurisdiction, the rivers and mountains became dividing lines rather than features uniting a common resource or environmental region. State lines cut down the middle of prairies and plains.

Sometimes they followed some surveyor's horse trail or a latitude pulled out of a hat in a treaty. They frequently split major settlements. Little wonder then that they are not perfect reflections of today's social, economic, and environmental realities.

Although state lines were relatively arbitrary, there was a "system" that shaped the boundaries of many of our local jurisdictions west of the Appalachian Mountains.

The Land Survey of 1785 laid upon the land a "grid" which has become the trademark of the Midwest—a system of sections, territories, townships, and ranges. Counties were established so that their farther reaches were only a half-day by horse from the county seat. This was well suited to the context of the days of settlement. And until several decades into this century the whole system proved quite serviceable. It was effective in organizing our territory, providing public services, and assuring the people's safety.

But over the past forty years, the pattern of national settlement has changed abruptly. The mechanization of agriculture and the industrialization of manufactures led to a shift of our great rural populations off the land and into the cities. We spent the 19th century filling up the national space. The last five decades of the 20th have been preoccupied with emptying it out again.

#### CHANGES WROUGHT BY THE AUTOMOBILE

The coming of the automobile "stretched" the territory occupied by a family in its daily life. No longer do the members of a family spend most of their time in the town where their home is located. They move about (at some considerable cost in time and energy) in areas commonly thirty or more miles in radius. They shop in one town, work in another, go to school in a third, and perhaps visit a park in a fourth. As a consequence the towns we live in no longer encompass either the family's life pattern or meet its needs for governmental services.

As the nation has industrialized and become metropolitan, not just urban, people have also enlarged the impact their activities have upon the natural environment. The national "grid" established by the old land surveys pays little heed to the physical realities of topography and environment. Now that our transportation technologies, patterns of settlement, and mobility have changed, the capabilities of local jurisdictions to provide the services and facilities their citizens both need and expect have been sorely strained and tested.

The old distinctions between "urban" and "rural" no longer are real. In all but the most isolated sections of the country, people living in cities, towns, and countryside are united in a common network of jobs, services, and communications that is the new American environment.

In order to meet the challenge of these changes in contemporary life, Americans have experimented pragmatically to overcome the obvious limitations imposed by boundary lines drawn in the last century or earlier.

They have experimented—not too radically—with various combinations to meet the needs of a new age in the nation's development and still preserve what we value from the the old.

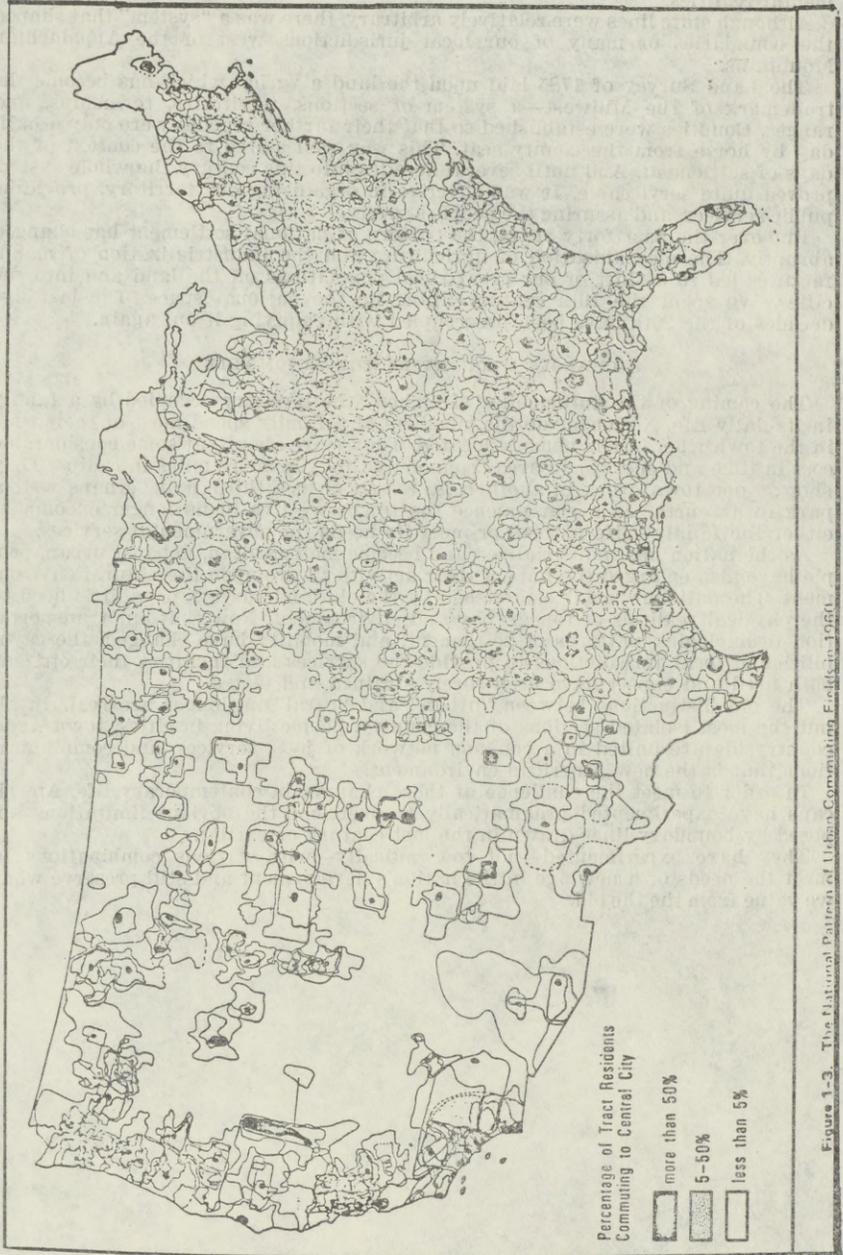


Figure 1-3. The National Pattern of Urban Commuting, Fifths in 1960.

## OUR JURISDICTIONS ENDURE

Political creations, once established, become realities in their own right. They are genuine powers in our social life no matter how "imaginary" the boundary lines may be in nature's eyes. Governmental systems and habits seem to resist change as powerfully as the realities of growth and development force it upon them. No matter if townships or counties prove too small or thinly populated to meet their obligations, Americans are anxious to preserve them because of what they represent.

As a result, the regionalization of approaches to new social, economic, environmental, and public service needs has been incremental.

## INTERSTATE AND SUBSTATE MECHANISMS

Over the years, many kinds of interstate and substate organizations have been created to deal with specific problems, the provision of services, and the construction of facilities that transcend state and local boundaries or capabilities.

The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations has estimated that if the actual extent of the nation's urbanized territory is measured rather than simply the territory embraced by Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, 28 percent of the nation's people and 40 percent of its metropolitan population now live in interstate metropolitan areas.

Commuting areas, watersheds, air sheds, service areas—frequently extend beyond the boundaries of states and localities. This is reflected in the creation of over 160 interstate compacts, over 450 substate broad-purpose organizations, 12 metropolitan interstate compact agencies, 14 Federal-interstate non-compact commissions, and nearly 18,000 special purpose organizations that cross municipal or county boundaries.

Experience indicates that regional bodies are most successful when they arise from a need directly perceived by the people in the region. Federal incentives to create regional groups by themselves are rarely sufficient to create successful regional organizations. Yet many Federal programs have required area-wide organizations for planning health services, manpower development, economic development, urban development, highways and transportation, water pollution control, watershed development, services to the aging, and for a variety of other purposes.

In the 1960's state governments began to insist upon a role in the delineation and management of such districts to prevent unnecessary duplication of effort and to alleviate the practice of bypassing the states in Federal grant decisions.

The jumble of special purpose, regional organizations prompted Federal proposals to establish nation-wide a consistent, uniform set of regional organizations. These organizations were to harmonize the many regional public plans and programs, to help assure full consideration of area-wide interests in the placement of public investments and to provide a forum for considering needs that extend beyond state and local boundaries. The Office of Budget and Management through A-95 Federal grant review procedures stimulated the designation of regional clearinghouse organizations by the states. All but four states have taken steps to establish some form of substate districts.

Also at this level, the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations has proposed the establishment of umbrella organizations (UMJO's) to which all special purpose regional agencies would refer plans and projects for review.

A number of proposals exist for a similar network of interstate regions that might coordinate social, economic, and environmental planning as well as serve administrative purposes where interstate matters are concerned.

The question has been posed as to whether such a national set of such regional mechanisms is required to carry out any potential national growth or public works investment policies.

TABLE IX-1.—*Interstate metropolitan areas as defined for this study (SMSA)*

	1970 Population
Total .....	56, 657, 825
Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, Pa.-N.J.....	543, 551
Augusta, Ga.-S.C.....	253, 460

Binghamton, N.Y.-Pa.....	302, 672
Boston, Mass.-N.H.....	3, 896, 730
Boston SMSA.....	2, 753, 700
Brockton SMSA.....	189, 820
Fitchburg-Leominster SMSA.....	97, 164
Lowell SMSA.....	212, 860
Worcester SMSA.....	344, 320
Lawrence SMSA.....	232, 415
Nashua SMSA.....	66, 458
Chattanooga, Tenn.-Ga.....	304, 927
Chicago, Ill.-Ind.-Wis.....	9, 304, 750
Chicago SMSA.....	6, 978, 947
Gary-Hammond-East Chicago SMSA.....	633, 367
Kenosha SMSA.....	117, 917
Milwaukee SMSA.....	1, 403, 688
Racine SMSA.....	170, 838
Cincinnati, Ohio-Ky.-Ind.....	1, 384, 851
Columbus, Ga.-Ala.....	238, 584
Davenport-Rock Island-Moline, Iowa-Ill.....	362, 638
Duluth-Superior, Minn.-Wis.....	265, 350
Evansville, Ind.-Ky.....	232, 775
Fargo-Moorhead, N. Dak.-Minn.....	120, 238
Fort Smith, Ark.-Okla.....	160, 421
Huntington-Ashland, W. Va.-Ky.-Ohio.....	253, 743
Kansas City, Mo.-Kans.....	1, 324, 855
Kansas City SMSA.....	1, 253, 916
Ray County, Mo.....	17, 599
Leavenworth County, Kans.....	53, 340
Louisville, Ky.-Ind.....	826, 553
Memphis, Tenn.-Ark.....	806, 005
Memphis SMSA.....	770, 120
DeSoto County, Miss.....	35, 885
New York, N.Y.-N.J.-Conn.....	18, 679, 912
New York SMSA.....	11, 571, 899
Dutchess County, N.Y.....	222, 295
Orange County, N.Y.....	221, 657
Putnam County, N.Y.....	56, 696
Jersey City SMSA.....	609, 266
Newark SMSA.....	1, 856, 556
Paterson SMSA.....	1, 358, 794
Middlesex County, N.J.....	583, 813
Monmouth County, N.J.....	461, 849
Somerset County, N.J.....	198, 372
Bridgeport SMSA.....	389, 153
Danbury SMSA.....	78, 405
Meriden SMSA.....	55, 959
New Haven SMSA.....	355, 538
Norwalk SMSA.....	120, 099
Stamford SMSA.....	206, 419

Waterbury SMSA	208,956
Others in State planning districts: Central Naugatuck Valley; Greater Bridgeport, Housatonic Valley, South Central; Southwestern	124,186
Omaha, Nebr.-Iowa	540,142
Parkersburg-Marietta, W. Va.-Ohio	143,978
Wood County, W. Va.	86,818
Washington County, Ohio	57,160
Philadelphia, Pa.-N.J.	5,621,375
Philadelphia SMSA	4,817,914
Trenton SMSA	303,968
Wilmington SMSA	499,493
Portland, Oreg.-Wash.	1,009,129
Providence-Pawtucket-Warwick, R.I.-Mass.	1,213,399
Providence SMSA	910,781
Fall River SMSA	149,976
New Bedford SMSA	152,642
Rockford, Ill.-Wis.	404,033
Rockford SMSA	272,063
Rock County, Wis.	131,970
St. Louis, Mo.-Ill.	2,381,848
St. Louis SMSA	2,363,017
Monroe County, Ill.	18,831
Sioux City, Iowa-Nebr.	125,832
Sioux City SMSA	116,189
Union County, S. Dak.	9,643
South Bend, Ind.-Mich.	613,747
South Bend SMSA	280,031
Elkhart County, Ind.	126,529
Berien County, Mich.	163,875
Cass County, Mich.	43,312
Springfield-Chicopee-Holyoke, Mass.-Conn.	1,339,082
Springfield SMSA	529,922
Hartford SMSA	663,891
New Britain SMSA	145,269
Stenvenville-Weirton, Ohio-W.Va.	165,627
Texarkana, Tex.-Ark.	101,198
Toledo, Ohio-Mich.	692,571
Washington, D.C.-Md.-Va.	2,861,123
Wheeling, W. Va.-Ohio	182,712

TABLE IX-2.—STATE INVOLVEMENT IN INTERSTATE METROPOLITAN AREAS<sup>1</sup>

Number of interstate areas per State	States affected	Number
6	Ohio	1
5	Indiana	1
4	Illinois, West Virginia, Kentucky	3
3	Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Iowa, Georgia, Arkansas	7
2	Connecticut, New York, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Tennessee	8
1	New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Delaware, District of Columbia, North Dakota, South Dakota, Kansas, Virginia, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Texas, Washington, Oregon.	15
	Subtotal	35
0	Maine, Vermont, North Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, New Mexico, Arizona, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, California, Alaska, Hawaii.	16
	Total	51

<sup>1</sup> Areas as defined in table IX-1.

<sup>2</sup> Includes the 50 States plus the District of Columbia.

TABLE IX-3.—INTERSTATE COMPACT AGENCIES IN METROPOLITAN AREAS

Compact agency	Functions	Area served
Bi-State Development Agency	Area Transportation	Greater St. Louis.
Kansas City Area Transportation Authority	do	Greater Kansas City.
Delaware River and Bay Authority <sup>1</sup>	Vehicular transportation (bridges)	Southern part of Philadelphia metropolitan area.
Delaware River Port Authority	Transportation	Greater Philadelphia.
Delaware Valley Regional Planning Commission.	Planning	Do.
Interstate Sanitation Commission	Water and air pollution control	Greater New York City.
Palisades Interstate Park Commission <sup>1</sup>	Parks and recreation	Parts of Greater New York area.
Port Authority of New York and New Jersey	Transportation	Greater New York City.
Tri-State Regional Planning Commission	Planning	Do.
Waterfront Commission of New York Harbor	Labor management relations in shipping industry.	Port of New York.
Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Commission.	Regulation of privately operated transit.	Washington, D.C., metropolitan area.
Do	Mass transit	Do.

<sup>1</sup> Agency originally not conceived in metropolitan area terms, but performs important metropolitan area functions.

### III.—INTERSTATE MECHANISMS

#### INTERSTATE COMPACTS

The necessity for interstate cooperation has been recognized since the first days of the Republic, and the primary instrument provided in the Constitution to facilitate such cooperation is the compact. Interstate compacts are formal agreements between state governments. They are enacted as law and the Constitution requires Congressional consent, although in most cases the consent is implied rather than formal.

A 1970 compilation by the Council of State Governments lists 160 active compacts spanning a wide and growing range of governmental activity with at least 31 proposals for new compacts actively under consideration. Compacts are increasingly being used for interstate agreements. One-third of existing compacts were created during the past decade. As formal instruments of state government, compacts have the advantage of committing state funds and authority to execute the activities for which they are formed. If the purpose is control of private conduct by license, permit, adjudication, enforcement or some other form of state police power, the compact does this uniformly and fully for each participating jurisdiction. On the other hand, compacts are limited by their charter and direct Federal participation requires special provisions. Also, being legal instruments, their enactment requires action by several different state legislatures and it may be preferable for some purposes to enter into less formal administrative agreements between states and the Federal government.

Most compacts before 1900 settled boundaries between states. A major innovation was the creation of the Port of New York Authority created by

New York and New Jersey in 1921. Ironically, its purpose was to lift the management of the area's ports out of political and financial difficulty. Compact organizations are limited by their charters to the activities specified in the compact. During the past several years, compacts have increasingly been used for sharing facilities and finances in functional areas such as corrections, higher education, health, motor vehicle safety and registration, nuclear energy and welfare.

#### FEDERAL-INTERSTATE COMPACTS

Congress expanded the powers of two interstate compacts by making them binding on Federal agencies as well as on the participating states. These are the compacts creating the Delaware and Susquehanna River Basin Compact Commissions.

This new concept of Federal-interstate compacts has not yet been applied to functions other than water, nor to broad policy-making in urban growth and economic development. This Federal-interstate approach has been useful in providing a forum for settling interstate differences on water issues, but the powers granted in the compacts have not been fully or effectively utilized because of both Federal and state reluctance to do so.

But the concept of Federal-interstate bodies has been extended in non-compact form in the Appalachian Regional Commission, the Economic Development Commissions established under Title V of the Public Works and Economic Development Act, and the River Basin Planning Commissions established under Title II of the Water Resources Planning Act.

At the moment, the policy of the National Administration is to favor the functional Cabinet Departments and the Federal Regional Councils over such new intergovernmental regional coordinating bodies and none have realized their potential as intergovernmental coordinating mechanisms except for special purposes.

#### THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY—A "FEDERAL" REGION

Ever since 1934 and establishment of the National Resources Planning Board, the nation has experimented with non-compact approaches to interstate regionalism.

By the 1930's, it was clear that there were many needs in the nation that could not be met through the traditional organizational structures of American government. Under the impetus of the Great Depression, a number of innovations in developing new organizational mechanisms for carrying out public works policy were undertaken. By far the most successful and most durable has been the Tennessee Valley Authority, the sole case of a purely Federal regional structure.

The Tennessee Valley Authority Act of 1933 created TVA as an independent Federal agency headed by a Board of Directors whose members are appointed by the President. The Authority's purpose is to foster the conservation and development of the Tennessee Valley and promote its economic development. It has established a regional electrical power generating system, made most of the 650-mile river navigable and advanced the conservation of agriculture, soil, forest, and wildlife resources as well as somewhat more indirectly fostering improvements in health and education.

TVA has established within its region a system of citizen associations in its tributary valleys and provides technical and financial assistance to them to promote economic development. Planning assistance is provided to communities for downtown renovation, industrial development, and other purposes.

There was a time when proponents of the "TVA approach" advocated the establishment of similar valley authorities in other river basins of the country such as the Columbia, the Missouri, and others. But replication of this approach appears unlikely because of its divergence from the model of dual Federal-state authority that characterizes the American Federal system.

TVA has accomplished its purposes because it had both the responsibility for planning and the responsibility for implementation. It has survived because it has been autonomous from the agency structure of the Federal government and found useful by the people in its region.

It exists in uneasy alliance with states and with the management structure of the Federal Executive Branch. There are fears that such special purpose authorities lose their accountability to the governments that create them and that they persist long after their mission is accomplished.

## TITLE II RIVER BASIN COMMISSIONS

In 1965, the Water Resources Planning Act authorized River Basin Commissions to promote cooperative planning between Federal agencies and states in the field of water resource development.

Within the limited scope of their responsibilities, they do appear to be having a beneficial impact in opening up water resources planning to wider participation and broader concepts than was formerly the case. Not only states, but Federal agencies other than traditional water-related organizations are participants. At the present time, however, they are Federally dominated primarily because the states have not met their full obligations in participating. And it is not clear how profound their impact will be in modifying and broadening water resource plans and investments.

## APPALACHIAN REGIONAL COMMISSION

Modeled on the same basic concept of Federal-interstate cooperation, the Appalachian Regional Commission was also established in 1965. Unlike most other such bodies created during this period, the Commission, like TVA, was given authority over its own program funds. Execution of programs involved the functional Federal and state agencies in the 13-state region.

It has endured and received consistent support from Congress. Its evaluators have generally regarded it as a useful step in the evolution of American federalism, despite its imperfections.

The Commission has had a greater impact than most of the other regional commissions. However, its existence outside the main structure of the Federal government and lack of needed Executive management of such activities across the span of the Federal government, has meant that the plans of the Appalachian Regional Commission have had little or no effect on most other Federal activities in Appalachia.

The Appalachian experience clearly demonstrates the inadequacies of the present Federal management structure in matters of this kind.

Additionally, the Appalachian program has generated only nominal interstate planning. Within the structure of the program, the states have exercised their separate powers separately except in negotiating the basic plans for the Appalachian Development Highway System and arranging for interstate transfers of program funds when the need arises.

Yet in several sections of Appalachia, particularly in the Central Coal fields, interstate programs offer the best prospect for solving a number of regional development problems. The next stage in this program seems to require:

(a) A clear focus on the special needs of the key sub-areas of the Appalachian region and movement away from a strictly "grant-in-aid" approach to these problems and toward implementation of a carefully developed interstate strategy.

(b) Full coordination of other Federal plans and programs within these sub-regional strategies.

The Appalachian experience clearly indicates the need for strong Federal policy and commitment with respect to regional programs. Without it, the states of the Commission find little necessity for interstate cooperation, moving toward a straight allocation of funds for their own internal purposes. In the previous two Administrations, interest and commitment of the White House has varied, inevitably limiting the likelihood of achieving interstate cooperation in the experiment. Such a mechanism is not needed if its sole purpose is to administer a grant-in-aid program. It must serve some strategic purpose. Without strong Federal leadership in its decisions, the Commission is likely to take the line of least resistance and fall back upon straight fund allocations rather than regional investment strategy.

## ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT COMMISSIONS

Title V of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 authorized other Federal-interstate economic development regions modeled on Appalachia. There are now eight of these Commissions.

These Commissions have not been able to meet early hopes for them. There appear to be many reasons for this:

(a) Unlike the Appalachian Commission, these bodies were lodged in a cabinet department sometimes hostile to their purpose and limited in its ability to elicit coordination from other co-equal departments;

(b) They were granted just enough funds to guarantee they could fail.

(c) They have only planning responsibilities with slight connection to those agencies responsible for execution;

(d) There is no framework of policy and management in the Executive Branch to enable the separate efforts of these bodies to be effective;

(e) As a result, there is no coordination of Federal and state actions within the regions affected except on a nominal basis. Plans prepared by these Commissions lacking the force of major Federal funding are not taken seriously. The new amendments to the Public Works and Economic Development Act now require intergovernmental planning. It remains to be seen whether this will correct the situation.

Additionally, except for New England, the regions encompassed by both Appalachia and the Title V Commissions are not regions in the social, economic, or physical sense. They are "lines around a problem" in the words of the National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty in 1967—the lagging economic backyards of larger regions.

Any fully effective public works and economic development strategy for these areas depends upon their full integration into nearby more prosperous sections of the country—a strategy difficult to accomplish under present regional definitions.

#### FEDERAL REGIONAL COUNCILS

One alternative to special problem or purpose regions is the use of administrative regions encompassing whole states. This notion has been especially important to the present Administration, which has posted as two of its primary domestic initiatives: (1) simplifying the management of Federal programs, and (2) returning more decision-making to elected officials of state and local government.

The result has been realignment of field operations of the principal Federal grant-making agencies into ten standard regions and relocation of regional headquarters to the same city in each region. Regional directors of major departments to constitute a Federal Regional Council in each region and the chairman is a Presidential appointee. Staff members from the Office of Management and Budget provide liaison with Washington.

The Regional Councils have no statutory base and no independent budget; they are primarily discussion and coordination instruments.

One interesting development associated with Federal Regional Councils is the Integrated Grant Administration Program (IGA) under which a state or locality can integrate all its Federal grants in a functional area into a single application, grant agreement, letter of credit and audit. The basic vehicle is a task force of Federal funding agencies operating through the Federal Regional Council. During 1973 there were 27 such IGA demonstrations and the number is likely to be expanded considerably. Interstate projects—and interstate organizations—are natural prospects for such reforms leading to management simplification and efficiency.

To date, the performance of the Regional Councils has not bridged the intergovernmental planning gap. In at least a few cases, actual antagonism exists between Governors and the Federal Councils. One evaluation by the General Accounting Office found that in part this has derived from an attitude of "superiority" on the part of the public servants on one Council toward the elected officials . . . the Governors . . . of the region they serve.

The Administrative regions themselves suffer from deficiencies in delineation. In some cases their boundaries split major metropolitan areas.

Nonetheless, a number of proposals have been put forward to use such administrative regions—perhaps modified in boundary definition—as the areas within which multiple purpose Intergovernmental Commissions might be established on which both state and Federal interests would be represented in the same manner as the Economic Development Commissions.

#### MULTI-STATE REGIONS

There are many special purpose interstate compacts and less formally defined interstate regions. In addition, numerous multi-state organizations exist that were established in various sections of the country to serve as forums for planning common actions with respect to shared problems.

These include such groups as:

*The Federation of Rocky Mountain States* incorporated in 1966 by state and business interests to increase the voice of this region in national affairs and to develop common approaches to Western problems.

*Southern Growth Policies Board* created in 1972 to develop recommended growth management objectives and recommended policies for the 15 Southern States.

*The Upper Midwest Council*, one of the oldest multi-state research bodies consisting of business and civic leaders from Minnesota, the Dakotas, Montana, northern Michigan and northern Wisconsin.

*New England* which has, in a recent count, 74 regional organizations.

*Council of State Governments Regions* are the most durable groupings of states. Each contains a regional Governors and Legislators Conference providing a forum for common state action when occasion demands it.

Founded 60 years ago, the Council of State Governments is the national organization for all components of State government—governors, legislators, attorneys general, and budget and planning officers. It is headquartered in Lexington, Kentucky. In addition, it has a Washington, D.C., office, for coordination with the Federal government, as well as four regional offices in New York, Chicago, Atlanta and San Francisco. These regional offices provide staff support for regional meetings of the various affiliates.

#### ASSESSMENT OF EXISTING INTERSTATE MECHANISMS

Past experience with these various multi-state institutions enables us to evaluate what arrangements seem most productive and which seem least likely to be useful for the purposes of future policy.

Despite their weaknesses has anything been gained?

#### *Planning Forums*

Most have been able to serve as forums for developing consensus and information exchange between the three levels of government. Success with any forum that works by indirection and consensus is conditioned on good staff and credibility with responsible policy-making officials.

The potential for accomplishing this modest objective seemingly resided in all these efforts at their inception. As former Governor Linwood Holton of Virginia said at the inaugural meeting of the Southern Growth Policies Board in October 1971, "because of the influence and prestige of the members, such a group could have considerable impact in encouraging Southerners to unite in planning for orderly growth in population, transportation, housing and industry."

The Appalachian Regional Commission has attracted attention as a unique institutional arrangement which permits the levels of government to evolve common strategies, resolve inconsistent or contradictory aims, and negotiate mutually acceptable approaches. It provides a mechanism through which the Federal Government and agencies, the States, and the local governments, through local development districts can participate jointly in policy development, program and investment decisions, and use of funds. It permits an interaction among levels of government and among functional agencies. In addition, it links policy development and planning with implementation. The fact that not all has been accomplished that was originally hoped can be traced as much to failures in national policy coordination and administration and adverse national economic conditions as to defects in the Commission concept itself.

The Title V Economic Development Commissions were originally concerned with encouraging state planning, identifying primary problems, and research. All five of the original Title V commissions have now produced multi-state development plans. These have been reviewed by the Federal Advisory Council on Regional Economic Development, approved by the Secretary of Commerce, and passed on to Congress and the White House. This regional planning exercise has established a gross estimate of the investments these lagging regions need in order to bring them up to national averages of income and employment, but the exercise seems to have had but slight impact upon Federal policy and administration or upon the states.

On the basis of all of these experiences it can be concluded that planning that is unrelated to either the responsibility for execution through a functional agency or the power of decision and policy-making at the level of Chief Executive and legislature is planning for nought. Planning as exhortation has no impact.

### *Location Strategies*

These interstate forums have often debated and developed investment strategies for locating region-serving public facilities and services. Where practiced, as by the Appalachian Regional Commission, these strategies provide useful prototypes for future policies on public works investment.

### *Functional Regulation*

As the courts intervene in environmental and urban problems, there will, no doubt, be greater pressure on states to grant some police power to interstate-compact organizations in order to carry out the intent of Federal statutes in interstate regions.

### *Interaction Between Private and Public Regional Investments*

Interstate mechanisms may be needed to facilitate interaction of plans and programs for proposed investments in both the public and private sectors in this era of shortages in energy and raw materials.

Many private investments, particularly in utilities, are regional in scale. Public utilities serving several states must have the capacity to relate the impacts of their facilities to future housing, transportation and urban development plans in their service areas. Without shared regional data, the utilities will not be able to harmonize their plans with those of the public agencies in the regions.

### *Linked Intergovernmental Plans*

The Appalachian Regional Commission has been rather successful in helping its members states create multicounty substate districts. The network of 69 multicounty substate districts in the 13 Appalachian states can potentially operate from a shared approach to future planning for growth and development in which local, state, and national investments are harmonized.

### *Experimenting With Decategorization of Federal Grants*

Several regional institutions have experimented with forms of "block grants" that are akin to revenue sharing. The Regional Economic Development Commissions have been granted funds to make supplementary grants to other Federal or State projects of regional character that would not be built otherwise. The 13 Appalachian states have gone a step further. States can trade supplementary funds between broad categories. Kentucky and Pennsylvania, for example, might decide to concentrate on building statewide systems of vocational schools. They can trade supplemental funds with other states to whom this was deemed less important. These flexible funds have, in the words of one official, been useful in decreasing the "hardening of the categories" in Federal grant programs. Such practices can work against interstate investment planning, however.

### *Sharing Expertise and Experience*

Finally, the interstate mechanisms are appropriate vehicles for sharing expertise, experience, and personnel.

Technical assistance provided to states and localities through the Appalachian Regional Commission has been noteworthy. It has served as an excellent mechanism for bringing talents at all three levels of government together.

However, these interstate mechanisms have not been successful in bringing about the degree of functional cooperation among Federal agencies or states that justified their creation.

### CONCLUSION

It is clear that future national regional policy must address the problems presented for effective policy coordination by conflicts between generalist organizations established on a territorial basis and specialized agencies organized functionally.

The Office of Management and Budget, as the principal administrative arm of the President, has until now tended to support the traditional functionally specialized agencies, presumably because its own role as prime Federal orchestrator might be diluted under alternative territorially or intergovernmentally based arrangements.

Present and future environmental, energy, social, and economic challenges may compel that posture to change in the face of national necessity.

The nation will have no alternative but to develop regional solutions to many of its problems and it will require regional organizations to implement those

solutions, but past experience indicates that we should avoid the temptation to impose upon the country a neat set of interstate and substate organizations intended to meet all of our regional needs.

We need to preserve the virtues, capabilities, and strengths of functional agencies in carrying out the special responsibilities. The purpose is to improve the integration of programs, not stifle imagination in execution.

No single set of interstate and substate regional boundaries can meet all of our administrative, environmental, economic, and social needs. We must preserve diversity and competition in our national political structure and not stifle it through creation of a monolithic system that might degenerate into a public monopoly.

However, we do require procedures to facilitate interstate cooperation that are less cumbersome than impacts.

It would appear that the establishment of Intergovernmental Commissions in each of the Federal Administrative Regions organized on the same principles as the existing Economic Development Commissions might provide the means for developing Federal-interstate approaches to our problems when they are necessary.

The value of regionality could be consciously recognized and national yardsticks developed against which regional proposals could be judged. To monitor regional needs and disparities, a system of regional accounts could be established for each region by the national government to monitor indicators of social and economic well-being. Special grants could be provided to support interstate or substate regionalism when states or localities wish to use it to meet their special problems.

Ironically, just such an alternative was proposed 40 years ago by a distinguished team of scientists and public administrators who were serving on a Task Group of the National Resources Committee. The 1935 study adopted a very pragmatic approach to the question of regional boundaries, recognizing that territories will change depending upon the problem being addressed. Instead, the panel argued for establishment of Federal-state "planning centers" in a key city in each of 10-12 Federal administrative regions. These centers would provide joint Federal-state assistance to interstate or substate groups attempting to deal with a regional problem. But the scheme called for no formal definition of a set of regions.

The panel warned against national attempts to define regions on a "problem" basis as has been our custom under Title V of the Public Works and Economic Development Act and the Appalachian Regional Development Act. It argued: "If regions with serious problems were to be given geographical boundaries, the tendency to defend their regional interest at the boundary, so characteristic of Europe, might be encouraged in America. On the other hand, a series of inter-related regions, closely cooperating with the Federal establishment, would tend to cement the Union and to promote the solution of intersectional adjustments."

This observation was echoed in 1967 by the *National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty* in its report *The People Left Behind*, but for somewhat different reasons. It asserted that regions should consist of social and economic wholes and not just the economically and socially-troubled "backyards" of regions as is the case in most of our Economic Development Commissions, except for New England.

In recent years, the National Governors' Conference has adopted resolutions expressing support for Federal legislation that would support a national set of interstate regions jointly determined by the states and the Federal government.

The *National Legislative Conference* recently passed a resolution containing the following recommendations:

1. Whenever state participation in Federal-Multistate cooperative institutions is requested, the legislatures should be involved in structuring the form of that participation.

2. Federal funding for interstate regional efforts should be directed through these institutions so that the regular state appropriations-budgeting process is respected.

3. States should continue to initiate and Congress give consent to interstate compacts designed to meet governmental program problems—informational, planning, operational, and regulatory—that require interstate arrangements. To avoid proliferation, the NLC recommends that states, when drafting a new compact, consider the feasibility of expanding the scope, functions, and powers of an existing compact agency if such action would resolve the difficulty prompting consideration of the new instrument. The NLC also recommends that member-state legislatures adopt procedures to provide for a biennial audit and a periodic program review at a minimum of every five years of all compacts to which their state is a signatory party.

4. A Federal office, preferably located in the Office of the President, should be assigned responsibility for monitoring participation by Federal agencies in all Federal-Multistate organizations, with periodic reporting to the National Legislative Conference on trends and recommendations for improvement.

5. There is need for a thorough review of existing regional partnerships. Such a review should involve representatives of all parts of state government, particularly state legislators. Future interstate and intergovernmental policies should be designed to insure adequate legislative oversight of such programs once implemented.

These and similar resolutions passed by the National Governors' Conference and other bodies in the past year therefore outline an important policy alternative:

A. Conversion of the Federal Regional Councils (administratively created bodies at the moment) into Intergovernmental Commissions on which states (and perhaps major metropolitan areas) would sit in much the same manner as they do on the present Economic Development Regional Commissions.

B. Strengthening of Federal leadership on national growth and development policy by creating in the Domestic Council or the Office of Management and Budget a position answerable to the President for Federal Coordination and Planning. The Chairman of each Regional Council would answer to this representative of the President.

C. Requiring existing regional bodies with special functions to conduct their work under the umbrella of the Intergovernmental Commission. Regional bodies for special purposes could be created or disbanded as need arose. Existing regional economic development commissions could be dismantled and their functions folded into the new intergovernmental commissions.

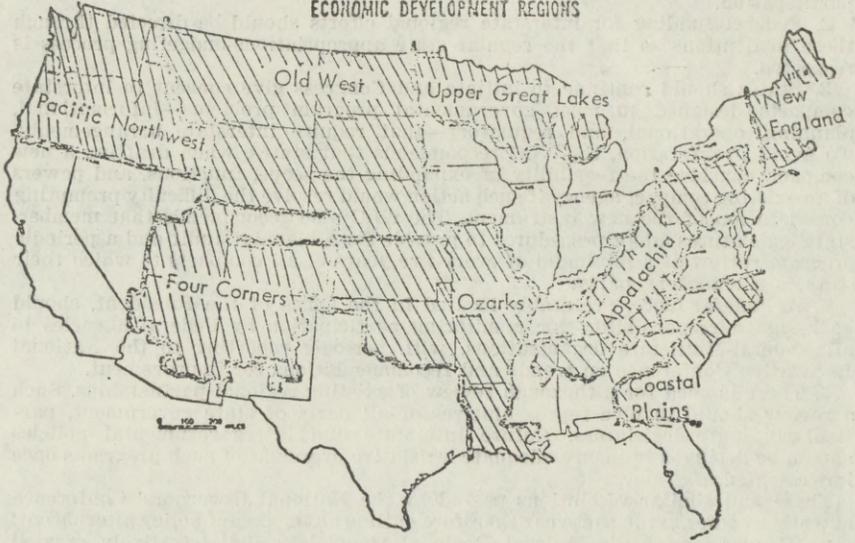
D. Development of block grant or special revenue funding that would be administered by these commissions for purposes of managing growth and development on a regional basis. The commissions would be authorized to allocate the funds in accordance with plans for influencing the distribution of population and economic activity, construction of public works and facilities, protection and enhancement of the environment, etc.

Such a framework would preserve the basic Federal-state-local framework of our governmental system while providing means for meeting interstate or sub-state needs when they arise. It would avoid fractionating the system as present regional development legislation does when it splits states and economic areas with regional boundaries that define problems rather than functional regions.

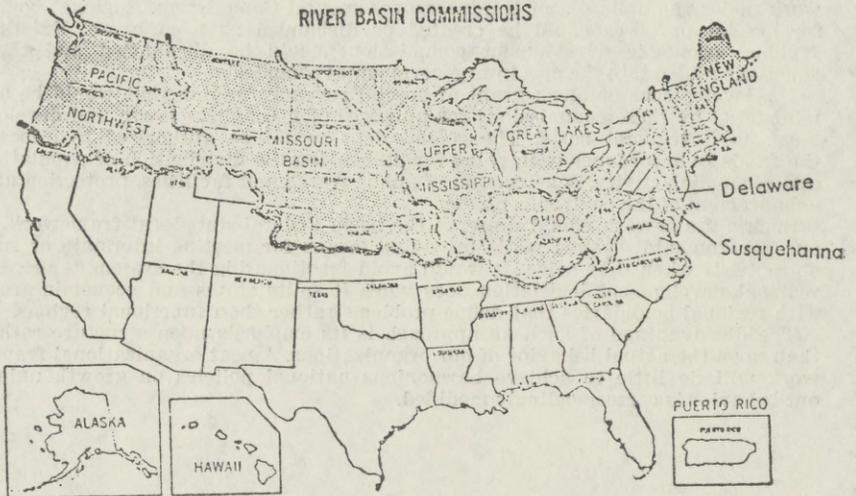
The disadvantage of such an approach is its emphasis upon structure rather than upon the actual behavior of our organizations. A neat organizational framework will do little to achieve harmonious national policies on growth unless our behavior is correspondingly modified.

Federal Multistate Commissions, December 1973

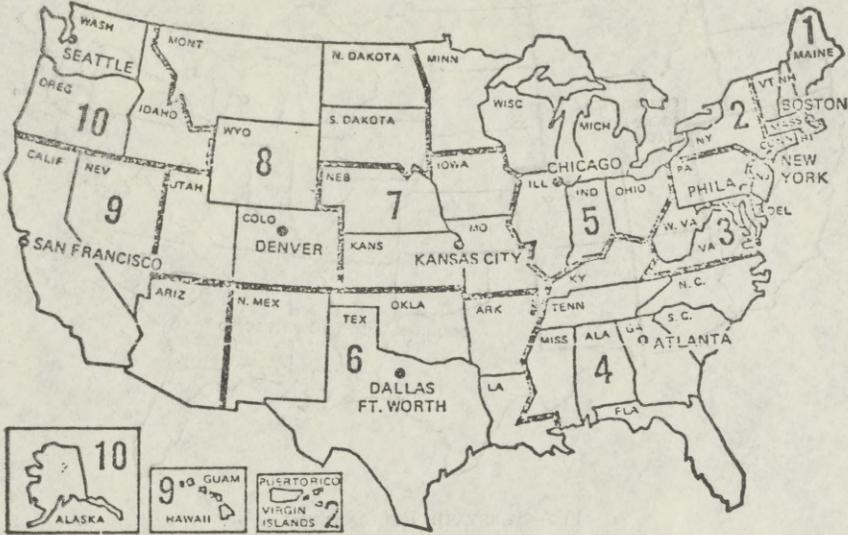
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT REGIONS



RIVER BASIN COMMISSIONS

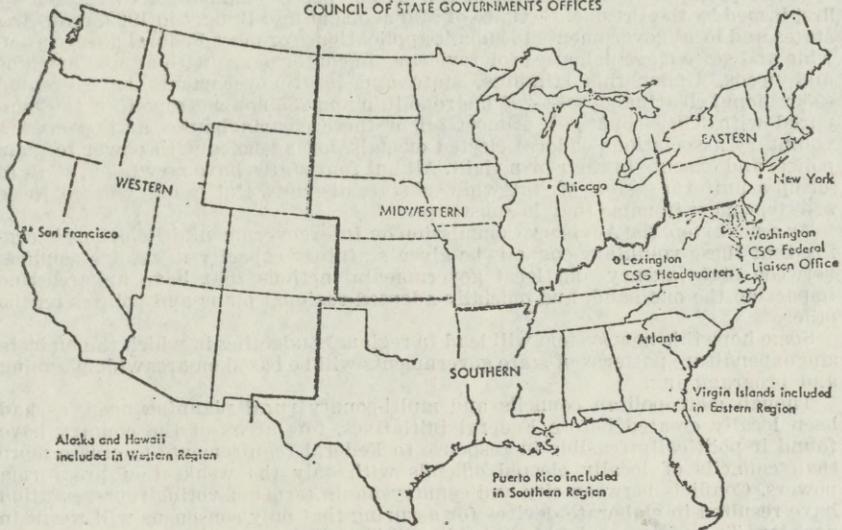


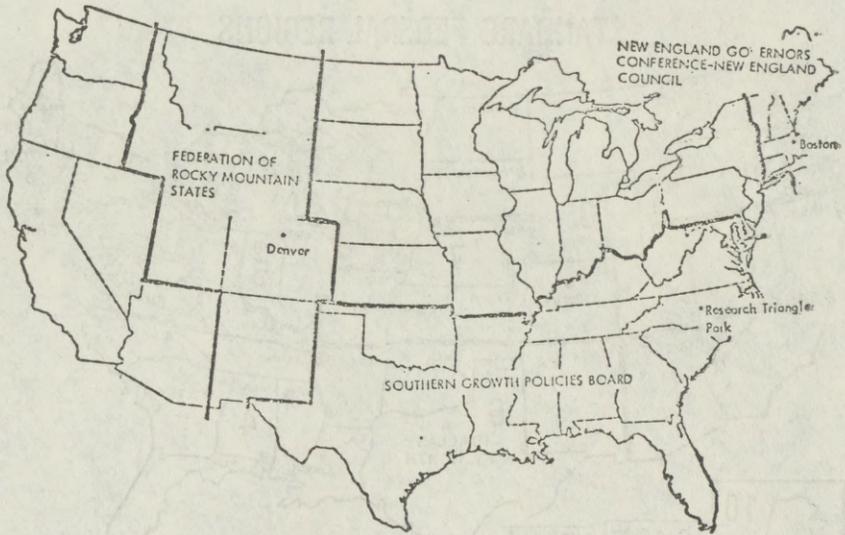
# STANDARD FEDERAL REGIONS



## State-Initiated Regional Institutions

### COUNCIL OF STATE GOVERNMENTS OFFICES





#### IV.—SUBSTATE REGIONALISM

James L. Sundquist of the Brookings Institution has asserted that "the first thing wrong with local government is that very few of the units are territorially adequate. In the metropolitan areas, there are far too many feuding local governments, and in the rural areas they are just not big enough either to provide a working territorial base or to hire the kind of expert staff needed to do the local part of the federal job." He and others call for a system of substate metropolitan and non-metropolitan regions designed to be territorially related to the problems with which they are dealing. To a certain extent, the framework for just such a system is slowly evolving in the United States.

Many Federal programs have come to require area-wide plans, so many in fact that local areas were fragmented by many special purpose area-wide planning organizations. The governmental chaos ensuing from this proliferation of regional agencies prompted establishment of the "A-95" process named for Circular A-95 first issued by the President's Office of Management and Budget in 1969, requiring states and local governments to submit applications for most Federal aids to area-wide and state clearinghouses for review as to conformance with area-wide plans and needs. Under this stimulus, state and local governments have created 455 regional clearinghouses—220 metropolitan and 235 non-metropolitan (as compared with 3,049 counties). Almost all of these clearinghouses at present are voluntary associations of local elected officials, not agencies with power to plan, police, and execute in their own right. All but four states have now taken steps to set up a uniform system of statewide substate districts. But in many cases, these are steps more in name than in substance.

As a next step, the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations is urging that these voluntary councils be given statutory capacity to resolve conflicts between state agency and local governmental actions that have an areawide impact on the one hand, and officially adopted regional plans and policies on the other.

Some hope this new system will lead to regional budgeting in which the budgets and expenditure patterns of state governments will be based on areawide planning and programming.

Though metropolitan councils and multi-county rural planning agencies had been locally created before Federal initiatives, few areas of the country have found it politically feasible in response to Federal requirements to create more than councils of locally elected officials with only the weakest of pro forma powers. Conflicts between city and countryside in terms of voting representation have resulted in elaborate devices for assuring that only consensus will result in decision. There is some doubt that this will be sufficient for the difficult decisions that lie ahead.

Clearly, the credibility of substate organizations depends upon whether they grow out of real local and state needs clearly perceived by both officials and the public. If established solely in response to Federal requirements, they have no durability or credibility. Metropolitan councils and multi-county rural planning agencies had been created in some areas before the Federal initiatives.

The national government aids local planning through nearly 50 programs of assistance in functional areas (such as coastal zone management, highways, health care) which are part of categorical grants. The Comprehensive Planning Assistance Program (Section 701 of the Housing Act of 1954) is the sole program designed to aid subnational comprehensive planning. It provides \$100 million per year to assist statewide planning; multi-jurisdiction (or areawide) planning for 267 metropolitan areas and many non-metropolitan areas; and municipal planning in many counties, towns and cities. The program has helped institutionalize local planning, but the absence of performance criteria and linkages to capital grants has limited its utility in institutional reform. Funds from such other Federal programs such as the National Highway Program, the Water Resources Planning Act, the Public Works and Economic Development Act, and the Appalachian Regional Development Act are earmarked for functional purposes, but can be used to supplement these 701 funds.

States have been encouraged to assist regional planning financially, but the record has been spotty, the states apparently remaining content to act as conduit for Federal planning assistance. The case of Texas is instructive. Texas provides the largest amount of financial assistance of any state to substate regional councils, \$1.6 million in 1972 for the 24 councils. But this \$1.6 million was only 11 percent of the amount supplied by the Federal government to Texas regional councils, and it was less than one percent of the council's total funding. Only 20 of the 50 states provide any financial assistance to comprehensive metropolitan planning, although there is some assistance in functional planning, such as highways. Many states do provide technical assistance to local planning through a Department of Community Affairs, but rarely to the degree sufficient to meld local interests more closely with statewide considerations.

As new partners in governmental powers, which participate in the authoritative allocation of resources for public purposes, the substate district movement is currently at a standstill. In most areas of the country, with the notable exception of Minneapolis-St. Paul, the organizational devices operative in these districts have not progressed beyond the stage of uniting in one organization some of the principal comprehensive and functional planning programs mandated by Federal legislation. Furthermore, the prospect for movement toward additional power, such as the power to deliver services, to approve applications for Federal funds rather than merely review them, or to maintain budgetary and personnel control over special districts, appears at this point to be unlikely. The fundamental reason is that the basic questions of political accountability and political access have not been satisfactorily solved.

The opposition to regional councils seems to have grown in recent months. The rhetoric of cooperation and coordination produced an illusion, in many states, that the regional movement would face few difficulties, and that the infant organization would begin to build the kind of constituency that would make them the major spearheads of local government reform. This has not occurred because the basic parties at interest have not seen, as the implementation of district organizations has proceeded, that their real political interests are substantively reinforced by these district organizations.

At the local level, the reputation and powers of district organizations appear to be at their height in the more impoverished rural areas of the country. These organizations have established their credibility, their importance, because they have been the conduits for substantial amounts of Federal money. It is there that the benefits of joint action appear to be the greatest, and the relative parity of the participants, in terms of population, prevents the kinds of jealousies that arise in the large metropolitan areas where jurisdictions vary widely in size. Some metropolitan councils that were in existence before state subdistricting, and that were simply designated district organizations for state and Federal purposes, are forces to be reckoned with in regional decision-making. But, by and large, they were of that quality before substate districting and astutely protected their interests in the transition period.

Several big city areawide agencies have not attained local legitimacy. There, all energies are spent on organizational survival, and little energy is spent on

developing regional goals that are operational for resource allocation decisions. The planning director of the City of Cleveland has described the present status of the regional organization in that area as "one in which we all quietly and automatically approve each other's requests for grants-in-aid, and try to stay out of trouble." In his view, which is probably shared by many who represent the interests of the older declining central cities of the country, regional organizations are not very relevant. As he puts it,

After all, it is the "soft" social issues which vex our whole society, and simply altering a few governmental institutions means dealing with the wrong end of the causal chain. The institutions, and patterns of behavior associated with them, are consequences of more basic attitudes and social patterns. The value system, or the distribution of power and wealth, determines the impact of institutional manipulation; simply changing governmental structures cannot alter these basic elements.

Ironically the use of substate districts to decentralize state services and broaden local participation in state decisions has not mollified local concerns. Many existing units of general purpose local government are learning to see themselves as potential losers rather than gainers. New opposition to regional organizations is emerging among the state municipal leagues and state county associations.

A typical example is the North Carolina League of Municipalities Policy on Regional Affairs, which was also adopted in identical form as the policy of the North Carolina Association of County Commissioners. A key assertion in this policy document is that "the 17 regional planning areas in North Carolina are not substate districts. Regional councils of governments are creatures of local government, are financed by local government, and have a primary responsibility to their membership. The State of North Carolina and its administrative agencies are petitioned to refrain from using regional councils as substate administrative districts." For this reason, says the policy statement, membership should be voluntary, the governing board should be composed of elected officials of general proposed local governments, and the councils' functions should be limited to planning and the promotion of cooperative arrangements. In no way, says the statement, should the councils undertake either service delivery or even technical assistance, if technical assistance is available from local, state, or federal agencies. In order to forestall the development of an autonomous identity for regional councils, the League of Municipalities and the Association of County Commissioners jointly created a "Regional Forum," which conducts statewide meetings for regional officials, and develops statewide policy recommendations on regional affairs for presentation to the Boards of Directors of the League and the Association.

At the state level, the proponents of strong substate regional organizations are few. Most can be found in the state planning agency or the department of community affairs. A conspicuous failure of the uniform substate district has been inducing state agencies to conform their administrative boundaries to the uniform districts.

Part of the problem is that there is no single set of boundaries that is completely satisfactory for every state agency from the state library to the motor vehicle license division. There are no uniform boundaries that are suitable for even the major agencies, such as conservation, transportation, mental health and environmental protection.

Added to these administrative difficulties are the more important problems of constituencies. Forcing functional planning to be subsumed under a uniform district organization undermines the political base and constituency of important state agencies. This is particularly true in the highway field. In most states, the construction priorities for highways are ordinarily decentralized, at least in the beginning planning phases, to the district level. These are intensely political matters, and should be so. Highways are too disruptive in their effects to be planned without the concurrence of the major groups in the area.

To place the planning process under an "umbrella" district organization promotes the priorities of other constituencies, a result that may be desirable from the point of view of the general community, but which is fervently resisted by the highway agencies themselves.

Other state bureaucracies, such as health and environmental protection, have other interests that diverge from those of comprehensive regional planning structures. These bureaucracies are uncomfortable in the presence of non-technical

people, and they also face, as mentioned above, the problems of satisfying their own constituencies in pursuing their statutory mandates. Environmental protection agencies frequently see their job as primarily regulatory, and they are wary of the kind of "cooperative planning" that might undermine the purity of regulatory objectives. Health departments, like transportation departments, have developed planning methods and techniques peculiar to their functions that follow a more predictable course than the wide variations in acceptable practice for comprehensive planning. There is an orthodoxy in transportation planning, and to some extent in health planning, which does not exist in general goal-setting for regional development.

Agency parochialism and lack of coordination among the major and most powerful state agencies was one of the problems the district organizations were to overcome. This resistance to the idea is therefore not surprising, and indeed might be a sign of some vitality in the new subcities.

But, as far as state legislatures are concerned, they have simply not been involved in the full range of issues affecting the delineation of regions, their legal base, and their functions. Legislatures, of course, are frequently called upon to pass new enabling legislation desired by state planners to give more uniform shape to regional organizations. However, there is no continuous legislative involvement.

Only Governors originally objected to direct federal-local action in setting up planning districts. Several, most notably Governor Connally in Texas, tried to resolve coordination problems by establishing a set of state districts. Nonetheless, the states have faced difficulty in delineating boundaries. Now, as they are asked to strengthen regional organizations to bring greater harmony to public investment, they increasingly find themselves caught between the demands of general government and the new regional bodies. A leading example of this dilemma was the recent attempt by the Department of Housing and Urban Development to give the administration of 701 funding to states, which meant to the governors. Since the total amount of money available for 701 funding was reduced at the same time, the practical effect of the transfer to the states would have been to ask the governors to disadvantage either the local governments or their creatures, the regional councils. Despite a theoretical attachment to regionalism, most governors would tend to prefer to favor grants to units of general purpose local government.

At the state and local level, the issue of regional organization remains a specialist's concern. Among the general population, the question of district boundaries and district organizations appears to be esoteric matters. Even many of the generalist local government officials who serve on regional boards do not fully understand the evolution of the movement nor the purposes of federal legislation in requiring area-wide comprehensive and functional planning.

At the Federal level, the scene is very much like that of the States. None of the large functional bureaucracies are especially interested in taking a leadership role in favor of stronger substate district organizations. Almost all of the bureaucracies are interested in regional approaches to their separate functional problems. The proposed Allied Services Act encouraged regional packaging of separate social services programs, but not comprehensive regional structures to administer them. In health, HEW appears to prefer non-profit regional organizations, rather than umbrella organizations as proposed by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.

The Advisory Commission and the National Association of Regional Councils are the only major organizations actively promoting an expanded role for comprehensive regional organizations. In fact, most of the public interest groups have retreated from the 1972 proposed policy position on umbrella organizations, which they jointly studied and tacitly supported for a while. The National League of Cities is ambivalent because many of its constituent municipal leagues are opposed to the movement. The U.S. Conference of Mayors leans to opposition because of the influence of black mayors and the unhappy experience of central cities with suburban-dominated district councils. The National Governors' Conference does not want Federal requirements for preferred types of regional structure, because the Council wants to leave it up to each Governor to decide whether he would prefer a uniform regional structure in his state. The National Governors' Conference is mostly interested in avoiding Federal legislation that by-passes the State in setting up either new grant programs, including revenue-sharing, or structures for regional planning.

The National Association of Counties views expanded regional councils as only one alternative. In some ways that organization would prefer to go back to the original idea of strictly voluntary organizations. This older idea of voluntary regional organizations encouraged counties to unite on their own initiative rather than the response to state initiatives. In this way, they could directly access the Federal grant system without contending with the intermediary role of the states.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The present status of substate districts and the political forces that now seem to be converging against them raise substantial questions for the Congress.

Multi-county planning and administrative districts were encouraged by Congress in many pieces of legislation in recognition of the fact that the boundaries of our local jurisdictions do not always conform to the boundaries of human need for services. Congress evaluated the county-by-county approach to economic development, health planning, manpower planning, highway planning, and many other needs during the 1960's and found it wanting. These findings generated a broad range of area-wide planning requirements under Federal legislation.

All of these requirements created a multitude of area-wide planning jurisdictions that fragmented the making of coherent public policy throughout the country.

This in turn led to the efforts of the Federal government to encourage the consolidation of area-wide districts, the establishment of the A-95 review process requiring area-wide clearinghouses, and finally action by the states to develop uniform systems of substate districts statewide.

However, in many cases these are feeble mechanisms created solely for the purpose of meeting Federal requirements. In their present state they are unlikely to endure.

Clearly, the Federal government, with its tremendous financial resources, can cause organizations to be created but it can not give them life. That must come from the communities involved.

The lessons learned over the past decade suggest a revision in the Federal posture toward substate districts:

First, the nation will need area-wide planning and action to meet its problems. We can not abandon the goal of establishing mechanisms to improve public investment policies designed to meet regional needs but present evidence leads to the conclusion that progress in creating workable regional mechanisms that will endure will come through a system of Federal financial incentives or bonuses rather than through requirements that impose alien structures upon local areas.

Future Federal aid programs should reward those areas attempting to meet local needs through area-wide approaches by providing Federal bonuses to offset some of the administrative and planning costs involved and to provide incentives for regional-wide investments.

Federal policies should not continue to force artificial development of a national network of substate districts that may resort in a neat map but leave our basic problems unresolved because the organizations have no real power or credibility, instead Federal policies should reward the establishment of regional organizations that possess power and credibility at the local level.

Finally, local progress in achieving coordination has been difficult because too frequently the Federal government and the states are in the posture of saying "do as we say and not as we do". How can localities be expected to accept major institutional rearrangements when neither the Federal government nor the states have made much progress in eliminating functional barriers?

A better Federal example would be to reward outstanding local performance.

CHART III-1  
**Annual Growth Rates of Regional Councils, by  
 Federal Program Enactments  
 1954-1971**

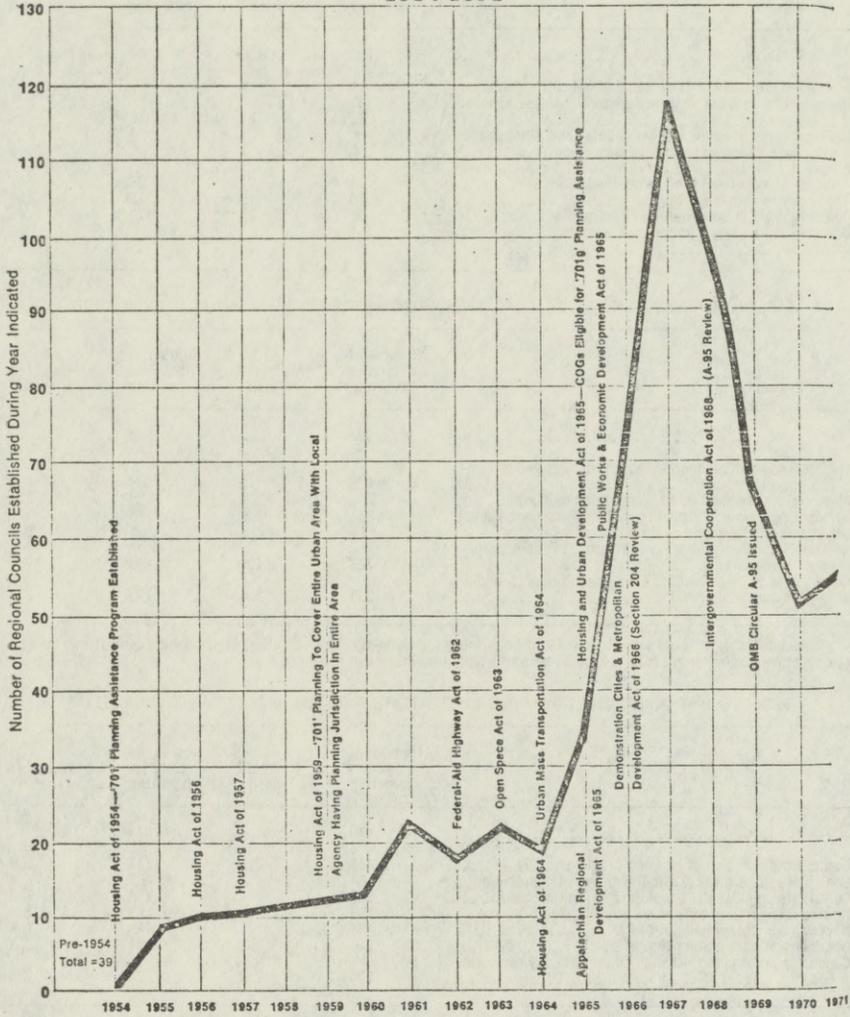


TABLE IV-1.—REASONS FOR LOCAL NONMEMBERSHIP IN REGIONAL COUNCILS, 1972

Reason	Number of cities reporting	Percent of total	Number of counties reporting	Percent of total
Total	155	100	49	100
Weakened influence in State and Federal policy decisions. Unnecessary redtape delaying Federal funding of local programs	11	7	6	12
Regional council would receive Federal and State funds otherwise allocated to local government	32	21	16	33
Planning and delivery of services could be performed better at local level than at regional level	4	3	4	8
Too costly to taxpayers	33	21	23	47
Domination by largest county or central city	30	19	15	31
Domination by many smaller governments	36	23	20	41
Other	4	3	22	45

TABLE IV-2.—REASONS GIVEN BY LOCAL GOVERNMENTS FOR FORMING REGIONAL COUNCILS, 1972

Reason	Number of cities reporting	Weighted mean <sup>1</sup>	Number of counties reporting	Weighted mean <sup>1</sup>
Total	987		629	
Initiate cooperative approaches to solving general regional problems	829	1.5	531	1.5
Meet serious problem in a specific functional area	228	2.4	153	2.5
Formalize previous informal cooperative arrangements	282	2.6	160	2.5
Offset some State action or threat of action	94	2.3	64	2.3
Compliance with planning requirements of Federal grant-in-aid programs	723	1.8	498	1.9
Compliance with areawide review requirements under sec. 204 and circular A-95	295	2.4	199	2.4

<sup>1</sup> Respondents were asked to rank in order of importance the three major reasons that their regional council was formed (1 being the most important reason, 2, and 3 being the next most important reasons).

TABLE IV-3.—REASONS GIVEN BY LOCAL GOVERNMENTS FOR JOINING REGIONAL COUNCILS, 1972

Reason	Number of cities reporting	Weighted mean <sup>1</sup>	Number of counties reporting	Weighted mean <sup>1</sup>
Total	810		573	
Forum for discussion of regional problems	413	2.0	277	1.9
Contribute significantly to solution of areawide problems	564	1.8	407	1.8
Contribute significantly to solution of local problems	322	2.1	272	2.0
Improve cooperation between central city and suburbs	169	2.3	83	2.6
Necessary to obtain Federal funds	463	1.8	393	1.8
Necessary to obtain State funds	146	2.2	124	2.3
Concurrence with idea although doubtful of any real local benefits	104	2.4	73	2.4

<sup>1</sup> Respondents were asked to rank in order of importance the three major reasons why their regional council was formed (1 being the most important reason, 2, and 3 the next most important reasons).

TABLE IV-4.—LEVEL OF SATISFACTION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATION ON REGIONAL COUNCIL POLICY BOARD, 1972

Classification	Number of cities reporting	Weighted mean <sup>1</sup>	Number of counties reporting	Weighted mean
Total	913	3.8	600	4.3
<b>Population group:</b>				
Over 1,000,000			6	3.5
500,000 to 1,000,000	15	3.0	18	3.4
250,000 to 500,000	14	3.6	30	4.0
100,000 to 250,000	42	3.6	67	4.5
50,000 to 1,00,000	91	3.4	85	4.4
25,000 to 50,000	151	3.8	143	4.3
10,000 to 25,000	290	3.8	152	4.4
5,000 to 10,000	310	3.9	60	4.0
Under 5,000			39	4.5
<b>Geographic region:</b>				
Northeast	122	4.1	39	4.4
North-central	234	3.6	145	4.3
South	323	3.8	312	4.3
West	234	3.7	104	4.2
<b>Form of government:</b>				
Without administrator	231	3.6	107	4.3
With administrator	577	3.7	215	4.3
Other	105	4.2	278	4.3
<b>Metropolitan (status):</b>				
Central	148	3.5	157	4.2
Suburban	404	3.7		
Independent	361	4.0	443	4.3
<b>Jurisdictional boundaries:</b>				
Interstate	61	3.4	32	3.8
Noninterstate	852	3.8	568	4.3
<b>Council formation:<sup>2</sup></b>				
Pre-1953	5	4.2	1	5.0
1954-61	50	3.6	28	4.6
1962-65	130	3.5	60	4.2
1966-68	322	3.8	192	4.3
1969-72	288	4.0	245	4.4
<b>Membership to council:<sup>4</sup></b>				
Pre-1953	4	4.5	1	3.0
1954-61	35	3.4	22	4.6
1962-65	96	3.6	51	4.4
1966-68	305	3.8	179	4.2
1969-72	376	3.9	296	4.3

<sup>1</sup> Respondents were asked to evaluate on a 5-point scale how well their local government is represented on the regional council policy board (5 being well represented and one being poorly represented).

<sup>2</sup> Responses were combined with those from cities over 1,000,000 population.

<sup>3</sup> 118 city and 74 county respondents indicated level of satisfaction of representation but did not indicate year of formation.

<sup>4</sup> 97 city and 51 county respondents indicated level of satisfaction of representation but did not indicate year of membership.

TABLE IV-5.—AREAS IN WHICH REGIONAL COUNCILS HAVE PROVIDED ASSISTANCE AND SIGNIFICANCE IN MEETING LOCAL GOVERNMENT PROBLEMS: LOCAL OFFICIALS' PERSPECTIVES, 1972

Area of assistance	Number of cities reporting	Weighted mean <sup>1</sup>	Number of counties reporting	Weighted mean <sup>1</sup>
Law enforcement and criminal justice	638	3.4	398	3.5
Manpower	411	2.4	266	2.9
Health	402	2.3	273	3.0
Community action	352	2.3	225	2.9
Air pollution abatement	367	2.3	186	2.3
Water pollution abatement	448	2.9	253	2.9
Conservation	353	2.3	211	2.7
Economic development	447	2.7	283	3.1
Transportation	503	2.9	260	3.0
Housing	477	2.6	276	2.9
Education	327	2.1	189	2.6
Open space	512	2.9	260	3.1
Water and sewer systems	618	3.5	384	3.7
Solid waste disposal	494	2.9	313	3.3
Recreation	446	2.7	275	3.1
Juvenile delinquency	344	2.3	228	2.7
Land use and physical planning	571	3.2	338	3.4
Joint purchasing	338	1.9	159	1.8
Highway safety	335	2.1	161	2.3

<sup>1</sup> Respondents were asked to indicate and evaluate the areas in which the regional council had provided assistance (1 being of no significance and 5 being of great significance).

TABLE IV-6.—LOCAL GOVERNMENT EVALUATION OF REGIONAL COUNCIL ACTIVITIES: 1972

Activity	Number of cities reporting	Weighted mean <sup>1</sup>	Number of counties reporting	Weighted mean <sup>1</sup>
Total.....	987		668	
Communications among local officials.....	901	3.5	568	3.7
General local government coordination.....	890	3.1	562	3.4
Review and coordination of applications for Federal grants-in-aid.....	880	3.9	556	4.0
Review and coordination of applications for State grants-in-aid.....	838	3.6	526	3.8
Comprehensive physical planning.....	822	3.1	483	3.3
Comprehensive social planning.....	789	2.3	439	2.4
Economic development planning and programing.....	787	2.6	463	3.1
Development of specific functional plans.....	812	3.3	475	3.6
Implementation of comprehensive and functional plans.....	791	2.5	457	2.8
Solution of particular local government problems.....	813	2.5	475	2.9
Technical assistance to member governments.....	812	3.0	493	3.5
Education of the public on metropolitan/regional affairs.....	814	2.5	470	2.7
Communications with local citizens.....	813	2.3	489	2.7
Generation of new ideas about local problems.....	815	2.8	482	3.1

<sup>1</sup> Respondents were asked to evaluate the success of their regional council's activities on a 5-point scale (1 being not successful and 5 being very successful).

TABLE IV-7.—LOCAL GOVERNMENT VIEWS ON OPERATIONAL PROBLEMS FACED BY REGIONAL COUNCIL, 1965-67 1968-69, 1970-71

	1965-67		1968-69		1970-71	
	City	County	City	County	City	County
Total number reporting.....	351	198	588	348	813	540
Percent of total:						
Voting apportionment.....	12	13	11	11	14	11
Representation.....	21	20	19	17	22	19
Citizen participation.....	12	24	16	21	22	28
Assessment of duas.....	15	23	16	20	19	20
Dominance by a single jurisdiction.....	15	16	16	12	17	12
Federal program participation.....	17	22	22	24	29	30
Relationships with other areawide bodies <sup>1</sup> .....	12	14	15	17	19	21
Relationships with special districts.....	9	10	10	7	13	9
Relationships with State.....	14	18	17	19	20	22
Relationships with statewide association of local government officials.....	7	5	7	4	8	6
Powers of the policy board and its officers.....	13	18	14	15	19	15
Committee structure.....	9	10	10	11	13	11
Staff policy board relationships.....	8	11	11	10	13	11
Implementation of comprehensive and functional plans.....	23	36	27	30	41	34
Other.....	7	4	5	3	11	6

<sup>1</sup> Manpower, comprehensive health, law enforcement, and other Federally supported regional planning organizations.

