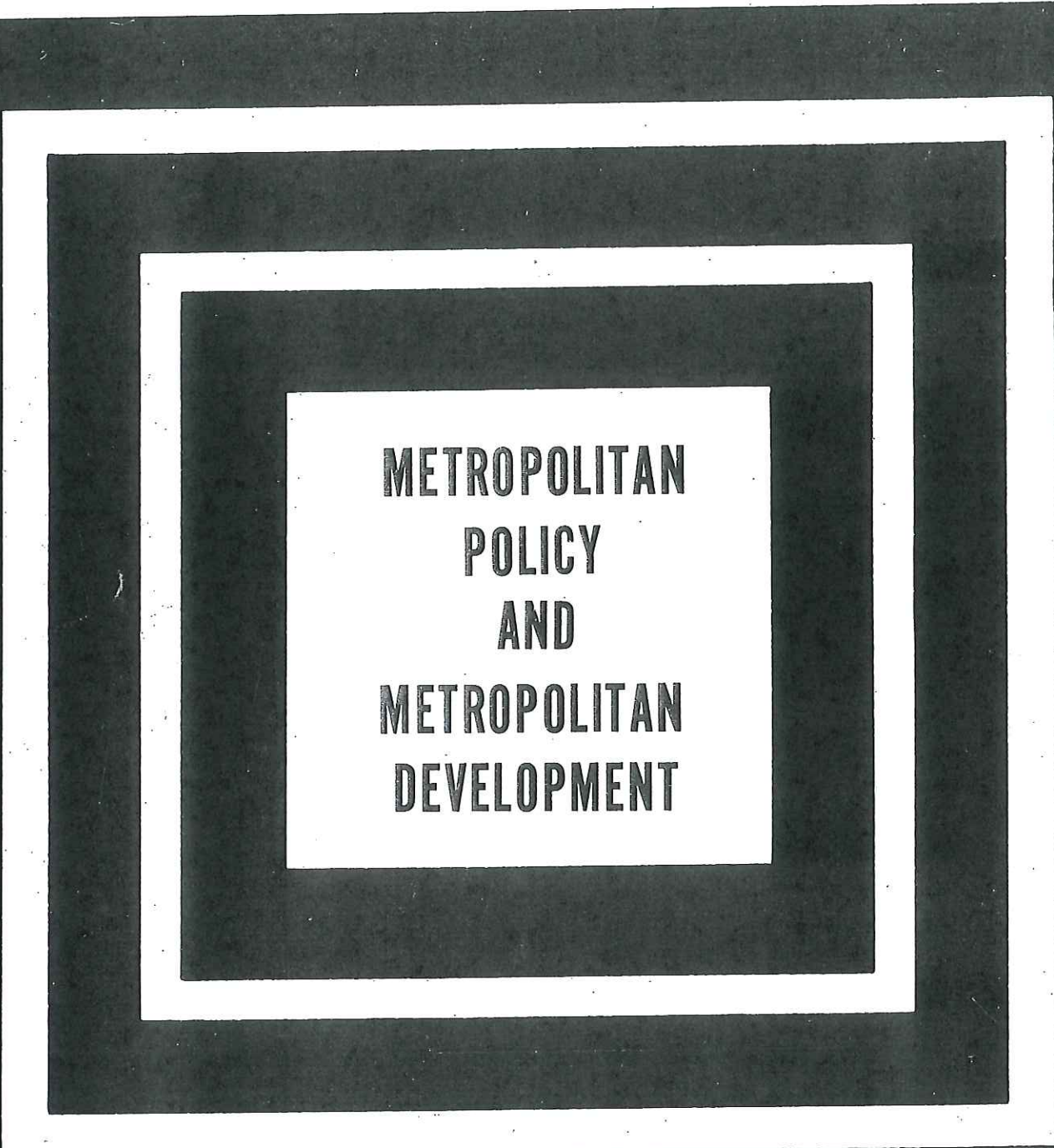


220

CITIZENS LEAGUE REPORT



METROPOLITAN POLICY AND METROPOLITAN DEVELOPMENT

A proposal for government organization in the Twin Cities area

ABOUT THE CITIZENS LEAGUE...

The Citizens League, founded in 1952, is an independent, non-partisan educational organization in the Twin Cities Area, with some 3,600 members, specializing in questions of government planning, finance and organization.

Citizens League reports, which provide assistance to public officials and others in finding solutions to complex problems of local government, are developed by volunteer research committees, supported by a fulltime professional staff.

Membership is open to the public. The League's annual budget is financed by annual dues of \$10 (\$15 for family memberships) and contributions from more than 600 businesses, foundations and other organizations.

OFFICERS

President
Francis M. Boddy
Vice Presidents
Greer Lockhart
John Harrison
John W. Windhorst
James L. Hetland, Jr.
Earl F. Colborn, Jr.
Secretary
Fred C. Cady
Treasurer
John W. Pulver

DIRECTORS

Charles Backstrom
Raymond D. Black
Bruce W. Blackburn
Homer A. Childs
John E. Cummings
Mrs. Nicholas Duff
Harold D. Field, Jr.
John R. Finnegan
Richard J. FitzGerald
Mrs. Ralph Forester
Glen F. Galles
E. Peter Gillette, Jr.
David Graven
Roger Hale
William Hempel
Verne C. Johnson
Charles Lutz
James Martineau
Donald W. McCarthy
John W. Mooty
Wayne H. Olson
Leslie C. Park
Mrs. Joseph Richardson
Allen I. Saeks
Peter H. Seed
Everett J. Swanson
Paul Van Valkenburg
James L. Weaver
Mrs. T. Williams

PAST PRESIDENTS

Charles S. Bellows
Charles H. Clay
Waite D. Durfee
John F. Finn
Walter S. Harris, Jr.
James L. Hetland, Jr.
Stuart W. Leck, Sr.
Norman L. Newhall, Jr.
Leslie C. Park
Malcolm G. Pfunder
James R. Pratt
Leonard F. Ramberg
Charles T. Silverson
Archibald Spencer
John W. Windhorst

STAFF

Executive Director
Ted Kolderie
Research Director
Paul A. Gilje
Research Associate
James J. Carney
Membership & Finance
Director
Neill T. Carter

METROPOLITAN POLICY
AND
METROPOLITAN DEVELOPMENT

A proposal for governmental organization
in the Twin Cities area

Approved
by the
Board of Directors of the Citizens League
October 14, 1968

Prepared
by the
Metropolitan Development Guide Committee
John Finnegan, Greer E. Lockhart
Co-Chairmen

MAJOR IDEAS

- * The Twin Cities area has invested ten years and several million dollars studying and planning for its future growth. Now it is time to make that planning effective.
- * Major new sewage works are about to be built. Huge sums are likely to be spent by 1980 on additional freeways. A major transit system is being considered. A second international airport has already been proposed. A substantial expansion of the higher educational system is under way. An urgently needed program of metropolitan parks and open space will be before the 1969 Legislature. So will a proposal for a system of facilities for the disposal of solid wastes.
- * It is imperative that these be developed within the framework of some consistent policy about the kind of community the Twin Cities area is to be.
- * Unfortunately, we do not yet have at the area-wide level the governmental arrangements through which it will be possible to build and develop the area's major transportation, utility, open space, and other systems consistent with our plans and policies.
- * Even more serious, our planning is not yet effectively giving direction to the development of the area. The Metropolitan Development Guide lacks the specific proposals--as to what is to be built, when and where--that are required if the major systems are to be effectively coordinated with each other and with the overall development program.
- * This is a critical problem, in view of the major development decisions soon to be made.
- * In 1969 the Legislature is likely to be assigning new responsibilities for building and operating the new facilities and programs to be established at the metropolitan level. A key decision will have to be made: How can the Metropolitan Council be put effectively in charge?
- * We believe the way for the Metropolitan Council to be in charge is for it to move with great urgency to concentrate on the basic framework of planning and policy decisions . . . initiating the general "directives" or "guidelines" within which particular utility, transportation or other projects are developed.
- * The detailed planning of the projects, and the responsibility for actually building and "operating" the facilities, should be--and can be--vested in a set of area-wide service commissions, subordinate to the Metropolitan Council.

IN OUR REPORT

- * The Legislature should give the Metropolitan Council the authority--over plan approval, and over finances--to make sure that projects are, in fact, built in conformity with its guidelines.
- * A decentralized governmental arrangement of this sort will let the area move faster on the development of its much-needed metropolitan systems. At the same time, the basic separation of powers involved will free the Metropolitan Council to concentrate on the overall policy direction--which is of prime importance, and which it alone can provide.
- * Much is at stake in this decision by the Legislature on this program of area-wide planning and development.
- * The Twin Cities area needs to find some special advantages if it is to succeed in the inter-metropolitan competition in which it is now engaged.

It may be that nothing we can do will contribute so much as for us to offer a really superior quality of urban life. Clean air, clean waters, a transportation system free of congestion, a city free of blight, recreational and cultural institutions of national rank, superior systems for education and health care. Above all, an urban area in which rich and poor, of all races, live and share responsibility as parts of a total community.

- * This can only be done by gathering together the resources, and pooling the responsibilities, of this entire area.
- And this can be done, in turn, only through the creation of public agencies able to act.
- * Thus the question of organization for plan implementation is, we believe, the essential issue presented by the Metropolitan Development Guide.

If the governmental system is soundly built, the particular decisions about the shape of the area will follow.

If we fail to construct the decision-making system well, on the other hand, all the expense we have put into these years of planning will prove little but a waste of time, energy and--most important--of the public's hopes for the future.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
The Problem of Planning for the Twin Cities Area	i
Recommendations	13
Discussion of Recommendations	19
Work of the Committee	48

THE PROBLEM OF PLANNING FOR THE TWIN CITIES AREA

1. *Major decisions about development in the Twin Cities area are still being made outside the framework of any overall policy for the growth and development of the entire area. After ten years of metropolitan planning, the area still finds itself reacting to, and trying to adjust to, the project proposals of one independent, single-purpose agency after another.*

a. Area wants coordinated development. The Committee believes the Twin Cities area has demonstrated its interest in having major development projects evolve in an orderly sort of way out of agreed-upon objectives and policies. The support for the Metropolitan Planning Commission for the past ten years; the broad interest of local officials, as reflected in the work of the Elected Officials Review Committee of the Joint Program in 1965-66; and the growing support of the business and civic leadership demonstrate the seriousness of this area's commitment to a coherent development program. The Metropolitan Council Act puts the State Legislature clearly on record for the same objective.

b. Major projects still uncoordinated. The past year has seen at least three major examples of essentially metropolitan systems continuing to be developed apart from any comprehensive plan.

* In the spring of 1968, the Metropolitan Airports Commission (MAC) announced its plan to locate a second major international airport in northern Anoka County. The announcement came as a substantial surprise to other agencies whose programs are inevitably affected by the MAC decision. Though major transportation facilities will be required to serve such an airport, no freeways leading to the site have appeared on the engineers' maps. Though central sewer service will be required, officials of the North Suburban Sanitary Sewer District had not been consulted about extension of major interceptors. Though the Anoka County municipalities will be profoundly affected, they found themselves equally in the dark. Only a few weeks before the MAC announcement, a planning report had been submitted to a group of northern Anoka County communities. It concluded (and the consultants had, in the course of preparing the report, asked the MAC about its plans) that: "It is not expected that a major airport will be developed in northern Anoka County." Perhaps most significant, though the Airport has a substantial impact on metropolitan development, officials of the Metropolitan Council were informed about the MAC proposal only a few weeks before the project was made public. No comprehensive plan existed to give the MAC any guidance in making its decision. The MAC took the proposal to public hearings without waiting for the Metropolitan Council to develop a position.

* Early in 1968 the Minnesota Pollution Control Agency made plain its intention to proceed with the granting of applications for the construction of sub-regional sewage collection and treatment facilities in the metropolitan area. At this time, basic decisions had not been made by the regional planning agency as to the use to be made of the various stretches of the rivers flowing through the seven-county area, though studies were under way. At the request of the

Metropolitan Council, the Pollution Control Agency did agree to withhold action temporarily in response to the promise the Council would come in with an overall plan by July 1. Subsequently, the PCA gave approval for a 75,000-gallon plant on the Minnesota River to a group of southwestern suburbs.

The "concept plan" presented by the Metropolitan Council July 1 was not a comprehensive plan for river valley use, but an engineering plan for the location of major waste treatment works, based on meeting (existing) state and federal water quality standards. Other, non-engineering considerations, which may modify the plan for treatment works can -- it is hoped -- be introduced later as the river valley studies are completed.

- * Throughout 1967 and 1968, as well, the metropolitan area continued to be beset by disputes over the location and design of major highway facilities. The dispute along Hiawatha Avenue in Minneapolis, along Cedar Avenue in Minneapolis, through the "Southwest Diagonal" corridor in Minneapolis, involving County Road #18 in Hennepin County, and involving the so-called Cleveland-Prior Connector in St. Paul were simply the latest in a long series of clashes, all displaying basically the same elements: the transportation planners propose a facility, based mainly on projected traffic demands; affected groups not involved in the original planning object that the proposed designs do not sufficiently respect certain non-engineering considerations; a legal and political battle ensues to force the highway planners to revise their designs.

The conclusion seems inescapable that the regional planning program has not succeeded in effectively getting out ahead of the various agencies, each single-mindedly thinking about the fastest possible development of its own system. The Joint Program did not, in practice, function as a mechanism for the coordination of the ongoing construction program. In the absence of official policy decisions, as members and staff of the Metropolitan Council itself have pointed out, metropolitan planning did not lead, but rather followed, developments in the area.

c. Coordination problem will become worse. The Metropolitan Council has been assigned by the Legislature the job of studying and making recommendations on the solution of a broad range of area-wide problems, including proposals for the creation of additional governmental powers and agencies. In response to this charge, the Metropolitan Council created task forces to study the need for a program of solid waste disposal, to study the need for an areawide zoo, and to study the need for an areawide system of parks and open space. In addition, the Council itself is preparing a plan calling for the creation of some area-wide agency to undertake the development of metropolitan sewerage works. The Metropolitan Affairs Committee of the Citizens League concluded in 1967 that consideration should be given, in addition, to handling at the metropolitan level these three additional functions: Management of storm water runoff; the effort to combat the various forms of blight which threaten the wooded areas and the wildlife of the area; and a program for delivering wholesale quantities of fresh water for domestic and industrial use in the various parts of the seven-county area. If past practice is followed, the area will see the creation

of yet additional independent agencies. A very real danger exists, as a result, that--in the absence of some clearer concept of an integrated governmental structure for the area--the decision-making process will be further complicated, and the attainment of an overall comprehensive development program for the area will be made still more difficult.

2. *The objective of coordinated development has been seriously hampered by the failure of the regional planning agency to produce either an overall comprehensive plan for the area, or the basic long-range plans for the major physical systems that determine the direction and timing of urban growth.*

a. Functional plans not completed. Long-range plans do not exist for the major physical elements of the overall metropolitan plan. There is no parks-open space plan. There is no transit plan. No agreed-on highway plan. No drainage or airports plan. In some cases (open space and drainage are examples) no agency exists with area-wide responsibility for the development of such a plan. In other areas (transit, as an example) the area-wide agency has been only recently created. In still other areas (airports, for example) agencies exist with responsibility over the entire area . . . but have been notably reluctant to publish their long-range plans for projects to be built. In still other areas (highways) plans have been prepared but do not yet have the full approval of all parties involved. The regional planning agency has not undertaken to prepare and publish such long-range functional plans on its own, either for areas in which no operating agency yet exists, or in areas where an agency exists but is not doing long-range planning and programming.

b. Guidelines lacking for the operating agencies. The regional planning agency has not set out a general framework for the development of the Twin Cities area in such a way as to give direction to the operating agencies in the preparation of their own long-range functional plans. The notion of a land-use plan as a device to integrate park planning, transportation planning, utilities planning, etc. was rejected. Efforts were concentrated on getting agreement on basic policies for the development of the area . . . to get agreement on basic "rules", that is, to be followed in planning parks, highways or sewers in any part of the area. The intention was to make these "rules" detailed enough that they could be followed by the agencies responsible for developing facilities. The Joint Program ran several years behind schedule, however, and this critical element of "programs" to implement the policies was still unfinished in August, 1967, when the Joint Program ended and the Metropolitan Planning Commission went out of existence. The MPC, having committed itself to a cooperative planning approach in the Joint Program, did not break off and issue its own plans and proposals at points where disagreement was reached. Nor did it publish and distribute much of its detailed surveys and inventories (for example, of lands subject to flooding) which -- even though not a "plan" -- might have been influential in encouraging development to conform to planning objectives. The "concept" sewer plan issued by the Metropolitan Council in July, 1968, was effective as a guideline: the State Pollution Control Agency seems likely to require the Bloomington-Eagan-Burnsville district to expand its service area as recommended in the plan. The Southwestern district has adjusted its boundaries north of Lake Minnetonka to fit the Council's proposal. Comparable "concept plans" do not exist, however, for the other major elements of the overall development plan.

c. Council distracted from basic planning. Immediate crisis issues have tended to distract the regional planning agency from its basic job of long-range planning for the metropolitan area. The committee was told that the final "program" element of the Joint Program was not completed in the spring of 1967 primarily because pressing issues connected with the legislative session caused the planning work to be laid aside. Our understanding is that, similarly, a substantial part of the Metropolitan Council staff has been working for the past several months on issues immediately before the Council and connected with the 1969 legislative session. The schedule laid out for the Council by its consultant, Harold Wise -- calling for consideration of major elements of the Development Guide through January, February and March, with public hearings set for May and June -- has already been left far behind. Other planning experts who appeared before the committee, and members of the committee with substantial experience in planning, have warned that the long-range planning activity must be protected scrupulously against the inevitable pressures to respond to immediate crises.

d. Council wants to concentrate on basic policy. The chairman and several members of the Metropolitan Council, both in appearances before this committee and in other public statements around the area, have indicated their belief that the Metropolitan Council will not become a full time body in the near future. They have said, in addition, that they do not feel the Council is presently equipped to take on the job of making all the decisions involved in full responsibility for the entire development of the major metropolitan physical systems. The chairman and members of the Council have indicated that their time and energies are severely strained even with their present responsibilities. The committee recognized, too, the existing legislative determination that the Metropolitan Council should, for the time being, at least, remain an essentially policy-making agency.

3. *Even the preparation and publication of such plans would not, however, assure effective coordination of the area's development. The Metropolitan Council lacks the authority to require planning to be consistent with its guidelines, and to require projects to be consistent with the plans.*

a. Present review is advisory only. Except with relation to parks and open space projects, the review provided by the 1967 legislation is simply an opportunity for comments by the regional planning agency. Section 204 of the 1966 Housing Act, which ties federal aid to review by the Metropolitan Council, gives some additional strength. But it is uncertain how far the federal agencies will, in fact, agree to withhold funds in order to encourage compliance with the comments of the planning agency.

b. Council involved too late. Present law brings the Metropolitan Council into the decision-making in too negative a way, and at far too late a stage, to be effective. Typically (and the dispute early in 1968 over the design of County Road #18 in Hennepin is a good example) these issues come to the Council only when final financing is required . . . and by which time a whole set of commitments -- public and private -- have been made on the basis of the location and design proposed by the constructing agency, and cannot -- as a practical matter -- be reversed.

c. Scope of review is limited. Present law gives the Council no review over the plans of county governments, or of the agencies of state government. Projects will be submitted under Sec. 204 if federal aid is sought. But not all programs are covered by Sec. 204 (a new state college, e.g., would not be), and -- as noted -- this review comes into play only at a late stage of planning.

d. Agencies not related to Metropolitan Council. The agencies constructing facilities of area-wide significance are not a part of an integrated governmental structure; they are set up as independent agencies. Members of these agencies are responsible in no way to the Council, nor to any single appointing authority. In some cases the representation on these agencies is set up in such a way as to encourage a parochial point of view rather than an area-wide point of view consistent with the essentially metropolitan character of the system being developed. Nor has the Council any role in approving the finances for the acquisition of land or the development of facilities by the various operating agencies. None of the agencies, finally, has any particular obligation to base its planning on guidelines laid down by the Council.

4. *The Twin Cities area needs to reach basic agreement on the best way to carry out its planning, and on the organization of the various major development programs in relation to the policy-making Metropolitan Council.*

a. Metropolitan Development Guide not specific on structure. The major thrust of the Joint Program was -- as the Planning Director of the Metropolitan Council wrote in a paper in 1966 -- not toward more sophisticated planning techniques, but rather toward a new arrangement for the making of major development decisions.

"... It was concluded that our initial position on the role and function of metropolitan planning was sound -- that is, that we should create at the metropolitan level a framework or structure for the development of the region, by controlling the size, location and timing of major centers, major open spaces, and major transportation and utility systems."

The Guide proposals for governmental arrangements in the region are not, however, spelled out in detail. It talks simply in terms of powers:

"The 1969 Legislature should expand the Metropolitan Council's powers by (1) giving it control over the development of the major metropolitan commercial and industrial sites described elsewhere in this Guide, (2) giving it the operation of rapid transit, sanitary sewage systems, and open space, and (3) giving it control of funds for the above functions. To carry out such functions, the Metropolitan Council should have the power to:

- "(1) Plan and program -- establish goals
- (2) Adopt ordinances
- (3) Operate and take over operations in the functional areas under the Council's jurisdiction
- (4) Use eminent domain

- (5) Borrow money and issue bonds
- (6) Buy, sell and lease property
- (7) Tax
- (8) Enter into contracts
- (9) Hire staff
- (10) Accept grants and gifts
- (11) Collect revenue"

A kind of "city manager" arrangement seems to be contemplated, but the Guide does not say, for sure.

b. Council fails to endorse Guide's proposal. In the fall of 1967 the Metropolitan Council formed a Metropolitan Development Guide Committee of its own, which, with the help of its consultant, Harold Wise, reviewed the draft version of the Guide adopted by the Metropolitan Planning Commission in August, 1967. The Council's committee reported to the full Council on December 7, 1967, that, while there existed a commitment to the federal government to publish the Joint Program Guide, the Council should undertake to prepare and adopt its own development guide. The committee recommended the Joint Program Guide "be clearly distinguished from the Metropolitan Council's Development Guide and that a disclaimer of responsibility for, prior review of, or consideration by the Council accompany the publication of the Joint Program Guide." The committee report was adopted by the full Council. The Council's action appears to have been related, in some significant degree, to its feelings about the governmental arrangements proposed in the Joint Program Guide which were, as noted earlier, not accepted by the State Legislature at its 1967 session.

c. Relationship to state and county programs not clear. The 1967 Metropolitan Council Act, while laying out fairly clearly the relationship between the Council and plans and projects of municipalities and of special districts within the Twin Cities area, does not deal with the Council's relationship to the planning and construction of projects -- which would include highways and major parks -- by agencies of state government. Nor does it make clear the relationship between the Council and state agencies exercising authority over the development of private or local public projects within the metropolitan area . . . including the granting of money for hospital construction, the development of institutions of higher education, the approval of permits to tap ground water resources, or the authorization to construct waste treatment facilities. The act makes no mention at all about the relationship between the Council and those projects of county governments which have a significant impact on metropolitan development.

d. Task force proposals for "administrative board". In June, 1968, the task force appointed by the Metropolitan Council to consider the need for an area-wide zoo submitted a report which included a proposal that the zoo be organized as a project of an "administrative board" operating under and responsible to the Metropolitan Council. Early in July, 1968, the Metropolitan Council, in a "concept plan" for metropolitan sewerage facilities submitted to the State Pollution Control Agency, proposed the creation of "an administrative sewer board of seven members, established by the Council to administer broad sewer policies and to carry out the construction of facilities and their operation and maintenance." The proposal of the Zoo Advisory Committee

has not so far been adopted by the Council, and, in its statement to the Pollution Control Agency, the Council emphasized that its plan is at this date not a detailed nor a final plan, "but rather a policy or concept plan in sufficient detail to make responsible decisions relative to the total development of the area, governmental organization, and methods of financing."

e. Controversy over independent special districts. Through 1967 and 1968 a continuing criticism was voiced from a number of sources within the area about the makeup and operations of the existing special-purpose districts. Considerable criticism by several legislators and others was directed against the method of representation embodied in the Metropolitan Transit Commission created in 1967 . . . largely as a result of central city vs. suburban conflicts taking place within that agency board. Questions were also raised, by Minneapolis Mayor Arthur Naftalin and a number of suburban legislators and suburban newspaper editorials, about the makeup of the Metropolitan Airports Commission -- specifically, failure in this legislation dating back to 1943 to provide for any representation on the board from the suburban areas.

f. Dispute over continuation of the Joint Program. The original Joint Program for Land Use-Transportation Planning expired in the summer of 1967. Under the 1962 Highway Act, the metropolitan area is required to engage in a continuing, comprehensive and cooperative program for the planning of land use-transportation facilities. Beginning before the expiration of the original Joint Program, efforts were undertaken to reach agreement on an organization, and a division of responsibilities, for the continuation of the program after the summer of 1967. A continuing organization proposed by the Joint Program Coordinating Committee was rejected by the Metropolitan Council, whose chairman offered, as an alternative, that responsibility for preparing plans for the major urban transportation facilities be vested clearly in a body of reasonable size . . . specifically, a three-man board made up of the highway commissioner, the chairman of the Metropolitan Transit Commission, and the chairman of the Metropolitan Council. An early September "deadline" set by the federal government passed still without agreement being reached.

We believe it is imperative that, prior to the 1969 legislative session, the metropolitan area resolve this uncertainty, and come to some agreement within the area as to the manner in which it believes the area-wide operating programs should be organized, and as to the overall governmental framework it wishes to propose to the Legislature.

5. *The Minnesota Legislature made a wise and far-sighted decision in determining to build the legislative side of the area's governmental structure first, and has set up the Metropolitan Council on a sound and workable basis.*

a. Structure of the Council. This committee -- and, it thinks, the area -- is impressed by the first year of experience with this new effort at area-wide decision-making. The initial dispute over the location of the Council offices, far from indicating a basic fault in the method of representation simply by equal population districts, suggests the appropriateness of this representative framework: Once a vote was taken, and the question settled, the issue disappeared. Similarly, the size of the Council -- 14 members, plus a chairman selected at large -- has not, so far as we have been aware, been a matter of dispute since the Council's creation in August, 1967.

b. Regional functions only. The committee further concludes that the Legislature was wise in establishing -- and the Council in maintaining -- the basic determination that this metropolitan agency shall be concerned only with governmental functions essentially area-wide in nature. The same concept, the committee noted, underlies the definition of metropolitan planning embodied in the Joint Program Development Guide: That is, that the metropolitan agency concern itself with the location and timing only of certain major "shaping" elements -- utilities, transportation facilities, major centers, major open spaces -- leaving local units and private organizations to make their own development decisions within this framework of basic facilities.

6. *There is an urgent need to increase the effectiveness of the Metropolitan Council's role in basic planning and policy-making for the area. Guidelines for the long-range functional plans must be produced which are useful as a basis for coordinated decisions on the location and timing of major capital projects. The completion of such a "framework" plan must become the top priority concern of the Metropolitan Council.*

a. Council must move on its own. The Metropolitan Council, like the Metropolitan Planning Commission before it, has a charge from the Legislature to make plans for the area. It is the conclusion of this committee that the regional planning agency has to a considerable extent underestimated the usefulness of well-informed, well-thought-out plans and proposals -- even if preliminary and incomplete -- which could serve as a guide to the agencies developing capital projects. With all the limitations of "advisory" planning, we remain convinced that a stronger effort by the regional planning agency to initiate specific plans and proposals for the major transportation, utility and other systems could have significantly increased the coordination among the major development programs.

b. Only Council can perform comprehensive planning. The formal, and proper, responsibility of each separate development agency is to think single-mindedly about the needs of its own system. Each, of course, must be concerned to some extent about how it relates to other systems . . . that is, the airport planners should, and will, see to it that their facilities are served by roads and sewers. None, however, has a mission, nor a capability, to think comprehensively about the development of the area. Airport

planners have no mandate to preserve wild life refuges. Highway builders have no mandate to maximize the social and esthetic values of neighborhood communities. These interprogram considerations are, and must be, the responsibility of the comprehensive regional planning agency.

Broad, early policy decisions by the regional planning agency are, moreover, essential for the sound planning and development of the individual transportation, utility, and other systems. The planners of sewer systems must know, for example, if -- for reasons that go beyond engineering -- no waste treatment whatever is to be allowed on a particular lake or particular stretch of river. If the regional planning agency fails to lay down basic policies at the beginning, the basic decisions will be made willy-nilly by the engineers and technicians with only limited responsibility. The basic policy decisions about the area's growth would then be made by default. This has been, as the Metropolitan Development Guide points out, essentially the pattern of urban development in the past. The whole thrust of the metropolitan planning program, as this committee understands it, is to reverse this process and provide a way by which the engineering plans can develop out of prior policy decisions about the location, density, and timing of growth that is to take place.

c. Council must concentrate on policy. The demands on the limited time and attention of the Metropolitan Council staff and members are growing and are likely to continue to grow. The committee has concluded that some way must be found to require the Council to concentrate on the basic policies and long-range plans that must underlie the planning and development of the individual physical systems. The pressure to become involved in short-term controversies not of critical importance to the overall pattern of development must be resisted.

7. The Metropolitan Council must be given significantly greater authority to direct and coordinate the planning and development of the major "shaping" systems.

a. More than advisory role. While the early preparation of advisory plans could, in our judgment, be of real use, it is the conclusion of this committee that the Metropolitan Council needs the formal authority actually to set the direction, and the basic policies, within which the detailed plans and engineering proposals for transportation facilities, utility facilities, major open spaces and major centers will be developed.

b. Council must have final authority. Similarly, the committee concludes the Metropolitan Council should have more than a "review" authority over plans and projects for these major systems.

c. Council's role limited. This does not mean, the committee believes, that the Council itself must, or should, perform every step in the planning process. It is enough, we conclude, that the Council is empowered to set, in a clear but general way, the basic direction of the program planning; to request detailed plans; and to exercise the final authority -- through plan approval or the withholding of funds -- over the particular projects to make sure they are consistent with comprehensive planning objectives.

8. Attention now needs to be directed at the organization of the executive/administrative functions that will, inevitably, be set up to develop and operate the major metropolitan systems.

a. Need to see "separation of powers". We cannot think of metropolitan governmental structure simply as "the Council", any more than we can think of state government as "the Legislature" or of the national government as "Congress". The policy-making body does not "operate" programs directly. Some executive/administrative arrangement will be established. The need is to consider the alternatives possible . . . programs under an independent chief executive; programs under a "manager" hired by the Council; programs under independent single-purpose districts, etc. . . . and to design an arrangement which best meets the needs of this area.

9. *The area-wide governmental arrangements devised must not submerge the Metropolitan Council in controversies and time-consuming decisions which will distract it from its basic mission of major planning and policy-making.*

a. Danger is a real one. Over the next five or ten years, a number of very large development responsibilities are likely to be placed at the metropolitan level. Planning for a system of mass rapid transit began only in 1967. The 1969 Legislature will be requested to authorize the development of a metropolitan zoo, of a metropolitan parks and open space system, and of a metropolitan solid waste disposal program. Beyond this, there is a possibility -- and, we believe, a need -- for area-wide programs having to do with the control of surface water runoff, the provision of fresh water supplies, and the control of various forms of blight. In the early stages of implementing all these programs, a series of very difficult decisions must be made. Not all of them -- perhaps not very many of them -- are of critical significance for the overall pattern of development. But many of them do involve choices that are beyond what are normally accepted to be the responsibilities of professional administrators. And a great many of them . . . for example, the letting of contracts and concessions . . . will be controversial and filled with pressures.

b. Council must be protected. The committee is convinced that, if all these decisions are made the direct responsibility of the Council, it will be impossible for its members to perform, or to find time for, their primary responsibilities in planning and policy-making. It is essential that, to the maximum extent possible, the governmental arrangements established at the area-wide level protect the Council from decisions, and demands on its time, that are not crucial to its supervision of the total program of metropolitan development.

10. *The governmental arrangements devised must provide for policy issues to be forced at the Metropolitan Council when necessary, and to be publicly debated.*

a. Issues may be evaded. As the Metropolitan Council becomes involved in difficult policy questions, there may well be a tendency, as there is in many governmental bodies, to avoid open controversies if at all possible. The kinds of issues with which the Council will be dealing will involve many very tough choices. Not all of the actions it will be obliged to take will be popular, or easy, at the moment.

b. Problems with district representation. The Metropolitan Council is, and seems likely to remain, a board with its membership representing geographical districts within the metropolitan area. The systems it

will be responsible for planning and developing are, however, uniquely areawide systems, service many communities, in some cases several counties, and in some cases several council districts. The Council will be, by its very makeup, considering plans and proposals in terms of their effect on the different parts of the seven-county area. Over against this point of view, there needs to be set some effort to see plans and issues in terms of their effect on the area as a whole.

c. Need for open debate. There is a primary public interest in having controversial proposals made when they need to be made and presented publicly to the legislative body, which is to react to them. There is a need, too, to design into the areawide structure some individual or agency speaking for the area as a whole, who will lay proposals before a legislative body made up by districts. This "separation" of powers is traditional and the normal form of organization, in our governmental system. This committee believes it must be basic in the design of the governmental arrangements created at the metropolitan level in the Twin Cities area.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. *Governmental Organization for Metropolitan Planning and Development*

Overall Framework

We recommend the 1969 Legislature draw the area-wide agencies involved in the planning and development of the Twin Cities area together into a governmental framework that incorporates a fundamental separation of powers between policy-making and executive operations.

Metropolitan Council

The Metropolitan Council should exercise the basic planning and policy-making functions, and should be given the authority needed to put it effectively in charge of the area's development program.

Service Commissions

Separate but subordinate area service commissions should be created by the Legislature, and assigned responsibility for developing and operating the major area-wide systems.

Limited Powers

This area-wide governmental structure--Metropolitan Council and subordinate commissions--should continue to exercise only those limited responsibilities, and to have only those limited powers, assigned to it by the State Legislature. It should be involved only with issues and facilities necessarily requiring decisions at the seven-county level.

Local Government

Much closer relationships should be developed with local governments in the area: Specific procedures should be adopted to ensure timely consultation with local officials in preparing area-wide plans, and to inform local units of research and proposals developed by the Council and the service commissions.

To the maximum extent, the Council and the service commissions should provide for the maintenance and operation of metropolitan facilities to be carried out under contract with the local units within which the facilities are located.

2. *Functions to be performed by the service commissions* (See Page 36)

We recommend service commissions be responsible for at least the following area-wide services and facilities:

- * The disposal of wastes, whether into the water, the air, or the land of the metropolitan area.
- * Parks and open space, including a zoo.

* Airports.

* Environmental protection, including mosquito abatement and control of blight.

Because of the urgency of relating transportation planning to general area-wide planning, and of relating the planning of major highways to the planning of mass rapid transit facilities, we recommend that the major elements involved in urban transportation be brought together in a unified program. Such a program should be organized, staffed and appropriately related to the Metropolitan Council. Actual implementation of approved planning developed under such a program could take place by use of all or some presently existing agencies. We are aware that a separate committee of the Citizens League has been reviewing this problem extensively for more than a year and will be making more specific recommendations in the near future.

There should not be a separate service commission created for each separate area-wide program or service. The Legislature should provide for the grouping of related functions into a lesser number of commissions, each with broader responsibility.

3. *Organization and powers of the Metropolitan Council*

Membership (See Page 39)

We recommend the Metropolitan Council continue with 14 members, representing equal-population districts, and a chairman representing the area at large.

Selection (See Page 39)

We recommend the members representing the 14 districts be popularly elected by the residents of those districts.

The chairman should be a resident of the seven-county area, serving at large, elected by the Metropolitan Council. He may be, at the time of his election, a member of the Council, but--if so--shall resign as a representative of his district, and another member should be selected to take his place.

Compensation (See Page 39)

We recommend the members of the Council be paid salaries consistent with attracting and retaining high-calibre less-than-full-time public officials.

Terms

We recommend the members of the Metropolitan Council be elected for non-staggered, four-year terms.

Duties (See Page 40)

The Metropolitan Council, as the policy-making arm of the area governmental structure, should continue--as provided in the 1967 legislation--to be

responsible for the basic planning and coordination of the physical, social and economic development of the Twin Cities area.

- a. The Council should supervise and direct the program of physical development. It should perform the comprehensive planning, and prepare the general guidelines which the various service commissions should take as their "assignment".
- b. The Council should stimulate and coordinate planning---at all levels of government, and in private as well as public agencies---for the social and economic development of the area. The Council has become involved, during its first year, in planning for the improvement of the health care system, in planning for the system of law enforcement, in planning for the needs for governmental manpower. It should direct increased attention on problems of housing, education and public welfare.
- c. The Council should continuously appraise the system of local government in the Twin Cities area. It has already been given a role in the extension of municipal government, through annexation and incorporation; and in the consolidation of local services and local units. It should have the mandate as well, to petition for needed boundary adjustments, and should review and approve the creation of sub-regional special districts proposed under the Joint Powers Act, where such districts would be developing facilities or carrying on programs of significance to overall metropolitan development.
- d. The Council should carry on a program of basic research and studies on the social and economic trends, on population trends, on local public finance, etc., and should publish and widely distribute the results of these studies.

4. *Organization and powers of the service commissions*

We envision the service commissions as essentially executive agencies. They will play the indispensable role an executive plays in program development . . . through their charge to lay proposals before the policy-making body for decision. They will also be responsible, once the policy decision has been made, for implementation of the program.

The specific organization and makeup of the service commissions will, and should, vary from program to program. We do recommend, however, the following general plan as a guideline for the Legislature in the design of whatever commissions are created:

Membership (See Page 41)

Members of the commissions should be appointed by the chairman of the Metropolitan Council, subject to the consent of the Council.

Size (See Page 41)

The commissions should consist of from 5 to 11 members.

Representation (See Page 41)

We recommend that members of the commissions be selected from the area at large. We would urge, and expect, that in practice the members--in terms of their personal residence--would be distributed rather broadly around the seven-county area. No formal representational element should, however, be explicitly built into their structure.

Compensation (See Page 42)

Members should be compensated, as part-time public officials, with a reasonable per diem for meetings attended.

Terms (See Page 42)

Members of the commissions should serve for four-year staggered terms.

Qualifications (See Page 43)

Members should be selected primarily on the basis of their knowledge of the problems and the governmental system of the Twin Cities area, and of their ability in handling issues of public policy. This may, but need not necessarily, mean service in government. Special background in the area of the commission's work should not be excluded, but the aim should be to develop a board of generalists, not technicians.

Powers and Duties (See Page 43)

Under the direction of the Metropolitan Council, the service commissions should have responsibility over and authority for the following:

- * Vigorously advocating to the Metropolitan Council programs and actions necessary to meet area-wide needs in the problem areas for which they are responsible.
- * Preparing, within guidelines laid down by the Council, the detailed plans and engineering proposals for the development of the transportation, utility, open space and other major systems.
- * Developing and operating the programs and facilities in the various area-wide systems, including the letting of contracts, awarding of concessions, preparation and approval of site plans, hiring and supervision of personnel, the adoption of regulations and the making of policy decisions arising in connection with the operation of the program.

Creation (See Page 43)

We recommend the service commissions be created by action of the Legislature, on recommendation of the Metropolitan Council.

5. *Division of responsibility between the Metropolitan Council and the area service commissions*

Planning (See Page 44)

We recommend the Metropolitan Council concentrate on the preparation of the comprehensive development plan and program, with the major plan elements (transportation, utilities, open space, major centers, etc.) worked out in enough detail to offer the service commissions guidelines as to what is to be built, and generally when and where.

The service commissions then, working within these guidelines, should prepare detailed plans and specific project proposals, complete with recommendations as to timing and financing.

The Council should have the authority and responsibility for reviewing and altering as necessary the plans and project proposals of the commissions for consistency with its comprehensive development program; and for assembling project proposals into a comprehensive one- and five-year development program.

Finances (See Page 45)

The Legislature should make the basic decisions about the financing of the development program, both as to the amounts authorized to be borrowed and the sources to be used for debt service and for operations. The Legislature should authorize the Metropolitan Council to issue bonds, within a fixed limit (expressed either in dollars, or as a percentage of the valuation of the area). For the repayment of the bonds, for the operation of the programs of the service commissions, and for the financing of the Council's own staff, the Legislature should empower the Metropolitan Council to levy specified taxes and user charges, up to a fixed maximum.

- * The service commissions should submit to the Council one- and five-year proposed capital programs, including the amounts to be raised and the sources proposed to be used.
- * The Council should prepare a comprehensive one- and five-year capital development program. The program would be financed primarily by federal aids and by borrowing: The Council would approve federal aid applications for those projects to be included in its annual program, and would issue bonds for those projects (or portions of projects) to be financed locally.
- * The service commissions should also prepare and submit to the Council their plans for financing their operations for the subsequent year. The Council should review these proposals, as to the total level of financing required and the sources from which it is to be raised. The Council should have power to change the total budget proposed, but not to adjust line items. The Council should be authorized to levy taxes or impose charges, as proposed in the commission's financing plan, to cover the approved budget.

Staff (See Page 46)

We recommend the service commissions be empowered to name their own chief administrative officers and supporting staff.

The service commissions should contract with the Council for specialized personnel where appropriate. In particular, we recommend consideration be given to the use, by a service commission, of the planners from the staff of the Council who have worked in the preparation of the major plan element for which that particular commission is responsible. A planner on the staff of the Council who has helped prepare the comprehensive plan's guidelines for the sewer system, for example, might be lent to the area sewer commission to help in the preparation of its detailed plan for the interceptor sewers and treatment plants to serve the area.

Consideration should be given to the creation of a single legal staff serving both the Council and the service commissions.

Administrative Services (See Page 47)

We recommend the Council be given authority to prescribe by regulation the extent to which the various service commissions should make use of centralized services provided by the Council, in areas where significant economies might be achieved. Such areas may include:

- * Personnel: recruiting, testing, insurance programs, retirement programs and compensation systems.
- * Data processing.
- * Library.
- * Purchasing.
- * Office space.
- * Uniform accounting and reporting procedures.

DISCUSSION

The Guide: The Crucial Issue is Implementation

The Metropolitan Development Guide is not a conventional metropolitan "plan." Its focus is on the process of development . . . on "how" the area manages its growth, handles its problems of traffic congestion and waste disposal, meets its needs for open space, and protects its natural resources. It is not simply a set of pictures showing the way the Twin Cities area should be laid out in the Year 1985.

The Guide is, in other words, primarily a proposal for how to get problems solved, by getting plans implemented. The primary issue it raises, therefore, necessarily has to do with a question of governmental organization and powers.

This is, at least, the view this committee, in the end, came to have of the Guide. Our report is, accordingly, concerned mainly with the question of plan implementation, and the governmental arrangements at the areawide level most desirable for making policy decisions on how to handle problems, and how to develop major public facilities; and for carrying out these decisions, once made.

Many persons who followed the work of the Joint Program on Land Use-Transportation Planning . . . listening to its discussion of "radial corridors," "satellite cities" and "spread city" . . . may have expected another kind of Guide, and therefore another kind of report from this committee.

In part, of course, the Guide does deal with pattern of physical development -- the growth of the downtowns and suburban centers, the location of parks and transit lines.

But, clearly, this committee thought, the main focus is -- and must be -- on getting this area's pressing problems under control. We must get central sewer service to the unsewered suburban areas. We must strengthen and improve our mass rapid transit system. We must acquire land for parks and open space before it disappears. We must get freeways built without disrupting our communities. Natural resources must be protected.

Books and stacks of plans and maps will not get these problems solved, and these needs met. Organizations will get them solved, and met. People have got to be hired. Money must be raised. Contracts must be let. Work must be supervised. Countless detailed decisions will have to be made.

What this means is that in 1969 -- if it is really serious about getting on top of its metropolitan problems, and making this a model for the solution of area-wide problems -- the Twin Cities area urgently needs to work out the governmental arrangements required to translate its plans into reality. Government organizations will have to be established. Powers . . . to tax, to borrow, to let contracts, to build, to own, to sell . . . will have to be assigned to someone.

Between now and 1969, the people of the area, and its civic and governmental leadership, must think out the best way to arrange these governmental organizations and powers. What are our objectives? What is the most desirable solution?

This is what we have tried to do in the course of our review of the Guide. In this report we offer the conclusions and proposals at which we arrived.

Why metropolitan planning centered on the process of development

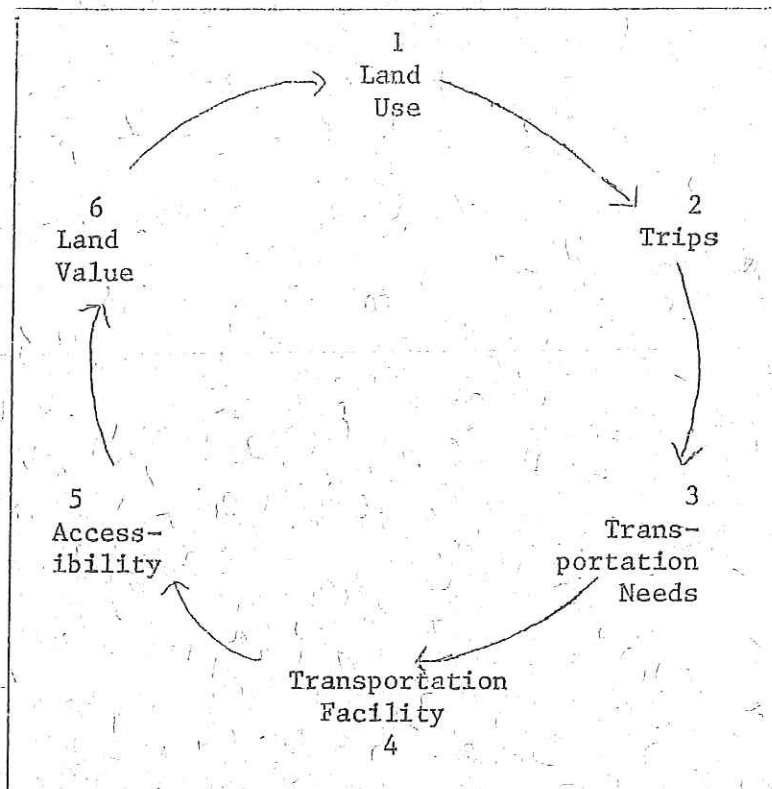
Much of the work of the Metropolitan Planning Commission after its establishment in 1957 was, of course, directed at the preparation of specific plans for the Twin Cities area. In a series of reports up to about 1961 -- dealing with water resources, sewerage systems, land and land use, parks and open space, and the economy of the metropolitan area -- the MPC seemed to be moving toward concrete (and relatively conventional) planning proposals.

Late in 1961, the MPC was offered -- and accepted -- an opportunity to become involved with the Minnesota Highway Department in one of the first major land use-transportation planning studies. Nationally, a deep conflict through the late 1950's, between the planners and the highway engineers, ended that year in a memorandum of understanding between the two major federal agencies involved: the Commerce Department, which had under its jurisdiction the federal-aid highway program; and the (then) Housing and Home Finance Agency, which was responsible for the urban, and urban planning, programs. The two agencies, recognizing that the future of land uses and the future of transportation facilities in the urban areas were inextricably intertwined, agreed jointly to finance very large and complex computer studies aimed at working out -- comprehensively, cooperatively and continuously -- decisions on the development of the metropolitan area. After June 30, 1965, the Secretary of Commerce was authorized to withhold highway construction funds from any area of 50,000 or more in which no such planning process was under way.

The Joint Program, as it came to be known in the Twin Cities area, thus seemed to offer an opportunity to "take hold of" the highway program, and to use its tremendous impact on urban growth as a positive aid in carrying out areawide development plans. From 1962 on, the Metropolitan Planning Commission assigned most of its resources to the job of assembling the data needed for the metropolitan growth model that was to produce the agreed-on thoroughfare for the area.

As it evolved, the Joint Program dealt not so much in specific proposals about what . . . that is, what roads or transit lines or commercial centers or parks . . . were to be built, as in proposals for the way in which decisions were to be made about the location of these major facilities. The thrust of the effort was to understand the process of development, and to bring the key elements of the process under public control. This emphasis on controlling the process of development, and on the key role of highways in the process, is clear from the opening section of the Guide itself, where the authors lay out again the schematic "circle" diagram that illustrates the key concept in the whole Joint Program:

"The early reports of the Joint Program have already illustrated the interaction of the various elements of the metropolis. The cycle diagram shows the basic relationship between land-use and transportation. To restate it, the way land is used (1) generates trips (2). The need to make trips creates transportation needs (3). The construction of a highway or other transportation facility (4) provides accessibility (5). Accessibility permits people to get to a site, which affects the value of the land (6). And the value of the land is a consideration in deciding what it is to be used for (1)." (See illustration on next page.)



"In the past, such public capital investments as highways have been designed solely in response to the right half of the cycle -- to serve the needs created by the way land is used. The left half of the cycle -- the effects on shaping land-use -- have largely been left to chance. This is in spite of the fact that the shaping effects may be more profound than the service results."

"This Metropolitan Development Guide urges that purpose be given to the entire cycle -- that public capital investments such as highways be used intentionally to "shape" land development as well as to serve it, or that private capital investments such as those for major shopping and office centers be influenced by the application of public controls, such as zoning and building codes, and of taxes."

"Transportation facilities and major centers are the most influential of the key elements. Others are open spaces, major industrial concentrations, and utilities, especially sewers. The other elements of urban growth -- housing, small-scale industry, and small commercial developments -- tend to fall into place in accord with the shaping elements."

Organizing the process

The effort to take hold of the process of development translates itself, necessarily, into a discussion of organizations and powers. The opening section of the Guide has to do with "government," and the first of the proposed policies for

development is: "enlarge the powers of the Metropolitan Council to make it a multi-functional organization." The first of the specific "programs" detailing these policies lays out the powers the Guide recommends should be given to the Metropolitan Council by the 1969 Legislature.

This was part of a conscious decision to concentrate -- in metropolitan planning for the Twin Cities area -- on implementation, rather than newer and more sophisticated research techniques. The MPC's director of planning made this point in a professional paper in 1966:

"... In the task of guiding development, we note weaknesses in two areas -- in research technique and in the making of development decisions. The Joint Program set out to balance efforts to improve research techniques with attempts to improve the way in which development decisions are made . . . It was our belief that research techniques need be no more sophisticated than our ability to make decisions based on research . . . Our crude research procedures were perfection itself compared to existing procedures for making organized metropolitan-wide development decisions."

The idea of a "map-type" metropolitan plan was rejected on the grounds that such a plan does not indicate how the future pattern-of-things is to be achieved . . . and thus tends to be ignored by public officials. The effort in the Guide, instead, was to write a set of "rules of the game" for metropolitan development. That is, a set of policies, evolving out of certain goals for the area's development, and leading logically to programs -- or specific action plans -- to carry them into effect. The effort was to move from the general to the specific; from goals to programs, reaching agreement at each stage.

Problems with the Guide

There were two major problems with this concept of the Joint Program . . . which became problems for our committee, as well, as we sought to review its proposals.

First, most of the detailed "programs" were unfinished when the MPC went out of existence, and the Joint Program terminated, in the summer of 1967. Thus -- since, as the MPC's planning director wrote, ". . . the final goals of the metropolitan planning in the Twin Cities area will not be established until we have gone all the way through the process to adopted programs" -- the entire Guide, including the goals and policies that appear in the published report, remains in a "tentative" status.

Second, even if the programs had been completed, there was no formal arrangement for securing their official adoption as the settled consensus of the area, and no effective governmental machinery for translating them into action.

Our conclusion

Our committee, therefore, saw the essential issue raised by the Guide as primarily the need for some framework, or governmental structure, which could effectively make the key public decisions about the major public facilities -- the highways and transit lines, the sewer and water lines, the major parks and open space -- which, along with the major private commercial centers, basically shape the growth of the region. The committee reviewed the Guide's own proposals for this needed governmental structure. It found them tentative and incomplete. In the end,

as will be evident, we worked out another proposal on governmental organization and powers.

Two other considerations led the committee to this decision.

One was the awareness that, as a result of the Legislature's charge to the Metropolitan Council in 1967, proposals would be laid before the 1969 session for additional areawide functions . . . probably in the areas of parks and open space, sewage disposal, solid waste disposal, and a zoo. All would, inevitably, revive the old (and, we think, inaccurate) issue of "operating" versus "coordinating" powers, and underline the need for some overall concept of the manner in which the areawide planning, policy-making and administration are to be organized.

The other was the recognition that -- through all of the recent emergence of our postwar urban problems in this country -- the obstacle frequently has not been the shortage of imaginative plans. The difficulty has been the inability of the urban areas to carry these plans to reality. If we can build the governmental arrangements adequate to make and carry out major development decisions, the specific plans and proposals will be forthcoming. Without the ability to implement, on the other hand, the best plans may continue to gather dust.

Basic Concepts in Our Recommendations

The committee's conclusions and recommendations are, in some respects, aspects of a single central idea . . . having to do with the need to think more carefully about the essentially executive role in the areawide governmental structure being developed.

Separation of powers

The Guide talks of "the Metropolitan Council." We believe it is necessary to think in terms of a governmental organization of which the Council is a part. The Metropolitan Council is a policy-making body. It is -- necessarily and properly -- a political body. Such a body does not operate public facilities and programs directly. Some executive structure is required. The question is: What kind? How organized? How created? How related to the policy-making Council? These questions are not dealt with in any detail in the Guide. They are the questions, as a result, to which this committee devoted a substantial part of its attention.

Council policy must control

This conclusion does not in any way diminish our conviction that the Metropolitan Council must be put firmly in charge of the development program for the area. There is a growing agreement, we think, that the practice of creating a new and independent agency for each new areawide function must not be continued. The sewer, highway or park systems must be built to fit an overall plan in the same way that the plumbing, electrical or ventilating systems are built to fit the overall plan for, say, a new office building. Ultimate authority must rest with the Metropolitan Council. For a competent engineer or technical person of any kind almost any system is feasible. It is possible for a travel agent, for example, to arrange any sort of vacation, at almost any location. The agent might, in the absence of some instruction to the contrary, draw up a plan for a vacation based on his knowledge of where his client has gone in past years. But, clearly, this is not the role for a technician or engineer to be playing. A "policy decision" is required. Similarly, in

metropolitan development, a variety of different engineering solutions to the sewerage problem, for example, are possible. The engineers can state and evaluate alternatives. But they cannot choose. A policy decision is required. The making of this kind of decision, we believe, is the primary task, and responsibility, of the Metropolitan Council.

The need for proposals

If the Metropolitan Council is to make these kinds of choices, some arrangements must be established so that there can be laid before it -- promptly, completely, and objectively -- all the alternatives available. This job of "making proposals" is one of the functions performed in government, as in private organizations, by the executive agency. Another is the implementation of the policies adopted. Both these functions, the committee recognized, have been and are being performed, in a way, in the Twin Cities area today by the special districts created by the Legislature. The criticism directed at these special districts has seldom gone to their aggressiveness in making proposals for the development of the sewer, airport or other systems for which they are responsible; or against their effectiveness in building the facilities they were set up to build. The criticism has been directed -- and properly, in our opinion -- against their independence . . . from the public, from the comprehensive planning agency, and from each other. In a sense, the committee's effort was to find some way to preserve the strengths of the area-wide governmental system that has been developing here, and to overcome this critical weakness. For this reason, we devoted much attention to the possible and desirable relationships between the area service commissions we propose, and the Metropolitan Council . . . working out, in the end, a balance of powers and responsibilities we consider workable and appropriate, as between the comprehensive planning and policy-making by the Council and the program planning and operation by the commissions.

Criteria for the organization

As we talked through these issues, a number of basic objectives became clear.

First, we wanted to keep the Metropolitan Council clear of the detailed decisions not of crucial significance for area-wide development, which would "bog it down" and detract it from its primary job of basic policy-making.

Second, we wanted to ensure that clear proposals would be forthcoming for the major area-wide systems, to be laid before the Council, publicly debated, and assembled into the overall development program.

Third, we wanted to make certain that the questions arising in the operation of the major area-wide programs, which are properly policy questions (even if not of critical importance for metropolitan development) remain in the hands of policy officials. In running a zoo, for example, what kind of an animal collection?

We assume there will be conflicts, between individuals and agencies whose job it is to think single-mindedly about the early and proper development of the road, transit, utility, park and other systems; and the individuals and agencies whose job it is to be thinking continuously about the relationship of these systems to each other, and to the overall development plan. We wanted to make sure that, so far as possible, this necessary and not unhealthy clash of points of view takes place in the open. We assumed, too, that there will be occasions which require some public

comment on, or criticism of, what is being done -- or not being done. We wanted to make sure that, in such a situation, the system makes it possible for a private group, and for the citizen, to be heard.

The Organization of Program Operations

Under our proposal the operating programs would be organized under area service commissions, responsible to, but separate from, the Metropolitan Council itself. There are a number of reasons for believing this arrangement is preferable to the arrangement implied in the Guide.

There are policy issues in all the programs

In the course of operating any of the major programs, issues will inevitably arise that are not of critical significance for metropolitan development, yet are beyond the responsibility of a professional administrator to resolve. In the establishment of a metropolitan zoo, for example, there will need to be a decision made about the kind of animal collection that is to be established. Should it be a smaller collection of rarer and more expensive specimens? Or the reverse? Should it emphasize North American mammals? Or should it emphasize those animals least often seen? What emphasis on fish? On birds? Should there be a barnyard zoo? Also: Should the public operate the rides and restaurants itself? Or should these be let as a concession? Should admission be charged? If so, how much? And so forth.

Such "program policy" questions are not peculiar to the zoo. They will also arise in the transit program, and in other programs. Should the public, for example, subsidize the fares of a private company, or take the company into public ownership? Should bus service from low-income areas to suburban employment centers get priority over a proposed new circulation system in the central business districts? How much extra should be spent on architecture and design for a new rapid transit facility?

The Metropolitan Council should delegate these program policy decisions

Issues of this sort, though not of critical importance for its primary responsibility, would inevitably claim substantial amounts of the Council's time, if they are permitted to reach the Council. Questions like these . . . questions involving the awarding of contracts and the hiring of key employees . . . are not simple decisions. They require time in study. They tend, moreover, to be controversial questions. They will not be settled quickly. And there will be an enormous number of them.

The chairman of the Metropolitan Council has indicated, in public and before this committee, his -- and the Council's -- concern about the load of work that would be involved should the Council evolve as an operating/administrative body. The committee was conscious, as well, of the reluctance of the Legislature in 1967 to assign it these responsibilities. The Metropolitan Development Guide was published by the Council late this spring with a specific "disclaimer," indicating the members' reservations about the particular proposals for areawide organization and powers contained in the Joint Program document.

The commissions should be effective areawide decision-makers

Our proposal contemplates that the service commissions would take on the basic responsibility for running the various systems, and for making the difficult and controversial program policy decisions. They would also (as we discuss below) prepare the detailed system plans and project proposals, in line with the Council's guidelines. This arrangement has the important virtue of having the proposals come from an agency set up to think in terms of the needs of the Twin Cities area as a whole. The proposals would then be reviewed by the Council, in which members represent particular districts within the area. We believe this relationship is essential for the integrity of the program plans and proposals.

The service commissions will also maximize the use of citizens as policy-makers, at a stage in the development of the area's major systems, and in the evolution of the area's government, when some very basic "start-up" decisions need to be made, and when broad public understanding and support is critical.

The commissions should not be "administrative boards"

The committee is convinced that success in the carrying-out of the Guide will depend very largely, if not primarily, on the presence of strong, capable administrators given the tools and the authority to perform their job. We do not believe the service commissions will conflict with this objective. We do not envision these commissions as "administrative boards."

The existence of the service commissions is not an argument for administration by commission. The commissions are for policy questions. It is a fine line, perhaps. But it can be respected. The committee was told, for example, that the executive directors of the Housing and Redevelopment Authorities in the Twin Cities area have functioned successfully as strong administrators, under a lay board given the responsibility for general direction of the program. We believe the same relationship can be achieved in the arrangement we propose, as between the service commission and its strong administrative staff.

The service commissions are likely to be, in fact, essential to the independence and integrity of the administrative staff. It is not very common practice for administrators to work directly for a policy-making body -- politically sensitive as it must be -- all of whose members are chosen to represent districts. Such experience as we do have with that sort of arrangement does not encourage its repetition in the developing metropolitan governmental structure. The separation of powers concept, we have concluded, is essential.

Why not a "Chief Executive"?

Many of our arguments and objectives, the committee was aware, lead logically to a proposal for a chief executive, to whom the program administrators would be directly responsible. The areawide governmental structure would then be set up essentially in the manner of the state or national government, and of some cities. A governor, for example, representing the state as a whole, is charged with the development and presentation of plans and programs to the state's policy-making body, the Legislature . . . and for carrying out the programs, once adopted.

Such an arrangement for the metropolitan area was urged by several members of the committee. A majority felt, however, that a chief executive on this model was not a realistic possibility for the area in the immediate future. We believe it should continue to be studied, however, as a possible eventual arrangement for the executive side of the governmental structure in the long run.

The Organization of Planning

A preliminary note about planning terms

Few things are as elusive for the layman as the concept of "planning". Sometimes it seems to elude all definition.

Consider the elements of what the corporate planners now call "a system of plans": floor plans; building plans; site plans; project plans; neighborhood plans; community plans; county plans; metropolitan plans; state plans, national plans. Also: physical planning, social planning, economic planning, health facilities planning, library planning, manpower planning, park planning, airport planning. Personnel plans, financial plans, capital plans. Comprehensive plans. Functional plans. Public planning. Private planning.

We will be working in this report mainly with two planning concepts. All the concepts in this field still being somewhat imprecise, we have felt free to define them for ourselves. We have attached names to them, which we will be using frequently throughout the report. They are words used also by others, sometimes with different meanings. But, like the Queen in Alice in Wonderland, we say: "Words mean what we say they mean."

We are talking generally about the process of organizing the future . . . or at least that part of it found within this metropolitan area, and properly subject to some degree of public control.

We start with the governmental functions being performed . . . concepts we think are fairly well understood by the public (remembering that we are working at the metropolitan level, and thus dealing only with the major facilities). Sewage collection and treatment. Parks and open space. Airports. Transportation.

The process of thinking-out what is to be done, and built, in each of these areas we are going to call functional planning. Or, meaning the same thing, we may talk about the planning of the sewerage, open space, airports or transportation system (using the word, now, in its somewhat old-fashioned sense). Within each system plan, of course, there are developed specific sewer, park, airport or transportation project plans.

The second kind of planning with which we will be concerned relates to the thinking-out of the future of the entire metropolitan community. It involves questions about the size to which it ought to grow, the shape it ought to take, the way it looks, the way it "lives" and the manner in which its various elements are organized. It involves, in other words, basic studies about what is happening to a community, and raises basic issues about what its residents want.

This kind of planning (again, in a somewhat old-fashioned way) we will call comprehensive planning. Or, sometimes, simply overall planning.

Note a couple other things.

First: Both kinds involve long-range thinking. We will be talking both about long-range comprehensive planning, and about long-range functional, or system, planning. The distinction is not in time scale, but in "point of view", so to speak.

The job of the first kind of planner is to think single-mindedly about his one system. The job of the second is to think broadly about the relationships among systems.

Second: The two kinds of planning cannot be set neatly into different compartments. Neither "precedes" the other. Neither is ever "finished". At any point we choose to start, both kinds of planning are already under way . . . with some ideas well along about the next sewers, parks, airports and highways to be built, and with other ideas taking shape about the kind of urban area this ought to be.

Both kinds of planning, furthermore, are continually inter-acting on each other. Changes required in planning some particular system are likely to affect the comprehensive, or overall, planning (a new type of rapid transit, for example, will require changes in a housing pattern). And changes in the comprehensive planning (a new public desire for substantially more open space, for example) are continually requiring changes in the individual system plans.

For this reason -- though the two kinds can be distinguished, and though we will be recommending they be housed in separate organizations -- comprehensive planning and system planning must be done cooperatively. The people assigned to think about sewers or parks or airports or transportation must work intimately with the people assigned to think about the relationship of transportation, for example, to the area's general development objectives.

The critical absence of long-range plans

As organizations begin to be created to handle the new functions being assigned to the area-wide governmental structure, there should be plans ready for them to pick up and implement. The assignment given to the comprehensive planning agency by the Legislature in 1957 was, after all, to make metropolitan plans.

These plans, unfortunately, do not exist. Generalized maps of the local units of government, maps showing existing land use, showing the types of soils in the area, and identifying the location of the major roads, parks, industrial areas and concentrations of population have been prepared and distributed. Informative reports and useful proposals have been issued from time to time. But the elected officials and the administrators--public and private--who are making the ongoing development decisions have a need for information that is quite detailed and concrete. "What," they have a way of asking, "do you want me to do?" It is substantially true that the metropolitan planning program has not produced a planning framework sufficiently specific -- especially as to questions of location of facilities -- to respond effectively to this level of need. Development has continued, therefore, too much unplanned.

We believe this lack of clear, specific, detailed, relevant proposals for solving the area's problems is a critical bottleneck in the Twin Cities area's development program. One of our major concerns, in considering our recommendations, was to provide a way for it to be broken.

Why the comprehensive metropolitan planning here has not produced plans

The Twin Cities Metropolitan Planning Commission was charged by its original legislation in 1957 to ". . . make plans for the physical, social, and economic development of its metropolitan area with the general purpose of guiding and accomplishing a coordinated and harmonious development of the area . . . (and) shall promote the cooperation of the planning commissions of governmental units within its metropolitan area, the coordination of the plans of such units, and the coordination of such plans with plans adopted by the commission." Under this charge, the MPC early identified four specific responsibilities: research, plan preparation, assistance to local units, and coordination of local government action. Its basic plan was to organize its work in three phases: first, research and organization; second, the preparation of metropolitan plans; third, plan implementation and the continuing planning program.

Seventeen reports and bulletins on the major functional problems and on the background situation in the area were prepared in the first phase, which ended in 1961. These contributed fundamentally to education of this community--which was not, at the start, particularly receptive either to the concept of metropolitan planning, or even to the existence of specifically "metropolitan" problems. Trends and problems were identified, and the challenge clearly set forth. The basic change in the attitude of the community which occurred between 1957 and 1967 can be attributed very largely, and perhaps primarily, to this informational work of the MPC.

During this period, too, the MPC was drawn into the serious problem developing in the area as a result of the ground-water contamination discovered in 1959, and the resulting effort to bring central water and sewage facilities to the outlying portions of the area. The MPC's 1960 annual report said: "The bulk of the effort to date has been in the area of research aimed at defining the area's existing resources. As a result, relatively little time or personnel has been available for other functions of plan-making, governmental assistance and coordination . . . There is urgent need to increase the level of effort in the last three areas listed above. Work on a comprehensive metropolitan plan must be accelerated in order to provide a needed framework for local planning and development and for the major decisions which will be made in the very near future on metropolitan services, such as highways, sewers and water . . . The time factor is extremely limited and it may be running out as it pertains to certain opportunities in such areas as metropolitan open space and transportation." Despite this urgency, the program did not develop this way.

This kind of venture for the MPC was not as easy--in the situation that prevailed during the late '50s and early '60s--as it might seem, looking back from the position reached by 1968. The MPC had never been given, by its basic legislation, even the "super-basic minimum" implementing "power" . . . to pass an advisory review on the projects of the local units that significantly affected metropolitan development. A kind of mandatory review was provided in the law . . . but it depended, for its operation, entirely on the initiative of local units. The MPC may, the law said, review projects of area-wide significance. But the definition of whether a project is or is not of such significance was left, by the law, with the sponsoring local unit. In all the history of the MPC, no local unit ever voluntarily brought one of its projects to the commission for comment. As it got ready to begin its effort at plan preparation, then, the MPC was still substantially an agency on the outside, looking in.

This problem-oriented approach to the second phase, of plan preparation, was altered in the middle of 1961. The MPC report for that year noted: "As a result of recent changes in the National Housing Act and certain major policy changes by HHFA and the Bureau of Public Roads, MPC was encouraged by a joint committee of the above two federal agencies to launch an extensive joint program for transportation and land use in cooperation with the Highway Department and the other planning and governmental agencies in the area. The late summer and fall months of 1961 were spent in working cooperatively with the above-mentioned agencies developing a three-year joint work program." A combination of federal and local matching funds provided a total of about \$1.8 million. Work started in March 1962, with a completion date of mid-1965. It quickly became the dominant part of the commission's work: The 1963 annual report noted 37 staff members were at work on the Joint Program. By the 1964 annual report the emphasis had shifted subtly from talking about the preparation of plans to talk about the preparation of "basic policies for metropolitan development" and the production of a "development guide." Completion was still estimated for mid-1965.

The schedule was revised early in 1965. "It became apparent," the 1965 annual report notes, "that the original time allotment of three years would not be enough to finish the Joint Program." An additional \$375,000 of federal and local funds was secured for the extended work program. The new target set -- and reaffirmed in the 1966 report issued in March 1967 -- was for the plan to be available before the end of the 1967 legislative session. "By the end of 1966," the report noted, "virtually all of the work had been completed except for some final computations, analyses and the writing of the Guide itself." The report indicated, however, that the Guide, or plan, had now become clearly a statement of goals and policies: "There still remains for 1967 and the years ahead the completion of the third element, the detailed programs for carrying out the policies. . . Even at today's work pace, the Guide will not be ready to entirely serve (in securing possible federal "bonus" grants for metropolitan development) until 1969 or 1970." These "programs" -- which represent the Joint Program's answer to the appeal of development agencies for guidance on the specific location and timing of their projects -- remained uncompleted when the MPC went out of existence in August 1967. The Guide, without them, was given a limited distribution in dittoed form late that summer, and was published with supporting illustrations in April 1968.

The problems resulting from the absence of plans

The absence of "programs," or detailed system plans, has led to a number of controversies, and placed the newly-created Metropolitan Council in a most difficult position.

The agencies responsible for developing and operating facilities continued, of course, to do their own metropolitan planning and to build in response to the needs of the area as they saw them. The Hennepin County Park Reserve District continued to acquire what was, in its opinion, the "best" park sites. The Highway Department continued to build freeways to serve the traffic demands as it saw them; the Metropolitan Airports Commission moved to acquire a new site it believed would best meet the needs of aviation and the airports system; and the State Pollution Control Agency began to locate waste treatment plants according to state and federal river standards. In a number of cases, the comprehensive planning agency disagreed

with the projects, or project proposals. It did not like the Hennepin County Park District's decision to buy in western Hennepin County, rather than to pick up the property around Anderson Lakes in Eden Prairie. It did not like the Highway Department's decision, in effect, to build a large number of relatively small and closely-spaced freeways, rather than fewer, larger and more widely-spaced freeways. It was not sure it approved the PCA's one-at-a-time decisions on waste treatment plants. And it had a number of serious questions about the MAC's proposal to locate the area's second major airport in northern Anoka County. In all these cases, the Metropolitan Council has found itself reacting . . . chasing after decisions already announced by the operating agency, pleading with the agency to delay a while until a comprehensive study can be made.

Since June 1967, under Section 204 of the 1966 Housing Act, the Metropolitan Council has been responsible for reviewing the applications of areawide, county and municipal agencies for federal funds to construct highways, parks, water systems, sewage systems, hospitals, etc. Under the law the Council is to review and comment upon these projects in terms of their relationship to comprehensive areawide planning and programming. The absence of firm, detailed plans against which to measure these applications has proved troublesome to the Council and frustrating to the operating agency involved.

These Section 204 reviews have supplemented and reinforced the basic coordinating authority given to the Council by its own state legislation . . . to review and comment on (and, in the case of open space projects, to veto) proposed projects that would either help to carry out, or interfere with the carrying-out of, the metropolitan plan. It is, essentially, the old and traditional "mandatory review" approach to plan implementation. It has not worked effectively, in this metropolitan agency as in city government. As the chairman of the Metropolitan Council has been saying, in public and to our committee, it is too negative a power. And it comes too late in the development of a project to be really effective. Mandatory review is a difficult tool to use even when clear, specific and accepted plans are available against which to measure the projects proposed. Without such plans, it is almost impossible to use.

The Council must provide the basic policy framework for plans

The primary concern of the committee has been to find a way to permit -- and to require -- the Metropolitan Council to give early, basic direction to the planning for the major transportation, utility, open space and other systems.

If effective guidelines can be set, and direction given, it does not appear to us crucial for the Council actually to do the system planning itself: It could confine its role to making sure this system planning is done, within the guidelines it has laid down. If the Council can, in this way, delegate the job of system planning, it will in turn be freer to do a still more effective job of setting the basic policies and guideline plans. We believe this kind of a division of responsibilities in the area of planning will maximize the ability of the Council, as the general policy-making agency, to get itself effectively in charge of the area's development program. We see two reasons for this.

First, on the record, the ability of a single comprehensive planning agency itself to produce detailed plans, and on time, has not been convincingly demonstrated.

Second, the problem with the system planning done by the operating agencies (including the Highway Department along with such areawide districts as the

Metropolitan Airports Commission) has not been so much that they cannot produce detailed plans, and on schedule. It has been more that these program agencies have not known what they are to tie to. Like the travel agent, in our earlier analogy, it is possible for them to work up any one of several kinds of plans: Their problem is to get some clear idea of what the client wants. This difficulty for the people operating the major area-wide programs is perfectly illustrated by a speech reproduced and distributed to our committee early in its work . . . a speech delivered by E. H. Holmes, then director of planning for the Bureau of Public Roads, in 1962:

"Basic problems arise," Holmes said, "as to the extent to which transportation facilities will merely serve or will help to shape the future community . . . An example of this very basic problem can be seen in the recently released 'Year 2000' plan for the Washington metropolitan area. This plan envisions radiating corridors within which will be found all cultural development, and between which will be sectors of farm land or open space left undeveloped . . . The plan is advanced as a concept, and widely published in the press. But there is no way by which public approval or disapproval of such a plan can be ascertained . . . There is no machinery by which public opinion can be reliably obtained . . . So the question must arise as to whether the administrator can rely on plans such as this one to indicate the demand or desire for highways, and whether he should deliberately follow this plan in an effort to bring about its intended result . . . The planners . . . have given the highway administrator, and his many colleagues in public and private life, little to tie to."

The Metropolitan Council, created by the Legislature to be an official, representative policy-making agency for the area, has the ability to answer this question for the administrator -- if only it will make up its mind to do so. If, in other words, it will tell him clearly and specifically that it wants "radial corridors" or that it wants "satellite cities" . . . and if it can then apply this policy in the particular situations facing the administrators responsible for each of the major systems shaping metropolitan growth.

This is precisely what--as we understood it--the officials of the Minnesota Highway Department were pleading for when they appeared before our committee. The department can undertake to carry out the Guide, these engineers said, provided a few key conditions are met. First, they said, there must be a well-defined plan: "We have to know where the major centers are to be located, and we have to have some assurance that some agency will be able to enforce that plan." They are saying, in other words, that while their program can perhaps shape development, they are not the ones to "play God". That responsibility properly rests with the general policy-making body.

There are a number of issues of this sort in the Guide. It is possible to treat sewage on the St. Croix River, or on the Minnesota River, or to treat it somewhere else. Either solution is technically feasible. What does the area want? A workable site could presumably be found for a new airport on either side of the area. What pattern of growth does the area want? The Metropolitan Council is the agency to decide. No agency with limited responsibilities should. The Joint Program did raise this question, of public preferences, with relation to basic goals and objectives. It remains, now, for the Council to give the answer in relation to specific issues arising around particular facilities and projects.

We do not expect the Council will rush eagerly to embrace such difficult questions. If it can find other, less controversial ways to occupy its time, it will. We have concluded that the area governmental system will have to be designed so as to force these issues at the Council, in those cases where it does not move to produce the guidelines . . . the "something-to-tie-to" . . . on its own. For this reason, we believe it is imperative that the authority to develop system plans and proposals be lodged in subordinate service commissions, structured to represent the interests of the entire area, and made up in such a way that they will be inclined to press hard for even controversial proposals they feel are necessary for the development of the programs for which they are responsible.

The commissions should make the detailed plans and proposals

If the Council provides the basic direction, the service commissions can fill out the remainder of the system plans . . . returning to the Council for new guidelines, or for unforeseen questions to be settled if necessary. This preparation of the system plan by the service commission and its staff would involve the detailing of the Council's guidelines down to particular locations, and particular pieces of property. In the parks and open space program, as an example, it would involve the preparation of a detailed inventory of lakeshore, stream valleys, woods, etc., to be acquired. It would spell out precisely the flood plains in which development is proposed to be restricted, the marsh lands that are to be preserved as ponding areas to maintain the flow in the creeks, and the steep slopes that are not to be cut.

In the transportation program, it would probably involve taking the Council's decisions about the general location of the "corridor" of movement, the volume of traffic to be moved through that corridor, the level of service to be provided, and the relationship of the transportation facility to the community (access, aesthetics, etc.) . . . and translate these guidelines into a specific plan, showing centerline, right-of-way requirements, elevation, ramps, design, etc.

The service commissions would also be responsible for the site planning (at a given park site, for example, what sort of roads are put in, where are beaches developed, where are comfort stations located). They would also be responsible for the next major phase -- the engineering -- once the long-range system plans are completed and approved by the Council.

Something like the arrangement we contemplate seems to be developing in the sewerage program. The Council's "concept plan" for the metropolitan area . . . vague and incomplete as it is in some respects due to the way it had to be rushed to publication . . . does begin to be (leaving aside, for this discussion, whether it is the right solution or the wrong solution on the merits) something like the "guide-line planning" we are proposing. That is, it sets a framework for the working-out of an urgent problem . . . speaking in real terms about particular things to be done at particular places in particular years. It relates, in other words, to the question the agencies setting standards and approving plants had directed at the Council . . . "What do you want us to do?" Even if modified in some respects later, as plans frequently are, it will have served to give direction. What is missing, of course, is a specialized sewer agency which could, taking these guidelines, move quickly to detail the plan, as to precise plant and interceptor location, the staging of construction, the final tailoring of service area boundaries, etc., so the Council could move on to the many other policy issues, in other programs, still confronting it.

This "concept plan" for sewers is in notable contrast to the Guide because it says, in at least general terms, where major facilities should be put. The

reluctance of the Joint Program to talk in terms of the recommended location of roads and parks and utilities and major centers proved one of the most troubling features of the Guide for our committee. It was difficult to come to grips with a comprehensive plan that contained no land-use element.

The committee was sympathetic with the reasoning, expressed on several occasions by members of the Metropolitan Council staff, that lies behind this approach. Metropolitan planning is not like conventional city planning, which works through parcel-by-parcel control of land uses. The committee accepted the basic concept of shaping metropolitan development indirectly through the influence of the largest public facilities and public decisions. We agree it is important to deal with the process of development . . . to set out "rules" by which the development decisions shall be made. This will, among other things, leave local units more freedom in their decisions.

But it seemed to many members of our committee that the Guide cannot work unless--like the "concept" plan for sewers--it begins to be specific about where the proposed development is to occur. This was particularly true with reference to the question of major commercial centers. The Guide says (Page 35, Policy #2): "Designate and control at the metropolitan level the location, layout, timing and development of major employment centers and environs." It does not, however, indicate which of the many locations at which some commercial development should occur should develop into the really large centers, with the conscious assistance of public investments, and which should not be deliberately expanded (or should, by the denial of major improvements, actually be held back). The difficulty that highway administrators find in taking this decision upon themselves has already been referred to.

Fuller information will help implement plans

The committee was troubled, in a more basic way, by the fact that the metropolitan planning in the Twin Cities area has not dealt more concretely in terms of particular roads, watersheds, land uses, etc. in terms of their inter-municipal or inter-county aspects. This is the level of detail at which municipal and county officials are working every day, in their ongoing development programs. And the metropolitan planning program was producing information which should have been available to them in more detailed form. It would have been helpful if the MPC could have prepared and disseminated widely among local officials the results of basic inventories . . . of existing land use, of soils unsuitable for urban development, of woodlands, of lands subject to flooding, of marsh areas essential to the preservation of major lakes . . . perhaps in large maps done at quite a small scale.

We found some indications that this failure to disseminate information useful to local decision-making (and to the attainment of metropolitan planning objectives, incidentally) resulted not so much from a failure to do this kind of research as from a persistent weakness in the "field service" activity of the MPC.

The 1959 report of the MPC took note of the activity of Commission members in appearing before local councils and civic groups, and said, "It is hoped that funds will soon be available to assign a full-time man to this work." The 1960 report indicated a search was under way, and added, "This is an important job and one needed to be filled. As MPC activity increases, top staff personnel has less and less time to spend in the field and a full-time man becomes imperative." In 1961 a "community affairs division" was established, and a staff man appointed to the post. He left

-35-

the staff, however, less than a year later. It was refilled, but the 1965-66 biennial report noted that "loss of personnel in the field service section greatly reduced the number of meetings attended, especially in 1966." In a reorganization in 1966, a community services department was established, parallel with the planning department. The post of director was not filled, however, until 1968.

In fairness it must be pointed out that the MPC was hampered by a system of funding which worked to downgrade this field service activity. It depended, during these earlier years, heavily on federal planning grants, which could not be used to finance such field activities. This staff had to be financed through the Commission's limited local mill levy. One consequence of this limitation, nevertheless, was that the planning agency did not develop as fully as it had hoped as the principal center for information about development, and about the coordination of planning activities, in the Twin Cities area was severely restricted. So, of course, was the ability of the MPC itself to promote the implementation of its proposals through local governments.

The Metropolitan Council must have final approval on plans

The system plans, detailed by the service commissions in line with guidelines prescribed by the Council, must be subject to final approval by the Council. The key points of control by the Council, the committee believes, are at the beginning and at the end of plan preparation. The Council must be certain the plans do, in fact, accord with its guidelines . . . and must have the authority to disapprove those that do not. In some cases, of course, as detailed plans and specific projects are proposed by the commissions, issues will be raised that will lead the Council to modify its original guidelines. But, after this process of adjustment has taken place the Council must be able to have the final decision.

Again, a parallel has been cited with the Housing and Redevelopment Authorities in the major cities. The comprehensive city plan is to indicate generally where there are areas that need to be redeveloped, or rehabilitated, and to set general priorities. The Authority then takes responsibility for preparing the detailed plan, consisting of a set of proposed projects, which it brings before the City Council. The general policy-making body retains the final authority: to say "yes" or "no"; to say "this year" or "next year"; to adjust the order in which projects are undertaken. But it does not do the plan.

There has been some feeling these Authorities have, in practice, dominated the relationship, and that the general City Council has not had real control over the program. The answer for this, however, lies in the ability of the overall planning agency to give strong, clear direction to the commissioners' program . . . and in the type of powers given to the Council in the basic legislation to keep the subordinate agency in line. The relationship we propose, in the metropolitan structure, would give the Council a considerably tighter control over the commissions than a City Council has today over a Redevelopment Authority.

Discussion of Specific Recommendations

Governmental organization for metropolitan planning and development

Our basic approach toward the question of organizing areawide functions . . . for solving metropolitan problems and for implementing metropolitan plans . . . has been extensively discussed in the preceding sections.

We would add at this point only that we believe our specific recommendations to be consistent with the general consensus developed in the Twin Cities area as the

discussion of metropolitan governmental organization has taken shape since 1965. We have included in our list of "functions to be handled areawide" only those on which we believe the public would agree a clear case can be made for having handled at this level. Our recommendations fully respect the distinction between what is necessarily metropolitan, and what is properly local.

The governmental structure proposed -- a policy-making Council, and a set of executive service commissions -- is, moreover, not a home rule government. The report of the Citizens League Metropolitan Affairs Committee in 1967 was quite firm on this point, and we have not altered its recommendation. The Council and the service commissions will have only those powers specifically delegated to them by the Legislature. There will be no authority in either the Council or the commissions to decide what functions they will or will not undertake. The Legislature will specify what taxes are to be levied, and the maximum rate to be set.

Functions to be performed by the service commissions

Generally, we have followed the recommendations of the Citizens League Metropolitan Affairs Committee from 1967. Many of the functions proposed to be handled areawide in that report were, of course, assigned to the Metropolitan Council by the 1967 legislation. We have centered, here, on five major program areas in which large facilities will have to be constructed or substantial services performed.

Parks and Open Space

We would simply incorporate into the recommendations of this committee the full report of the Citizens League's Parks and Open Space Committee of July 1968, proposing a metropolitan parks and open space commission. The proposal of that committee for a new areawide commission -- in terms of powers assigned to the commission and the relationship proposed with the Metropolitan Council -- is fully consistent with the recommendations of this committee's report.

It is important to stress that the commission we contemplate would be responsible for both aspects of this function -- that is, the establishment of parks of a metropolitan scale and the acquisition and protection of all the major categories of open space that are not necessarily used for active or passive public recreation purposes. In its broadest sense, this is simply the function of attempting to weave open space . . . unbuilt-upon land . . . as fully as possible into the fabric of the area's urban development. The open spaces may be clear zones around airports; they may be cemeteries; they may be golf courses, which need to be protected; they may be scenic easements; they may be agricultural land; they may be areas which must be kept undeveloped in order to protect the ground water recharge; they may be steep slopes which should not be cut for fear of erosion; they may simply be "open" areas within residential subdivisions, created by the increased promotion and use of cluster zoning. The commission would not, in all these functional areas, necessarily be either taking the property into public ownership, or carrying out the acquisition or protection work itself. It would be responsible, however, for preparing the complete open space system plan and -- in the case of cluster zoning, for example -- for encouraging a program of implementation through the subdivision powers of municipal government.

Waste Disposal

We have chosen here to look broadly at the whole process of the disposing of domestic and industrial wastes . . . whether into the air, into the ground, or into the waters flowing through the metropolitan area. We believe that as time goes on there will be more and more reasons to consider these disposal arrangements as alternatives to each other, and to be weighing most carefully the "tradeoffs" among them, both in terms of cost and in terms of impact on the environment. Again, we want to stress that we are talking here only about the essentially area-wide aspects of these functions. That is, in the case of disposal into the waters, we are talking only about the setting of standards for the rivers and lakes, the planning, construction and operation of the major interceptors and waste treatment plants. In the case of disposal into the air or land, we are talking only about the planning, financing, construction and operation of major landfill sites or incinerators, and not about the business of collecting refuse which is now, and ought to remain, a local function.

Transportation

We did not discuss in great detail the terribly complex area of responsibility for urban transportation. The committee was aware a separate committee of the Citizens League has been reviewing this problem area extensively for more than a year. We did, however, come to the general conclusion that highways and mass transit need to be integrated much more closely with each other; and that this whole function of urban transportation needs to be integrated much more closely with the comprehensive program of metropolitan planning and development. The emphasis here is not on construction: the state and the county highway departments engineer and build roads. The emphasis, rather, is on planning. Each metropolitan area is required to maintain a "continuing, comprehensive and cooperative" land use/transportation planning process. In the Twin Cities area, this has involved no separate staff. This Joint Program expired in 1967. The area is now under order from the federal government to develop a new planning mechanism. In some areas, the pattern has been to establish a "policy committee" from the major transportation agencies. Here, recently, the chairman of the Metropolitan Council has proposed that he, the chairman of the Transit Commission and the Commissioner of Highways head the planning group. It is not clear whether a separate staff is contemplated. Some need is felt for it. In the Milwaukee area the basic land use/transportation responsibility was assigned by the Wisconsin Highway Department to the regional planning agency, which "roughs out" the freeway and transit locations and program. In the major county, detailed planning is handled by the Milwaukee County Expressways and Transportation Commission. Finally, construction is handled by the Wisconsin Highway Department. A parallel, in the Twin Cities area, would be to assign the basic responsibility to the Metropolitan Council, which would then establish a subordinate transportation planning agency (including some elements both of the Transit Commission and of the Highway Department). As staffing were provided, such an agency would take on many of the features of a service commission.

Airports

The transfer of the Metropolitan Airports Commission from any existing independent special district to a service commission of the kind we propose

raises many problems. The MAC is the largest of the existing areawide agencies. There are considerable difficulties due to the fact that, while this is necessarily an areawide operation, the ownership of the physical facilities rests with the two central cities. Their equity in the existing airport and terminals is only about 5 per cent of total value, but any proposal for a transfer to put the MAC on a seven-county basis would raise financial problems which would need to be considered in much more detail than we have been able to do in this committee. Nevertheless, we believe this is a desirable objective. Events of the past year have brought home to the public the impact of the MAC on many other aspects of life in the Twin Cities area, and its proposal for a second major airport has made it clear that this agency does at times exercise a very powerful influence on the direction of urban growth. We are also in sympathy with the argument that the MAC, whose operations now occur substantially outside the limits of the two central cities, should be an agency much more truly representative of all the parts of the seven-county metropolitan area. We believe there is also reason to reappraise the old 25-mile service limits laid down by the Legislature in 1943. If this is done, the case for broader representation on the Commission will be still more compelling.

Environmental Protection

The committee felt the existing Mosquito Control District should become, for reasons set out in detail in a Citizens League report in 1966, a fully metropolitan function. Like the Metropolitan Affairs Committee last year, however, we felt this could and should be combined with some other areawide function . . . possibly a program set up to combat the increasing menace of Dutch elm disease and oak wilt.

The Question of Grouping

The committee does not believe it would be proper to set up a separate service commission for each separate metropolitan function. This would fragment the governmental arrangements in the metropolitan area in a thoroughly detrimental way. Some grouping of functions into a more limited number of service commissions is desirable. The committee is not prepared at this point to say precisely how this grouping ought to be worked out. A number of combinations are possible.

For example, a single commission could be set up for the broad area of waste disposal, which would own and operate the sewage treatment plants, the incinerators and the landfills. It has also been suggested that the agency responsible for landfills be related to the agency responsible for parks, since a properly planned landfill can frequently be converted, when complete, into a usable park site. There are also obvious connections between the open space program and the broad area of "environmental protection," particularly if the Twin Cities area moves toward a more aggressive program of managing surface water drainage. In another area, there is a question as to whether the inter-urban transportation involved in airports might be combined with the intra-urban transportation over highways and transit lines.

We believe the Metropolitan Council should, in preparing its recommendations to the Legislature on functions to be handled areawide, and the organizations

to be set up to administer them, undertake to make specific recommendations about the grouping of functions into service commissions.

Organization and powers of the Metropolitan Council

Membership

In the course of its conversation with the people who appeared before it, the committee was not made aware of any dissatisfaction with the size of the Metropolitan Council. There seemed to be general support for the principle of "one man, one vote" built into the original legislation. We have the impression also that the notion of selecting a chairman areawide continues to be satisfactory. For these reasons we recommend essentially no change in the basic structure of the Council.

Selection

We recommend a basic change in the manner of selecting the members of the Council. They are now appointed by the Governor for six-year overlapping terms, following consultation with the Legislators from each Metropolitan Council district. We propose that these fourteen members of the Council should be chosen by popular election within the districts. We believe the Minnesota Legislature should, at the 1969 session, provide for this system of popular election. We feel an elected Metropolitan Council is essential, even though under our proposal the Council itself would not be directly assigned the so-called "operating" powers of construction, ownership, etc. of the major areawide systems. The need for election runs, rather, to the kinds of policy decisions the Council will be making under the arrangement we propose . . . and, in fact, is making today. It is not a legislative body, in the sense that the State Legislature or a home-rule city is a legislative body. But it does, under the basic charge given it by the Legislature, make decisions that significantly influence the lives and interests of public and private groups in the Twin Cities area, and a closer system of responsibility to the public is called for. Traditionally, in our system, this need is satisfied through the elective process.

We do not believe, however, that an elected Metropolitan Council should be made a precondition for the assignment of any additional duties, responsibilities, or powers to the Metropolitan Council. The timing of reapportionment and elections may be such that powers will be assigned to the Council which will need to be used before members selected under the new system of election can actually take their seats. We feel that the powers needed in order to let the area get at its pressing problems should not be withheld from the Council if an election is to follow within a reasonable period of time.

Compensation

The 1967 legislation provides members of the Metropolitan Council be paid \$35 per meeting. We believe this is inadequate. We think the members of the Council should be paid salaries consistent with attracting and retaining high caliber, but less than fulltime, officials.

Duties

The Metropolitan Council has commonly been thought of primarily in terms of the Physical planning and development of the metropolitan area. To date it has, in fact, devoted most of its effort and attention to this area. The Council is, however, a general policy-making body for the area, and other responsibilities are likely to be undertaken before many more years. For example, it is also assigned the responsibility for planning the social and economic development of the metropolitan area, and it is possible already to see programs in these areas developing more rapidly than either the Council or the public had expected . . . and, in fact, more rapidly than the Council would, in many respects, prefer. Already, it has been urged to take on activities in the area of law enforcement planning, health facilities planning, manpower planning, etc. --- some of which it has, with some reluctance, had to reject.

We believe there is an urgent need for the Council to begin thinking out the way in which it proposes to handle these responsibilities for social and economic planning. They are a part of its statutory charge. These programs are an integral part of the area's overall development. The Council will not want them to develop independent of it. Yet there are limits on the extent to which the Council can act as its own planning commission, working out--in intensive discussion among its own members--key policy issues for the area. Up to now, the Council has been absorbed mainly in physical development. Planning for the "soft" programs has begun to develop in separate agencies: There are now (or are about to be created) separate area-wide agencies for health facilities planning, for library services planning, for educational planning, for manpower planning, for law enforcement planning. The Council is presently involved only in some of these, and only in a tentative way. We believe much more attention must be directed, soon, to this question of the organization and coordination of the non-physical planning program.

We think it is also possible to observe the Council's taking on a growing function in the whole area of the planning of the evolution of the local governmental system in the Twin Cities area. The 1967 legislation gave the Council an enlarged role in providing testimony and technical assistance to the Minnesota Municipal Commission in the handling of incorporation and annexation proceedings. It also directed the Council to pursue a continuous program of study of needed and desirable consolidations of local services. The Council staff has been active and helpful before the Municipal Commission in numerous annexation proceedings in the past year. It is also playing a role, at the request of the municipalities from that area, looking toward the possible combination of small governmental units at the east and north ends of Lake Minnetonka. We would anticipate that these requests for service would grow. The committee feels also that the Council should be given the authority not simply to provide services on request, but also to initiate proceedings for needed changes in municipal boundaries. A Citizens League committee in the fall of 1967 also recommended that the Council review and comment on "special districts" proposed to be created and that are of area-wide significance.

The Council would continue, of course, to be responsible in all areas for the putting together of an area-wide consensus to take before the biennial sessions of the Legislature.

Organization and powers of the service commissions

General Comments

We look on these service commissions, as we have said, as essentially executive agencies. This means they should have the characteristics of executive agencies . . . specifically, they should, as does a President or a Governor, speak for the area as a whole. Second, they must be able to make firm decisions quickly. Representation among the various parts of an area is crucial in a metropolitan government structure as in a state government or as in a city government. But the element of representation for the various parts of the area, and interests within the area, properly comes on the policy-making side of the governmental structure. It is essential to structure the executive side in such a way that it can and will produce strong, clear leadership, and lead to proposals (even if controversial) that are, in the nature of things, not likely to emerge from the policy-making agency. The following specific recommendations were made with these basic thoughts in mind.

Membership

The essentially executive character of the service commissions will be emphasized if the members of these agencies are appointed by the chairman of the Metropolitan Council. To provide a check on the chairman, the law establishing the service commission should provide for these appointments to be subject to the consent of the full membership of the Council. We believe vesting the appointments in the chairman of the Council will minimize the danger of the commission's taking on a "patronage" character. We think it is traditional and appropriate that appointments be made, as far as possible, by an individual.

The committee discussed, but took no final position on, the manner in which the chairman of a service commission should be selected. Some members noted that the chairman must be, in fact, the leader of his own commission . . . which would suggest the chairman should be chosen by the members of the commission. Others argued that coordination with the Council might be improved, and the risk of conflict minimized, if the chairmen of the commissions, who will be, inevitably, the major public spokesmen for their agencies, were designated--perhaps at the start of every year--by the chairman of the Council.

Size

We have recommended the commissions should consist of from five to eleven members. With exceptions like the Minnesota Municipal Commission, most such agencies in Minnesota now consist of five or more members. On the other hand, we would not want to see the membership run beyond about eleven persons at the outside. We are thinking principally in terms of something about the size (nine members) of the present Metropolitan Airports Commission.

Representation

Members on the service commissions should represent the area at large, consistent with the basic concept that these commissions are essentially executive agencies. We believe it is probable, and desirable, that in the normal

process of making appointments, an adequate distribution of seats among the various parts of the seven-county area, and among the various interests within it, will take place. It would be possible, in addition, to provide that no more than one member of any given commission could come from any single Metropolitan Council district. What is important is that a formal representational element not explicitly be built into these commissions. Once appointed by the Council, a member ought to be free to speak for himself, according to his best judgments. Certainly, there will be times when the best-qualified man happens to be a man currently in some local office. We do not mean to suggest that such an individual should be precluded from serving on a commission. We do feel strongly, however, that the structure of these commissions should not be set up on a "delegate" basis. A member ought not to be asked to serve, at the same time, both the interests of the entire area and the interests of some local unit. The Twin Cities area has, in recent years, had much unsatisfactory experience with the "delegate" type of representation on area-wide boards. At the extreme is the practice of the Minneapolis-St. Paul Sanitary District of dividing the employees of the district on the basis of the sewage flow contributed by the municipalities from which they come. It is essential, we believe, to structure the service commissions in such a way as to build in a guarantee against this kind of parochialism. Representation of the various parts of the area should come, we believe, through the district system of representation on the policy-making Metropolitan Council itself.

Compensation

Membership on the service commissions will be an important and a demanding responsibility. Decisions of very great importance to the future welfare of the entire area are involved. Large demands will be made on the time and intelligence of the persons asked to serve. It is important, we believe, that some compensation be provided to them. Currently, no compensation is being paid to the members being asked to serve on the various task forces of the Metropolitan Council. We believe that something on the order of \$35 a day would be a minimum rate that should be paid for meetings attended by members of the service commissions.

Terms

At a number of points in the discussion, various members of the committee were concerned whether, if we moved toward some separation of powers arrangement, the executive-type agencies could be kept within the basic policy established by the Council. In our recommendations we spell out a number of mechanisms for maintaining an effective relationship between the Council and the commissions. One of the ties, obviously, is the appointment of the members by the chairman of the Council, with confirmation by the Council. We considered whether, in addition, to tie the commission to the Council even more tightly by keeping the terms of commission members quite short. In the end, we decided the advantages of such an arrangement were more than offset by the disadvantages that might follow from very rapid turnover of membership on the commission. These commissions will be responsible for important decisions in very complex programs: Some continuity of membership seems highly desirable. Four-year staggered terms seems a proper balance.

Qualifications

The committee was quite strong in its feelings that it does not want the service commissions to be making administrative decisions. The service commissions are there for the development of the program plans and for the making of program policy . . . which is a joint function on which we lay considerable stress in this report, and which we think should not be passed either upward to the full Metropolitan Council or downward to the appointed program administrators. The danger of having members of the service commissions meddle in purely and properly administrative matters is minimized, we believe, if the appointing authorities avoid the selection of "experts" to these positions. That is, the members of an airport commission should not be pilots. The members of the commissions handling sewers or waste disposal should not particularly be engineers. The members of the commission handling transportation should not necessarily have backgrounds in the transportation business. Obviously, this is a difficult thing to write into law, but we think it could be made a part of legislative history and, perhaps to some extent, of the legislation itself.

The best members of these commissions, we believe, will be individuals with personal backgrounds on policy-making or advisory bodies in and around local or state government in the Twin Cities area. Basic qualifications should be knowledge of the area, good judgment, and demonstrated experience in the making of general public policy decisions.

Duties

We have dealt extensively in the earlier part of this discussion section with the responsibilities we contemplate for the service commissions . . . preparing the basic system plans and making project proposals for approval by the Metropolitan Council; and for carrying on the operation of the transportation, waste disposal, open space and other systems. We would stress here only that this would include the full range of responsibilities for, as we say in our recommendations, letting contracts, awarding concessions, supervising construction, hiring and supervising personnel, adopting regulations, and making policy decisions arising in connection with the various programs.

Creation

The committee considered whether these service commissions ought to be created by action of the Metropolitan Council itself or by action of the Legislature. It was the conclusion of the committee that the objectives it seeks in the essential separation of powers between the policy-making Council and the essentially executive commission would not as likely be achieved if the Council itself were given responsibility for creating the commissions. There would be too much of a temptation, we expect, for the Council to want to concentrate power in its own hands, and too much of a reluctance to share it voluntarily with any other agency. We expect this would be particularly true in the critical area of planning. The Council would then, inevitably, be drawn into the details of system planning and program operation, with the very real risk that it would be less and less able to deal effectively with the large questions of policy for which it must be responsible. We concluded that the separation of powers we propose can be achieved only by the Legislature, and, therefore, recommend that the service commissions be established by statute.

Division of responsibility between the Metropolitan Council and the area service commissions

The basic problem this committee saw in designing the relationship between overall policy-making, and program planning and administration, was to strike a proper balance between making the operations utterly subservient to the Council (as we fear they would be under the arrangement proposed in the Development Guide) and, on the other hand, making the program operations entirely independent of the policy-making agency (as the independent special districts are currently). The committee perhaps devoted more attention to this general question than to any other single issue. The specific recommendations that follow are our best judgment about a desirable and workable division of powers and responsibilities between the two sides of the area governmental structure.

Planning

We have discussed our concept of the division between comprehensive planning and long-range system planning in an earlier part of this discussion section. It is important to emphasize at this point that we do not view these two major elements of the planning process as totally separate . . . as being conducted in separate places, by separate individuals, at separate periods of time. Rather, we believe there should be close interchange of individuals and ideas between the two. Nor do we expect that the period of comprehensive planning would come first, be entirely finished, and then be succeeded by the long-range system planning. Rather, we envision the two constantly interacting on each other . . . the guidelines in the open space element of the comprehensive plan, for example, continuously suggesting modifications in the long-range system plan; and the details, knowledge, and recommendations of the system planners continually suggesting changes and modifications in the overall comprehensive plan.

Further, we expect there will be a full consultation with the system planners working for the service commissions as the comprehensive planners of the Metropolitan Council draw up the guidelines for the various elements of the overall plan. Similarly, we believe the planners for the local units of government, which will also have an important role to play in plan implementation, should be drawn into the early stage preparation of the major guidelines. For example, our recommendation contemplates that the watershed districts established, or which may be established, under state law would continue to carry the responsibility for managing surface water runoff in the various parts of the metropolitan area. Their plans for ponding areas and stream preservation should be examined and discussed with their planners in the course of preparing the open space element of the areawide comprehensive plan.

It is important to emphasize also that the guidelines to be issued by the Metropolitan Council would extend to the programming of the various systems as well as to the location and design of the major projects. Even after the parks and open space commission, for example, has developed its long-range system plan, and has had that plan approved by the Council, it should not be allowed to proceed with the acquisition and development program entirely apart from some general direction by the Council. For example, the Council, in the course of drawing up its overall development

program for the next five years, may see that a major thrust of development can be expected into a certain portion of the area. The opening of new bridges over the Minnesota River into Scott County, for example, might create such a situation. Or the decision to locate a major new airport in northern Anoka County may create such a situation. The Metropolitan Council may then have to say to the various service commissions, in effect, "Beginning in about three years there will be a major surge of housing and commercial facilities into this area. It's essential that basic facilities be laid in ahead of development. For the next two years you will be required to concentrate your efforts in getting park land acquired, roads built, sewer and water lines installed in the following general area. Please bring us detailed plans and projects to carry out this objective."

Financing

Generally . . . and, again, as a major control to insure that basic policy direction does in fact remain in the Metropolitan Council . . . the committee recommends that basic financial powers be assigned by the Legislature to the Metropolitan Council.

The Legislature will prescribe the sources it wants used for the financing of major metropolitan services and facilities. These may include taxes of various kinds. They may include charges, fees, etc. We believe user charges, rather than property taxes, should be relied on to the maximum possible extent. The basic legislation for each of the service commissions should provide that the commissions are to draw up financing plans, along with their annual capital plans and programs, and lay these also before the Council for approval. Final action to place the financing program into effect would be taken by the Metropolitan Council.

Specifically, this means the Metropolitan Council would undertake to submit the applications for federal aid for the projects that are a part of its areawide development program. It also means the Council would undertake a general bonding program, within limits set out for it by the Legislature, for the area's development. This would raise, as we understand it, no conflict with federal law or regulations: Generally, federal law permits applications for federal aid from any officially-established public body. Each year the service commissions would prepare a program of development for their own systems which they would propose to carry out during the coming year. They would also propose, tentatively, programs for the succeeding four years. These would be lists of specific projects at specific locations, accompanied by descriptions of the particular design and by proposals for the manner in which each project is to be financed, whether by local sources (taxes or charges) or by federal aid. All these proposals, from all the commissions, would collect at the Metropolitan Council planning office. The Council, in the meantime, would have been working on its comprehensive development program for the coming year, and five-year period. The Council would make up, out of the projects submitted to it, a priority list of projects to fit its overall program, perhaps taking more projects from the list submitted by one particular service commission than it had proposed; perhaps taking

fewer from the list submitted by another service commission than it had desired. Discussion of the Council's proposed priorities would take place at hearings conducted by the Council on the annual and five-year programs. In the end, final decisions on the makeup of the comprehensive program would rest with the Council. It could add projects if necessary.

The Council would then make the necessary applications for the federal aid, and would sell bonds to cover that portion of the total capital program cost required to be financed from the seven-county area.

The committee would contemplate something similar for the annual operating budgets . . . but with one major difference. We believe the Council should not be in the position of specifically approving the details of the commissions' annual operating expenditures. The commissions should prepare proposed budgets, and financing plans to carry out those budgets, and should submit them to the Council for approval. The Council will, necessarily, be required to undertake some review of what is specifically proposed to be spent. But its approval should extend only to the total size of the budget. The line items of the operating budgets are not of critical significance for the Council's primary job. They are part of the basic responsibility of policy-making by the service commissions. The division of responsibility here should be quite firm. Once the dollar amount is set, and the method of financing approved by the Council, the taxes and charges to be levied should be set officially by the Metropolitan Council.

Staff

The committee discussed whether the principal staff officers for the service commissions should be appointed by the Metropolitan Council or by the commissions themselves. There was some feeling that, as a further effort to keep the service commissions under Council direction, the staff ought to be appointed by the Council. The committee concluded, however, that its basic separation of powers concept required that the service commissions have the authority to name their own administrative officer, and that he should then appoint his supporting staff.

The committee thinks there may well be some areas in which specialized personnel on the staff of the Council can be made available to the service commissions. To some extent this has already happened through the assistance provided during 1967-68 to the new Metropolitan Transit Commission by top planners of the Metropolitan Council staff. We believe the service commissions should be encouraged to draw on this assistance whenever possible. We see some advantages in having the staff planner of the Council, assigned to a particular program area, formally used by the service commission in drafting its long-range system plans, cooperating with the program planners hired specifically by the service commission.

The committee reviewed the practice of having a single legal staff, under the Attorney General, for all the agencies of state government and was interested in the parallel this suggests for the metropolitan structure. We see some advantages in some kind of overall coordination of legal services that would emphasize the fact that the Council and the service commissions are, after all, part of a single areawide governmental structure.

Administrative Services

We have recommended a number of areas in which we suspect, at least in the early years, economies could be achieved by centralizing certain functions among the various service commissions. These would include recruitment and testing of personnel, health and welfare benefit programs, pension programs, data processing, libraries, purchasing, central office space. The committee believes the Metropolitan Council should continuously search for opportunities to consolidate services among the service commissions and should have the authority from the Legislature to prescribe by regulation when and in what manner the various commissions shall make use of common administrative services.

* * * * *

Dr. Francis M. Boddy
President, Citizens League
545 Mobil Oil Building
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55402

Dear Dr. Boddy:

In most respects the Metropolitan Development Guide Committee Report cannot be faulted. In particular, its analysis of the problems facing the metropolitan area is excellent. It falls short, however, in two vital areas. Each of these is discussed briefly here and was taken up at much greater length during committee sessions.

I. The 4,000,000 by 2000 Assumption

The quality of our life style is indeed our greatest strength. It offers our people real enjoyment in life and the opportunity to grow and express their creativity in a free environment to a far greater degree than in most urban areas. The report fails to say, however, that the greatest threat to the continuation and enhancement of this way of life is the threat of uncontrolled population growth within the seven-county area. It accepts the inevitability of 4,000,000 by 2000. It seems self-evident that the magnitude of almost all of the problems facing us and identified by the Metropolitan Development Guide stems from the assumption of the inevitability of this growth within the confined metropolitan area.

It is time that the Metropolitan Council, the Legislature, the Citizens League, and other leadership groups challenge this assumption and examine alternatives.

One such alternative, assuming the population projections have remained valid, is that of an exploded constellation cities plan which would spread the population over a larger metropolitan region with a radius of 70 to 100 miles from Minneapolis and Saint Paul. What difference would it make if the 4,000,000, plus the additional number projected for the additional hinterland between the seven-county area and the assumed perimeter, were planned for in one interrelated metropolitan region? A very much larger proportion of the population might be nucleated around new centers and existing smaller cities located anywhere 25 to 100 miles from the center. What if these were a dozen cities of something like the apparently magic figure of 200,000, plus many somewhat smaller centers? What would be the benefits and costs of such an arrangement? Can one imagine the economy of the region thus organized? Would the

quality of life be substantially improved over 4,000,000 in seven counties? Could we better handle traffic, pollution and blight? Could we better achieve education, recreation, culture and meaningful work opportunities? Do we have the tools with which to direct growth as well as guide it?

II. The Governmental Structure

The governmental structure proposed by the report will have great difficulty achieving this end effectively and efficiently. The service commission for each major functional area, composed of 5 to 11 citizen members, interposed between the Metropolitan Council and the administrative and professional staff assigned to the function will most probably frustrate effective administration and operations. Some of the difficulties which would seem to flow from this unwieldy scheme are:

1. Three policy-making bodies layered on one another: State Legislature, Metropolitan Council and Service Commission, with resultant policy confusion. Incidentally, in most service areas there are additional state and federal policy-making bodies.
2. Unproductive antagonism and bickering between two responsible citizen bodies, the Metropolitan Council and the Service Commission.
3. Buckpassing and timidity. Because responsibility is hard to place, decisions will tend to be delayed and authority will fail to be delegated.
4. More, rather than fewer, minor matters will reach the Metropolitan Council level. Confusion in the ranks tends to bring the frustrated citizen to the top agency.
5. Inability to attract and hold really superior staff. Outstanding professional people will be reluctant to work for a commission reporting to the Council. They will feel too "layered in". (We need the best professional staff to be found.)
6. A myriad of relationships between members of the Council, members of the various commissions, staff of the Council and the commissions, local officials, etc.

Far more valid and effective government will be achieved by fixing policy and programming responsibility in the Council, and administrative responsibility in the professional staff, with functional commissions, where desirable, created as advisory committees.

B. Warner Shippee
Member, Citizens League Metropolitan
Development Guide Committee

Background

The Citizens League has been deeply involved in basic questions of planning and governmental organization for the Twin Cities area since about 1961. Its research committees have studied and reported on the area's problems with sewage disposal, mass rapid transit, parks and open space, the Metropolitan Planning Commission, municipal incorporation and annexation, mosquito control, waste disposal, area revenue needs, and a metropolitan zoo.

In June, 1966, drawing on the persons who had participated in these earlier studies, the Citizens League formed a Metropolitan Affairs Committee, which worked until February, 1967. This committee, headed by Charles Clay, a Minneapolis attorney and former League president, intensively reviewed the proposals then being made for some kind of governmental framework to undertake the solution of the pressing area-wide problems. In its report, the committee recommended the creation of a metropolitan council for the Twin Cities area, outlined the area-wide functions it thought should be performed, and made recommendations on the form it thought such a council should take.

In the spring of 1967, the State Legislature did create a Metropolitan Council for the Twin Cities area. And in the summer of 1967, the Metropolitan Planning Commission, just prior to going out of existence, published its proposed "metropolitan development guide" for the area. In the fall of 1967, the Board of Directors of the Citizens League created a Metropolitan Development Guide Committee and asked it to review the issues raised by the proposed guide, to prepare positions for the Citizens League in any hearings held by the Council in an effort to revise the guide, and to determine whether the organization and powers of the existing area-wide agencies are adequate to carry out the guide.

Membership

Thirty members participated actively in the work of the committee. They included: As co-chairmen, Greer Lockhart, a Minneapolis attorney, and John Finnegan, assistant executive editor of the St. Paul Dispatch and Pioneer Press; Thomas Berg, an attorney; Charles Clay, an attorney for the Soo Line Railroad; Mrs. Earl F. Colborn, Jr., a housewife; Richard Dethmers, State Department of Welfare; Gordon Donhowe, director of planning, Pillsbury Co.; Mrs. Nicholas Duff, a housewife; Jules Goldstein, Macalester College student; Roger L. Hale, assistant to the president, G. H. Tennant Co.; John Harrison, executive vice president, Chas. W. Sexton Co.; Will Hartfeldt, attorney on Attorney General's staff; Verne C. Johnson, director of planning, General Mills; Douglas Kelm, Mutual Service Insurance Co.; Mrs. Dorothy Lamberton, a housewife; Ralph Laurens, Univac; Arnett W. Leslie, Sr., retired businessman and former president of the Minneapolis Planning Commission; Donald W. McCarthy, Minneapolis division manager, Northern States Power Co.; Daniel Magraw, director of computer services, State of Minnesota; Wallace E. Neal, Jr., president, W. E. Neal Slate Co.; Donald G. Perry, manufacturer's agent; Leonard F. Ramberg, senior vice president, Northwestern National Bank of Minneapolis; Mrs. Patricia Richdorf, a housewife; Dudley Russell, department manager, Archer-Daniels-Midland Co.; Arne Schoeller, Assistant Attorney General; B. Warner Shippee, executive director, University of Minnesota Community Development Corporation; Dale Simonson, Hennepin County Court Commissioner; J. R. Stirrat, private

planning consultant; R. W. Turnlund, manager, Village of Roseville, J. D. White, Northwestern Bell Telephone Co. The committee was assisted by Ted Kolderie of the League staff.

Committee Procedure

The committee began meeting December 7, 1967, and met 27 times, most of them for two- or three-hour evening meetings. In addition, a steering committee met ten times during the late winter and early spring. Detailed minutes were kept, both of the presentations made to the committee and of the committee's deliberations, amounting in all to more than 145 pages single spaced. The minutes were circulated to committee members, to persons who appeared before the committee, and to an extensive list of persons in the Twin Cities area interested in and knowledgeable about the question of metropolitan planning and development.

In the course of its review of the development guide, the committee talked extensively with the following persons:

Robert Einsweiler, director of planning, Metropolitan Council.
John Borchert, then professor of geography and now director of the Center for Urban and Regional Affairs, University of Minnesota.
Edward Maranda, Metropolitan Council staff.
James L. Hetland, Jr., chairman, Metropolitan Council.
Howard Dahlgren, partner in Midwest Planning and Research, Inc., private planning consultants.
Raymond T. Olsen, State Planning Director.
Philip Cohen, Mayor of Brooklyn Center.
Members of the staff of the Minnesota Highway Department: Richard Braun, then deputy director for operations; Charles Burrill, Minneapolis area district engineer; Don Carroll, director of urban studies; Lynn Carlson, director of planning and programming; Robert Owens, head of mass transit studies.
Lester Bolstad, Jr., chairman, Metropolitan Transit Commission.
Lloyd Berggren, Rosemount Engineering Co., and inventor/promoter of a transit system.
Curtis Fritze, director of planning, Control Data Corp.
Clifford French, executive secretary, Hennepin County Park Reserve District.
Warren Peterson, director of development, Metropolitan Airports Commission.
Kerwin Mick, then chief engineer, Minneapolis-St. Paul Sanitary District.
D. W. Angland, manager of planning, Northern States Power Co.
Robert Engstrom, director of planning, Pentom, Inc.
Don Van Hulzen, executive director, Joint Staff of the Minneapolis-St. Paul Area Hospital Planning Councils.
Robert Nethercut, head of community services, Metropolitan Council.
Leonard F. Ramberg, chairman of the solid waste disposal task force of the Metropolitan Council (also a member of the committee).
John Mooty, vice chairman of the Metropolitan Council's task force on a metropolitan zoo.
Elmer Learn, assistant to the president and coordinator of planning, University of Minnesota.
Milton Honsey, Mayor of New Hope.
Warren Hyde, Village Manager of Edina.

William Koniarski, chairman, Scott County Board of Commissioners.

W. C. Anderson, Metropolitan Inter-County Council.

Dean Lund, executive secretary, Metropolitan Section, League of Minnesota Municipalities.

Raymond A. Haik, attorney for various watershed districts in the metropolitan area.

Wayne Johnson, Hennepin County Assessor.

Gerald Rauenhorst, industrial park developer.

Robert Crabb, director of planning, Dayton Corporation.

In addition, the committee was fortunate to have the assistance of Thomas Morehouse, who was for about four years with the assistant secretary for metropolitan development in the Housing & Home Finance Agency, and after that with the office of metropolitan development in the new Department of Housing and Urban Development.

The committee was also privileged to hear from Kurt Bauer, executive director of the Southeastern Wisconsin Regional Planning Commission, who made a trip to the Twin Cities area April 4, 1968, for a full day of discussion with the staff and with several League committees.

Committee members were furnished at the start with a dittoed draft of the metropolitan development guide and with the preceding Joint Program report: "Selecting Policies for Metropolitan Development". Throughout the work of the committee the staff attempted to keep members fully informed about important developments within the Metropolitan Council as it began its own review of the guide. This included the report of the Council's consultant, Harold Wise, and the tentative reports of the task forces established by the Metropolitan Council. The committee was also kept informed of developments at the national level and in the federal government bearing on the administration of federal planning requirements under Section 204 of the 1966 Housing Act. Communications were exchanged, and reports received, from groups working on metropolitan planning and organization in the San Francisco Bay Area; Hartford, Connecticut; Baltimore, Maryland; and other major metropolitan areas.

The committee wants to thank particularly the chairman and members of the staff of the Metropolitan Council for their willingness to spend time meeting with the committee and for their generous assistance in supplying documents and information. The same thanks are extended to the staff of the Minnesota Highway Department: they were most helpful to this, as they have been to many other Citizens League committees.

