

degree? How integrating is a city budget for general purpose governments? Does the quality of the bureaucracy differ depending on the organization?

The most reasonable assumption in 1967 is that the states and the nation will pour more funds into metropolitan areas in recognition of joint responsibility for the conditions. The more uncertain and critical issue is whether the funds will be allocated bit by bit to lessen symptomatic chancres or to assist in restoring local ability to act for the solving of area problems.

The fifty states have great general similarities, but there are important distinctions in political attitudes and assumptions toward government as well as political and administrative practices. The metropolitan areas in each state share, and have contributed to, this political "culture." Can a *national* formula of fund distribution then be written to attain our objectives?

Can we trust the states to use additional federal funds to assist their metropolitan areas in problem-solving? The answer to this as well as the previous question is not absolute. The political power configurations differ among the states, and it seems doubtful that reapportionment with its general shift of power from rural areas to suburbs is likely to generate immediate answers. State reapportionment has come too late for many Cities.

National assistance to the states with some strings to assure metropolitan aid still leaves us with choices without certain knowledge of the consequences of each. Our goal is a metropolitan organization, with possibly differing features among states, that is most likely: (1) to achieve a look at problems on the whole and secure the best match of revenues and expenditures; (2) to provide central and program organizations that will attract young people with verve and energy to work out solutions; and (3) to enlist the active concern of a substantial part of the citizenry.

Where do political parties fit in? Can they knit together the federal system from the City through the state and the nation for program accomplishment? We have never ceased to assume political parties at the state and national government levels as the mechanism for compromising diverse interests and accomplishing functional objectives. Locally, political parties in this century have had a less settled role. Many American cities, including some major ones, elect "non-partisan" mayors and councils. We have no large metropolitan governments and thus no experience as to whether the two political parties can organize satisfactorily within such structures. Nor do we know whether as organized contenders they can offer meaningful alternatives to the diverse electorate. Can the political ethnic blending formulas in many of our Cities in the past be a satisfying model to both the party and racial minorities?

If our faith is in political parties to harmonize local interests and give satisfying representation to the diverse groups, then a general purpose government of some type is required. We might, for example, develop a structure that physically covered the metropolitan area, or something less in the very largest metropolises or where the metropolis crossed state lines. To this new government might be given all powers to receive revenue grants from either the state or national government. Present government units could continue and there might be occasion to experiment with neighborhood "governments" within the central city. Over time the local units might transfer some planning and service responsibilities to the new metropolitan-wide government. In any event, the new government would use the metropolis' share of grants and shared taxes to maintain a reasonable service norm and tax burden among all parts of the metropolitan area. The state and national governments would write these specifications into aid formulas. Substantial reduction in present disparities between needs and resources could then be achieved without forcing consolidation of governments. This is a challenge for every political party activist.

III

If the Congress were to accept the desirability of further and different fiscal efforts to assist state and local governments, how might it take action? What are the political, institutional and structural implications?

The United States is not the only nation that has faced this general problem. Where services are decentralized in any fashion, sufficient revenues seldom exist in matched form. The aggregate taxing power that permits an aggregate service need in a nation is a different thing when fragmented. Grants, tax credits, and shared taxes have been developed to assist the operating government level in its revenue needs. Senator Nelson has reviewed some of these arrangements,