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FOR THE SENATE:

Everett M. Dirksen
of Illinois

Thomas H. Kuchel
of California

Bourke B. Hickenlooper
of Iowa

Margaret Chase Smith
of Maine

George Murphy
of California

Milton R. Young
of North Dakota

Hugh Scott
of Pennsylvania

PRESIDING:

The National Chairman
Ray C. Bliss

**THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP
OF THE CONGRESS**

Press Release

**FOR THE HOUSE
OF REPRESENTATIVES:**

Gerald R. Ford
of Michigan

Leslie C. Arends
of Illinois

Melvin R. Laird
of Wisconsin

John J. Rhodes
of Arizona

H. Allen Smith
of California

Bob Wilson
of California

Charles E. Goodell
of New York

Richard H. Poff
of Virginia

William C. Cramer
of Florida

STATEMENT BY THE

REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP OF THE CONGRESS

For Release
Tuesday, A.M.
February 28, 1967

40 Republican members of the House of Representatives and 16 Republican members of the Senate have introduced legislation for the establishment of a National Commission on Public Management. We urge the Democrat leadership and majority to schedule hearings promptly on this significant measure.

This Commission would bring to bear on the management of public business the very best minds in private industry, Government, labor, and education. Its mandate is to answer two fundamental questions: How can new management technology aid us in solving governmental problems? What is the best way to take advantage of the opportunities these new techniques provide?

Examples of attempts to apply these modern management principles to State and local affairs already exist. In November 1964, the State of California announced its plan for the application of systems engineering techniques to four important public problems. New York State is currently developing a computer-based identification and intelligence system for law enforcement, the first of its kind in the world.

Congress has over the past decade enacted a host of creative programs designed to solve our public, social and economic problems.

We have made important strides forward in education, health care, pollution control and urban development, but the dimensions of our remaining problems are staggering: 10,000 of our Nation's communities will face serious problems of air pollution; the demand for water consumption may exceed the available supply before the end of this century; there are 9 million substandard housing units in the United States, most of them in urban areas; traffic jams cost the Nation over \$5 billion each year; and scientific and technical information is doubling every 15 years.

It is clear that problems of this magnitude are not susceptible to the traditional solutions. We must reach beyond our history for new ways to manage the public business effectively and economically.

We are sure that none of us can forecast the full measure of worth to this nation which such an endeavor may ultimately provide. We are equally certain that the use of modern technology coupled with the application of modern management techniques may provide solutions to many of the problems which now appear insoluble. It is up to us in the Congress to insure that these steps are taken in a timely fashion, hence our urging of prompt hearings on this measure.

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Office Cable



REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

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NEWS

FOR RELEASE

MONDAY A.M.'s
June 3, 1968

REPUBLICAN COORDINATING COMMITTEE PLEDGES NEW LEADERSHIP,
NEW MEASURES, TO ALLEVIATE THE "CRISIS" IN NATION'S CITIES

The Republican Coordinating Committee pledged today a new leadership, and a different approach and measures, in attacking the "crisis" that has descended upon the nation's cities.

In a 55-page report entitled "New Directions for Urban America," the Coordinating Committee, representing the top leadership of the Republican Party, presented a detailed blueprint of the manner in which GOP leaders would approach and undertake to set in order the perplexing maze of urban problems.

The GOP approach places emphasis on education and training to give individuals self-reliance and personal dignity, an end of discrimination in all forms, support for self-help groups and activities, restoration of the community as a center of life, greater use of private enterprise in dealing with problems, and the rebuilding of city governments in place of centralized control in Washington.

The report, released today by Republican National Chairman Ray C. Bliss, was prepared by the Coordinating Committee's Task Force on the Functions of Federal, State and Local Governments, of which Representative Robert Taft, Jr., Ohio Republican, is Chairman.

After describing a long list of urban ills, and spelling out the Republican approach to solutions, the report sums up 123 specific recommendations which the

Coordinating Committee has made in 27 position papers dealing with domestic affairs issued over a period of nearly three years.

Special attention is directed in the report to 55 recommendations "because of their relevance to the present urban crisis."

In the field of training and education, these recommendations call for credits against the Federal income tax toward the cost of training persons, a National Job Opportunity Survey and a nation-wide communications system to facilitate job placement, improvement and expansion of vocational education programs, a cooperative effort to carry through a program of technological education, expansion of two-year technical institutes and community colleges, early childhood education, new and expanded school facilities in the cities, distribution of Federal aid to education to treat all school children equally, and other measures.

Other recommendations deal with poverty and welfare, housing, human rights, crime and law enforcement, pollution control, transportation, government structure and procedures, and inter-government finance.

The recommendations include the following:

Removal of disincentives to work, enhancement of home ownership opportunities, short-term leasing of existing housing for public housing, better techniques to solve the relocation problem in urban renewal, "faithful execution of the fair housing provisions of the civil rights bill recently passed by Congress with majority Republican support," block grants directly to the States and other measures to reduce crime, tax incentives to industry and other steps to cut down water and air pollution, tax incentives and other measures to alleviate urban traffic congestion, area governments to meet essential needs where necessary, and reversal of the trend toward specialized Federal grant-in-aid programs.

The GOP policy group said:

"The Republican Party pledges to provide the American people the quality of leadership needed to resolve the urban crisis and to build a better future in our cities. The three most vital elements of national leadership, and the three that the Democratic Administration has most visibly lacked, are responsibility, candor and inspiration. We promise to restore these values to the American political scene...

"We indict the Democratic leadership on three counts:

"--(1) the reckless use of inflated promises and a resort to political sloganeering which raised many expectations that were not realized;

"--(2) a lack of decisive action and influence in dealing with the immediate problems of lawlessness and disorder; and

"--(3) an unwillingness to establish a well-ordered set of priorities to meet pressing social needs and to chart the nation's future course...

"To lift the urban crisis from our land will require profound adjustments throughout our social system, involving new personal attitudes and commitments, more relevant public and private institutions, a reassignment of priorities and resources, and, above all, new national leadership to replace the 'politics-as-usual' of the past four years.

"In a pluralistic society, no government, no administration, and no political party can effect the entire range of necessary social adjustments. But this we pledge: that the Republican Party, in 1968 and the years ahead, will seek to provide a leadership of ideas, inspiration and innovation to set new directions for urban America."

The Coordinating Committee said there is little doubt "that the repetition of irresponsible promises and political slogans by the Administration in 1964 and 1965 contributed to the violence and disorder of the succeeding two summers."

The Committee added:

"The rhetoric of the War on Poverty and the Great Society created the impression among the disadvantaged of the cities that their living conditions would be dramatically and rapidly improved.

"The deep-rooted ills of inadequate education and job training, racial discrimination, poor housing, blighted neighborhoods, and lack of transportation facilities would--according to this script--be cured overnight.

"It is clear that these promises extended far beyond the reach of any performance humanly possible. As a result, expectations were raised, but not realized, and for many, a sense of betrayal occurred.

"This led to hostility, and for some violent outbursts. We charge the present Administration with irresponsibility in making these inflated and politically motivated promises to the poor."

The Republican policy-makers declared that, instead of restoring calm and inspiring confidence as the urban crisis expanded, the actions of President Johnson "have been halting, unclear and unsteady."

The Coordinating Committee added:

"An example of uncertain leadership and an apparent admission of failure is the President's public statement that the nation can expect more rioting and disorder in the cities this summer. Such statements do not resolve crises and reduce tensions; they contribute to them."

The Committee said the Administration had failed to present a blueprint for the future, "based on a national strategy to reconcile hostilities and to alleviate the cities' unmet social needs."

The basic ingredients of such a strategy, the Committee said, are:

--A call "for an end to group hostility and discrimination, together with a strong assertion of the need for understanding and fairness."

--Establishment of "hard and meaningful priorities to provide needed funds for urban problems while reducing or deferring outlays for less essential programs at home and abroad."

--Vision and energy "from all of our leaders in order to gain popular acceptance for these measures, to establish a sense of purpose, and to lead the future course of urban America."

Aside from the basic attitude toward leadership, the GOP policy group listed five other areas in which the approach of the Democratic Administrations of the current decade has differed from that of the Republican Party. They are: the attitude toward the individual; toward voluntary and self-help organizations; toward the community; toward the role of private enterprise; and the approach to government.

The Individual

With regard to the individual, the Coordinating Committee said that, despite the passage of numerous civil rights laws, "widespread discrimination or segregation continues in employment, education and housing due to uneven enforcement of existing laws and gaps in coverage."

The Committee said:

"The persistence of discriminatory practices, unjustified in all forms, contributes greatly to the sense of frustration and resentment among minority groups in the cities."

The Republican policy-makers said that, from the days of the New Deal to the Great Society, the Democratic approach to the individual has been that he "should be dependent upon the government," and that this approach has been "extended to cover more and more human needs, and expanded to apply to more and more individuals."

The Coordinating Committee said this approach is now "enshrined in the nation's welfare system, " that in a time of relative affluence welfare now covers more than nine million people at an annual cost of more than \$6 billion, and that instead of a temporary relief measure as in the days of the New Deal it "has

become a way of life with second and even third generations trapped in the system."

Emphasizing that the system as presently constituted "just does not work," the Committee said that a climate of opportunity should be provided for the individual that would build "self-reliance and independence."

The Committee added:

"We, therefore, strongly favor and have consistently supported government action to improve educational opportunities, to expand job training and provide job incentives, and to remove employment barriers as the keys to providing more individuals with enlarged opportunities for self-improvement and fulfillment.

"The individual in turn has the responsibility for seeking and using opportunities to improve himself and his community.

"This approach, in combination with welfare measures to protect the individual from temporary hardship, offers a constructive and lasting solution to the problems of poverty and disadvantage in the cities."

Voluntary and Self-Help Organizations

The Coordinating Committee said the Democratic Party "has not fully appreciated the importance of voluntary and self-help activity and has not sufficiently encouraged the formation and strengthening of organizations dedicated to self-help principles."

The Committee added:

"Too frequently, in fact, local self-help groups have been undermined by Federally directed and subsidized organizations.

"The Republican Party, at the Federal, State and local level and through its individual members, pledges to stimulate and encourage voluntary and self-help organizations in the cities.

"We recognize that people who are producing progress of their own making are people who will work to defend and to build, rather than to destroy."

The Community

The GOP policy group said that Democratic policies "have tended to ignore the importance of intangible factors such as community stability, identity, and cohesiveness in enhancing the quality of urban living."

The Coordinating Committee continued:

"Indeed, the concepts of neighborhood, community pride and mutual assistance seem to have disappeared from many American cities today. This is revealed by high turnover rates in housing, by unkempt property, streets and alleys, and by the shocking indifference of bystanders to acts of violence."

The Committee cited the following three examples of "how recent Democratic policies have contributed to the waning sense of community in the cities":

--An "obsession with rental housing assistance programs for the disadvantaged."

--The "heavy-handed destruction of neighborhoods and districts through urban renewal and other Government construction programs."

--The failure "to stem the wave of crime and riots."

The Committee said:

"The Republican Party pledges to adopt urban policies which will foster and reinforce the vital but intangible values of community pride and trust.

"These neglected values can be restored by shifting the emphasis from low income rental housing to home-ownership programs, by respecting the cohesiveness of established neighborhoods in urban renewal and other construction programs, and by establishing more effective law enforcement programs.

"The goal must be to restore a sense of place, a familiarity with sights and sounds, a feeling of belonging and contributing, and an absence of hostility and tension that every human being longs for."

The Role of Private Enterprise

The Coordinating Committee said that over the last generation the Democratic Party "has too often expressed and demonstrated a basic distrust and misunderstanding of the role and capabilities of private enterprise."

The Committee said:

"The short-sighted Democratic attitude toward private enterprise has prevented this Administration from fully recognizing and utilizing a development of great potential significance--the harnessing of the strengths of private enterprise to the solution of public and social problems, particularly in the cities...

"The Republican Party pledges to promote and foster the increased commitment and utilization of private enterprise in coping with the urban crisis."

The Committee emphasized that a general climate of government would have to be established that encouraged widespread private participation.

"Beyond creating a proper climate," the Committee added, "government can promote a greater role for private enterprise in many ways.

"These include offering tax benefits and other incentives to channel private resources to purposes of high social priority; using and applying government regulatory powers wisely; involving private enterprise in the implementation of government programs; and consulting continually with representatives of private enterprise in planning and administering government programs.

"We favor a complete review of government policies and operations with these guidelines in mind."

The Approach to Government

With respect to the attitude of Democratic Administrations toward government, the Republican policy-makers said:

"The most conspicuous and unwise aspect of the Democratic approach to government is the drive for greater centralization of local public services in the hands of the Federal Government.

"The accelerating trend toward centralization under Democratic Administrations has restricted the home-rule powers of city governments, and has reduced their ability and capacity to respond effectively and creatively to the problems they confront."

Pointing to the rapid growth under Democratic Administrations of specialized Federal grant-in-aid programs, now numbering more than 400 and involving an annual outlay of more than \$18 billion, the Coordinating Committee said:

"Despite the added revenues provided, the Federal grant-in-aid system ultimately weakens city governments.

"The system permits the Federal Government to establish local priorities and to exercise detailed control over a vast array of essential local public services.

"It also creates a maze of bureaucratic red tape that saps the energy of local officials, adds to delays, and reduces program effectiveness.

"There are also more subtle effects. Individual grant programs are generally handled between a specialized element of the bureaucracy in Washington and a counterpart agency at the local level, completely bypassing the mayor and other elected officials...

"The Republican Party believes that the capacity and capability of city governments to be master of their own houses and to solve their own problems must be restored.

"To this end we have consistently and repeatedly proposed a system of revenue sharing and block grants to the States with provision for the allocation of funds to local and city governments.

"These measures, together with a system of Federal income tax credits for State and local taxes, would greatly strengthen these governments and would lift the tired hand of the Federal Government from control of local public services.

"We also pledge to restore soundness to the Federal Government's economic policies as a means to improve the financial position of city governments."

Referring to the economic policies of the present Democratic Administration, and their effect on the cities, the Coordinating Committee said:

"Continuation of unsound Democratic economic policies could lead to run-away inflation or a plunge into recession, with dire consequences on employment levels, purchasing power, and the future hopes of city residents."

5/28/68

Adopted by
The Republican Coordinating Committee

May 6, 1968

Presented by the Task Force on the Functions
of Federal, State and Local Governments

NEW DIRECTIONS FOR URBAN AMERICA

Prepared under the direction of:
Republican National Committee
Ray C. Bliss, Chairman
1625 Eye Street, Northwest
Washington, D. C. 20006

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Lawrence L. Thompson, Secretary to the Task Force

NEW DIRECTIONS FOR URBAN AMERICA

The United States is engulfed in an urban crisis. Events in the cities over the past four years have thrust upon our nation the harsh reality of widespread violence and destruction of an intensity unexpected, and have exposed conditions of disadvantage and social failure of a depth previously unrecognized. Tragically and paradoxically, we encounter this crisis at a time when many of the normal indicators of social progress -- national output, personal income, employment levels, educational attainments, technological advancement, and life expectancy -- have risen to record heights.

Consequently, the urban crisis is more than civil disorders and unmet social needs; it is a crisis of confidence, of leadership and of human relationships that contributes to a depression of the national spirit. The situation demands a recognition that just as the customary indicators of progress are no longer completely valid, so also the customary responses, whether they be the establishment of one more Federal program, the appointment of another blue-ribbon study commission, or an after-the-riot plea for law and order, are woefully inadequate.

The urban crisis has occurred under the stewardship of the Democratic Administration. During the past four years, as the crisis has developed and deepened, the Administration has displayed its inability to devise effective policies and programs to deal with the situation.

The President's major action in 1967, as the full dimensions of the crisis became apparent, was to appoint an Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders whose report he has largely ignored. In our view, the Commission's report neglected to set any priorities among its numerous recommendations, failed to come to grips

with the crucial questions of cost and financing, and could be construed as unfairly accusing all whites of practicing racism. It failed to recognize adequately the need for self-help and private and voluntary citizen action. Nevertheless, we believe the report contains much valuable information and analysis, and its recommendations are worthy of detailed attention and consideration by the President and the Congress.

In its approach to urban problems the Administration's gravest failure has been an absence of responsible, candid, and inspiring leadership for our troubled nation. We indict the Democratic leadership on three counts: (1) the reckless use of inflated promises and a resort to political sloganeering which raised many expectations that were not realized; (2) a lack of decisive action and influence in dealing with the immediate problems of lawlessness and disorder; and (3) an unwillingness to establish a well-ordered set of priorities to meet pressing social needs and to chart the nation's future course. The record shows clearly that the Democratic Administration -- its leadership and its policies -- must stand accused of failure in attempting to resolve the urban crisis.

To lift the urban crisis from our land will require profound adjustments throughout our social system, involving new personal attitudes and commitments, more relevant public and private institutions, a reassignment of priorities and resources, and, above all, new national leadership to replace the "politics-as-usual" of the past four years.

In a pluralistic society, no government, no administration, and no political party can effect the entire range of necessary social adjustments. But this we pledge: that the Republican Party, in 1968 and the years ahead, will seek to provide a leadership of ideas, inspiration, and innovation to set new directions for urban America.

This paper outlines the main aspects of current urban problems, sets forth a comparison of the approaches of the Republican and Democratic Parties to these problems, and presents 55 of the principal recommendations on urban affairs made by the Republican Coordinating Committee in various position papers issued since its inception in 1965. A full listing of 123 recommendations made by the Coordinating Committee on urban problems is compiled in an appendix to this paper.

A Catalogue of Urban Ills

The crisis of the cities encompasses numerous aspects of urban living conditions, and its full extent is revealed by an array of pertinent facts and figures. The following catalogue of urban ills presents a disturbing portrait of the troubled situation confronting the nation.

1. Unsolved Human Problems

In the cities today, a host of fundamental human problems remain such as chronic unemployment, unequal education opportunities, racial discrimination, substandard housing, inadequate transportation services and the breakdown of family and community structures. These persistent problems yield a compound of disadvantage and discontent, contribute to lawlessness and disorder, and bear witness to the failures and inadequacies of the present Administration's policies and programs.

- Despite a reduction in overall unemployment rates, substantial "hard-core" unemployment continues. Among Negroes the jobless rate is twice the national average; among young people it is more than three times as great.
- Unemployment is an especially serious problem in the central cities. Among young Negro men in the cities the unemployment rate is nearly 25 percent, seven times the national rate.

- Rising prices, largely the result of unsound Democratic economic policies, have reduced any gain in the urban resident's income and have diminished the value of his savings. A price increase of over six percent in just two years has worked a particular hardship on the social security recipient and others with fixed incomes, the unemployed, and the unorganized wage earner.
- Great disparities in educational opportunities and achievement exist in urban areas. According to achievement tests the average minority group child in metropolitan areas is behind other children when he begins school and the gap tends to widen; he is roughly two grades behind the others at grade six; three grades behind at grade nine; and four grades behind at grade twelve.
- In poverty neighborhoods of the fifteen largest cities roughly 60 percent of the tenth-grade students drop out before finishing high school; unemployment and delinquency rates among dropouts are many times greater than the national average.
- Despite generally high rates of private housing construction, the goal of "a decent home and suitable living environment for every American" proclaimed in the 1949 Housing Act remains unfulfilled for millions of families. Roughly 4 million substandard housing units continue to exist in urban areas; nearly two-thirds of all minority group families today live in neighborhoods marked with unsuitable housing and urban blight.
- Despite the passage of numerous civil rights laws at all levels of government, widespread discrimination or segregation continues in employment, education and housing due to uneven enforcement of existing laws and gaps in coverage. Moreover, the recent passage of Federal fair

housing legislation, achieved only with wide Republican support in Congress, establishes a desirable goal but will not alone eliminate segregated housing conditions. As recognized in the legislation, leadership at local and State levels is a necessary and positive factor for achieving progress in the elimination of such discrimination. The persistence of discriminatory practices, unjustified in all forms, contributes greatly to the sense of frustration and resentment among minority groups in the cities.

- The proportion of families living with no father in the home is growing, both among Negroes and whites, and these families are heavily concentrated at the low end of the income scale. This breakdown of family structure leads to numerous unfortunate consequences for the children, including a sense of alienation, a lack of direction and, too often, outright delinquency.

2. Crime and Civil Disorder

Rising crime rates and a series of major riots and civil disorders have left a trail of victims, both Negro and white, creating an atmosphere of fear, alarm, mistrust, and apprehension all across the country.

- The number of crimes committed per year has increased by 88 percent since 1960, nine times faster than the growth of population. The crime rate in large cities typically is double the national rate.
- High crime rates and the need for better police protection are acute problems in the low-income districts of the central cities. One low-income neighborhood experienced a serious crime rate 35 times greater than in the high income sections of the city.
- Since 1963 riots and disorders have occurred with greatly increased frequency. In 1963, five serious disorders occurred; in 1964-65,

15 serious disorders or incidents were recorded; in 1966 the number of riots and disorders increased to 43; and during 1967, 164 riots and disturbances took place in an eruption of violence that shook the nation.

-- This year riots and disorders occurred in over 80 cities during the period following the tragic assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

-- A study of 75 riots and disorders by a Senate Subcommittee revealed a toll of 83 deaths and 1,897 injuries as a result of these disturbances. Property damage estimates range from many tens of millions to hundreds of millions of dollars.

3. The Declining Quality of the Urban Environment

Beyond the unmet human needs and social disorders described above, the cities of America are characterized today by deteriorating environmental conditions which impair for all the quality of urban living.

- Automobiles, factories, power plants, and heating facilities pour into the atmosphere 140 million tons of air pollutants each year, an average of 1400 pounds for each American. Scientists have correlated high levels of air pollution found in large cities with increased respiratory diseases and even death.
- Once pure lakes and streams are polluted and rendered unfit for swimming and fishing because of wastes discharged from municipal sewer systems, industry, and other pollution sources. It is estimated that 64 million people -- nearly one-half the entire urban population -- are served, if at all, by inadequate waste treatment plants.
- The failure of the Federal government to eliminate air and water pollution from its own installations and facilities sets a bad example across the country to industries and communities that are being called to join the battle against pollution.

- Traffic congestion and inadequate mass transportation service cause costly, time-consuming delays and create hardships for millions of urban residents. Daily commuter round trips of two hours are not uncommon, depriving workers of leisure and family time. Inadequate bus and transit service add to the employment and mobility problems of low-income residents, only one-half of whom own automobiles.
- Newer forms of pollution, often the byproduct of technological advances, contribute to the declining quality of the urban environment. For example, noises from high-powered, high-speed jet aircraft, flying with increasing frequency, produce a serious annoyance for many city dwellers and at times result in property damage.

4. The Inadequacies of Urban Government

Many big city governments are ill-equipped to respond effectively to the endless list of serious problems which they confront. The shortcomings are largely a result of weaknesses in the structure, organization, and financial capacity of the typical city government.

A fundamental problem of urban government is the inadequacy of available revenue sources. The departure of industry and middle-income families to the suburbs, and the influx of low-income residents in need of extensive governmental services, have left the large cities with an array of costly social problems; yet they lack the tax resources to pay for them. Attempting to meet the costs and to compensate for the loss in tax base, cities are forced to raise tax rates, but this simply hastens the outward flight of industry and middle-income families.

Caught in this fiscal squeeze, the cities increasingly have turned to the Federal government for financial support. But under the specialized grant-in-aid

system, this assistance has been accompanied by Federal controls and administrative tangles that tend to erode home rule and impair the effectiveness of aided programs.

In recent years a number of States under Republican leadership have demonstrated a new awareness of city problems and have devoted increased resources and attention to their resolution. We believe the States can and must play an increased role in planning and in achieving coordinated solutions for urban and metropolitan problems. Often, however, neither State nor Federal aid distribution formulas adequately recognize the disparity between the financial capacity of cities and their great needs.

Another basic problem is that urban government is not one government, but many governments. The proliferation of special purpose governmental units and authorities for planning, renewal, public utilities, transportation, etc., often with independent revenue sources, fragments local government authority and disperses responsibility and accountability. This condition, further complicated by the involvement of State and Federal agencies, fosters lack of coordination and impedes comprehensive planning, particularly for metropolitan area-wide problems. By most recent count each metropolitan area contains an average of 87 units of local government or special districts. The Chicago area alone encompasses 1,060 governments and the New York area, 1,112.

A final problem is the declining level of citizen interest and participation in city government. Over the past generation the movement toward professionalization of city civil service systems has brought numerous benefits. However, a distinct disadvantage has been the centralization of city government in a largely impersonal and frequently inaccessible bureaucracy. City departments too often are staffed by those who do not identify with the problems of the lower income families. As a result many residents feel alienated from city hall, and have a low degree of confidence in its ability or willingness to deal with their

problems. This is demonstrated perhaps by the low voter turnout for many city elections, estimated to average less than 30 percent.

This, then, is the condition of urban America in 1968 -- beset by social problems and unmet human needs, wracked by crime and rioting, exposed to an environment increasingly polluted and congested, and governed by units of authority often with neither the structure nor the financial capacity to respond effectively to the long catalog of problems.

A Republican Approach to Urban Problems

The Republican Party believes that the urban crisis must be analyzed and approached in terms of the proper utilization of those human and institutional resources which are basic to the operation of a stable and progressive society: (1) the individual; (2) voluntary and self-help organizations; (3) the community; (4) private enterprise; (5) government; and (6) leadership. Success in dealing with the situation will depend on a careful understanding and appreciation of these six elements, and will require policies that assign to each a proper role and emphasis. The following discussion contrasts the basic approach of the Republican Party to that of the Democratic Party and presents examples of the failures of the frequently misguided Democratic approach.

1. The Individual

The policies of the Democratic Party demonstrate its basic belief that the individual, especially the individual in less fortunate circumstances, should be dependent upon the government. From the New Deal to the Great Society this approach to the individual has been consistently propounded by the Democrats, extended to cover more and more human needs, and expanded to apply to more and more individuals.

Today this approach is enshrined in the nation's welfare system. Largely instituted in the Thirties to provide temporary relief to those in financial distress, the welfare system has grown in these times of relative affluence to cover over 9 million people at a current annual cost of more than \$6 billion. Instead of a temporary relief measure, welfare has become a way of life with second and even third generations trapped in the system. By means of restrictions and investigations that invade the individual's privacy and deny him dignity, these programs emphasize the individual's dependency on government, and offer him few incentives or little hope for a better future. For millions of individuals and families in the cities today Democratic welfare policies are perpetuating rather than alleviating poverty, broken homes, and bleak idleness. In short, today's welfare system just does not work.

The Republican Party, by contrast, believes in the intrinsic dignity of each individual. We hold that dignity is bestowed not by treating individuals as wards of the state, but by providing a climate of opportunity that builds self-reliance and independence. We believe the individual achieves fulfillment when engaged in productive employment, utilizing his abilities, expanding his talents, and adding to the economic well-being of society.

We, therefore, strongly favor and have consistently supported government action to improve educational opportunities, to expand job training and provide job incentives, and to remove employment barriers as the keys to providing more individuals with enlarged opportunities for self-improvement and fulfillment. The individual in turn has the responsibility for seeking and using opportunities to improve himself and his community. This approach, in combination with welfare measures to protect the individual from temporary hardship, offers a constructive and lasting solution to the problems of poverty and disadvantage in the cities.

2. Voluntary and Self-Help Organizations

From America's earliest history individuals have joined together voluntarily to solve problems and meet needs too big for the individual. They have created associations and informal groups for the purpose of self-help rather than turning to government for handouts and controls.

Such self-help activity is particularly meaningful in our cities today, because it enables participants not only to meet their tangible needs but also to increase their self-esteem and self-reliance.

The spirit of self-help is rising in the cities of America. In numerous instances independent, representative citizen organizations have been established to stimulate private self-help efforts in education, job training and orientation, family counseling, housing, small business assistance and other areas. Many observers have judged these efforts to be highly successful -- frequently more successful than government controlled programs.

The Democratic Party has not fully appreciated the importance of voluntary and self-help activity and has not sufficiently encouraged the formation and strengthening of organizations dedicated to self-help principles. Too frequently, in fact, local self-help groups have been undermined by Federally directed and subsidized organizations.

The Republican Party, at the Federal, State and local level and through its individual members, pledges to stimulate and encourage voluntary and self-help organizations in the cities. We recognize that people who are producing progress of their own making are people who will work to defend and to build, rather than to destroy.

3. The Community

The policies of the Democratic Party have tended to ignore the importance of intangible factors such as community stability, identity, and cohesiveness in enhancing the quality of urban living. Indeed, the concepts of neighborhood, community pride, and mutual assistance seem to have disappeared from many American cities today. This is revealed by high turnover rates in housing, by unkempt property, streets, and alleys, and by the shocking indifference of bystanders to acts of violence. Three major examples show how recent Democratic policies have contributed to the waning sense of community in the cities: (1) the obsession with rental housing assistance programs for the disadvantaged; (2) the heavy-handed destruction of neighborhoods and districts through urban renewal and other government construction programs; and (3) the failure to stem the wave of crime and riots.

The entire thrust of government housing assistance programs for low income families has been in the direction of rental housing rather than home-ownership. This emphasis has produced a number of undesirable effects, by fostering a large population of tenants with weak community ties and high mobility rates. Also, many of these programs penalize diligence and ambition by requiring tenants to move should they improve their economic standing. In short, the Democratic obsession with rental housing programs has contributed to the high turnover rates and the loss of community identity which characterize our cities today.

Urban renewal and other government-sponsored construction programs have had unfortunate effects on the cohesiveness of many communities. Too often these programs have destroyed entire neighborhoods, uprooting thousands of families, depriving numerous small businessmen of their livelihood, and aggravating already overcrowded conditions in other low-income neighborhoods. The number of

housing units destroyed by urban renewal is roughly four times the number created; moreover, provision for relocation of those displaced has been woefully inadequate.

The effect of such policies on the structure of the community and on the outlook of the residents is far-reaching. According to studies conducted after the Newark riot, neighborhood disruption caused by government construction programs was high on the grievance list of riot area residents.

Nothing is more damaging to the health and vitality of a community than unchecked crime and rioting. The immediate effect on the victims is just one dimension; the other is the poisoned community atmosphere that lingers to breed suspicion, anxiety, and fear and to cause community residents to turn inward. The Democratic Administration has shown far too little sensitivity to this by-product of urban violence.

The Republican Party pledges to adopt urban policies which will foster and reinforce the vital but intangible values of community pride and trust. These neglected values can be restored by shifting the emphasis from low income rental housing to homeownership programs, by respecting the cohesiveness of established neighborhoods in urban renewal and other construction programs, and by establishing more effective law enforcement programs. The goal must be to restore a sense of place, a familiarity with sights and sounds, a feeling of belonging and contributing, and an absence of hostility and tension that every human being longs for. These are the features which can make a city a truly desirable and attractive place to live.

4. The Role of Private Enterprise

Over the past generation the Democratic Party has too often expressed and demonstrated a basic distrust and misunderstanding of the role and capabilities of private enterprise. The dominant Democratic theme equates private enterprise with selfishness and narrowness of purpose, but equates public enterprise or government with the virtues of altruism and social purpose.

The distortion inherent in this attitude can be demonstrated by listing some of the vital public purposes accomplished by private enterprise -- job creation, capital investment and economic growth, higher productivity and wages, along with more leisure time. It is also revealed by some of the less noble tendencies of government, notably the persistent inability of government to reverse course or terminate unproductive activities and the endless drive for power among rival government officials. These factors invariably result in attempts at program expansion, and cause debilitating interagency conflicts at public expense without regard to social purpose.

The short-sighted Democratic attitude toward private enterprise has prevented this Administration from fully recognizing and utilizing a development of great potential significance -- the harnessing of the strengths of private enterprise to the solution of public and social problems, particularly in the cities.

Largely as a result of consistent Republican urging, private enterprises and foundations in recent years have shown an awareness of the problems of the cities, and have moved to devise new and effective approaches to their solution. Across the full spectrum of urban problems private enterprise has produced or sponsored numerous innovations in job training and placement, programs of learning for disadvantaged children, low-cost housing technology, pollution abatement methods, and college student loans, to name just a few.

Thoughtful Americans are realizing that private enterprise and independent organizations possess numerous skills and resources which are vitally important assets in the struggle against the growing urban problems. Among these are: (1) a capacity for innovation and fresh thinking; (2) an ability to mobilize community leadership and spirit; (3) an on-the-spot method of operation that cuts delays and deemphasizes publicity; (4) a capacity for hard evaluation, reassessment, and changes of objectives and policies when needed; and (5) an informal network of communications and associations which can draw together a combination of resources tailored to each problem's unique needs.

The Republican Party pledges to promote and foster the increased commitment and utilization of private enterprise in coping with the urban crisis. A basic element of this approach must be the establishment of a general climate of government that encourages widespread private participation. In this regard, the Republican Party's consistent understanding and awareness of the strengths of private enterprise, in contrast to the suspicions historically exhibited by the Democrats, is a decisive advantage.

Beyond creating a proper climate, government can promote a greater role for private enterprise in many ways. These include offering tax benefits and other incentives to channel private resources to purposes of high social priority; using and applying government regulatory powers wisely; involving private enterprise in the implementation of government programs; and consulting continually with representatives of private enterprise in planning and administering government programs. We favor a complete review of government policies and operations with these guidelines in mind.

An example of programs designed to expand participation of private enterprise is the Republican-sponsored Domestic Development Bank. Under this proposal financing would be provided on favorable terms to whites and non-whites alike for private business and commercial projects, in order to expand job opportunities in poverty areas and to stimulate local entrepreneurship.

5. The Approach to Government

The most conspicuous and unwise aspect of the Democratic approach to government is the drive for greater centralization of local public services in the hands of the Federal government. The accelerating trend toward centralization under

Democratic Administrations has restricted the home-rule powers of city governments, and has reduced their ability and capacity to respond effectively and creatively to the problems they confront.

Centralization results first from the Federal government's virtual monopoly of the lucrative income tax, thereby forcing the States and local communities to rely on the less responsive and less equitable sales and property taxes; and results secondly from the unparalleled growth and proliferation of specialized Federal grant-in-aid programs, currently numbering over 400 and accounting for an annual Federal expenditure of \$18 billion.

Despite the added revenues provided, the Federal grant-in-aid system ultimately weakens city governments. The system permits the Federal government to establish local priorities and to exercise detailed control over a vast array of essentially local public services. It also creates a maze of bureaucratic red tape that saps the energy of local officials, adds to delays, and reduces program effectiveness.

There are also more subtle effects. Individual grant programs are generally handled between a specialized element of the bureaucracy in Washington and a counterpart agency at the local level, completely bypassing the mayor and other elected officials. This procedure strengthens the hand of obscure city hall employees at the expense of the mayor and the residents to whom he is responsible. Also, since final authority over these programs is often lodged in the Federal government, and with higher Federal pay scales acting as an inducement, city employees and potential new employees may be lured away to Washington.

* City governments are also experiencing difficulty competing for employees with private organizations, such as community action agencies, which are permitted to pay higher salaries under the terms of lucrative Federal grant programs.

Another conspicuous deficiency of the Democratic Administration's approach to government has been its failure to recognize that sound, balanced, and healthy growth in the economy is the keystone to social progress and human betterment. The distorted performance of the economy during the past four years of Democratic mismanagement has had a number of adverse effects in urban areas. Rampant inflation, with rising prices and higher interest rates, has taken a heavy toll on the economic well-being of urban residents. These economic conditions have compounded the problems of city governments by raising the cost of public services and increasing the cost of borrowing for capital improvements. Continuation of unsound Democratic economic policies could lead to run-away inflation or a plunge into recession with dire consequences on employment levels, purchasing power, and the future hopes of city residents.

The Republican Party believes that the capacity and capability of city governments to be masters of their own houses and to solve their own problems must be restored. To this end we have consistently and repeatedly proposed a system of revenue sharing and block grants to the States with provision for the allocation of funds to local and city governments. These measures, together with a system of Federal income tax credits for State and local taxes, would greatly strengthen these governments and would lift the tired hand of the Federal government from control of local public services. We also pledge to restore soundness to the Federal government's economic policies as a means to improve the financial position of city governments.

We favor these measures in the firm belief that city governments, if structurally and financially strong, can effectively provide the leadership, sense of purpose, creativity, and responsiveness needed for the solution of their present problems.

6. Leadership

As we stated at the outset, the gravest failure of the present Administration's approach to urban problems has been an absence of responsible, candid, and inspiring leadership. The failure of national leadership consists, principally, of: (1) the use of inflated promises and political slogans; (2) a lack of action to deal with the immediate problems of lawlessness and disorder; and (3) an unwillingness to establish a well-ordered set of priorities.

Little doubt exists that the repetition of irresponsible promises and political slogans by the Administration in 1964 and 1965 contributed to the violence and disorder of the succeeding two summers. The rhetoric of the War on Poverty and the Great Society created the impression among the disadvantaged of the cities that their living conditions would be dramatically and rapidly improved. The deep-rooted ills of inadequate education and job training, racial discrimination, poor housing, blighted neighborhoods, and lack of transportation facilities would -- according to this script -- be cured overnight.

It is clear that these promises extended far beyond the reach of any performance humanly possible. As a result, expectations were raised, but not realized, and for many, a sense of betrayal occurred. This led to hostility, and for some, violent outbursts. We charge the present Administration with irresponsibility in making these inflated and politically motivated promises to the poor.

A nation in crisis demands of its President the ability to summon all the vast resources of the Office for the purpose of restoring calm and inspiring confidence in the minds of the people. As the urban crisis has developed and expanded, the President's actions have not met these standards, but have been halting, unclear, and unsteady.

An example of uncertain leadership and an apparent admission of failure is the President's public statement that the nation can expect more rioting and disorder in the cities this summer. Such statements do not resolve crises and reduce tensions; they contribute to them.

The Administration has failed to present a blueprint for the future, based on a national strategy to reconcile hostilities and to alleviate the cities' unmet social needs. The basic ingredients for such a strategy are: (1) a clarion call for an end to group hostility and discrimination, together with a strong assertion of the need for understanding and fairness; (2) the setting of hard and meaningful priorities to provide needed funds for urban problems while reducing or deferring outlays for less essential programs at home and abroad; and (3) a summoning of vision and energy from all of our leaders in order to gain popular acceptance for these measures, to establish a sense of purpose, and to lead the future course of urban America. We commend the group of Republican Members of the House of Representatives for recently pointing the way by proposing a "Human Renewal Fund" based on a specific reallocation of resources in favor of the cities.

The Republican Party pledges to provide the American people the quality of leadership needed to resolve the urban crisis and to build a better future in our cities. The three most vital elements of national leadership -- and the three that the Democratic Administration has most visibly lacked -- are responsibility, candor, and inspiration. We promise to restore these values to the American political scene.

A Summary of Republican Recommendations

Over the past three years the Republican Coordinating Committee has issued 27 major position papers dealing with domestic affairs. Many of these statements, in part or in their entirety, have addressed the problems of urban America. In total, over 100 specific recommendations have been presented to combat the full range of urban ills.

These recommendations are presented in two sections. The first section, which follows below, contains a summary of 55 recommendations to which we wish to direct particular attention because of their relevance to the present urban crisis. The second section, presented as an appendix to the full paper, incorporates the entire list of 123 recommendations made by the Republican Coordinating Committee in previous papers, including the 55 contained in the first section.*

We earnestly believe that our recommendations, based upon the Republican approach to urban problems outlined in the previous section, constitute the foundation for a broadly conceived plan of action to set new directions for urban America. We commend these policies and programs to the attention of the American people.

* The selection of recommendations for inclusion in the first section is not in derogation of the others.

Job Opportunities and Training

-- We recommend that Congress enact the Republican-authored Human Investment Act to grant to employers a credit against Federal income taxes toward the costs incurred in training employees or potential employees in skills in short supply. Republicans agree that the most effective technique for achieving widespread business involvement is through incentive tax credits, both for hiring the unemployed and upgrading the under-employed, and for investment in urban and rural poverty areas.

-- We recommend a National Job Opportunity Survey to include nationwide collection of data on job market conditions, unfilled jobs, developing job needs, labor supply, regional and local patterns and the skills needed to meet the demands, together with a nationwide communications system making this data available to vocational educators, counselors, placement personnel, the Armed Services, labor unions, and business enterprises.

-- We urge vocational educators to expand further their programs among the hard-core unemployed in urban ghettos, and to reorient and modernize these programs to match the demands of today's job market.

-- We recommend that the resources of industry, labor, education and all levels of government should be mobilized to institute a program of Technological Education for the Future (TEFF). This program would offer young people up to two years of functional training in needed new skills in schools and through on-the-job training. The employer would receive a credit against his Federal income tax for part of the wages paid the enrollee.

-- To meet the expanded demand for skilled technicians and semi-professional personnel, and to offer the high school graduate a choice other than ending his formal education or pursuing a four-year college program, we urge the expansion and strengthening of two-year technical institutes and community college programs located near the students' homes.

Education

-- Early childhood education programs should, as a matter of priority and urgency, be expanded to include all 5 and 4-year olds, and perhaps 3-year olds, from impoverished neighborhoods who could benefit from this experience.

-- We urge that Project Head Start be administered in the Office of Education through the States, not by the Office of Economic Opportunity. We believe the program should be taken out from under the Economic Opportunity Act and funded to the full extent of its need through the new Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

-- We support a massive campaign against illiteracy in the United States.

-- As a basic principle, we believe that teachers must be accorded the professional status, pay, and perquisites commensurate with the challenge of the assignment and with the benefits which society realizes when this assignment is successfully discharged.

-- We feel that recent proposals for school decentralization in a number of the larger cities are worthy of serious attention and consideration by others as possible guides for action.

-- We recommend that steps be taken to embark on a constructive program to provide new and expanded school facilities in the cities, equivalent to the modern and spacious plant frequently found in suburban school districts. In view of ever-rising construction costs, these efforts should proceed without delay.

-- We feel that Federal aid programs for elementary and secondary education should be combined into a smaller, more manageable number of grant categories, in order to provide larger amounts of aid to problems of the highest priority.

-- The educational goals of excellence and equality of opportunity in urban schools, to which we subscribe, apply uniformly to all American children regardless of whether they attend public or non-public schools. For this reason, Federal government aid to education should be distributed on the basis of fair and equitable treatment of all school children.

-- If financial aid goes only to public institutions, the existing balance could be shifted strongly toward public education. This could effectively be remedied in part by the granting of Federal income tax credits for tuition and certain other expenses in education. Financial aid programs such as this must be carefully designed, along with other needed education programs, to include significant assistance to young people from families with the greatest financial need.

-- We believe that no qualified student should be deprived of a college education because of economic hardship. We recommend that families be allowed tax credits for the costs of college tuition and fees.

Poverty and Welfare

-- We recommend removal of disincentives for work. People on welfare who are working part-time should be able to retain a portion of their earnings, thus increasing their incentive to move to full-time employment.

-- We recommend providing work incentives for dependent youth by giving teenage children of welfare recipients a desire to become productive through minimum wage exemptions.

-- We urge the expansion of child care facilities to be available in each State for working mothers.

-- We recommend fuller involvement of the poor in the solution of their own problems, by giving them representation on the community action boards in each area.

-- We recommend that the Office of Economic Opportunity be responsible for Community Action Programs alone and that the other programs under the Economic Opportunity Act be returned to the individual government departments and agencies in which they logically belong.

-- We recommend setting realistic ceilings on the salaries of poverty employees. Salaries of poverty workers should not exceed the salaries paid persons holding comparable positions in the area.

Housing

-- We believe that opportunities for acquiring ownership of units must be enhanced. In this regard, the Percy-Widnall home ownership plan and sweat equity proposals offer imaginative and constructive approaches to improving the quality of our housing and the lives of lower-income families.

-- Where public housing has been accepted by local decision, local public housing officials should be encouraged to make use of the Republican-sponsored program of short term leasing of existing housing, voluntarily offered by private landlords at public housing levels.

-- Federal or local tax policy can be used to encourage, rather than penalize, the owner for improving his property. Such encouragement could be based on a tax credit or tax abatement approach, using as a guide the cost of the improvement or the local property tax increase. Certainly, all levels of government should study their tax laws to eliminate factors which encourage the maintenance and spread of profitable slums.

-- A coordinated approach to housing and urban renewal should realize that there is social benefit in retaining the neighborhood -- which may be the only social institution with meaning and value for the low income urban family.

-- We recommend better techniques to solve the relocation problem in urban renewal. Needed are more adequate payments for moving expenses, and more equitable compensation awards and procedures where property is taken under eminent domain.

-- A detailed and careful study of the operations of the Federal urban renewal and slum clearance programs by Congress is urgently needed. Such a study should include in-depth hearings involving the people directly affected by the program.

Human Rights

-- We call for faithful execution of the fair housing provisions of the civil rights bill recently passed by Congress with majority Republican support. This measure, aimed at providing all persons regardless of race, color, religion or national origin with non-discriminatory access to most sale and rental housing, should help to reduce tensions in the central cities by creating opportunities for greater economic and social mobility among minority groups.

-- We pledge to reduce discrimination in employment. The Administration has failed to give prompt and effective implementation to Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which bans discrimination by employers and labor unions with more than one hundred members. Once again, we Republicans call upon the Democratic Administration to enforce this section of the law.

-- We firmly believe in the positive value of inter-cultural and inter-racial educational experiences for all children. Integrated schools expand the knowledge and understanding of the child, increase his awareness of others, and provide lessons of tolerance and fairness that are important assets to the individual and to society.

Crime and Law Enforcement

-- We recommend substantial Federal financial assistance in the form of block grants be given directly to the States for crime control, and the creation of State departments of criminal justice to direct and coordinate all phases and segments of State and local crime prevention and control.

-- We urge enactment of the Republican proposal to create a permanent Joint Congressional Committee on Organized Crime.

-- We recommend that the Congress and the States enact appropriate codes of police procedures.

-- We urge the Federal government -- through the National Institute of Health -- to increase substantially its research into causes of and cures for narcotic and drug addiction.

-- We call upon the Federal government to establish a model juvenile crime control system for the District of Columbia.

-- We recommend that Congress enact legislation to more effectively control the indiscriminate availability of firearms and to assist the States in enforcing their own firearms control laws by preventing circumvention in ways which are beyond the power of the States to control.

-- We urge the Federal government to establish an accelerated research program into the causes of crime and elimination of the causes of crime.

Pollution Control

-- We propose a system of Federal tax benefits to industry for investments in air and water pollution control devices, so that the costs of controlling pollution will be widely shared, as well as the benefits. Congress should hold hearings and act favorably on legislation of this type.

-- We call for effective action rather than words to halt air and water pollution emanating from Federal installations, so that the Federal government in its own activities will be above reproach and can provide more effective leadership.

-- In order to promote efficiency and increased effectiveness in the operation of Federal water and sewer grant programs, we recommend transfer to the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration of all such programs now administered by four other Federal agencies.

-- We believe that Federal water pollution control grants should be allocated to local projects only after approval by the State as meeting an area-wide or regional pollution control plan.

-- We urge greater use of regional and metropolitan area agreements among States and local governments in the control of air pollution, so that solutions may be matched to the geographical pattern and wide variations of the problem, and to minimize Federal controls consistent with the approach contained in the Air Quality Act of 1967. The Federal government should offer increased financial incentives to State and local governments to encourage them more strongly to enter into regional and metropolitan area agreements.

Transportation

-- We propose a system of Federal tax incentives to private transit companies for investments in new equipment and systems, as a supplement to the Federal urban mass transportation grant program. These incentives might take the form of an increased investment credit or an accelerated depreciation allowance for such outlays.

-- In order to establish a more balanced set of priorities within total Federal research and development outlays, we recommend an accelerated and improved research and development program for urban mass transportation with an increased funding commitment for these activities.

-- We propose that the present limited program of aid for urban and suburban Federal routes be expanded into a new category of Federal-aid highways to be known as the Metropolitan System. To be eligible for funds, communities in metropolitan areas would have to show that new construction was in conformity with metropolitan area-wide transportation planning.

-- Before a particular freeway is built, careful consideration should be given to its liabilities and to its costs. Careful attention should be given to the impact on families, neighborhoods, business enterprises and whole communities. Appropriate care should be taken to preserve places of historical and cultural interest and areas of scenic beauty.

Government Structure and Procedures

-- The resolution of urban and metropolitan problems requires at the very least considerably increased coordination than generally now exists. And where

it is necessary, units too small to handle effectively their share of metropolitan problems should relinquish enough of their powers to area governments to meet essential needs. In some instances a total merger of governmental units into a new or existing area-wide government may be the required answer.

-- Each of the States should make an active study of its constitution and laws with the aim of making whatever changes are required to facilitate metropolitan cooperation and organization.

-- The States should be encouraged to establish offices or departments of local government. Such agencies should help local governments in each State be more effective in meeting their responsibilities, and cooperating with nearby units.

-- For certain problems, governmental subdivisions within large cities or other mechanisms of citizen participation should be studied and tried.

Inter-Government Finance

-- We call for a reversal of the trend in the proliferation of specialized grant-in-aid programs -- now estimated at well over 400 -- by a gradual consolidation of grants eventually into a small number of block grants.

-- We favor measures to allow Federal income tax credits for State and local taxes to enable State and local governments to finance their activities increasingly under their own powers. Stricter Federal expenditure control and a gradual reduction in Federal tax rates should go hand in hand with this program.

-- We recommended that Congress authorize and appropriate a Federal revenue sharing fund to be allocated to States and local governments with minimum restrictions and in an amount consistent with sound fiscal policy.

-- Under block grants and revenue sharing, the initial distribution of funds should be to the States. However, with growing urbanization in our society the pressing needs of city and other local governments must be recognized. Any final plan, therefore, must contain appropriate and enforceable provisions to ensure that State governments pass on a fair share to units of local government.

-- The formulas governing distribution of Federal and State aid to local governments should include equalization factors that take into account the great needs and the limited financial capacity of the cities.

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REPORTS OF THE REPUBLICAN COORDINATING COMMITTEE
PERTAINING TO URBAN PROBLEMS AND PROGRAMS

Task Force on the Functions of Federal, State and Local Governments

Toward a Stronger Federal System	December 1965
Toward Fair Elections in America	December 1965
Financing the Future of Federalism: The Case for Revenue Sharing	March 1966
Federal, State and Local Responsibilities for Problems of Education	June 1966
Effective Water Management for the Nation's Future	June 1966
Housing and Urban Development	June 1966
Transportation in Modern America	June 1966
The Alleviation of Poverty	June 1966
The Challenge of the Modern Metropolis: The Republican Response	June 1966
Clean Air: Our Most Basic Resource	July 1967
Water Pollution Control: Promise and Performance	December 1967
Modern Urban Transportation	December 1967

Task Force on Job Opportunities and Welfare

The Human Investment	March 1966
Jobs and People	June 1966
Job Training and Employment Opportunities for All Americans	April 1967
Revitalizing Our Rural Areas	July 1967
Where the Jobs Are	July 1967
Full and Equal Employment Opportunities	December 1967
Improving Social Welfare	December 1967

Task Force on Human Rights and Responsibilities

Equality in America: A Promise Unfulfilled

September 1965

Task Force on Crime and Delinquency

Crime and Delinquency -- A Republican Response

March 1968

Study Group on Revenue Sharing

The Restoration of Federalism in America

April 1967

The Restoration of Federalism in America (Final Report)

December 1967

Study Group on Urban Education

Urban Education: Problems and Priorities

March 1968

NEW DIRECTIONS FOR URBAN AMERICA

APPENDIX

(A Compilation of Recommendations
on Urban Affairs made by the Republican
Coordinating Committee, 1965-1968.)

Job Opportunities and Training

-- We recommend that the resources of industry, labor, education and all levels of government should be mobilized to institute a program of Technological Education for the Future (TEFF). This program would offer young people up to two years of functional training in needed new skills in schools and through one-the-job training. The employer would receive a credit against his Federal income tax for part of the wages paid the enrollee.

-- We recommend that Congress enact the Republican-authored Human Investment Act to grant to employers a credit against Federal income taxes toward the costs incurred in training employees or potential employees in skills in short supply. Republicans agree that the most effective technique for achieving widespread business involvement is through incentive tax credits, both for hiring the unemployed and upgrading the under-employed and for investment in urban and rural poverty areas.

-- We recommend a National Job Opportunity Survey to include nationwide collection of data on job market conditions, unfilled jobs, developing job needs, labor supply, regional and local patterns and the skills needed to meet the demands, together with a nationwide communications system making this data available to vocational educators, counselors, placement personnel, the Armed Services, labor unions, and business enterprises.

-- To reduce competition and overlapping among federal agencies, we recommend that OEO job-training programs should be transferred to existing departments which should be restructured to insure the success of job training programs.

-- We urge vocational educators to expand further their programs among the hard-core unemployed in urban ghettos, and to reorient and modernize these programs to match the demands of today's job market.

Job Opportunities and Training (2)

-- We recommend that existing labor laws be reviewed and changed so as to permit the part-time employment necessary for some young people to continue in school and to meet urgent financial needs while having a meaningful work experience.

-- Education standards for unskilled and clerical positions, which some companies set at an arbitrarily high level, should be reexamined and modified, for business and labor must accept the principle that just as all youth have a place in the school, so at a certain age, all must have a place in the world of work.

-- We urge that guidance and counseling programs for students be strengthened for those who are planning to enter the job market directly from school and for those who should be encouraged to continue their schooling. The schools should make greater efforts to avail themselves of the assistance of business, labor, and other occupational groups whose representatives could most accurately help students learn the nature of various jobs, the opportunities for placement, and the requirements for entry and success.

-- To meet the expanded demand for skilled technicians and semi-professional personnel, and to offer the high school graduate a choice other than ending his formal education or pursuing a four-year college program, we urge the expansion and strengthening of two-year technical institutes and community college programs located near the students' homes.

-- We call on non-governmental resources, including private industry, labor, the church, commerce, etc., to develop new methods for providing realistic incentives for job opportunities. These programs must offer to all our disadvantaged citizens genuine dignity and hope of self-support and independence, including opportunity for training and advancement.

Job Opportunities and Training (3)

-- We urge that the Job Corps be completely revamped with an accent on intelligent evaluation of applicants, necessary discipline in camps, use of private enterprise to create realistic working conditions, and elimination of prodigal spending for staff and facilities.

-- We recommend the advisability of setting up Job Corps camps to be administered by the Defense Department. These would equip young men who cannot now meet Selective Service standards to meet the requirements for the armed services. Admission to these camps would be strictly voluntary.

Education

-- Early childhood education programs should, as a matter of priority and urgency, be expanded to include all 5 and 4-year olds, and perhaps 3-year olds, from impoverished neighborhoods who could benefit from this experience.

-- We urge that Project Head Start be administered in the Office of Education through the States, not by the Office of Economic Opportunity. We believe the program should be taken out from under the Economic Opportunity Act and funded to the full extent of its need through the new Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

-- We feel that recent proposals for school decentralization in a number of the larger cities are worthy of serious attention and consideration by others as possible guides for action.

-- A pressing need is to provide teachers and school administrators, many of whom come from middle-income and small community origins, with a broader knowledge of the special problems and backgrounds of children who live in congested, lower-income sections of large cities. To accomplish this, universities and colleges need to modify and strengthen programs of preparation and retraining for teachers and administrators.

-- Consideration should be given to special incentives, designed in conjunction with other urban policies, to encourage more city school teachers to live and participate in the community where they teach.

-- As a basic principle, we believe that teachers must be accorded the professional status, pay, and perquisites commensurate with the challenge of the assignment and with the benefits which society realizes when this assignment is successfully discharged.

Education (2)

-- To relieve the heavy load on the professional teacher in city schools, greater use should be made of teaching assistants recruited whenever possible from the immediate community.

-- Computerized instruction programs and other electronic teaching devices have the potential to offer the child certain types of learning experiences on an individual basis, while permitting the teacher to devote additional time to those parts of the curriculum that demand the human touch. These new educational tools should be given increased attention.

-- We recommend that steps be taken to embark on a construction program to provide new and expanded school facilities in the cities, equivalent to the modern and spacious plant frequently found in suburban school districts. In view of ever-rising construction costs, these efforts should proceed without delay.

-- Education is a Federal concern, a State responsibility, and a local function. All three levels of government must bear a portion of the cost of developing the total education system.

-- We feel that Federal aid programs for elementary and secondary education should be combined into a smaller, more manageable number of grant categories, in order to provide larger amounts of aid to problems of the highest priority.

-- Federal support for education should, as a general rule, not only be channeled through the States, but it should be made available in a steady and predictable manner, based on objective formulas, so that States and communities can plan with confidence, and can avoid disruptive starts and stops in vital programs.

Education (3)

-- As a condition of providing support for education, the Federal government should establish planning requirements for the State departments of education and should set ground rules for the planning process. For example, the Federal government might require that the State planning process provide full opportunity for all interested parties to participate, including officials of non-public and city school systems.

-- The 50 States should perform an intermediate planning and review function between thousands of local school districts and the Federal government, and should equip themselves to provide leadership and maximum assistance for the solution of metropolitan school problems.

-- The educational goals of excellence and equality of opportunity in urban schools, to which we subscribe, apply uniformly to all American children regardless of whether they attend public or non-public schools. For this reason, Federal government aid to education should be distributed on the basis of fair and equitable treatment of all school children.

-- We urge the States to present plans that would include distribution of Federal aid to non-public school children, that provide for the participation of non-public school representatives in the planning process, but where State conditions prevent use of funds for non-public school children, there shall be a public agency designated to administer Federal funds.

-- If financial aid goes only to public institutions, the existing balance could be shifted strongly toward public education. This could effectively be remedied in part by the granting of Federal income tax credits for tuition and certain other expenses in education. Financial aid programs such as this must be carefully designed, along with other needed education programs, to include significant assistance to young people from families with the greatest financial need.

Education (4)

-- We support a massive campaign against illiteracy in the United States.

-- We believe that no qualified student should be deprived of a college education because of economic hardship. We recommend that families be allowed tax credits for the costs of college tuition and fees.

Poverty and Welfare

-- We recommend fuller involvement of the poor in the solution of their own problems, by giving them representation on the community action boards in each area.

-- In order to keep private community organizations strong, we recommend that wherever a community welfare council is already in existence in an area its approval be required before the Office of Economic Opportunity will consider a request for Federal funds from that area.

-- We recommend that the Office of Economic Opportunity be responsible for Community Action Programs alone and that the other programs under the Economic Opportunity Act be returned to the individual government departments and agencies in which they logically belong.

-- The States should participate to a fuller extent in Federal anti-poverty programs. To accomplish this, we recommend a bonus plan be enacted for those States willing to match Federal poverty funds on a 50-50 basis above the present level of funding.

-- We also urge the restoration of the Governor's veto power contained in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

-- We recommend that Congress consider reducing the present high ratio of Federal to State and local funds for the Community Action Program.

-- We urge an amendment to the poverty law to bring the employees of OEO-sponsored projects, the principal part of whose salaries derives from Federal funds, under the Hatch Act's prohibitions on political activities.

Poverty and Welfare (2)

-- We recommend setting realistic ceilings on the salaries of poverty employees. Salaries of poverty workers should not exceed the salaries paid persons holding comparable positions in the area.

-- We believe in emphasizing need as a criteria for welfare. The welfare laws should be revised to shift the basis of eligibility as rapidly as possible to need rather than maintaining the maze of categorical assistance.

-- We recommend removal of disincentives for work. People on welfare who are working part-time should be able to retain a portion of their earnings, thus increasing their incentive to move to full-time employment.

-- We support proposals to change the law so that those receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children could increase their incomes by taking jobs, thereby working toward self-support.

-- We believe that programs of vocational rehabilitation and job retraining should be expanded so as to shift into self-reliance people who now are on the public relief rolls.

-- We recommend providing work incentives for dependent youth by giving teenage children of welfare recipients a desire to become productive through minimum wage exemptions.

-- We believe in encouraging family stability by revising the man-in-house rule to give the needy family the incentive to stay together.

Poverty and Welfare (3)

-- We recommend encouraging family planning by requiring local government welfare agencies which participate in Federal welfare programs to make available family planning advice for the use of families on relief.

-- We urge the expansion of child care facilities to be available in each State for working mothers.

Housing

-- Federal and State governments should make a far more energetic effort to encourage all types of private research into low-cost building materials, directed at improving lower income housing. Where necessary, grants should be provided for basic research into the development of low-cost materials and methods of new construction and rehabilitation.

-- We believe that the private building industry and the trade unions should give top priority to efforts to develop a model building code which should be adopted by local communities. We also commend the example set by those States which have created building code commissions to foster the development and adoption of model codes.

-- Federal or local tax policy can be used to encourage, rather than penalize, the owner for improving his property. Such encouragement could be based on a tax credit or tax abatement approach, using as a guide the cost of the improvement or the local property tax increase. Certainly, all levels of government should study their tax laws to eliminate factors which encourage the maintenance and spread of profitable slums.

-- Where public housing has been accepted by local decision, local public housing officials should be encouraged to make use of the Republican-sponsored program of short-term leasing of existing housing, voluntarily offered by private landlords at public housing levels.

-- We believe that opportunities for acquiring ownership of units must be enhanced. In this regard, the Percy-Widnall home ownership plan and sweat equity proposals offer imaginative and constructive approaches to improving the quality of our housing and the lives of lower-income families.

Housing (2)

-- We urge increased use of rehabilitation and code enforcement to diminish the need for massive new building and slum clearance projects.

-- We recommend better techniques to solve the relocation problem in urban renewal. Needed are more adequate payments of moving expenses, and more equitable compensation awards and procedures where property is taken under eminent domain.

-- Congress should require that top priority be given to residential rather than commercial projects in urban renewal areas where housing needs remain unmet. Emphasis should be given to increasing the supply of housing within the reach of lower income families.

-- Congress should consider revamping the commercial renewal program. The Federal Government's share of the costs should be repaid by the community, at least in part, from increased tax revenues where these result from the property improvement.

-- The assistance provided by the Federal government in the forms of urban renewal planning grants or advances should be continued, but it should be clearly understood that local elected officials, the persons responsive to the electorate, are responsible for the decision to plan, and for the content of such plans.

-- A detailed and careful study of the operations of the Federal urban renewal and slum clearance programs by Congress is urgently needed. Such a study should include in-depth hearings involving the people directly affected by the program.

-- A coordinated approach to housing and urban renewal should realize that there is social benefit in retaining the neighborhood -- which may be the only social institution with meaning and value for the low-income urban family.

Housing (3)

-- In highly urbanized States, departments of local government or urban affairs within the State government can be focal points for housing and urban renewal programs.

Human Rights

-- We call for faithful execution of the fair housing provisions of the civil rights bill recently passed by Congress with majority Republican support. This measure, aimed at providing all persons regardless of race, color, religion or national origin with non-discriminatory access to most sale and rental housing, should help to reduce tensions in the central cities by creating opportunities for greater economic and social mobility among minority groups.

-- Every American deserves and should have a full and fair chance to fulfill his God-given capacity to learn, to work, to earn -- all without regard to race, or creed, or color. He deserves and should have a full and fair chance to own a decent home, at a price he can afford, in a decent neighborhood. He deserves and should have a full and fair chance, with all of his fellows, to go to the places and do the things for himself and his family as his earnings will permit.

-- We pledge to reduce discrimination in employment. The Administration has failed to give prompt and effective implementation to Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which bans discrimination by employers and labor unions with more than one hundred members. Once again, we Republicans call upon the Democratic Administration to enforce this section of the law.

-- We firmly believe in the positive value of inter-cultural and inter-racial educational experiences for all children. Integrated schools expand the knowledge and understanding of the child, increase his awareness of others, and provide lessons of tolerance and fairness that are important assets to the individual and to society.

Human Rights (2)

-- In working toward this goal, a requirement is to provide conditions of living, including high quality city educational programs, which will stem the migration of whites to the suburbs and attract suburbanites back to the city. Education policies alone cannot achieve this objective; equally important are policies in regard to housing, urban renewal, employment, and public transportation. However, city schools of exceptionally high quality could be a key factor in stemming the flight to the suburbs and in bringing about greater integration in education.

-- The Civil Rights Act of 1964 authorized the Attorney General to initiate Federal court suits to bring about a speedy desegregation of all public schools. We urge immediate and full implementation of this authority.

-- At the State and local levels of government, we urge enactment of laws designed to protect constitutional guarantees and a vigorous implementation of such laws. We also urge private action at the local level to insure equal opportunity for all in the fields of education, housing, employment and public accommodations.

Crime and Law Enforcement

-- We recommend substantial Federal financial assistance in the form of block grants be given directly to the State for crime control, and the creation of State departments of criminal justice to direct and coordinate all phases and segments of State and local crime prevention and control.

-- We recommend development and expansion of statewide law enforcement functions.

-- We recommend that Federal resources be employed to develop new and improved techniques of crime control through application of science and technology.

-- We recommend development and implementation of new and improved interstate compacts and other forms of multistate and regional agreements for crime control.

-- We recommend that the States revise antiquated, obsolete and ineffective criminal codes.

-- We recommend immediate enactment of the Republican-sponsored bill to outlaw all forms of private wiretapping and bugging, but authorize limited electronic surveillance in specific criminal investigations by law enforcement officials acting under strict court supervision.

-- We urge enactment of the Republican proposal to establish Federal residential facilities for protecting cooperative witnesses and families of such witnesses in organized crime cases.

-- We urge enactment of the Republican proposal to create a permanent Joint Congressional Committee on Organized Crime.

Crime and Law Enforcement (2)

-- We recommend that the Federal government establish a model juvenile crime control system for the District of Columbia.

-- We recommend that the Republican amended Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Act of 1968, which provides for Federal financial assistance directly to the States, be consolidated with other related Federal grant programs for crime control.

-- We recommend that the enforcement and related staff at the Bureau of Customs be materially increased, and that the United States Government invite the Mexican and Canadian governments to assist in establishing bi-national commissions to develop better methods to stem the flow of narcotics, marijuana and dangerous drugs across common borders.

-- We recommend that the Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Act of 1966 be amended to revitalize the Federal assistance program and make substantial assistance available for State and local rehabilitation programs.

-- We recommend that the Federal government -- through the National Institute of Health -- substantially increase its research into causes of and cures for narcotic and drug addiction.

-- We recommend that the Federal government prepare and widely disseminate information and educational materials on drug abuse and addiction. We further recommend that increased emphasis be given to developing appropriate educational programs directed towards college students and young people.

-- We recommend that Congress enact legislation to control more effectively the indiscriminate availability of firearms and to assist the States in enforcing their own firearms control laws by preventing circumvention in ways which are beyond the power of the States to control.

Crime and Law Enforcement (3)

-- We recommend immediate study of the Federal law enforcement and crime control complex to effectuate a fundamental reorganization of all Federal investigative and law enforcement authority and administration of Federal crime control programs.

-- We recommend creation of a consolidated Federal Corrections Service, with authority to administer Federal corrections and assist State and local correctional authorities.

-- We recommend a fundamental revision by Federal and State governments of the rules of criminal procedure and the laws of appellate review of criminal convictions.

-- We recommend that the Congress and the States enact appropriate codes of police procedures.

-- We recommend that Federal resources be used to develop a model court system employing modern management technology.

-- We recommend and pledge implementation of the vital recommendations of the President's Crime Commission.

-- We recommend that the Federal government establish an accelerated research program into the causes of crime and elimination of the causes of crime.

Pollution Control

-- We recommend an accelerated research and development program to reduce or eliminate gaps in our knowledge and in our technical capability, so that our ability to control air pollution will be matched to our desire to do so. The Federal government should take the lead in this effort.

-- We urge greater use of regional and metropolitan area agreements among States and local governments in the control of air pollution, so that solutions may be matched to the geographical pattern and wide variations of the problem, and to minimize Federal controls consistent with the approach contained in the Air Quality Act of 1967. The Federal government should offer increased financial incentives to State and local governments to encourage them more strongly to enter into regional and metropolitan area agreements.

-- We recommend greater use of economic analysis in the formulation of public policies for air pollution control, so that the economic implications of the problem and of proposed control measures can be more fully understood and considered. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare should be required to present economic analyses of all proposed legislation and regulations in this field.

-- We propose a system of Federal tax benefits to industry for investments in air and water pollution control devices, so that the costs of controlling pollution will be widely shared, as well as the benefits. Congress should hold hearings and act favorably on legislation of this type.

-- We call for effective action rather than words to halt air and water pollution emanating from Federal installations, so that the Federal government in its own activities will be above reproach and can provide more effective leadership.

Pollution Control (2)

-- We call upon the Federal government working in close consultation with the States, to define the aims of national water quality policy. Further, we recommend that an agency unprejudiced by regulatory responsibilities be assigned the task of assembling and evaluating data that will provide a periodic audit of the quality conditions of our water resources.

-- In order to promote efficiency and increased effectiveness in the operation of Federal water and sewer grant programs, we recommend transfer to the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration of all such programs now administered by four other Federal agencies.

-- We believe that Federal water pollution control grants should be allocated to local projects only after approval by the State as meeting an area-wide or regional pollution control plan.

-- We recommend that Congress review the criteria, formulae, and long-range planning for Federal water treatment construction grants to ensure that such aid is a stimulant and not a depressant to local initiative. Consideration should be given to current local financial efforts, and priority should be given to projects in areas where pollution problems are most urgent.

-- Consideration should also be given to encouraging States to advance construction of waste treatment facilities by pre-financing against Federal reimbursement.

-- We urge that attention be directed to the integrated water quality management organizations now established or undergoing study at the State and interstate level. These agencies might well provide a model for similar action by other States.

Transportation \

-- We propose a system of Federal tax incentives to private transit companies for investments in new equipment and systems, as a supplement to the Federal urban mass transportation grant program. These incentives might take the form of an increased investment credit or an accelerated depreciation allowance for such outlays.

-- The Federal government's experimental program of demonstration grants should be continued and evaluated. The Federal program which provides long-term low-interest loans for urban transportation facilities should be expanded.

-- We recommend that the Federal share of the net cost of mass transportation projects be increased from 67 to 80 percent when the local application has been reviewed by a metropolitan area-wide planning agency or is submitted by a metropolitan area transportation agency, and is otherwise eligible for a Federal grant. This increased Federal share should also be offered to those cities which alone comprise an entire metropolitan area.

-- We recommend that State initiative be released to meet the immediate and growing problem of mass transportation by Federal authorization of State pre-financing of any Federal share.

-- We recommend that State highway funding allocation formulas, when additional programs are considered, be equitably adjusted to reflect more accurately the current distribution of population and automobiles and the continued growth of urban areas.

-- Federal and State governments should consider ways to provide financial incentives to metropolitan residents to persuade them to use urban transit systems. In addition to reasonably priced fares, we believe that a plan whereby

Transportation (2)

the users of transit systems are given income tax benefits (perhaps through receipts which could be filed with tax returns) merits serious study.

-- We propose that the present limited program of aid for urban and suburban Federal routes be expanded into a new category of Federal-aid highways to be known as the Metropolitan System. To be eligible for funds, communities in metropolitan areas would have to show that new construction was in conformity with metropolitan area-wide transportation planning.

-- We call upon the President to stop using Interstate Highway funds for partisan political purposes. To avoid disruptive swings in the level of construction activity, we urge that the States be assured a steady and predictable apportionment of these Federal trust funds earmarked for highway construction.

-- Before a particular freeway is built, careful consideration should be given to its liabilities and to its costs. Careful attention should be given to the impact on families, neighborhoods, business enterprises and whole communities. Appropriate care should be taken to preserve places of historical and cultural interest and areas of scenic beauty.

-- In order to establish a more balanced set of priorities within total Federal research and development outlays, we recommend an accelerated and improved research and development program for urban mass transportation with an increased funding commitment for these activities.

-- We recommend a sharply increased emphasis on improved and modernized traffic engineering and procedures as an approach to relieving urban congestion.

Government Structure and Procedures

-- The resolution of urban and metropolitan problems requires at the very least considerably increased coordination than generally now exists. And where it is necessary units too small to handle effectively their share of metropolitan problems should relinquish enough of their powers to area governments to meet essential needs. In some instances a total merger of governmental units into a new or existing area-wide government may be the required answer.

-- Each of the States should make an active study of its constitution and laws with the aim of making whatever changes are required to facilitate metropolitan cooperation and organization.

-- For certain problems, governmental subdivisions within large cities or other mechanisms of citizen participation should be studied and tried.

-- The States should be encouraged to establish offices or departments of Local Government. Such agencies should help local governments in each State be more effective in meeting their responsibilities, and cooperating with nearby units.

-- We commend the interstate and regional compact device to the Congress and the States as an excellent method through which certain problems of modern government should be advanced.

Inter-Government Finance

-- We call for a reversal of the trend in the proliferation of specialized grant-in-aid programs -- now estimated at well over 400 -- by a gradual consolidation of grants eventually into a small number of block grants.

-- We favor measures to allow Federal income tax credits for State and local taxes to enable State and local governments to finance their activities increasingly under their own powers. Stricter Federal expenditure control and a gradual reduction in Federal tax rates should go hand in hand with this program.

-- We recommend that Congress authorize and appropriate a Federal revenue sharing fund to be allocated to States and local governments with minimum restrictions and in an amount consistent with sound fiscal policy.

-- Under block grants and revenue sharing, the initial distribution of funds should be to the States. However, with growing urbanization in our society the pressing needs of city and other local governments must be recognized. Any final plan, therefore, must contain appropriate and enforceable provisions to ensure that State governments pass on a fair share to units of local government.

-- The formulas governing distribution of Federal and State aid to local governments should include equalization factors that take into account the great needs and the limited financial capacity of the cities.

-- No new Federal grant programs should be passed until the opinions of the governors of the States about the desirability of the proposed grant have been presented to Congress.

-- There should be provision for careful review of grants by Congress and the Administration every five years.