By Wesley G. Pippert
Washington (UPI) -- President Ford today released and praised, an interim report by his Urban Development Committee calling for revitalization of the nation's cities without new federal aid.

That report, he said in an obvious reference to opponent Jimmy Carter, is "straight talk -- not vague or empty political promises."

The President's Committee on Urban Development and Neighborhood Revitalization concluded in its presentation that healthy economic development of major cities "must become a national priority."

Both Ford and Democrat Carter are pushing hard for urban votes in the last days of their campaigns. Carter has said a number of times he favors federal aid to cities like New York.

In a statement with today's report, Ford said the proposal to aim billions of dollars in current federal funding at helping cities revitalize their own fiscal programs instead of providing interim jobs and other direct aid "reflects a realistic, commonsense, practical assessment of the urban condition."

The Committee specifically rejected massive new federal assistance to the cities.

"A lasting solution to the urban crisis cannot rely on massive federal funds for temporary public service jobs or on underwriting existing municipal debt; insulating local governments from the responsibility to weigh carefully local needs," the report said.

"Large new outlays would mean either higher taxes on wage earners or a new inflationary spiral (which) could exacerbate the urban crisis," it added.

Instead, the report urged, federal help should be funneled to help cities build and modernize their own fiscal programs and in doing so, expand jobs and promote new opportunities for small business at the local.

"The course of action is to provide local leadership," said Ford in a brief appearance before reporters to introduce Housing and Urban Development Secretary Carla Hills, who gave a briefing on the report.

Ford said he felt "the people of urban neighborhoods are taking the initiative in solving their own problems under their own control."

"Their leaders, for the most part, are looking for help in developing local solutions -- not for political promises of magic remedies from Washington," he said.
WASHINGTON (UPI) -- President Ford today released and praised an interim report by his urban development committee calling for revitalization of the nation's cities without massive new federal aid.

That report, he said in an obvious reference to opponent Jimmy Carter, is "straight talk" -- not vacuous or empty political promises. The president's committee on urban development and neighborhood revitalization concluded in its presentation that healthy economic development of major cities "must become a national priority."

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"The leaders, for the most part, are looking for help in developing local solutions -- not for political promises or magic remedies from Washington," he said.
The President reviewed your memorandum of October 20 on the above subject and approved the release of Secretary Hills' report and the recommended Presidential statement.

Please follow-up with appropriate action.

cc: Dick Cheney
I accept with pleasure the interim report of the President's Committee on Urban Development and Neighborhood Revitalization, and I compliment the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development and the members of the Committee for their conscientious efforts over a period of four months. For the committee members were not content to sit here in Washington. They went out into the cities of this land - to Hartford, Newark, Oklahoma City and many more - They met with city officials and with leaders of neighborhood organizations. As we say in Michigan, they went out where the rubber meets the road.

They were impressed, and I am impressed, with the determination of both city governments and neighborhood leaders to improve life in our cities. The interim report charts a path for the Federal government to help.

I recommend the continuation of the present community development and manpower block grant programs, and the expansion of the block grant approach to housing, transportation, health services, and education.

The block grant approach has proven itself vastly preferable to the older categorical grant approach. It puts the
responsibility for allocating resources where it belongs -- on the elected officials of city government. They are far more responsive to local needs than any government in Washington could ever be.

The block grant approach gives city officials great flexibility with much less red tape. It mandates strong citizen participation at the local level. I endorse the Committee's recommendation for continuation of the block grant approach and I will offer legislation to effect it to the 95th Congress in January.

It took us almost a decade to fully appreciate the wisdom of restoring resources and decision-making power to local governments. Now, it seems to me, there is yet another step to be taken. That is a concerted effort to empower the people of our urban neighborhoods to mount their own serious grassroots efforts to grapple with the challenging problems that face them.

Instead of massive old-style Federal aid programs, our policy must be the creation of independent, grassroots capacity to solve grassroots problems.

Instead of the creation of institutionalized bureaucracies remote from the action, our policy must be to stimulate mutual aid and cooperative effort in the neighborhoods where people live.

Instead of revealing public policy decisions to the public, we must afford neighborhood residents a genuine, meaningful involvement in shaping the decisions that affect their lives.
Instead of creating new obstacles by unwise and ponderous Federal programs, we must try to sweep away obstacles to concerted action by the people to improve their own condition under their own control. In short, we must not only seek to revitalize neighborhoods. We must revitalize a spirit of peoplepower.

We must arrest the progress of power to Washington, and unleash the power of progress in the cities and neighborhoods where our people live.

In the words of Msgr Geno Baroni, speaking to the White House Conference on Ethnicity and Neighborhood Revitalization last May:

"We have transferred too much responsibility to the Federal government... We need to devolve more power to the neighborhood communities and encourage the organization of voluntary self-help groups among the families, churches, and community groups in the neighborhoods."

The Report I receive today is, in its own terms, a "preface to a longer range agenda". I welcome its identification of further important issues and the Committee's dedication to continue its work. And today I charge the Committee and all its members to move forward to a final report.

I am asking not only for further recommendations about improvements and extension of the block grant approach. I am also asking for specific, detailed administrative and legislative proposals
which will help to empower the people of our urban neighborhoods to better cope with their own problems under their own leadership and control. I am inviting proposals which will help to encourage a strong new partnership among neighborhood improvement groups, lending institutions, merchant's organizations, and local governments.

Among the issues in which I seek specific recommendations are the following:

1. To what extent can the highly successful Neighborhood Housing Services program be extended into new neighborhoods and new cities, and how can it be kept free of the centralized managerial control which has doomed so many promising initiatives in the past?

2. How can the Federal government best serve as a reinsurer of risk on neighborhood-oriented housing rehabilitation loan funds? By direct reinsurance of locally-sponsored loan funds? By reinsuring private mortgage insurance companies against excessive losses in insuring such local loan pools?

3. How soon will it be administratively feasible to require disclosure of home mortgage loans by census tract, instead of by zip code areas, under the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act which I signed into law into 1975?

4. Would neighborhood-based rehabilitation be facilitated by affording cooperating lending institutions a discount rate reduction at the Fed or the Home Loan Bank, based on their commitment
to make loans in inner city neighborhoods which might otherwise have been redlined?

5. Can the Government National Mortgage Association devise a mortgage backed security plan to expedite mortgage capital turnover in neighborhoods where an NHS or similar improvement program is under way?

6. How difficult would it be to establish an impartial arbitration procedure to settle so-called § 518(b) claims against FHA for indemnity against serious structural defects in FHA-inspected homes?

7. How costly and how effective would it be to afford a five year writeoff for improvement and rehab expenditures on rental housing in NHS or similar neighborhood improvement areas?

8. How costly and how effective would it be to waive recapture of accelerated depreciation benefits when rental housing is deeded to an NHS or similar improvement organization?

9. How can HUD, SBA and OMBE best cooperate on the rehab of HUD-owned abandoned houses in minority areas by minority contractors?

10. What additional steps can be taken to strengthen one of the most important ingredients in neighborhood preservation and stability, responsible resident home ownership?
11. How can the discretionary funds of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration be used to support neighborhood-based crime prevention efforts, as well as law enforcement, courts and corrections programs at the city level?

12. Are any changes needed in the community development block grant program to better insure strong citizen participation in decision making and fund allocation?

I raise these questions in some detail because I want to emphasize that the report presented to me today is not an end but a beginning.

It is the beginning of a new Federal approach to urban problem solving. That approach is founded on the twin pillars of efficient block grants to responsible city officials, and new opportunities for neighborhood people to overcome their problems under their own leadership and control.

Congress in 1974 found that the nation has not directed sufficient attention and resources to the preservation of existing urban neighborhoods. It declared that we must give renewed attention to saving those neighborhoods as we continue to encourage new housing construction. I signed that act into law and I fully support that declaration of Congress.
It is time to restore the focus of our national urban aid effort to the human scale, the scale that human beings can understand and cope with—the scale of the church, fraternal lodge, and block club, the scale of the neighborhood lending institution deeply concerned with the people it serves. It is activity on this small, human scale that creates the fabric of community, and the framework for meaningful liberty.

With this new emphasis I heartily agree. And today, to the people of North Philly and East Boston, of Federal Hill and East L.A., of SECO and The Hill, and to all the people of the cities whose energies and talents must now be unleashed if our cities are to bloom once again, I say that our slogan must be—Neighborhoods First!

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I welcome this interim report from Secretary Hills and the President's Committee on Urban Development and Neighborhood Revitalization. This report reflects a realistic, common sense, practical assessment of the urban condition.

It is straight talk—not vague or empty political promises.

This report clearly shows that the plight of many older cities results from a combination of complex and interrelated forces: not enough jobs, too many needy and poor, crime and the fear of crime, and deteriorating housing and property values. These basic problems, in turn, have brought about declines in the tax base and higher costs of public services, which result in inadequate schools, less police and fire protection and overcrowded mass transportation. In many cases, conflicting Federal and State programs and red tape have contributed to the plight of cities by undermining effective local political leadership.

But the conclusion of the report is optimistic. Secretary Hills and her colleagues found that: There is a dynamic spirit of self-help at work in practically all American cities. The people of the cities are self-reliant and eager to come to grips with their own problems. Their leaders, for the most part, are looking for help in developing local solutions—not for political promises of magic remedies from Washington. The people of urban neighborhoods are taking the initiative in solving their own problems under their own control.

Secretary Hills's report recommends ways we can better utilise the billions of dollars the Federal government invests in the cities each year. We will carefully study these proposals for inclusion in my legislative proposals to the new Congress.

Since I took office two years ago, my Administration has followed a clear urban policy: to provide the cities and their neighborhoods a fair share of Federal resources and the opportunity and flexibility to solve their own problems and manage their own growth and progress. To carry out this policy, here are some of the things this Administration has done and will continue to do:

1. General Revenue Sharing. This is the most important program of Federal assistance to local governments in American history. Since 1972 we have returned to cities, counties, towns, communities and states $30.2 billion to assist the people in meeting public needs. This program has already helped our cities immensely, and the General Revenue Sharing extension which I signed last week will provide $25.6 billion more for these purposes over the next 3 3/4 years.

2. Community Development. Less than two weeks after I became President I was proud to sign the landmark Housing and Community Development Act of 1974. Through this Act we have provided $8.6 billion in block grants to American communities for use as they see fit in meeting their local community development needs.

3. Housing. My goal is a home for every American family in a safe and clean environment. To reach that goal, I will continue economic policies to hold down inflation, allow interest rates to drop, and restrain pressures for increases in housing costs. Further evidence that these policies are succeeding is provided by the recently announced reduction in the interest rate on mortgage loans insured or guaranteed by the Federal Government. This rate is now lower than it has been since April, 1975, making it easier for middle-income families to become homeowners. I have also recommended reductions in downpayment requirements on FHA-insured loans.
4. Transportation. There must be swift and convenient transportation within and into our cities and communities. We have provided several billion dollars in Federal funds as our part in the working partnership with State and local governments to provide urban transportation.

5. Crime. I am determined to lead a Federal, State, local and community effort to make the streets and homes of America safe for every man, woman and child. We must get the career criminals off the streets and into jails. We can do this with the certain sentences for Federal crimes I have proposed to Congress as a model for State and local governments. One of my top priorities in the first 100 days of the new term will be to rally all America behind Federal anticrime legislation.

6. Jobs. I am dedicated to the principle that every American who wants a job can find a job. Millions of Americans have been trained through the CETA Program and other Federal programs; but we need to do more. Last January I proposed a job creation program in high unemployment areas, but Congress failed to act. We must also find a way to provide for young Americans the training and experience they need to practice a trade or a craft or a practical business skill. We must put all of America to work.

7. Education. The goal of my Administration is a quality education for every young American. We need reforms in Federal and State education procedures to make certain that teachers can spend more time teaching instead of filling out government forms. We need diversity and competition in education. We need to preserve our non-public schools and to make our public schools better.

8. Neighborhoods. My policy toward the cities recognizes and will build upon a great source of strength: the rich variety of urban neighborhoods -- neighborhoods where Americans have built family, personal, cultural, economic, religious and political relationships that form true communities. This is the American tradition at its best, and we will work with citizen groups throughout the country to preserve and improve the quality of life in these neighborhoods.

9. Vigorous Economy. Most of all, our cities and neighborhoods need a strong and growing economy, a healthy growth in useful productive jobs in private industry, and control of inflation. I will continue my commitment to combat inflation, to restore an orderly steady growth to the American economy.

Finally, our cities and their neighborhoods will not flourish nor fail because of what is done by Washington. Their success depends on what the people in the cities, and their leaders, do for themselves. They are succeeding and will continue to do so as long as honest and realistic solutions are arrived at locally, and supported nationally. I intend to see that this support is applied with wisdom, imagination and prudence, but, above all, with a conviction that our cities are irreplaceable resources which shall never be abandoned.
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Office of the White House Press Secretary

October 21, 1976

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND NEIGHBORHOOD REVITALIZATION

President Ford today released the interim report of his Committee on Urban Development and Neighborhood Revitalization, headed by HUD Secretary Carla Hills.

The interim report is a statement of the Committee's progress. It sums up the Committee's initial observations, assesses some of the Federal policies and programs which most directly affect the cities, states a set of principles for future Federal urban policy and sets forth preliminary recommendations. It also sets out an agenda for moving towards national urban policy reform.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES FOR URBAN POLICY:

The Committee's interim report proposes the following set of principles to guide Federal urban policy:

-- The preservation of the Nation's housing stock, the restoration of the vitality of its urban neighborhoods, and the promotion of healthy economic development for its central cities must become a national priority, to be met by a creative partnership between the public and private sectors.

-- Federal resources must be targeted to the areas of greatest need, recognizing the disproportionate social and economic burdens borne by individual communities or classes of citizens.

-- The delivery of Federal assistance to urban areas must be made more efficient. The Committee recommends expansion of the use of block grants in providing Federal assistance to urban areas, because block grants are more efficient, more responsive to local needs, and ultimately more democratic methods of aiding the cities than the massive categorical programs of the 1950's and 1960's.

-- In moving towards block grants, electoral responsibility for the use of Federal funds must be established, citizen participation and a role for neighborhood groups must be assured, the rights of minorities must be protected, and the capacity of local and state governments to administer their block grants should be improved. Finally, block grants should be structured to facilitate their creative combination at the local level with other sources of public and private funds.

more
RECOMMENDATIONS:

On the basis of successful experiences with recent Federal block grant programs, the report recommends the consolidation of other existing categorical programs into block grants in several broad areas of federal assistance, including:

**Housing** -- States and localities would receive formula determined block grants. Locally elected officials would use the funds primarily to assist moderate and low-income families to rent or own housing.

**Transportation** -- Consolidation of many urban surface highway transit assistance programs. Exempted would be money to complete interstate highway assistance.

**Health** -- Consolidation of categorical health service and preventive program grants into a single block grant, similar to that proposed earlier this year by President Ford.

**Education** -- Consolidation of categorical educational assistance programs into a single block grant, modeled on proposals submitted earlier this year by President Ford.

The Committee's other recommendations include:

-- A comprehensive review of present Federal aid formulas to determine their impact on "declining" cities and the states in which they are located.

-- A review of Federal tax policies with a view to providing greater incentives for the preservation and rehabilitation of urban homes and buildings and for business investment in urban areas with high unemployment.

-- An aggressive search for new means of increasing private sector employment opportunities for inner-city youths.

-- A stand-by program of countercyclical block grant assistance to areas with high unemployment.

-- Legislation to allow nonjudicial foreclosure of Federally-insured properties to reduce the incidence of boarded-up housing.


-- Expansion of the Urban Homesteading program.

The Future agenda for the Committee includes study of the public and private roles in:

-- Improving the commercial and industrial bases of our cities, particularly in the Northeast and North Central corridor; more
The complex inter-relationship between the center cities and the larger metropolitan areas in which they are located;

- Reversing neighborhood decline, with a particular emphasis on the role of neighborhood organizations in preservation strategies;

- Meeting the needs of fast-growing cities to anticipate and plan for future growth patterns and public service needs; and

- Improving the linkages between Federal assistance flowing to different recipients but with common objectives.

The Committee did not recommend massive new Federal assistance to the cities. The Committee believes that if spending programs are properly coordinated and targeted to real needs, the billions of federal dollars now being spent on domestic programs will more effectively help the cities. In contrast, large new outlays, which mean either higher taxes on wage earners or a new inflationary spiral, could exacerbate the urban crisis.

BACKGROUND

Formation:

President Ford created the President's Committee on Urban Development and Neighborhood Revitalization on June 30, 1976, stating a concern that "...the cities of this nation and the neighborhoods which are their backbone today face increasingly difficult problems of decay and decline."

Members are:

Carla A. Hills, Secretary of The Department of Housing and Urban Development, Chairman; William E. Simon, Secretary of the Treasury; Edward H. Levi, Attorney General; John A. Knebel, Acting Secretary of Agriculture; Elliot L. Richardson, Secretary of Commerce; William J. Usery, Jr., Secretary of Labor; Forest David Mathews, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare; and William T. Coleman, Secretary of Transportation.

Also, James T. Lynn, Director, Office of Management and Budget; Mitchell P. Kobelinski, Administrator, Small Business Administration; Michael P. Balzano, Jr., Director, ACTION; Samuel Martinez, Director, Community Services Administration; and William J. Baroody, Jr., Director, White House Office of Public Liaison; and Russell E. Train, Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency.

Work Plan:

At the suggestion of neighborhood leaders meeting at the White House May 5, 1976, who urged that Committee members visit cities, analyze programs that affect urban areas and draw on the experience of such key efforts as job training, rental subsidies, and community development, Committee members visited Boston, Cleveland, Baltimore, Hartford, Newark, San Diego, New Orleans, Pittsburgh, Oklahoma City, and Springfield, Ill.

They talked with city officials, civic leaders, businessmen, neighborhood group leaders and individual citizens about their neighborhoods and their cities.
The Committee found that many urban areas have had difficulty in dealing with losses of jobs and industry, problems of racial tension, issues of crime and educational policy. But it also found many hopeful signs for the Nation's cities. With greater flexibility in the use of federal assistance, it found many cities have taken innovative and effective steps to deal with their problems.

For Example:

Baltimore -- a new convention center anchors the downtown commercial area.

Newark -- Gateway Center offers stores, restaurants and office space serving the entire eastern seaboard.

Oklahoma City -- a long term growth plan is linked to economic incentives and planned spending.

Hartford -- 13 neighborhood associations have banded together with business leaders to revise commercial strips and stabilize neighborhoods.

In summary, the Committee found that the problems of cities and neighborhoods are severe but their prospects are encouraging.

# # # #
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

OCTOBER 21, 1976

Office of the White House Press Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSE

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

I welcome the report from Secretary Hills and the President's Committee on Urban Development and Neighborhood Revitalization. This report reflects a realistic, common sense, practical assessment of the urban condition.

It is straight talk -- not vague or empty political promises.

This report clearly shows that the plight of many older cities results from a combination of complex and inter-related forces: not enough jobs, too many needy and poor, crime and the fear of crime, and deteriorating housing and property values. These basic problems, in turn, have brought about declines in the tax base and higher costs of public services, which result in inadequate schools, less police and fire protection and overcrowded mass transportation. In many cases, conflicting Federal and State programs and red tape have contributed to the plight of cities by undermining effective local political leadership.

But the conclusion of the report is optimistic. Secretary Hills and her colleagues found that:

-- There is a dynamic spirit of self-help at work in practically all American cities.
-- The people of the cities are self-reliant and eager to come to grips with their own problems.
-- Their leaders, for the most part, are looking for help in developing local solutions -- not for political promises of magic remedies from Washington.
-- The people of urban neighborhoods are taking the initiative in solving their own problems under their own control.

Secretary Hills' report recommends ways we can better utilize the billions of dollars the Federal government invests in the cities each year. We will carefully study these proposals for inclusion in my legislative proposals to the new Congress.

Since I took office two years ago, my Administration has followed a clear urban policy: to provide the cities and their neighborhoods a fair share of Federal resources and the opportunity and flexibility to solve their own problems and manage their own growth and progress.

To carry out this policy, here are some of the things this Administration has done and will continue to do:

1. General Revenue Sharing. This is the most important program of Federal assistance to local governments in American history. Since 1972 we have returned to cities,
counties, towns, communities and states $30.2 billion to assist the people in meeting public needs. This program has already helped our cities immensely, and the General Revenue Sharing extension which I signed last week will provide $25.6 billion more for these purposes over the next 3 3/4 years.

2. Community Development. Less than two weeks after I became President I was proud to sign the landmark Housing and Community Development Act of 1974. Through this Act we have provided $8.6 billion in block grants to American communities for use as they see fit in meeting their local community development needs.

3. Housing. My goal is a home for every American family in a safe and clean environment. To reach that goal, I will continue economic policies to hold down inflation, allow interest rates to drop, and restrain pressures for increases in housing costs. Further evidence that these policies are succeeding is provided by the recently announced reduction in the interest rate on mortgage loans insured or guaranteed by the Federal Government. This rate is now lower than it has been since April 1975, making it easier for middle-income families to become homeowners. I have also recommended reductions in downpayment requirements on FHA-insured loans.

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have built family, personal, cultural, economic, religious and political relationships that form true communities. This is the American tradition at its best, and we will work with citizen groups throughout the country to preserve and improve the quality of life in these neighborhoods.

9. Vigorous Economy. Most of all, our cities and neighborhoods need a strong and growing economy, a healthy growth in useful productive jobs in private industry, and control of inflation. I will continue my commitment to combat inflation, to restore an orderly steady growth to the American economy.

Finally, our cities and their neighborhoods will not flourish nor fail because of what is done by Washington. Their success depends on what the people in the cities, and their leaders, do for themselves. They are succeeding and will continue to do so as long as honest and realistic solutions are arrived at locally, and supported nationally. I intend to see that this support is applied with wisdom, imagination and prudence, but, above all, with a conviction that our cities are irreplaceable resources which shall never be abandoned.

# # # #
October 21, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: The President
FROM: Carla A. Hills

I have the honor to transmit to you the interim report of the President's Committee on Urban Development and Neighborhood Revitalization.
Summary of the
Interim Report of the President's Committee on
Urban Development and Neighborhood Revitalization

President Ford created the Committee on Urban Development and Neighborhood Revitalization on June 30, 1976, stating a concern that "...the cities of this nation and the neighborhoods which are their backbone today face increasingly difficult problems of decay and decline." In the intervening months, members of the Committee have visited large and small cities in different parts of the country. We have talked with city officials, civic leaders, businessmen, neighborhood group leaders and individual citizens about their neighborhoods and their cities.

The Committee found that many urban areas have had difficulty in dealing with losses of jobs and industry, problems of racial tension, issues of crime and educational policy. But we also found many hopeful signs for the Nation's cities. With greater flexibility in the use of Federal assistance, many cities have taken innovative and effective steps to deal with their problems.

This interim report is a statement of the Committee's progress to date. It is not intended to provide a total strategy to solve the very complex problems of our urban areas. Rather, the report sums up the Committee's initial observations, assesses some of the Federal policies and programs which most directly affect the cities, states a set of principles for future Federal urban policy and sets forth preliminary recommendations. Finally, this interim report sets out an agenda for moving toward national urban policy reform.

The Committee does not recommend massive new Federal assistance to the cities. The Committee believes that if spending programs are properly coordinated and targeted to real needs, the billions of Federal dollars now being spent on domestic programs will more effectively help the cities. In contrast, new outlays, which mean either higher taxes on wage earners or a new inflationary spiral, could exacerbate the urban crisis.

The Committee's interim report articulates the following set of principles to guide Federal urban policy:

- The preservation of the Nation's housing stock, the restoration of the vitality of its urban neighborhoods, and the promotion of healthy economic development for its central cities must become a national priority, to be met by a creative partnership between the public and private sectors.
Federal resources must be targeted to the areas of greatest need, recognizing the disproportionate social and economic burdens borne by individual communities or classes of citizens.

The delivery of Federal assistance to urban areas must be made more efficient. The Committee recommends expansion of the use of block grants in providing Federal assistance to urban areas, because block grants are more efficient, more responsive to local needs, and ultimately more democratic methods of aiding the cities than the massive categorical programs of the 1950's and 1960's.

In moving towards block grants, electoral responsibility for the use of Federal funds must be established, citizen participation and a role for neighborhood groups must be assured, the rights of minorities must be protected, and the capacity of local and state governments to administer their block grants should be improved. Finally, block grants should be structured to facilitate their creative combination at the local level with other sources of public and private funds.

On the basis of successful experiences with recent Federal block grant programs, the report recommends the consolidation of other existing categorical programs into block grants in several broad areas of Federal assistance, including:

- housing subsidies;
- urban surface transportation;
- health services;
- and education.

The Committee's other recommendations include:

- A comprehensive review of present Federal aid formulas to determine their impact on "declining" cities and the states in which they are located.
- A review of Federal tax policies with a view to providing greater incentives for the preservation and rehabilitation of urban homes and buildings and for business investment in urban areas with high unemployment.
- An aggressive search for new means of increasing private sector employment opportunities for inner-city youths.
- A stand-by program of countercyclical block grant assistance to areas with high unemployment.
- Legislation to allow nonjudicial foreclosure of Federally insured properties to reduce the incidence of boarded-up housing.

-- Expansion of the Urban Homesteading program.

The future agenda for the Committee includes study of the public and private roles in:

-- Improving the commercial and industrial bases of our cities, particularly in the Northeast and North Central regions;

-- The complex inter-relationship between the center cities and the larger metropolitan areas in which they are located;

-- Reversing neighborhood decline, with a particular emphasis on the role of neighborhood organizations in preservation strategies;

-- Improving the linkages between Federal assistance programs which provide funds to different recipients for similar purposes; and

-- Meeting the needs of fast-growing cities to anticipate and plan for future growth patterns and public service needs.

The Committee members returned from visits to American cities with a much stronger sense of the vitality of many cities and urban neighborhoods, and with a greater awareness of both the strengths and limitations of Federal policies and programs. We have agreed to an ambitious agenda for the Committee's future work. We intend to continue our efforts to improve Federal policies and programs for making our cities and their neighborhoods prosperous and more exciting places to live.
INTERIM REPORT
OF THE
PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON
URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND NEIGHBORHOOD REVITALIZATION

OCTOBER 1976
MEMBERS OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON
URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND NEIGHBORHOOD REVITALIZATION

Carla A. Hills, Chairman
Secretary
Department of Housing and Urban Development

John A. Knebel
Acting Secretary
Department of Agriculture

Elliot L. Richardson
Secretary
Department of Commerce

F. David Mathews
Secretary
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

Edward H. Levi
Attorney General
Department of Justice

William J. Usery, Jr.
Secretary
Department of Labor

William T. Coleman, Jr.
Secretary
Department of Transportation

William E. Simon
Secretary
Department of Treasury

James M. Cannon
Executive Director
Domestic Council
The White House

James T. Lynn
Director
Office of Management and Budget

William J. Baroody, Jr.
Director
Office of Public Liaison
The White House

Michael P. Balzano, Jr.
Director
ACTION

Samuel Martinez
Director
Community Services Administration

Russell E. Train
Administrator
Environmental Protection Agency

Mitchell P. Kobelinski
Administrator
Small Business Administration
I. Introduction

President Ford created the President's Committee on Urban Development and Neighborhood Revitalization on June 30, 1976. The President stated in his announcement: "The cities of this nation and the neighborhoods which are their backbone today face increasingly difficult problems of decay and decline." He pointed in particular toward the nation's older cities, those which are forced "to cope with the potentially devastating pressures of a stagnant or declining economic base coupled with a growing need for services which are becoming more and more expensive."

The President's action to establish the Committee was a response to leaders of neighborhood organizations who came to the White House on May 5, 1976, for a conference on "Ethnicity and Neighborhood Revitalization". Participants in the conference recommended that the President set up a task force within the Government to review all major Federal programs that have an impact upon urban and neighborhood life.

The backdrop for the Committee's mission is Federal policy in the 1950's and 1960's. During those years, in the older central cities, the Federal government's emphasis was on massive "slum" clearance and new social
programs; at the metropolitan fringe, the emphasis was on providing inducements for rapid growth. Sound neighborhoods, which looked like slums to planners, were leveled; their residents were scattered to adjacent stable neighborhoods or the suburbs. Federally-financed freeways ploughed through other neighborhoods, causing further displacement and upheaval and providing convenient avenues for suburban commuters. Freeways also provided a new "Main Street" for expanding commercial and industrial development outside the old city limits. Federal mortgage insurance provided by the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and the Veterans Administration (VA) helped to spur development and push metropolitan boundaries farther and farther out.

In the middle, between downtowns cleared and rebuilt by urban renewal and the new "outer city", lie the older neighborhoods of our central cities and inner suburbs. These are the places which have historically provided homes and a sense of community for millions of Americans who came from foreign countries and rural areas to seek opportunities in our urban centers.

As Monsignor Geno C. Baroni, President of the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs, has said: "[T]he richness of any city is epitomized by healthy neighborhoods, a sense of place in which the human dimensions of family, friendship and tradition can be maximized..."
"It is not an exaggeration to say that historically our cities have offered unequaled physical, social and cultural richness. Even today, despite the staggering difficulties under which they labor, the urban areas of our country retain the potential for offering that wealth and there is growing agreement that a major national effort is in order so that such potential may be restored and utilized."

The long-range goal of the President's Committee is to shape policies and programs which make the most of the economic and social resources of the cities, recognizing the unique assets of the cities' diverse neighborhoods and people. To achieve that goal will take time: the problems are profound, the issues complex. Instant solutions do not leap out from analysis.

This interim report deals primarily with Federal programs; however, we recognize that action by State and local governments and the private sector are also critically important. Moreover, certain major issues, such as welfare reform and reform of the criminal justice system, which the Committee believes are important to urban development and neighborhood revitalization, are being considered in other forums and are not specifically addressed in this interim report.
The report also does not cover the same ground as the President's 1976 Report on National Growth and Development submitted in February, a report which compiles and analyzes a large volume of information relevant to cities. Nor do we review here the massive amount of data gathered by such agencies as the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, or by research centers such as the Urban Institute and the Brookings Institution, although their research and analyses have been helpful to the Committee.

Nor is this report intended to serve as a statement of a total urban strategy for this Administration. Rather, the report is intended as the preface to what must be a longer-range agenda. Its purpose is to sum up the Committee’s initial observations, to assess some of the Federal policies and programs which most directly impact on cities, to make preliminary recommendations based on those observations and assessments, and finally, to suggest an agenda for moving toward national urban policy reform.

In looking ahead, the Committee recognizes the need to stay generally within existing funding levels. Sharp increases in Federal spending for new programs would mean one of two things: higher taxes on individuals and the job-producing private sector, or a new inflationary spiral
caused by a huge Federal deficit. A thriving national
economy, with increasing employment and decreasing inflation,
will do more for our cities and neighborhoods than a panoply
of new programs.

Just as important, we do not know whether substantial
additional Federal expenditures for the cities would bring
any significant long-term improvement in their condition.
The tens of billions of dollars now expended each year by
the Federal government for the cities are spent in a tangled
and often contradictory fashion. Properly targeted, in
accordance with locally conceived long-range plans, these
monies may prove to be quite ample.

Accordingly, a massive expansion of resources for
central cities is neither feasible nor wise at this time.
Instead, there should be a better targeting of existing
resources. Although the flow of Government spending may
need to be changed, such decisions cannot be made until
the Committee has completed its task.

II. Summary of The Committee's Observations

The President's charge to the Committee directed us
"to seek the perspectives of local officials and neighborhood
groups on Federal programs which affect them," and carrying
out that charge has been an important part of the work of
the Committee during its first months of operation.
The Committee also has compiled and begun to analyze information on the Federal programs which have an impact on cities and neighborhoods, and there have been numerous ad hoc meetings between Committee principals, as well as at the staff level, to explore opportunities for improved interagency cooperation. For example, Secretary Coleman (Transportation), Secretary Hills (Housing and Urban Development), and Secretary Richardson (Commerce) are discussing possibilities for improving the focus of their departments' programs in five cities (Buffalo, Atlanta, Baltimore, Washington, D.C., and Miami) where the Department of Transportation is committing over $5 billion for new mass transit development.

Between August 2 and September 24, individual members of the Committee visited the following cities: Boston, Cleveland, Baltimore, Hartford, Newark, San Diego, New Orleans, Pittsburgh, Oklahoma City, and Springfield, Illinois. The purpose of these visits was neither to defend old policies nor to unveil new ones, but rather to listen to what people had to say about their cities and neighborhoods, to see what they wanted to show us, and finally, to discuss with them how the Federal government's efforts might more effectively be directed.
The city visits provided members of the Committee direct contact with mayors, key city officials, neighborhood leaders, businessmen, and individual citizens. We talked at length with mayors about their struggles to make ends meet, about State constitutional and statutory restrictions on city powers, about their efforts to work with State governments to achieve greater understanding and responsiveness to city problems, and about their frustrations in dealing with the multitude of Federal programs--each with its own requirements and regulations, and many outside of their management control entirely.

The Committee also visited neighborhoods and talked with neighborhood leaders about their efforts to fight decay and restore stability and vitality, about their problems with City Hall, about Federal programs and tax policy which seem to be hindering their efforts, about "redlining", and about crime and racial tensions which threaten their neighborhoods.

We talked with civic leaders and businessmen concerned about the viability of central city investments, about the availability of good housing and healthy neighborhoods for workers, about traffic congestion and mass transit and about the quality and growing costs of public services. All of these discussions provided the Committee additional insights into the complex long-term problems with which city leaders and citizens must cope.
At the heart of the problem facing the older central cities and inner suburbs in recent decades has been their inability to compete successfully for the people and investments they need to maintain an adequate tax base to support needed public services. Nationwide, employment grew in the suburbs by 3.2 percent between 1973 and 1975, and declined in the central cities by 3.7 percent. More importantly, there has been a general shift of population and development from the Northeast and North Central States to the South and West. More than 80 percent of the nation's population growth since 1970 has occurred in the South and West. Thus, some cities face problems that are much more severe than others. Among the eastern and northern cities visited by the Committee, for example, Baltimore lost 7 percent of its population, Pittsburgh lost 21 percent, and Cleveland lost 23 percent since 1960. Total employment has decreased by almost 7 percent in Boston, by 10 percent in Hartford, and by almost 21 percent in Newark.

Typically, central city population losses have been disproportionately high among middle and upper income groups, resulting in an even larger proportion of poor among those that remain. For example, the number of single parent and elderly households has increased significantly in the cities, and many of these households have only marginal incomes.
Between 1970 and 1974, the income of families moving out of central cities throughout the nation averaged $1,034 more per family than the income of families moving in.

The movement of jobs and wage earners out of the central city has produced a corresponding erosion in its tax base, leaving fewer resources to pay for needed public services. As the cost of government in older cities has been going up, due in part to inflationary pressures, the property tax base which generates most local revenue has not kept pace. For example, between 1965 and 1973, Baltimore expenditures grew by 172 percent, but its assessed value increased by only 11 percent. In some cities, such as Newark and Cleveland, there has been an actual decline in assessed value. The fiscal position of many cities worsened during the recent recession, and the older cities were hit especially hard by the resulting unemployment and reduced revenues, forcing painful budget cuts and public employee layoffs.

Complicating the fiscal and economic plight of central cities is a tangle of social problems which threaten to stifle the civic morale of many neighborhoods. For example, racial discrimination in jobs and housing persists, closing off opportunities for improvement to those located in central city ghettos. At the neighborhood level, tension between racial and ethnic groups can cause rapid population
turnover destroying the fabric of community life and the stability of once sound neighborhoods.

Crime is another intractable problem plaguing the cities. The national crime rate is about 41 major crimes per 1,000 residents, but cities such as Baltimore, Boston, and Newark have about double the national rate. Crime and the fear of crime are having a devastating impact on neighborhoods which could otherwise remain stable or attract middle-income people back into the city.

Education is another major concern. Cross-city busing, violence in and around schools, and decline in educational quality have put center cities and older suburbs at a disadvantage relative to suburban schools, which are viewed as safer and of better quality. Widespread reliance on private schools in many large cities raises the cost of living for middle-class families who might otherwise choose to live there.

In spite of the problems described by the hundreds of officials and neighborhood residents with whom we talked, members of the Committee did not leave the cities with a litany of despair ringing in their ears.

Mayors showed us exciting examples of thriving downtown redevelopment including new parks and successful commercial enterprises. In Baltimore, a new convention center complex
provides an important anchor for the downtown commercial area, and complements other housing and renewal efforts centered around the thriving Baltimore harbor. The Gateway Center in Newark offers stores, restaurants and excellent new office space— all convenient to bus and rail transportation serving not only the metropolitan area but the entire Eastern Seaboard. Boston's new Government Center adds vitality to its downtown area, as do nearby renovations of historic Quincy and Faneuil Hall Markets.

Oklahoma City has just developed a long-term growth and development plan, and made some tough decisions in the process. It is overhauling its regulatory system to control growth, and linking this system with economic incentives and better planned uses of the city's spending capacity.

In their visits to neighborhoods, members of the Committee saw additional signs of progress and hope. In many cities, they visited stable and attractive neighborhoods which have provided vibrant community life, sometimes for generations, and show little or no sign of decline. Some of these are stable ethnic neighborhoods of long standing such as Little Italy in Baltimore, and some are racially integrated, such as the Garden District in New Orleans. These are the neighborhoods which must be preserved and which can be the foundation of future recovery.
The Committee also visited neighborhoods where significant revitalization is taking place—not just upper-income enclaves such as Beacon Hill in Boston and Bolton Hill in Baltimore. Neighborhoods proving to be particularly attractive are frequently located near downtown offices, and near universities, medical complexes, and other institutions which require a skilled or professional work force. Many of these neighborhoods, such as Stirling Street in Baltimore, Manchester in Pittsburgh, and the South End in Boston, contain historic or architecturally stunning buildings which appeal to young professionals and others attracted to city living.

The Committee saw signs of hope and tenacity even in the more troubled neighborhoods where outmigration, housing abandonment, commercial strip decline and racial tensions present an enormous and complex challenge.

In Hartford, for example, thirteen neighborhood associations have banded together into the Hartford Neighborhood Coalition in cooperation with the Greater Hartford Process, Inc., an organization of Hartford's business leadership. Secretary Richardson met with the Coalition and heard about efforts to revive commercial strips and to stabilize neighborhoods, about cooperative efforts between black and Puerto Rican businessmen, and about progress toward establishing an Urban Reinvestment Task Force program serving three Hartford neighborhoods.
In Baltimore, Secretary Hills met with the Executive Director and the President of the South East Community Organization, which is working to encourage homeownership and neighborhood stabilization in a predominantly white, working class community of about 78,000 persons. A particularly important SECO objective is to improve the economic base of South East Baltimore, and it has joined with the East Baltimore Community Corporation, a black community organization, to form a joint community development corporation.

The Committee believes that these signs of progress provide support for the hope that over the longer term some economic and demographic trends may be shifting toward the cities' favor.

For example, as the cost of new housing, gasoline, and other energy sources goes up, existing housing in central cities becomes a bargain in terms of basic living space, quality of construction, and location. A well-maintained, single-family home can be bought for under $20,000 in most large, older cities, and a home needing upgrading can cost much less. The market for these homes is often weak for a variety of reasons, including concern for personal safety, and the quality of public schools and other public services. However, the number of young
adult households without children has increased sharply in recent years and will continue to increase. Since 1970, such households account for 58 percent of the total increase in new households. It is this group of households which may turn increasingly to urban neighborhoods as their preferred living environment. Between 1970 and 1973, young people, ages 20 to 25, made up the largest group of immigrants to urban areas. Such a trend could contribute significantly both to preserving older housing and to strengthening the urban tax base.

Another potential asset of older cities is the availability of large tracts of land which are either vacant or occupied by obsolete facilities such as railroad yards. This land typically is already served by roads, sewers, and utilities, and therefore offers good opportunities for eventual development or redevelopment. It would be naive to expect instant productive use of this resource, but its potential value in future decades should not be dismissed. The rising cost of new infrastructure and energy may once again give a competitive edge to central cities for some types of industrial, commercial and residential development.

Finally, the slowing growth and even population losses in some urban areas are not entirely a cause for despair. In the long run, slowed growth or population declines, if
accompanied by an increasingly heterogenous urban population, could decrease demands on the cities for expensive public services, reduce congestion and improve the quality of urban life.

In summary, the Committee found that the problems of cities and neighborhoods are severe, but that their prospects are hopeful. The next section of this interim report will address briefly the role of the Federal government in the cities.

III. The Federal Government and the Cities

The Federal government has been deeply involved in the shaping of our cities and metropolitan areas. Federal policies, particularly since World War II, have greatly contributed to the rapid expansion of metropolitan boundaries, through construction of the interstate highway system, and generous tax incentives which favored the building of new housing and commercial development rather than conserving the old. Even when the thrust was toward redeveloping blighted areas of the cities, the first response was urban renewal: tear down the slums and replace them with new buildings.

During the 1960's, the older central cities were being engulfed by problems of continuing deterioration, middle-income population loss, economic decline, and profound social stress. The Federal response was an
ambitious but frenetic outpouring of new Federal programs, targeted at narrow and specific aspects of the urban predicament.

Today, an estimated 80 percent of Federal assistance to State and local governments is still delivered through categorical grant programs. There are over 1000 such programs, administered by over 50 agencies, each with its own set of administrative guidelines designed to accomplish specific operational or service responsibilities. The Committee found there were complex, varying application and administrative processes and narrow, restrictive program guidelines. This morass of conflicting requirements is more likely to prevent than to assure effective use of Federal resources at the State or local level. Many of these programs also by-pass State and local elected officials, eliminating a locus of coordination and accountability for success or failure.

As local leaders, both public and private, confront their problems, they find themselves in a double bind. First, they have very limited influence on the tax and other incentives which are pulling people and jobs out of their communities; and second, they have limited management control over a large share of the very resources intended by Washington to help them.
The Committee found, however, that cities can begin to attack their problems much more effectively when substantial Federal assistance is provided on a flexible basis. Mayors were unanimous in their enthusiastic support for the General Revenue Sharing Program, which has helped them maintain vital services and stave off debilitating tax increases. In Newark, for example, where over 60 percent of the land is occupied by tax-exempt government buildings, public housing, hospitals, transportation facilities, and educational institutions, the city was able to reduce an extremely high property tax rate.

Nationally, more than $6 billion a year in General Revenue Sharing funds have been funneled to over 38,000 units of State and local government through an automatic formula that frees the recipients of cumbersome application requirements and administrative expense. This program combines the efficiency and accountability that comes from allowing local governments to determine their own priorities, and respond to their own individual needs.

Mayors and local officials also say their cities and neighborhoods have benefitted from the increased flexibility provided by two major block grant programs—the Community Development Block Grant Program (CDBG), operated by HUD, and the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), operated by the Department of Labor. These programs
replaced about 24 categorical programs, and provided funds for broad purposes on a formula basis relatively free of onerous Federal requirements.

The CETA program has transferred to local and State elected officials the resources to develop and implement a comprehensive program for employment opportunities and job training for unemployed, economically disadvantaged and underemployed persons. CETA consolidated 17 special purpose programs which had been funded through a bewildering array of general purpose governments, community action agencies, labor unions, private corporations and nonprofit contractors, allowing local elected officials little leverage for coordinating such programs or using them in combination with other Federal programs.

Under the Title I CETA job training program, about $3.5 billion will be spent in FY 1976 and 1977, permitting 445 city, county, and State prime sponsors to serve in FY 1977 an estimated 1.3 million economically disadvantaged, unemployed, and underemployed persons. The CETA public service employment programs (Title II and Title VI) will provide a total of $2.5 billion to support 310,000 public service jobs by the end of 1976 in areas of high unemployment.

The Community Development Block Grant Program, signed into law by President Ford in August of 1974, consolidated
seven categorical programs for community development into a single block grant. Over $3 billion a year goes to communities across the country--double the funds provided under the categorical programs in 1970. Local officials have wide latitude in setting local priorities and deciding what kinds of programs they want to fund.

City officials have also observed a substantial reduction in red tape in the CDBG program. It has only about 120 pages of regulations, compared to about 2600 under the categoricals. It requires only one application each year, compared to an average of 5 per year for cities previously. Applications average about 40 to 50 pages, compared to 1400 under the previous programs.

The popularity of CDBG among local officials rests on its successful use by local governments in creative neighborhood preservation strategies. For example, the City of Baltimore is allocating $800,000 from its block grant to reduce the interest rate on rehabilitation loans, using a sliding scale of from zero to seven percent, depending on family income.

Boston and Newark are using block grant funds to make grants to homeowners who fix up their property. These grants take the form of a cash rebate for a portion of the cost of improvement. In Newark's Cleveland Hill
neighborhood, Secretary Hills (HUD) and Secretary Coleman (DOT) visited a family that is improving its home with new gutters, porch replacement, a new electrical system, bathroom renovation, and painting. These improvements are valued at $7,633; after they are completed, the city will provide the family with a $2,030 cash rebate. Secretaries Hills and Coleman also met with residents of Newark's Roseville and Ironbound neighborhoods who praised the program for helping them improve their homes and communities.

In New Orleans, CDBG funds have been combined with city funds and general revenue sharing funds to build the Louis Armstrong Park and Recreation Center which will complement the adjacent commercial and tourist district. Mayor Landrieu of New Orleans has also established a joint planning office to administer the CDBG, CETA, and Department of Commerce economic development programs so that community development projects can be tied into job training for the unemployed and strengthening the city's economic base. Because the Committee recognizes that some communities have had more difficulty in linking their Federal block grants, the four agencies with major block grant programs have begun to assess the constraints to such linkages.
One of the key issues the Committee discussed with neighborhood groups was whether the Federal government should require local governments to allocate block grant funds to the neighborhood level. In the Baltimore and Hartford neighborhood revitalization efforts described earlier, city governments did allocate CDBG funds directly to neighborhood organizations so that neighborhood leaders and residents could determine their own priorities for revitalization. Oklahoma City, in particular, seems to have been successful at involving its neighborhoods in planning for the community's growth and development. The fact that the block grant provides annually to the city a publicly known amount of flexible funds provides the opportunity for neighborhood groups to take their case for support to City Hall.

Reports to HUD indicate this is occurring in many other cities as well. Since money is necessarily limited and needs are great, there is not always consensus and harmony between the neighborhoods and City Hall. Some neighborhood people would like to see direct or mandated funding of neighborhood groups by the Federal government. But the preponderance of opinion is that the block grant approach is preferable because of its certainty and flexibility. There is growing recognition that cutting the
pie should be the mayor's job—not a Federal bureaucrat's—and the mayor who ignores well-organized and motivated neighborhoods can and should expect retribution at the polls.

Federal grant programs cannot in themselves solve the problems of the cities, local officials emphasized in discussions with Committee members. Longer-term economic development is essential, and this involves the effective combination of both public and private efforts. A number of Federal initiatives is being used to achieve such public-private action.

The programs of the Economic Development Administration (EDA) have demonstrated a wide variety of approaches to economic stabilization and job creation in urban areas. In a number of cities, abandoned, underutilized or blighted industrial areas have been upgraded to encourage firms to remain in the city and to attract new firms. Such industrial areas are often adjacent to residential neighborhoods and afford residents permanent private sector jobs.

In some cases the location or expansion of firms has been aided by EDA business development loans and loan guarantees. EDA industrial redevelopment funds also have been used to upgrade and replace community infrastructure, including industrial access roads, building site preparation, sewer and water lines, streets, sidewalks and street lights.
Another focus of recent Federal action has been the revitalization of neighborhood commercial strips. A healthy commercial area not only has a positive impact on the economy of the neighborhood, but also can serve as a catalyst for more general neighborhood improvements to housing and public services. Neighborhood businesses provide employment opportunities and income for residents; help to generate a supply of capital to the area; and provide a convenient place for residents to purchase necessary goods and services. A program to further this type of neighborhood commercial revitalization requires a strong local merchants' association, neighborhood support, working capital and rehabilitation assistance to individual businessmen. EDA is presently carrying out a demonstration program using technical assistance funds to help neighborhoods develop local programs which employ EDA business loans and loan guarantees for such revitalization activities. As part of this program, the Office of Minority Business Enterprise is providing technical assistance to help minority entrepreneurs to form such local business associations and to develop programs.

The Small Business Administration (SBA) is another Federal agency which is stepping up its support for commercial
and industrial development aimed at revitalizing neighborhoods. For example, the SBA has taken its Local Development Company loan program—rarely used in large cities until recently—and is directing it toward neighborhood-based economic improvement. SBA Administrator Kobelinski is currently working with a selected group of target cities to involve neighborhood organizations, local officials, and financial institutions in private sector development.

Another economic development initiative designed to create more jobs, mainly in the private sector, is a new demonstration program jointly funded by the Departments of Commerce, Labor, and Housing and Urban Development. This program will help cities coordinate the use of community development, economic development, and employment and training funds, together with strong private sector involvement and cooperation, to strengthen local economies. The three Departments have made demonstration grants which are expected to total $4.8 million over two years to the following ten cities: Albuquerque, Baltimore, Bridgeport, Buffalo, Chicago, Dayton, Kansas City, Oakland, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh.

Central business district improvement is the objective of innovative transit projects sponsored by the
Department of Transportation. DOT is funding transit malls in several cities in which major shopping streets are closed to auto traffic, and the street space reserved for pedestrians and shuttle bus systems. Some of these grant funds are being used for special paving, lighting and street furniture which supports the mall concept.

Communities throughout the country are also using Federally-initiated demonstration programs to help stimulate and support local efforts to improve and rehabilitate housing in neighborhoods threatened by deterioration. The Committee found that the Urban Reinvestment Task Force has been an effective local tool for counteacting disinvestment trends in potentially sound, but endangered neighborhoods. The Task Force, which is a joint effort by HUD and the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, provides revolving loan funds, technical assistance and other financial aid to partnerships of local residents, financial institutions and local governments which have developed promising strategies to arrest early neighborhood decline. Over 30 cities are now involved in programs sponsored by the Task Force. HUD is increasing its support for the Task Force from $2.5 million in FY 76 to $4.5 million in FY 77, so that the Task Force's programs can be expanded to a total of
55 cities. Of the cities visited by members of the Committee, Boston, Cleveland, and Baltimore have operating Urban Reinvestment programs, as well as Pittsburgh, whose local innovation served as the national model. Newark, New Orleans, and Hartford are commencing programs.

The Urban Homesteading program, administered by HUD, also helps to revitalize neighborhoods and recapture deteriorating and abandoned housing stock. Twenty-three cities selected in a national competition in 1975 are now using HUD-acquired properties and subsidized rehabilitation loans in coordinated neighborhood preservation programs. Urban Homesteading represents a $65 million Federal/local investment: HUD is awarding $13 million in rehabilitation loans, and $11.25 million in properties to the participating cities, and the cities are spending more than $40 million of their own funds to restore and recycle selected ailing neighborhoods.

The Committee recognizes that demonstration programs are small in scale relative to the problems they address. Yet they can provide models for achieving substantial progress, and can point the way toward program changes which will benefit cities and neighborhoods across the nation.
IV. Defining the Federal Role

The Committee believes that national policy on urban development and neighborhood revitalization must be based on certain basic principles concerning the proper role of the Federal government. We are in agreement on those basic principles, as well as on a set of preliminary recommendations for action, and an agenda for future study.

The principles which the Committee believes should govern the Federal role in urban affairs are as follows:

A. The Federal government should establish, as a national priority, the preservation of the nation's existing stock of housing, the restoration of the vitality of its urban neighborhoods, and the promotion of healthy economic development for its central cities.

The nation has entered a period of scarce resources and simply cannot continue to absorb either the social or economic costs of throwing away whole neighborhoods. Accordingly, the preservation of our nation's cities and neighborhoods should be added to other national policy objectives, such as decent housing, environmental protection, and economic growth.

Since Federal policy is only one of the factors which will determine the future of our urban centers, that policy must envision a partnership with the private sector and with State and local governments.
The Committee believes that a lasting solution to the urban crisis cannot rely on massive Federal funds for temporary public service jobs or on underwriting existing municipal debt, insulating local governments from the responsibility to weigh carefully local needs. Rather, the Committee believes that the Federal funds should be funneled to help cities build and modernize their capital infrastructure and in so doing expand jobs for construction workers, the poor and unemployed as well as to provide new opportunities for small business, including minority contractors.

B. The Federal government should target Federal resources to areas of greatest need, recognizing the disproportionate social and economic burdens borne by individual communities or classes of citizens.

The Federal government has a continuing responsibility to back up its policy commitments with financial assistance on a scale large enough to make an impact. But public funds are limited, and they should be directed to the areas of greatest need. Generally, formula allocations should replace grantsmanship to assure fairness in the distribution of Federal funds.
C. The delivery of Federal assistance to urban areas should be made more efficient by adhering to sound management principles.

The delivery of Federal assistance to the cities should be improved by strengthening the decision-making roles of general purpose State and local governments. The present Federal delivery mechanism is frustrating to public officials at all levels of government and baffling to citizens at the neighborhood levels who are searching for ways to improve their communities. The duplicative and restrictive requirements of current Federal categorical programs diminish both their effectiveness in meeting local problems and the capacity of State and local government to link Federal, local, and private resources in dealing with the complex problems of urban areas. Based on its contacts with public officials and neighborhood groups, the Committee believes that the following principles, while not universally applicable to all situations or programs, should generally guide the delivery of Federal assistance.

1. Preference for Block Grants

The Committee believes that the chief elected officials of State and local governments, working with their citizens, should have more discretion to plan and manage their own strategies to meet national objectives, rather than being burdened by Federal dictates often ill-fitted to their communities.
Many Federal categorical grants should be simplified and consolidated into block grants which afford greater flexibility to State and local government. For most service and developmental activities, State and local governments should be able to make decisions on the specific services to be funded within broad Federal guidelines as to the purposes and beneficiaries intended to be served. Block grants should be flexible so that the recipients can adapt Federal resources to the needs and conditions of their communities and can maximize the linkage of Federal resources and other local, private, and public resources.

2. Electoral Accountability and Citizen Participation

Accountability for the use of Federal block grant funds should be clearly fixed, usually in the local or State chief elected official. However, those officials should seek the participation of citizens in the planning and management of Federal funds. Citizens in affected neighborhoods, in particular, should have a voice and the impact of Federally-funded programs on their neighborhoods should be carefully considered. In appropriate cases, neighborhood organizations should play a direct role in program planning and management.
The result should be an expansion of meaningful participation in the use of Federal resources, a strengthening of the State and local political process, and a reduced ability of narrow special interests to dominate Federal program decisions.

3. **Preserving Federally-Guaranteed Rights**

Although block grants are intended to afford the widest possible local discretion, national policy requires that the rights and interests of minority citizens be protected. Therefore, Federal block grant programs should ensure that the needs of minority groups are considered in the allocation of funds and that minority rights are guaranteed in the management of Federally-funded programs.

4. **Support for Local Management and Planning Capacity**

The Federal government should help to ensure that local planning and management capacity exists to implement additional block grant programs. The Committee believes that present block grant funds are generally being managed effectively. However, State and local governments may need further planning and management capability as new block grant programs are created. The Federal government should help to build that capability.
5. Facilitating Program Linkages

The Federal government should increase the opportunities for State and local government to use different Federal programs in a flexible and coordinated manner. The difficulty of creatively linking the many existing categorical programs is one of the major problems of such grants, and block grants must be designed to avoid similar problems. In some cases, this will mean the establishment of new cooperative relationships between States and localities.

Similarly, it is essential that both State and local recipients of block grants are encouraged to work together in making program decisions involving area-wide problems. Decisions involving transportation facilities, pollution control, economic development and housing will have major regional impacts. The Federal government should design its programs to encourage consideration of such regional effects and to promote effective intergovernmental cooperation.

6. Research and Development

The Federal government should have a coordinated program of research and demonstrations aimed at finding out which approaches to solving problems work best. In addition to sponsoring its own research and demonstrations,
the Federal government should work with communities to identify promising innovations initiated at the local level. The results both of Federally-sponsored and locally initiated demonstrations should then be widely distributed so that communities across the nation can build on successful techniques and avoid mistakes.

V. Recommendations

1. The Committee recommends the following steps towards the consolidation of existing categorical programs into block grants.

   In city after city, Committee members were told about and saw evidence of the success of the present Federal block grant programs. For example, community development block grants, in their first two years, have proven to be a far more effective means of delivering Federal aid than the seven narrow categorical programs they replaced. The Committee recommends building on this demonstrated success by consolidating other Federal aid programs into functional block grants. In general, the Committee believes that such program consolidation will substantially increase the effectiveness of the Federal funds now being expended.
The following list of possible functional block grant proposals is intended to be suggestive rather than definitive—a starting point in giving more control over public funds to State and local governments and to the individual taxpayer.

a. **Housing Assistance Block Grants**

Several existing housing subsidy programs could be consolidated into a housing assistance block grant, providing cities and States with formula-determined allocations of long-term funding for housing assistance. Such a consolidation would reduce the complex Federal regulations and "red tape" that now attend the various Federal housing programs. Responsibility and accountability for the delivery of housing assistance would be lodged where it belongs—-with local and State chief elected officials. Mayors could develop their own innovative housing programs suited to local market conditions and local needs as well as better coordinate housing assistance with other community development activities.

b. **Urban Surface Transportation Block Grants**

Several current urban highway and transit assistance programs also could be consolidated into block grants, allocated on a formula basis to urbanized areas. These
block grants could be available for a broad range of activities including planning, resurfacing, and rehabilitating roads; acquiring, constructing, rehabilitating and maintaining transit facilities; and transit operating subsidies (the latter category perhaps being limited to some percentage of an area's allocation each year). Of course, the block grants would not affect funding for the completion of the Interstate Highway System or the Rural Highway System.

c. Health Services Block Grants

Because Congress has not yet acted on the Administration's recent health block grant proposal, the Committee recommends resubmittal of health services block grant legislation to the next Congress.

d. Education Block Grants

To improve the quality of education in urban neighborhoods, the Committee recommends resubmitting to the Congress the education block grant proposed last year which would consolidate several categorical assistance programs into a single block grant.

2. The Committee recommends a comprehensive review of present Federal aid formulas to determine their impact on "declining" cities and the States in which they are located.

For example, the Administration has already proposed raising the per capita ceiling on general revenue sharing
grants to localities from 145% to 175% of the State's average per capita amount. This formula revision would direct more Federal Revenue Sharing funds to a number of large cities: Philadelphia ($10.6 million), Detroit ($8.2 million), Baltimore ($4.4 million), Boston ($4.4 million), St. Louis ($2.9 million).

Similarly, in its coming Report to the Congress, HUD should consider the extent to which the community development block grant funding formula recognizes the relative needs of different cities, particularly older declining cities. The Department should recommend changes to the formula based on this analysis. Among the criteria that might make the formula a better measure of need are the age of a city's housing stock and whether it is losing non-poverty population. Similar changes may be warranted for formulas in other programs providing funds for physical or economic development.

The extent to which any of these formula revisions can be accommodated within approximately the same program funding currently provided should be determined on a program-by-program basis after further analysis.
3. The Committee recommends a general review of Federal tax policy with a view to providing greater incentives for the preservation and rehabilitation of homes and buildings.

As a general principle, the tax system should not make maintenance or rehabilitation of existing housing less attractive than investment in newly constructed properties. Because the tax system is so complex, however, the ramifications of this principle may be difficult to determine. Moreover, tax incentives, because of their impact on the Federal budget, require the same scrutiny as new spending programs.

Based on its work so far, the Committee believes the following specific areas of Federal tax policy hold the most promise for encouraging the preservation and revitalization of cities and neighborhoods.

a. The Committee recommends that the tax provisions governing depreciation be reviewed to determine their effect on investment in the rehabilitation and maintenance of existing structures in central cities.

The Committee's preliminary review indicates that the current rules for calculating depreciation allowances under the income tax may favor new construction over the maintenance of existing structures, with negative consequences for central cities. The desirability of review is suggested by the following brief summary of present provisions.
The tax code allows accelerated depreciation on various property investments. Accelerated depreciation allows larger tax deductions for depreciation to be taken in the early life of the investment. The resulting postponement of tax liability amounts to an unsecured interest-free loan from the Treasury. Generally, investors in newly constructed residential properties may take a faster rate of accelerated depreciation than second and subsequent purchasers of existing residential properties. Only straight-line depreciation (non-accelerated) is allowed to the purchaser of an existing structure with less than 20 years of remaining useful life. A still greater difference in tax depreciation treatment exists between purchasers of newly constructed and existing non-residential property, with the former allowed to use accelerated depreciation and the latter only straight-line depreciation. By altering the owner's cash flow, these rules affect the timing and location of new construction, the rate of turnover of ownership, and, especially, the incentive to maintain existing structures to prolong their lives. To the extent that tax policy makes investment in new construction more attractive than the maintenance or rehabilitation of existing structures, that policy may exacerbate the decline of central cities by encouraging businesses and people to locate in newer structures in outlying areas.
b. The Committee recommends a detailed study of tax policies to encourage homeowners to invest in the preservation and improvement of older housing.

The revitalization of an urban area depends on the preservation and rehabilitation of its stock of existing structures. The Committee is particularly concerned about the older homes in urban neighborhoods owned by lower and middle income families. Federal, State and local tax policies can affect significantly private decisions to invest in the maintenance and rehabilitation of these structures. The tax laws and their inter-relationships are complex, but tax policies to encourage maintenance and renovation of the existing housing stock deserve further study.

c. The Committee recommends that tax incentives for business investment in areas of chronically high unemployment, along the lines already proposed by President Ford, be explored.

To revitalize our older declining cities, more jobs must be generated. Many urban areas, with high unemployment levels, require new incentives to attract business location and expansion. Such incentives could be made available through the tax system, with the provision of more liberal depreciation deductions for new plant construction, expansion or rehabilitation in jurisdictions with unemployment rates
consistently above 8 percent. President Ford presented a similar, but more broadly focused proposal in his Budget for Fiscal Year 1977. Alternative incentives which should be considered include an additional investment tax credit for business investment in declining areas. The tax credit could be progressive with respect to an area's unemployment rate, with higher tax credits in areas with higher unemployment rates.

4. The Committee recommends that the public and private sectors seek new ways to increase employment opportunities for inner-city youths.

The labor force is now swollen by a disproportionate number of young adults born during the post World War II baby boom. In 1974, more than 2.5 million young people between the ages of 16 and 24, half of all unemployed, were seeking work and unable to find it. Among black teenagers the unemployment rate is more than five times the national average. These young unskilled workers seeking employment are located disproportionately in our central cities. As industries providing jobs for unskilled labor have increasingly deserted the central cities of the North Central and Northeastern States, the problem of unemployment in those areas has become even more serious.
As the growth in the labor force tapers off in coming years, the problem of unemployment among these entry level workers will diminish. In the interim, new ways should be developed to mitigate the costs this problem imposes on our urban centers. The magnitude of Federal spending on employment and training in general and on youth employment in particular (for example, over $1.2 billion in CETA programs serving youth) attests to the recognition this problem is receiving, but several new avenues of experimentation should be explored.

First, the Department of Labor's current demonstration of the use of relocation information and assistance as an adjunct to job training should be carefully evaluated to determine its impact on high unemployment areas and expanded if justified by the results.

Second, consideration should be given to ways of facilitating the transportation of inner-city residents to new jobs in the suburbs.

Third, further careful study should be given to mechanisms, such as Defense Manpower Policy #4, for harnessing Federal procurement policies to provide jobs in high unemployment areas.
Finally, a high priority should be given to developing approaches for encouraging greater private sector participation in the economic redevelopment of inner-cities. The recent report of the municipal task force of the Business Roundtable, representing several of the nation's major corporations, called for a broader, deeper commitment by the corporate community to our central cities. From that commitment should be forged a public-private partnership to revitalize our older urban areas.

5. The Committee favors a standby program of countercyclical block grant assistance to urban areas with high unemployment along the lines of legislation introduced by Congressman Brown and Senator Griffin.

The Administration's current economic policies should continue to reduce unemployment, eliminating the need for countercyclical assistance. Over the past 18 months the national economy has improved dramatically. Unemployment is down from 8.9 to 7.8 percent; employment has increased by 3.7 million; the Gross National Product has increased by $264 billion, or 18 percent; and per capita disposable personal income is up by $719, or 15 percent. Simultaneously, the rate of inflation has been cut in half.

At the same time, the recovery has been geographically uneven. While the national unemployment rate has declined, there are areas where high unemployment rates have not come
down because the overall recovery has not yet fully taken
hold. In some areas, including Detroit, Buffalo, and
Miami, there has been marked improvement, but the
unemployment rates remain high relative to the rest of
the nation. In many cases, these geographical disparities
have been translated into serious fiscal problems for the
affected cities.

A multi-billion dollar countercyclical public works
and public service employment bill has been enacted.
Despite its cost, however, that legislation is a poorly
designed response to the problem. The legislation is not
sufficiently targeted at areas of serious unemployment and
has categorical restrictions which will hamstring local
officials in making efficient use of the available funds.
Moreover, no jobs will be created by the public works
program for several months. The last accelerated public
works bill, passed in 1962, did not have a job creation
impact until late 1964, and disbursements for public
works projects funded under that bill are still ongoing.

In contrast, the flexibility provided to local
officials by a countercyclical block grant would greatly
enhance their capacity to use Federal aid to their
communities' best advantage and to convert those funds
into private sector jobs quickly and efficiently.
A countercyclical block grant bill passed the House of Representatives in 1976, only to be eliminated in a conference committee. This bill, sponsored by Congressman Brown and Senator Griffin, would have provided an overall level of assistance on the basis of the national unemployment rate and allocated that assistance to recipient communities on the basis of their individual levels of unemployment. Thus, Federal funds would have been provided when and where they were most needed. These countercyclical block grant funds could have been used for any local physical or economic development activities, providing private sector jobs and at the same time improving the long-term economic health and physical infrastructure of economically troubled recipient cities.

To avoid cities exacerbating their economic distress by firing public employees and cutting public services in a recession, the Brown-Griffin proposal also allowed a proportion of each city's funding to be used to maintain public employment levels, complementing local uses of CETA Title II and VI funds in maintaining public services.
This limited voluntary use of block grant funds for public employees' salaries would have provided cities with needed flexibility during periods of temporarily decreased revenues, without creating a dependency on Federal aid or swelled public payrolls.

We do not believe that further countercyclical aid will be necessary, but we do believe a countercyclical block grant program should be available on a standby basis.

6. The Committee recommends that requirements under the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act of 1975 and the Equal Credit Opportunity Act Amendments of 1976 be vigorously enforced, and that the information generated be systematically assessed with a view to eliminating "redlining".

The arbitrary denial of home mortgage and commercial lending based solely on location has been a serious problem in some older urban neighborhoods, but there has been little evaluation of its scope, impact, or causes. The Home Mortgage Disclosure Act provides an important first step in determining the dimensions of this problem. The data generated by the Act also should provide locally elected officials with an early warning of threatened disinvestment, so that timely remedial actions can be taken.
7. The Committee favors a law permitting nonjudicial foreclosure on abandoned structures.

One of the frustrating and demoralizing problems of many urban neighborhoods is the presence of abandoned buildings which are frequently vandalized and are havens for drug addicts. In many States, lengthy and complex foreclosure procedures prevent local governments from getting rid of these blighting structures. The Committee recommends legislation establishing a nonjudicial foreclosure procedure allowing city governments to move promptly to demolish abandoned buildings.

8. The Committee recommends an expansion of HUD's Urban Homesteading Demonstration, begun in late 1975, within currently participating communities and to additional cities.

The Urban Homesteading Program currently operates in 23 cities, which have received over 2,000 homes valued at $11.25 million from the HUD-owned inventory. The program has been extremely successful, both in providing home ownership opportunities for a limited number of moderate income Americans and in eliminating the blighting influence of boarded-up HUD-acquired properties. Cities have developed ambitious plans for the revitalization of homesteading project neighborhoods involving total public and private investments of over $40 million and have shown an impressive ability to develop creative local variations on the homesteading theme.
VI. The Committee's Future Agenda

The Committee has not, in the time available for this interim report, dealt fully with many of the issues and questions raised in its preliminary investigation of urban and neighborhood problems. The Committee's next steps will be to appoint task forces to develop further its interim recommendations and, in addition, to undertake a more thorough and systematic analysis of the complex conditions contributing to the urban predicament.

Our longer-term investigation should focus on the fundamental causes of urban and neighborhood decline, and propose a coordinated strategy involving the Federal, State, local and private sectors. Ideally, the Committee's study will spark national discussion on the urban condition, so that the recommendations emerging from its study will have the advantage of broad consensus and will be based on deeper understanding of the problems of our urban centers.

For example, the Committee should assess carefully the causes and impact of the weakening commercial and industrial bases of older Eastern and Northern cities. On the basis of a study of the dynamics of economic change in these hard-pressed cities, the Committee should develop a strategy to harness Federal resources and encourage private sector action to reduce unemployment and ameliorate the problems caused by
industrial and commercial relocation. This strategy would address the problems of obsolescence of urban industrial plants and the shifts in transportation patterns which have adversely affected central cities in general and older Northeastern urban centers in particular.

Second, the Committee should explore the complicated interrelationship of center cities and their outlying suburbs, including the demographic trends which have concentrated low-skilled, relatively immobile and often minority populations in the central cities, while more affluent households have migrated outward. It has been charged, for example, that suburban dwellers often reap employment and cultural benefits from living near a city, but resist contributing to its maintenance.

Third, the Committee should study the causes of residential neighborhood decline. Individual neighborhoods are the building blocks of the urban structure and their decline an integral part of the urban crisis. An aging housing stock, the burden of property taxation, possible "redlining" by financial institutions, the loss of neighborhood schools, the quality of public services and the accessibility of commercial facilities are among the factors whose impacts on neighborhood transition should be addressed. The Committee should evaluate successful techniques for neighborhood preservation or revitalization,
giving particular attention to the potentially important role of cohesive neighborhood organizations. The continued encouragement of and reliance upon local leadership that is politically sensitive to neighborhood groups could prove to be one of the keys to the successful rebuilding of our cities.

The Committee is aware of the large body of public and private research on many of these topics. That research, however, is too fragmented to be immediately useful for policy purposes. It also leaves several important gaps and unanswered questions, which the Committee believes must be dealt with more systematically before formulating a comprehensive strategy for urban development and neighborhood revitalization.

While the immediate fiscal problems and deterioration of many older urban areas demand attention, the Committee believes that the needs and problems of more stable and even growing urban areas should not be ignored. Virtually all local governments have suffered the effect of rising public expectations and increasing costs for public services.

Perhaps even more significantly, many fast-growing cities have been unable to adopt realistic growth management policies to accommodate their new patterns of growth. Uncontrolled development is already producing inefficient patterns of service delivery which will burden governments for decades to come. The costs of environmental degradation
permitted under the pressure of development will be borne by local taxpayers for generations.

Finally, the diversity of Federal assistance demands the development of improved linkages among programs which flow to different levels of government for different specific purposes but with common objectives.

We wish to repeat our opening observation. When existing Federal funding is targeted in such a fashion as to meet the specific problems of given cities by politically responsive local leaders, we may well find that the tens of billions of Federal dollars spent each year in the cities is adequate to the task. All that we can be certain of now is that the continued uncoordinated spending of the past must be discontinued.

The Committee members have returned from their visits to American cities with a much stronger sense of the vitality of many cities and urban neighborhoods, and with a greater awareness of both the strengths and the limitations of Federal urban policy. We intend to continue our efforts to improve Federal policies and programs, so that our cities and their neighborhoods can become more prosperous and more exciting places to live.
MEMORANDUM FOR: Honorable James M. Cannon
Executive Director
Domestic Council
The White House

FROM: Carla A. Hills

October 21, 1976

I am today transmitting to the President the interim report of the President's Committee on Urban Development and Neighborhood Revitalization. Attached are copies of the interim report, an executive summary of the interim report, and my transmittal memorandum to the President.

Attachments
R. Ford. One strong appeal the President could have made would have been aimed at helping neighborhood people preserve their investment in their neighborhoods.

Such an appeal is 100% within the Republican tradition. For instance, the Republican Coordinating Committee in 1967 stated that "the residents of our blighted city areas (should) be encouraged to involve themselves actively in self-help programs leading to better housing, improved skills, and economic advancement. Too often, present programs have failed to generate a sense of self-reliance and self-help which will permit a man to advance through his own efforts." Minority Leader Gerald R. Ford endorsed that statement.

Yet a lot of important people have huffed and puffed for four months on this subject and have produced a report and statement which cannot be used as ammunition out on the front lines - the neighborhood precincts where neighborhood people cast their votes.

I strongly believe that Gerald R. Ford ought to be elected on November 2. I am willing to work my butt off to that end. But Gerald R Ford is not going to carry enough of those 134 electoral votes to win UNLESS HIS PEOPLE IN THE WHITE HOUSE PRODUCE FOR HIM THE ISSUES WHICH CAN ATTRACT VOTES.

And all you people have done is release a totally forgettable report with a totally forgettable statement WHICH WILL NOT PRODUCE ONE DAMNED VOTE FOR GERALD R. FORD.

It is not too late to remedy this lamentable situation.

Take the seven page draft statement I left with Baroody and Cannon and make it or something like it the centerpiece of the President's remarks in some neighborhood in some northeastern city this week.

You don't have to promise any new programs or new legislation. Merely voice the rhetoric and announce that he has instructed his Committee to come back with specific recommendations on any or all of the specific action ideas enumerated in that draft.

There are no disadvantages in doing this. It is an all-win no-lose proposition.

And if you do it right - if whoever is in charge stops returning all those whimpering phone calls from all the people who want to be consulted etc. and cuts the Gordian Knot - you might be able to PRODUCE SOME DAMNED VOTES FOR GERALD R. FORD.

And if that is not what this exercise is all about, I apologize for being sadly misinformed.

John McClaughey
MEMO

From: McClaughry

To: Cheney
Cavanaugh
Cannon
Quern

Re: Hills Committee Report on Urban Development & Neighborhoods

On May 5 the President met with 78 ethnic leaders attending a White House Conference on Neighborhoods and Ethnicity.

In June, as an outgrowth of that meeting, the President named a Committee on Urban Development and Neighborhood Revitalization. No statute required this to be done. It was done to emphasize President Ford's rapport with the ethnic leaders. The obvious purpose was to develop for the President a policy thrust that would command support from ethnic leaders and others concerned about declining urban neighborhoods.

For four months this committee struggles along, seemingly oblivious to the fact that there will be an election in this country on November 2. Finally in mid-October it delivers a report to the White House.

The Report says to the mayors, "We are moving forward with the block grant approach because it gives you more importance and flexibility. However we cannot afford any additional money." That tells it like it is, but it will not persuade one single mayor to support Gerald Ford.

The Report says to neighborhood leaders: precious little. It evidences little understanding of the concerns of neighborhood organizations, and particularly their concern that HUD and city hall are both part of the problem. There are no creative proposals for the neighborhoods. There is little neighborhood-oriented rhetoric. The report will not win Gerald R Ford one vote from neighborhoods.

The President, however, has the opportunity to seize the initiative in his remarks accepting the report. Instead, he delivers two pages of tedious, self-serving boiler plate rhetoric about his manifold accomplishments.

Now what has all this exercise accomplished? IT HAS NOT PRODUCED ONE DAMNED VOTE FOR GERALD R. FORD.

A lot of high-powered and high-paid talent has devoted a lot of hours to this effort and IT HAS NOT PRODUCED ONE DAMNED VOTE FOR GERALD R. FORD.

Here we have Gerald R Ford locked in a race with a Southern rural Baptist with no knowledge of neighborhood problems in declining eastern cities in states with 134 electoral votes. Normally Democratic white blue-collar ethnic voters need a few reasons to vote for Gerald