BICENTENNIAL ERA PROGRAMS, 1976

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON ARTS AND HUMANITIES

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-FOURTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

PROPOSALS TO ESTABLISH A PROGRAM TO SUPPORT PROJECTS AND ACTIVITIES OF ORGANIZATIONS FOCUSED ON A "BICENTENNIAL ERA"

APRIL 9, 1976

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FRIDAY, APRIL 9, 1976

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON ARTS AND HUMANITIES
OF THE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:05 a.m. in room S–146, the Capitol, Senator Claiborne Pell (chairman of the subcommittee), presiding.

Present: Senators Pell and Javits.

Senator PELL. Today the Special Subcommittee on Arts and Humanities is holding hearings on proposals and ideas relating to establishing a program which would have substantial benefit to our nation and which would be focused on a "Bicentennal Era"—a period of time extending from the present to the 200th Anniversary of the Constitution of the United States. This would involve a period of 13 years, from 1976 to 1989.

It has been proposed that during this time it would be of abiding value to our country to concentrate on our founding principles, to assess where we stand today in relation to those principles, and from historic perspective to examine and develop those priorities and goals of greatest value for the future.

In this regard, an overall program which would place stress on achievement and on building tangible bridges to the future would seem most worthy of our consideration.

We are here today to consider both the scope such a program might have, the subject areas most germane to it, and how it might be best implemented.

Senator Charles Mathias, Representative Patricia Schroeder and Representative Paul Simon have exerted leadership with respect to this Bicentennial Era approach. Representative Schroeder will be here to discuss these matters with us, and I extend a warm welcome to her in advance.

I would add that we are not today considering specific legislation. Rather, we are considering how these laudable concepts I have briefly outlined could perhaps become best applicable within the broad scope and mandate of the Arts and Humanities.

Let me call attention to the Declaration of Purpose of the Arts and Humanities Act of 1965. In part, this declaration states:

> that a high civilization must not limit its efforts to science and technology alone, but must give full value and support to the other great branches of man's scholarly and cultural activity in order to achieve a better understanding of the past, a better analysis of the present, and a better view of the future.

Our witnesses today include Mr. John D. Rockefeller III, with whom I have conferred on these matters already on a conceptual basis. Mr. Rockefeller's leadership is identified with and is a most important part of these proposals. His perception and initiative has greatly impressed me.

I believe a great many people feel that the Bicentennial celebration we are now experiencing should transcend the ceremonial and observances of temporary note, and that 1976 should signal a new spirit of dedication toward more substantive considerations of what our first 200 years as a nation means and on how we can improve on the past.

I would add that fundamental to these hearings is the excellence of ideas expressed by Mr. Rockefeller, and by Senator Mathias and Representative Schroeder. In particular, my staunch colleague, Senator Javits, has taken very strong interest in these concepts and has expressed the wish within the subcommittee that we should hold these hearings.

I will now include in the record an excellent statement by Senator Mathias who has expressed to us his regrets that he cannot testify in person.

[The statement referred to follows:]

STATEMENT OF HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR., A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF MARYLAND

Mr. Chairman, I commend the Subcommittee for its interest in the concept of the Bicentennial era and in what such an era, if given some formal structure, might help us achieve during the Bicentennial of our Constitution. As you know, I recently introduced S. 3100, a bill which would establish an American Constitution Bicentennial Foundation. I am deeply grateful that the members of this committee feel that the purposes of S. 3100 may well mesh with their own efforts to work out additional legislative approaches for S. 1800.

If, in our Bicentennial year, we were equipped to look ahead with as much reason, courage, and passion as our founders possessed in their particular times, we would not have to take your time this morning. As so many recent barometers of social, political and economic change have shown, however, our democratic system, in which so many issues seem to our citizens to be decided undemocratically, is faced with fundamental challenges. Serious challenges should not go unrecognized, much less unmet. Thus, I believe the Committee, in convening this hearing, is recognizing the challenges our system is undergoing today. I am hopeful that it will provide a framework within which our citizens can prepare themselves to answer such challenges in the context of their particular times.

Mr. Chairman, I do not want to seem to declare our Bicentennial year a disaster. Nor is there much sense, as Arthur Schlesinger recently said, in "succumbing too eagerly to bicentennial gloom." As he added, "the centennial year was not so hot either." The point I would like to make, though, is the non-stop, non-partisan changes which flood over us in 1976 will continue to do so in the foreseeable future. Celebration of our 200th birthday as revolutionary freedom fighters, therefore, fades quickly in light of present struggles to reignite the eroded faith and sensitivity of our citizenry. What the Bicentennial offers us is an appropriate time to dedicate all our energies to forging new principles based on our historic values, principles which should fully reflect the challenges of our times and the realities we wish to experience in our third century.

As many of you know, the questions evoked by the Bicentennial have been very close to my heart for a long time—beginning formally with my sponsorship of the legislation which established the first Bicentennial Commission on July 4, 1966. It was my hope that the commemoration would be a time when we would bring Americans together around a set of goals which had the first Revolution as its guide and inspiration, and third century resources as its tools to fashion new concepts worthy of the rich, innovative, complex culture we have become.

I had envisioned broad national discussions of the goals of the revolution and what we need today to achieve similar goals in the context of our times.

As we know, much historical data has been organized and discussed and many worthwhile community-spirited projects have been accomplished. In my opinion, 1976 should be the crossing of the river from historical fact-finding and celebration to serious confrontation with deep dilemmas—from dealing with the effects of potential nuclear holocaust, to feeding millions of starving persons, to reviving the spirit of democratic policy-making.

I believe the essential ingredient to meeting these challenges, to providing for change without violence, is people participation. We must recognize those citizens who are involved in shaping a more humane society, learn how they organize and interest others in this work, and we must encourage and imitate them. For democracy will not follow its natural course if there is no support for citizens efforts to define their futures after thoughtful consideration of the alternatives. It distresses me that so much citizen energy has to be spent in establishing facts about poverty, about waste in government, about consumer travails—when this energy should be conserved for solving the problems we all know exist. Government is so often found in court versus the people, versus the environment and consequently versus itself, that it is small wonder that the vacuum of people power is critically felt in Washington today. People and their elected governments should work together.

First of all, it goes without question that government must find better ways to make information available quickly and efficiently to any citizen who requests it. Further, government, through the example of the challenge grant concept underway at the Endowments for the Arts and Humanities, can avoid being the originator of so many programs. Through the challenge grant, it can more often serve in partnership with the private sector in financing ongoing projects and in encouraging new, untried approaches to problem solving with initial funding. It is time to take the hopes of the Bicentennial spirit, the hopes of the people and the resources of government and the private sector, bind them together and begin the task of wisely, courageously and passionately carrying on the peaceful, democratic revolution. This is a task which the Humanities can rightly be involved in and thus I support the Committee's effort to find a place in its legislation for the work of the people in 1976.

I know some of the witnesses will point out this morning that considerable evidence exists to prove that citizens are indeed concerned about taking part in the democratic process. The forming of neighborhood alliances, citizen involvement networks, cooperatives, the takeover of failing local factories and operating them collectively for profit—all these efforts demonstrate a willingness on the part of citizens to become part of the solutions to present challenges. There is no need to point out that many of these efforts are under way without the involvement of Washington or even state or county capitals. The problems are returning to the people to solve and they are solving them in many cases in many ways.

And while we can be pleased that many Americans have decided to "define themselves for themselves," as black poet Claude McKay once wrote, we in government cannot afford to ignore these trends in neighborhood, community and special interest self-help programs. It is heartening to witness this morning's search for the people's pulse and we must go further to insure that citizens are supported in their work of problem solving. With the help of the private sector, government can place information, seed money, encouragement and a federal network of experience in the hands of every citizen who wants them. This partnership can support responsible citizen participation and new approaches to problem-solving on every level of our society where these efforts exist today, and where they can be encouraged to spring up tomorrow.

I feel very strongly that the members of this committee are responding to an exciting challenge. I believe that this challenge is of sufficient scope and merit to justify the establishment of a self-contained entity which citizens could readily identify as the place where people power rules. I look forward to working with you in the weeks ahead to make certain these efforts are realized. Thank you very much.

Senator PELL. At the present time, without Mrs. Schroeder, I would ask Mr. Rockefeller if he would care to make his statement now.

STATEMENT OF JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER III, NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE BICENTENNIAL ERA, NEW YORK, N.Y., ACCOMPANIED BY GARY KNISELY, DIRECTOR, NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE BICENTENNIAL ERA

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Thank you, Senator.

I will read the statement, if I might, please.

My name is John D. Rockefeller 3d and I appear here today as a private citizen much concerned about the Bicentennial.

It has been a subject of special interest to me for several years. I have always recognized that it would be a time for celebration—for taking pride in past accomplishments, for giving thanks that we have endured for 200 years, and for simply having fun in the Fourth of July spirit. All of this would happen as a matter of course, I realized, needing little in the way of special encouragement.

On the other hand, the real opportunity it seemed to me, was to be found in going beyond celebration, beyond the birthday party of 1976, to deeper and more substantive questions.

Our country is in serious trouble. This is a critical time in our history, at least as perilous and demanding as 200 years ago when the Nation was created through the sacrifice, dedication, and courage of the people and their leaders.

The Bicentennial should become a means to a reaffirmation of our basic values and ideals, to new initiatives to resolve our complex problems, to a new period of achievement if we are to move our country forward and build a better future.

It was always clear that special encouragement would be necessary for such purposes to be realized. They would not come as easily and naturally as celebration. They would require sound planning and effective leadership and substantial funding—in short, a national commitment and sense of mission.

Let me say here and now, Mr. Chairman, as I start these brief remarks, that we have not had this sound planning and leadership. We have not had this national commitment and sense of mission. The result, as I see it, is that the Bicentennial is on the verge of becoming a lost opportunity. It is a situation that is deeply disturbing to me.

It was in this frame of mind that I accepted the invitation of Senator Pell and Senator Javits to testify here today. I saw hope in their interest and in the concern of Congresswoman Schroeder and Senator Mathias as reflected in the bills they have introduced in the House and the Senate.

I hope that the substance of these bills can be incorporated into S. 1800. If this can be done, if the Congress approves and the funds asked are appropriated, we will have a good chance of reversing the trend and giving our 200th anniversary the depth and meaning that it must have at this critical juncture in our history.

The situation today is all the more ironic when one recalls the excellent beginning of the Bicentennial 10 years ago. The original legislation, passed in 1966, stressed that the commemoration should be marked by an emphasis on the ideas associated with the American Revolution.

It also contained a significant innovation—the era concept. The law specified that the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission—

ARBC—should stay in existence until 1983, the 200th anniversary of the end of the Revolutionary War.

The Bicentennial was thus extended beyond 1976 to encompass a substantial period of time. The reason was to allow for serious and substantive activities, in addition to celebration.

Following up on this important beginning, the early speeches of President Nixon seemed strong and positive. In a similar spirit, the 1970 report of the ARBC to the Congress was a constructive and forward-looking document, emphasizing the opportunity the occasion afforded to face up to our problems and to plan for the third century of American life.

Shortly thereafter, however, the Bicentennial began to go astray. The country found itself gripped in a series of traumatic crises—Vietnam, the Mideast, energy, the combined recession-inflation, and most important, Watergate.

Soon, the pollsters began to tell us that alienation and fear were on the increase, that the confidence of the American people in the institutions of our society—in particular, the institutions of government—was eroding to an alarming degree. The Federal Bicentennial effort had lost its early spirit and momentum. Even the concept of the era was dropped from official recognition when the ARBC was converted to the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration (ARBA) in 1974.

Whatever the reasons—and it will take a future historian to explain them— it is clear that the true promise of the Bicentennial remains unfulfilled. At this moment we are headed for a national birthday party this July, and little more.

In saying this, in no sense do I mean to denigrate what has come to be called the "grassroots" Bicentennial, the planning of celebrations in literally thousands of American communities. These are generally worthwhile and in many cases will have lasting benefits.

At all levels—local, regional, and national—there are excellent programs in the cultural and historical fields. But it is beyond these activities that my concern lies. As matters stand now, the opportunity of the Bicentennial is not being used to address the critical social and economic problems that confront us on every side. We need to take advantage of the inspiration and timing of the Bicentennial if we are to progress toward the goal of a healthy and vigorous nation in the years immediately ahead.

In an effort to help restore the idea of a more meaningful national occasion, some 40 citizens from across the country, myself included, prepared and signed a "Bicentennial Declaration" in early 1975.

We strongly endorsed the concept of an era which would link the two greatest documents in American history, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

We did so not only because such an era would be historically accurate and inherently educational, but also because it would be operationally useful. By this I mean that it would set forth a realistic time period—from now until 1989—during which one could hope to accomplish serious and substantive purposes.

There were two other important points stressed in our Declaration.

One is that the Bicentennial should become a time when the American tradition of individual initiative is rediscovered. The other is that it should become a great period of achievement in American life.

I believe that these two points—within the necessary framework of an era—begin to explain what we mean when we speak of the opportunity before us of going beyond the birthday party to deal with the real issues and problems that affect our great country today.

In expressing this point of view in the Declaration a year ago, we of course realized that it was very late in the game to hope to significantly affect the course and tone of the 1976 celebration. And if we have learned anything, it is that celebration and serious purpose do not mix very well, that rather than coexisting they should be seen as occurring in sequence. In other words, let the celebration of 1976 emerge and play out its course, hopefully as exuberantly and successfully as possible.

But before the last fireworks of this coming Fourth of July fizzle out, let us get down to hard work for the next 13 years.

Success will require that the three factors, which I mentioned earlier—sound planning, effective leadership, and substantial funding—be realized.

This, I take it, is what these hearings are all about. I urge you to take action in S. 1800 to create a new Federal program for the Bicentennial era. I hope that in so doing, you will consider the four fundamental principles that we in the private sector have stressed—the era concept, inspiration, achievement, and individual initiative.

Senator PELL. Excuse me. A vote is going on on the floor of the Senate, and I will have to recess the committee for a few moments. I would hope Senator Javits would be here shortly, and he can resume the hearing.

[Short recess.]

Senator JAVITS [presiding pro tempore]. The subcommittee will come to order.

Mr. Rockefeller, would you be kind enough to proceed? Just start from where you left off.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Success will require the three factors I mentioned earlier—sound planning, effective leadership, and substantial funding. This, I take it, is what these hearings are all about. I urge you to take action in S. 1800 to create a new Federal program for the Bicentennial era. I hope that in so doing you will consider the four fundamental principles that we in the private sector have stressed—the era concept, inspiration, achievement, and individual initiative.

Of critical importance in any such legislative action will be creation of a new Federal organization with a clear identity of its own, to exist during the 13-year span, from 1976 to 1989.

The name proposed for it in the Mathias-Schroeder bills is the American Constitution Bicentennial Foundation. Earlier, I had suggested that it be called the National Endowment for the Bicentennial Era.

The name obviously is of much less importance than the institution itself. For, make no mistake, without an organizational base there will be no Bicentennial era, no focal point for leadership and funding.

At this stage, the initiative must come from the Federal Government. There is no way that the private sector can produce a central

focus of leadership for such an effort. But I believe firmly the private sector will respond to the Federal initiative to create the intimate and fruitful public-private collaboration which is so essential to success.

The central concern of the new institution would be the continued vitality of representative government in this oldest democracy in the world. This suggests that its goal should include increasing understanding of our heritage, strengthening democratic institutions, encouraging citizen participation, furthering the process of setting goals and priorities—at the local and national levels, and helping to develop new insights into the resolution of our difficult social problems.

These are the goals that must be pursued if we are to make the most of the Bicentennial opportunity. A new entity charged with such a mission will fill a much-needed role in full partnership and cooperation with the existing Federal institutions in the arts, science, and the humanities.

In conclusion, a word should be said about the problem of overly great expectations. The goals I have discussed are difficult ones. I doubt that anyone expects that by itself a new institution will achieve any of them, even over a span of 13 years. Rather, the intent must be to provide a catalytic agent that can stimulate creative energies in both public and private sectors.

Clearly, creating a new Federal institution is only a beginning. But as matters now stand, it offers the one hope of redeeming the missed opportunity of the Bicentennial. Enabling legislation should be passed by Congress and signed into law by the President. If this is done, Members of Congress and the President of the United States will have demonstrated the national commitment and sense of mission I spoke of earlier.

They could give no greater gift to the American people on July 4, 1976.

Senator PELL. Thank you very much, Mr. Rockefeller. I believe it would be helpful to have some examples of the kinds of specific projects which you envision might take place under legislation which we might adopt.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. There are a number, Senator, that are in various stages of development, some of exciting promise.

One, about which I believe you are going to hear later this morning, is the Citizens Involvement Network. I work closely with them. I have been excited by their potential. The whole concept of it is to stir greater citizen participation in the handling of community problems. It goes back to the Goals for Dallas effort under Eric Johnson a number of years ago after President Kennedy's tragic death.

Another one which I have been closely in touch with is the work in the American Institute, which is trying to find a new perspective for labor management relationships. It is an ongoing operation with government, labor and business all represented as donors and on its board.

Another field is the study of the structure and operations of the National Government, which is sometimes referred to as the third Hoover Commission. This seems particularly timely and appropriate right now. That is moving and moving encouragingly.

Another one, quite different, is the concept of new Federalist Papers, updating the Federalist Papers concept in terms of today.

Senator PELL. You might care to supplement these thoughts for the record.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. There are two documents I would appreciate leaving with you.

One is our Bicentennial declaration, which is very brief, which I referred to in my statement; and the other is a summary paper, prepared last fall in response to Mrs. Schroeder's approach to us asking whether there was not something that could be done to lift the Bicentennial and give it greater meaning and impact. I am pleased to give you these two statements.

[The material referred to follows:]

A Bicentennial Declaration

This great country of ours stands at a crucial turning point in its history. We face new and serious problems and uncertainty as to the future.

Two hundred years ago, our founding fathers stood at a similar crossroads. Beset then by grave doubts, they ultimately resolved to stake everything on a handful of ideas and ideals.

They forged those ideas and ideals into founding principles and then fought to uphold them. The American Revolution brought forth a new system of government based on freedom, justice, and individual rights.

Today we are called upon to maintain and improve that system and to fulfill those principles in a world growing increasingly interdependent. We are called upon to resolve our problems in many areas such as the economy, education, the environment, equal opportunity, freedom of choice.

We, the undersigned, believe—and we feel confident we reflect the sense of the American people—that we have reached the point in our history when a *second* American Revolution is called for, a revolution not of violence, but of fulfillment, of fresh purposes, and of new directions.

We believe that the Bicentennial of our founding offers just such an opportunity. To realize this potential, we believe the Bicentennial must be based on four fundamentals.

Let us be inspired by our origins, and by the challenges we face.

If we are not today an inspired people, we need to be reminded that we once were, and must be again. There is high inspiration to be found in the great ideals that created our country. The phrases that have been worn smooth by use have fresh and urgent meaning for us today—"government by consent of the governed," "the blessings of liberty," "all men are created equal," "a nation of laws." The Bicentennial can and must become a time to celebrate those ideals, and to celebrate them in the profound sense of renewal and rededication.

Let us make the Bicentennial a great period of achievement, nationally and in every community.

What our forebears did 200 years ago had never been done before. What we must do today is equally unprecedented. At every level in our society, there is an urgent need for achievement—in education, housing, transportation, the arts, communications, new ways of solving social problems, new methods of setting goals for the future, increased citizen participation in government. We believe that dedicating the Bicentennial to achievement is the way to put the sense of alienation and powerlessness behind us, to become once again the masters of our own destiny.

Let us commit ourselves to a Bicentennial Era, to at least the same time span required for the founding of our nation.

The first American Revolution neither started nor ended on the Fourth of July, 1776. Thirteen difficult years elapsed between the signing of the Declaration of Independence and the creation of an enduring system of government based on the Constitution. Many of the problems of today are different from those of 200 years ago, but they are at least as grave. Therefore, the second American Revolution will require at least a comparable period of time to grow strong and firm roots. We endorse the concept of a Bicentennial Era from 1976 to 1989 as a realistic period for tough-minded planning and accomplishment.

Let us put our trust in individual initiative, in the participation of each individual citizen.

Our great experiment in democracy will surely erode unless the Bicentennial Era becomes a time when we once again assert the primacy of individual initiative in moving our country forward. Governmental units at all levels must play a vigorous part. But the primary responsibility lies with the people, not with government. Let each of us, acting alone and in groups, take our own initiatives. There is work for all—for each individual—in every part of the country, of every color, creed, age, and ethnic background. That work must begin now.

For our part, we, the undersigned, pledge ourselves to spread this message throughout the land, and to undertake our own individual initiatives. We earnestly invite our fellow citizens, all those who share our vision of what the Bicentennial Era can mean and accomplish, to lend their time, their energy, and their spirit to the work that lies ahead.

The National Committee for the Bicentennial Era, Box 2746, Grand Central Station, New York, N.Y. 10017

Proposal

for the Bicentennial Era

U.S. House of Representatives
SUBCOMMITTEE ON CENSUS AND POPULATION
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE
601 House Office Building Annex
Washington, D.C. 20515

October 3, 1975

Mr. Gary Knisely, Director
National Committee for the
Bicentennial Era
110 East 59th Street
New York City, NY 10022

Dear Mr. Knisely:

Because we have worked with you and your organization in the past, and we continue to have a strong interest in developing a more substantive observance of the American Bicentennial, we are writing to enlist your help in an attempt to get the Federal government and the private sector jointly involved in a meaningful national program during the "Bicentennial Era," running from July 4, 1976, to March 4, 1989.

We are hopeful that come next spring, the Congress might view July 4, 1976, as the logical starting point, rather than the culmination, of a national effort to renew our commitment to the principles of the American revolution. Once the birthday party is over, it will be time to get down to work.

It would be enormously helpful to us if you would discuss this possibility with those individuals and organizations who share our interest in the Bicentennial, and get their ideas and reaction as to what might be done both in terms of substance and structure during the Bicentennial Era.

We look forward to working together in this effort.

Sincerely,

Pat Schroeder

PATRICIA SCHROEDER
Member of Congress

Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.

CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.
U.S. Senator

Contents

Proposal for the Bicentennial Era

I. INTRODUCTION

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Introduction

In October of 1975, a small informal working group was assembled by the National Committee for the Bicentennial Era, as suggested in a letter from Senator Charles McC. Mathias of Maryland and Congresswoman Patricia Schroeder of Colorado.

The purpose was to develop ideas and proposals for "a more substantive observance of the American Bicentennial" during the Bicentennial Era, running from 1976 to 1989. The request was based on the view that July 4, 1976 should be "the logical starting point, rather than the culmination, of a national effort to renew our commitment to the principles of the American Revolution."

Stress was laid on cooperative action between the Federal Government and the private sector "in a meaningful national program" and on specifying "both in terms of substance and structure" what might be done during the Bicentennial Era.

After several discussions, the working group has developed a proposal which is detailed in the pages that follow. We felt that it would be rash at this stage to attempt anything resembling a "master plan" for the 13-year period; instead

we concentrated on a capability for action, a catalyst that in a flexible way can generate specific and meaningful programs. The actual scope and content of these programs will then depend to a large extent on such factors as leadership, interest, and the pace and nature of events over the next 13 years.

Section II of this document discusses the background of the Bicentennial and the present situation which provides the basis for the Mathias-Schroeder letter and the formation of our working group. Section III then presents our proposals and discusses them in terms of rationale, structure, and substance. In particular, we attempt to illustrate as fully as possible -- largely through hypothetical examples -- the purposes to be served and the specific activities that might be generated and supported.

II. BACKGROUND OF THE BICENTENNIAL

The Promising Beginnings

From the earliest thinking and planning for the Bicentennial at the national level, it is clear that it was seen as having two broad dimensions -- celebration and achievement. In other words, the view was that it should be not only a festive occasion, but also a serious one. It should be a time not only for celebrating our founding ideals and values, but also for working to make them better understood, more secure, and more widely applicable. We should not only commemorate the founding of the nation, but also consider and act upon the many problems that have arisen since that time and which critically affect the nation today.

After 200 years of our national life, we are able to see our past more candidly than before and to recognize more clearly that the American dream is incomplete for many people. Moreover, we recognize that the world grows ever more complex and that American democracy is threatened by a wide range of difficult problems. For all of these reasons, a Bicentennial limited to a superficial and transitory celebration was seen as less than satisfying, indeed inappropriate. Instead, celebration should be matched by substance and purpose. The Bicentennial should be seen as an opportunity for serious accomplishment in our own time, paralleling the historic period 200 years ago which was marked so notably by dedication, hard work, and achievement.

This serious approach to the Bicentennial was quite evident in the original legislation of 1966, co-sponsored by Sen. Mathias and Rep. Bradford Morse of Massachusetts, which established the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission (ARBC). The bill cited "the historic events preceding and associated with the American Revolution," and said that "special emphasis" should be given to "the ideas associated with the Revolution which have been so important in the development of the United States, in world affairs and in mankind's quest for freedom."

The law also contained a remarkable innovation. In effect, it established the concept of the "Bicentennial Era" by specifying that the ARBC should stay in existence through 1983, the year marking the 200th anniversary of the Treaty of Paris which formally ended the Revolutionary War. Thus, the ARBC was given a 17-year lease on life, including almost ten years of "lead time" prior to the pivotal year of 1976, followed by an "era" comparable in duration to that required to win the Revolutionary War.

A "comprehensive report" to the President was required of the ARBC by the 1966 law. Although not purporting to be a master plan or detailed blueprint for action, the ARBC report, which was delivered in 1970, took its cue from the 1966 law and extended considerably the view that the Bicentennial should be an opportunity for both celebration and achievement.

For example, the report extended the "Bicentennial Era" beyond the period of the Revolutionary War up "to the formal founding of the nation in 1787 with the creation of the Constitution." The Bicentennial Era would thus extend to 1987 instead of 1983.

7.

The ARBC was candid about the problems of today:

> We desire peace, yet find ourselves at war. We believe in justice and equality, yet there are wrongs and injustices in the land. We proclaim reverence of our God-given environment, yet tolerate its pollution. We believe in the brotherhood of man, yet there is violence in the streets, prejudice of the mind, distress and discord on the campuses.
>
> As we move to solve the problems that confront us, we should derive strength and courage from our past. The ideals of human freedom which made us an independent society in 1776 still live, vital and daring, but are now put to new tests.

The Commission expressed its belief that this record of the past "has not lost its power to inspire and that it will do so during the Bicentennial Era as Americans tackle the problems of today and prepare to enter Century III of American life." The ARBC's basic view of the Bicentennial was then captured in three short sentences:

> It invites participation of all people. It provides opportunity to reflect and to innovate. It is people remembering and honoring their past, expressing new ideas, setting goals and striving to achieve them.

The Commission coined the slogan "Festival of Freedom" for the Bicentennial and saw it as embracing three broad thematic areas, corresponding roughly to the time dimensions of past, present and future: Heritage '76, Open House USA (later changed to Festival USA) and Horizons '76.

The Horizons area was intended particularly to embrace forward-looking programs of goal-setting and achievement in every community as "the key to a new quality of life in America." For this purpose, the report urged that the President issue a nationwide "Call for Achievement." The report concluded with these high sentiments:

> America has a past to honor and a future to mold. The threshold of Century III is before us. The traces we leave as we step over that threshold will be the marks by which history will remember and judge us. This nation's 200th anniversary comes at a fated time. It is a compelling opportunity.

In transmitting the ARBC report to Congress on September 11, 1970, President Nixon extended even further the serious view of the Bicentennial. He disapproved the slogan "Festival of Freedom," holding that it did not "grasp the unique character of the American experience." He said: "True, this event will be festive, colorful and affirmative; yet it must also be thoughtful, profound and searching." Instead, the President suggested that a more likely area for a "fundamental theme" would be found in "a renewed concern for 'the quality of life'"which he saw as the modern translation of Jefferson's phrase "the pursuit of happiness." He said:

> This thread is woven through the fabric of American life over two centuries. It keeps us from getting smug about our success; it reminds us of the need for the spiritual as we attain more of our material needs; it keeps us moving, growing, changing for the better.

In all other respects, the President agreed with the ARBC report. He concurred "with the Commission's concept of a Bicentennial Era with its focal point in 1976," and with its view of the Bicentennial "as an occasion for looking ahead, for defining and dedicating ourselves to our common purposes, and for speeding the accomplishment of specific local projects responsive to our changing national priorities."

It was thus that a foundation of serious purpose for the Bicentennial was set in place at the outset. Since that time, this approach has been adopted and elaborated by many leading spokesmen in both the public and private sectors and by many national organizations. A recent major example

is a "Bicentennial Declaration" promulgated nationally early in 1975 and signed by a cross-section of 40 prominent Americans. The view of the Bicentennial expressed in the Declaration is based on four elements: the inspiration of our founding values and ideals, a resurgence of individual initiative, an emphasis on achievement, and adoption of the Bicentennial Era as historically appropriate and as a necessary period of time to allow for serious accomplishment.

The Promise Unfulfilled

Despite the promising beginnings of the 1966 law and the 1970 report to the President and his response, it is now clear to everyone that the Bicentennial has fallen far short of original hopes and expectations.

After the initial enthusiasm of 1969 and 1970, the Nixon Administration seemed to lose interest in the Bicentennial, or at least to accord it very low priority. There was no effort to press for substantial appropriations for the ARBC. The line agencies of the executive branch found that their ideas for Bicentennial projects were not received with enthusiasm in the White House. Left pretty much to drift by itself with very little guidance, the ARBC soon drifted into trouble. Much time was lost in considering a series of costly physical projects -- a world's fair in Philadelphia, a plan for a "Bicentennial Park" in each of the 50 states, a plan for a "Bicentennial Fleet" to visit the waterways of America with exhibits. All of these came to naught.

11.

Soon the ARBC became the target of press criticisms and allegations of mismanagement, political favoritism, and misconduct, leading to a consensus that it should be reorganized. Converting the ARBC into the ARBA (the "A" standing for Administration) required more than a year to consummate. Most of the changes were designed to create a more efficient administrative entity, but one change in effect caused the Bicentennial Era concept to drop from official recognition. Reflecting a general disenchantment, the new entity was authorized to stay in existence only until 1977 instead of 1983.

By the time that the new ARBA was organized, in early 1974, the nation was in the grip of the Watergate crisis which may be fairly regarded as the antithesis of the Bicentennial. ARBA found itself plagued by the same problem that had afflicted the old ARBC -- lacking clear guidance, it had to try to be all things to all people. Underfunded, it could respond affirmatively to only a tiny fraction of the many requests it received for assistance.

Meanwhile, the lack of a firm grasp on the Bicentennial by official Washington was having a depressing effect elsewhere. Many foreign governments experienced great difficulty in finding ways to fulfill their desire to participate in our anniversary. Institutions in the private sector appeared to be either confused about the Bicentennial or disenchanted with it. Funding sources such as foundations and large corporations have participated only marginally and sporadically. For example, corporations have contributed only a fraction of what they would have had to spend if there had been a Bicentennial world's fair.

There are several possible explanations for the disappointing nature of the Bicentennial thus far. Probably the truth lies in a combination of all them, rather than in any one. A favored explanation is the trauma of the problems that have afflicted and preoccupied the nation in recent years -- the Vietnam war, the energy crisis, inflation and recession, and so on. Another explanation is that a failure of leadership occurred after the promising beginnings, but this requires its own deeper explanation. Certainly, it is true that in the Watergate years, the possibility of effective progress on the Bicentennial was made extremely difficult. Another view is that the Bicentennial was overburdened with great expectations, that celebration and serious purpose simply do not mix very well.

It is also true that there was a structural deficiency. In its 1970 report to the President, the ARBC said: "The Commission as presently constituted is not well suited to discharge the managerial responsibilities which effective coordination and implementation of recommended programs will require." This issue was not addressed until the ARBA reorganization, and then only in a very limited way which, by focusing ARBA on 1976, inevitably emphasized the superficial or "birthday party" aspects of the Bicentennial.

It should be stressed that the picture is by no means entirely bleak. For example, it appears that the "grass-roots" Bicentennial is quite active, stimulated indirectly by small grants that Congress had provided to the states. In virtually every American community there will be a program of Bicentennial

There are also a few national programs which are substantive in nature. One is the "American Issues Forum," co-sponsored by ARBA and the National Endowment for the Humanities, which will end in May of 1976. Another is HUD's "Horizons on Display" program which is to be launched early in 1976. A third is the "Citizen Involvement Network," supported by ARBA and three foundations, which will involve 20 American communities in a three-year research-demonstration project to engender local goal-setting and citizen participation.

However, the fact remains that what is shaping up for 1976 is predominantly a "birthday party." One is hard-pressed to find very many more positive examples than the few cited above. Instead of some sort of a balance between celebration and substance, the weight next year will be overwhelmingly on the side of the superficial and transitory activities. Though chiefly historical and celebratory in nature, there is no doubting the spirit with which these programs are being mounted. The Bicentennial has also proved a stimulus in the fields of history and the arts, although many observers feel that much more could have been done in these areas. A few agencies, notably the National Park Service and the Smithsonian Institution, have found the Bicentennial a stimulus to substantial progress in their fields of endeavor.

III. NEW BEGINNINGS

In the light of the Bicentennial situation today, the initiative of the Mathias-Schroeder letter is particularly welcome, for it suggests that it is still possible for the Congress and the White House to come together in support of a fresh approach that will redeem the inadequacies of the past.

We are attracted by the view that perhaps celebration and serious purpose are not entirely compatible. Or, as the Mathias-Schroeder letter put it: "Once the birthday party is over, it will be time to get down to work."

In other words, the hope now is that out of the celebration of 1976 there might emerge a renewed will and a capability for taking us beyond the birthday party to deal with the more serious, substantive, long-term issues and needs that impinge upon American democracy.

If this is to happen in a major and sustained way, it will require the participation of key elements. For example, the role of the White House is obviously of critical importance in providing leadership and setting the tone nationally. The Congress has an equally important role of affirmation and approval and providing of financial support. The great line agencies of the Federal Government can undertake specific activities in their fields of specialization. Active participation by institutions of the private sector will be fundamentally important -- church groups, unions, universities, the media, non-profit groups of all kinds. Funding sources in the private sector -- foundations and major corporations -- will have to be

much more involved than they have been up to now.

Much could be said about the participation of these key elements. But we here focus on two specific proposals. Both are susceptible to immediate action by the Congress and both are essential to generating the level of participation discussed above. One sets the context for action over the next 13 years -- the concept of the Bicentennial Era. The other -- a new institutional focal point -- provides the basic catalyst that we mentioned at the beginning of this paper.

The Bicentennial Era

The first step will be for the Congress to pass a resolution proclaiming the Bicentennial Era. This is fundamentally important inasmuch as it establishes the time period during which activity will be pursued. But it is necessary to come to an agreed-upon definition of that time period. We strongly support the definition suggested in the Mathias-Schroeder letter -- 1976 to 1989 -- for it clearly links the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

The Declaration irrevocably committed the American people to independence in 1776. The logical culmination of that commitment lay not alone in the winning of the war, not in the Articles of Confederation, but in the Constitution. Moreover, we feel that the correct year is not 1787 when the Constitution was drafted nor 1791 when the first ten amendments were added (the Bill of Rights), but 1789 when the Constitution effectively and formally became the basic law of the land. By this time,

the uneven and time-consuming process of ratification by the states had been completed. In April of 1789, the first President of the United States was inaugurated and the first session of the 1st Congress began.

We would emphasize that the symbolism of the Bicentennial Era has special significance for the U.S. Congress and special potential for the American public in improving their understanding of their own system of government. Most Americans are but dimly aware of what transpired between 1776 and 1789, of this "age of Constitutionalism" in which it was necessary not only to win a war, but to engage in the exciting task of creating and effectuating an entirely new system of government. More than anything else, the Congress epitomizes this period and this task; it is therefore especially appropriate for the Congress to create the basis for a serious and substantive program for the Bicentennial Era.

The definition of the Bicentennial Era as beginning in 1976 and ending in 1989 is supported by the American Historical Association, the Afro-American Bicentennial Corporation, the Bicentennial Council of the 13 Original States, and the National Committee for the Bicentennial Era.

An Institutional Base

In order to generate substantive activities during the Bicentennial Era, we believe it will be essential for the Federal Government to create a new institution which would come into existence in 1976 and go out of existence in 1989.

Unless this is done, in our judgement, all of the fine words about the Bicentennial Era will end up as empty rhetoric.

We recognize that creating a new institution is not a matter to be taken lightly, nor does it by itself guarantee success. The 1966 law created the ARBC, but this did not "solve" the problem of the Bicentennial. However, we can learn from the past. We can create an institution with a better structure, a clearer mission, and improved conditions for its operation. We can give it the proper measure of leadership and support. The nature of such a new institution should signal clearly that this will be an entirely new beginning, that ARBA will have completed its mission.

However, it is well to underscore the basic point -- without an institutional base provided by the Federal Government, the Bicentennial Era will be an illusion.

Public-Private Cooperation

Although we believe that the process of making the Bicentennial Era meaningful must begin with creation of a new institution by the Federal Government, this does not in any sense mean that it should be exclusively a Federal operation. Critical to success will be intimate, strong, and continuing cooperation between the public and private sectors.

The way to achieve this is by structuring the new institution properly. The ARBC and ARBA were not so structured. This is not meant in any sense as a gratuitous criticism, but it is true that the most consistent cooperation between ARBA and institutions of the private sector has not been in

substantive areas, but rather in the manufacture and sale of commemorative items to earn royalties used by ARBA in support of Bicentennial projects.

Far from being an exclusively Federal operation, the new institution would serve primarily as a catalyst, generating worthwhile projects by pooling its resources with private sector funding sources. These projects would be carried out in the main by other organizations, primarily non-profit organizations in the private sector and other units and levels of government.

An important reason for the low level of Bicentennial activity by foundations and corporations in the private sector has been the lack of an appropriate public sector mechanism with which they could interact. The ARBC and ARBA wanted very much to stimulate activity by private sector institutions, but they lacked the structure, the funds, and the specific focus to do this successfully. Thus, the private sector institutions were left pretty much to their own devices, and the result was very little serious activity.

In the case of substantive Bicentennial projects, experience shows that private sector institutions are better equipped to respond than to initiate, to cooperate rather than create. Therefore, what is needed is a public agency which can remove elements of controversy from projects by legitimizing them, and to provide funding stimulus. If this capability exists, we are confident that private sector institutions will respond readily. Moreover, we are confident that in time they will not

only respond, but will also begin to take the initiative in generating projects and actively seeking cooperative support.

Mission

The mandate of the new institution would be to support projects and activities serving three broad purposes:

(1) to improve understanding of our founding values and our heritage generally;

(2) to maintain and strengthen democratic institutions and processes and to encourage effective citizen participation;

(3) to develop fresh insights and approaches to the resolution of the social and economic problems that confront us.

Parenthetically, we would also point out that the new institution at a later stage could serve another purpose: developing plans for commemoration of the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution which would cover roughly the period from 1987 (200th anniversary of the Constitutional Convention) through 1991 (200th anniversary of the Bill of Rights). The new institution would already be in place, ideally suited to this task, and its existence would obviate the need to create another new entity in the mid-1980s.

We believe that the three purposes cited above will allow for a broad and flexible range of important substantive activities. Yet, they are specific and circumscribed enough so that the new institution would be protected from the most difficult problem facing the ARBC and ARBA -- that of being all things to all people. Of course, the new institution would not operate in the same glaring spotlight nor under

similar pressure, nor would it be under any compunction to distribute its resources automatically on a geographical basis.

Although the interests of this new entity might range across the gamut of the social sciences as well as the field of history, it would not be concerned with esoteric research. Rather, its byword would be achievement -- a pragmatic concern for what might be accomplished over the next 13 years in strengthening democratic institutions and finding fresh approaches to resolving difficult modern-day problems.

Even as these points are made, we are careful to stress that it would be important not to burden the new institution with unrealistic expectations. It would obviously be a relatively small organization by Federal standards. It could hardly be expected to "solve" major problems where the great line agencies of government and the institutions of the private sector have not yet succeeded. Rather, as indicated, its function would be catalytic in nature, to support on a relatively small scale new and fresh approaches that might lead to solutions. This catalytic function can be expressed in another way -- the new institution would be more concerned with <u>process</u> than with specific outcomes. For example, if it made some grants in an effort to improve the teaching of history in our schools, its purpose would not be to decide <u>what</u> should be taught, but rather <u>how</u> the processes of teaching can be improved. For another example, if grants were made in the area of citizen participation and community goal-setting, the purpose would not be to specify <u>which</u> goals should be chosen, but <u>how</u> the processes of participation and goal-setting can be improved.

Later in this document, we attempt to elaborate the mission of the new institution by citing a series of examples of the kinds of projects it might support. We believe that these examples amply illustrate another important criterion -- widespread participation throughout the nation in key activities of the Bicentennial Era.

The National Endowment Model

In our judgement, the type of structure that would best fulfill the criteria discussed above and have the greatest chance for successful operations would be one patterned after the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), and the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH). These government foundations, pioneered only within the past decade, have proved to be a remarkably successful innovation in government operations.

We therefore propose that in the coming spring the Congress pass a bill establishing a National Endowment for the Bicentennial Era (NEBE) and that the President sign that bill into law in public ceremonies on July 4th, 1976. The NEBE would begin operations as soon thereafter as possible, and continue in operation until April 30th, 1989, the 200th anniversary of the inauguration of George Washington as the first President and of the convening of the First Congress.

We are intrigued by the fact that April 30th is a neglected date in American history. There is in fact a small build-up of sentiment that it should become a national holiday -- "Constitution Day." Whether or not this ever comes to pass, we are attracted by the thought that April 30th would be an

appropriate date for the Congress to require an annual report by the NEBE.

In considering the structure of a new institution, we examined not only the two endowments, but several other entities as well -- the National Science Foundation, the Smithsonian Institution, the Urban Institute, the National Academy of Science, and others. All things considered, our conclusion is that the "national endowment" model is best-suited for carrying out the purposes and functions of a Bicentennial Era institution. There are other possibilities for the exact name of the new institution, perhaps using a word such as "fund" or "foundation" instead of endowment. There might also be variations in the specific structure. For example, we believe that the NEBE should have a strong tie to Congress because of the particular significance of the Bicentennial Era to Congress. This might suggest a variation, for example, in which appointments of not only the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the NEBE, but also the Advisory Board members, would be approved by Congress.

Whatever the specific variations might turn out to be, the important point, in our judgement, is to retain the central advantages of the "national endowment" model.

One prominent advantage is that close and ongoing cooperation with the private sector is a built-in condition because of the requirement that all grants, except under special and limited conditions, must be matching grants. Moreover, this mode of operation is inherently catalytic in nature. It is initiatory. We have seen that a prime reason

for inadequate performance by private sector institutions in regard to the Bicentennial has been the paucity of cooperative opportunities and initiative from the public sector. The NEBE approach would overcome that problem.

Another important advantage is that the government foundations are politically insulated to an appropriate degree, and yet are not politically isolated. In other words, a nice balance has been achieved to an age-old problem. The foundations are insulated by being administered by a chairman appointed for a four-year term and an advisory board composed of 26 citizens from private life. On the other hand, they must be effective and broadly responsive to the White House and the Congress if they are to fare well in the annual appropriations process.

No government agency is worth very much unless it becomes embroiled in at least mild controversy sooner or later. Yet, we believe such situations will be a rarity for the NEBE. The national endowment structure seems to mitigate against needless controversy. The decision-making processes are carefully-structured and address areas of real need, as the NEBE certainly would. The endowments are not burdened with "great expectations" from every community in the country; they are certainly visible when they need to be, but they are not unduly in the spotlight.

We feel that the NEBE will not -- at least should not -- be controversial in a jurisdictional sense, either,

even though its grants may touch many areas of legitimate interest to other government agencies. Rather than a rival, we think the NEBE will come to be seen as a flexible resource by these other agencies. Its purpose will not be to operate programs by itself, but to stimulate and support research and action by others.

Finally, another advantage is that the endowments appear to be more flexible and less prone to bureaucratic rigidity than most forms of governmental structure. This will be an important consideration, given the nature of the task and the relatively short life-span of the NEBE.

As far as level of activity is concerned, we believe that the NEBE should have a funding authorization of substantially more than NEA and NEH started out with ten years ago, but less than those agencies now receive. The combined funding authorization for NEA and NEH in 1965 was $10 million; now the funding for each is approaching the $100 million level. Given the limited 13-year existence of the NEBE, we believe the optimal authorization figure for the first year of operation would be in the neighborhood of $50 million. This would mean that it would have grant funds for the year totalling less than those available to some of the larger foundations in the private sector; yet, the matching requirement would leverage those funds and augur for a substantial impact. Anything considerably less than $50 million would begin to border on the inconsequential. Anything considerably more would probably not be needed.

Because of the short-life span of the NEBE, it will be important to allow it to start off during its first year at an appreciable level of activity, rather than slowly building up its level of appropriations over the years. In subsequent years, of course, its level of appropriations would be a new item of business.

Program Examples

Earlier, we suggested three broad substantive areas within which the NEBE would function. To illustrate these, we set forth here a series of brief descriptions of programs, each of which fall within one or another of the substantive fields.

These examples vary in their specificity. Some are merely areas of obvious need; others are specific projects which have already been developed, but still need assistance. These examples are intended to suggest how the NEBE might improve understanding of our heritage, how it might encourage citizen participation and goal-setting, how it might assist in problem identification and analysis, how it might aid in conflict resolution and spur new social inventions in the difficult years ahead, how it might provide a resource for institutional and program evaluation.

We stress the verb "suggest" -- these examples are not the product of a long and deep inquiry, but are meant only to be illustrative of intent.

The New Federalist Papers

The original "Federalist Papers" in 1787-88 were written to "sell" the Constitution, but ended up comprising the most important American work in political theory. An exciting and appropriate program for the Bicentennial Era would be to analyze that theory, learn how it has evolved at critical junctures in American history, and then to assemble modern-day essayists to address the same timeless issues of man and government in contemporary and future terms.

Improving the Teaching of History

There is now a near-consensus among historians that the teaching of history in American schools is sadly neglected and much in need of fresh examination and new approaches. This is a complex area, not as susceptible to the "new math" or "new physics" type of approach. There is need for support of a variety of approaches to the improving the teaching of history, including new and imaginative use of electronic media.

Bicentennial Commission on the National Government

A proposal has already been developed by the National Academy of Public Administration for a major new commission, in the mold of the Hoover Commissions, to study the structure and needs of the three branches of the national government. The NEBE could play an important supportive role of extending the the research of this commission to additional areas and in assisting in the publication and communication of its findings.

Citizen Involvement

There are many signs that a virtual "movement" is developing across the country toward greater participation of citizens in determining the future of their own communities. This is a phenomenon which goes to the heart of what democracy -- and the Bicentennial Era -- should be all about. It should be encouraged, but it should also be studied and better understood so that citizen participation efforts can become progressively more effective. This suggests a series of case studies showing what works and what does not in different types of programs, and possibly the linking together of communities in a communications and research network so that experience can be traded back and forth. Results should be disseminated to all interested communities.

Neighborhood Organization

In a related mode would be a project to study and facilitate effective neighborhood organizations. Reminiscent of Jefferson's concept of "little Republics," improved neighborhood organizations can end the sense of alienation by providing a social fabric within which the individual citizen can find a new sense of belonging. In an increasingly urbanized society, this is a critical area for research and the development of new knowledge.

The Voice of Rural America

There has been growing concern over the quality of life in rural America. Neglected in other ways, rural residents are also neglected when it comes to research and hard information -- we simply don't know enough about their problems, needs, and hopes. They could find an effective voice through a project of survey and interview research. Do they want to stay on the land or move to the cities? What would their priorities be for Federal and state budgets? What is their vision of the future? If successful, the techniques of such a project could be used with other identifiable groups in American society -- inner city residents, small-town residents, and so on.

Rights and Responsibilities

How did Americans view their rights and their responsibilities when they forged a new nation 200 years ago? How has that view evolved over those 200 years? How are the rights and responsibilities of the individual citizen viewed now, and what does that suggest by way of education, new social inventions, problem identification? A plan could be devised for answering these questions through a combination of historical analysis, survey research and interviewing. The results would provide a fascinating information base that should be extended longitudinally.

Economic Alternatives

Another major area of research that will be critical in the years ahead has to do with new economic alternatives that are compatible with a democratic system. There is

an urgent need to develop a growing body of knowledge in this area, with research and demonstration projects involving community development corporations, cooperatives, employee stock ownership plans, and other possible alternative forms.

Heritage Inventories

One little-known, highly successful Bicentennial project was the computerized inventory of American paintings conducted by the Smithsonian's Division of Fine Arts. There is an idea here which could be extended to other elements of our heritage -- specifically to the natural environment, the man-made environment, and the written or documentary record of our past. To take the first example, the natural environment, grants could support the development of a computer program that would enable states to inventory the nature, condition, and ownership of land areas judged to be of scenic, recreational, or historic value. Technical assistance and training could be supported to encourage states to utilize the program and a reporting system that would keep the inventory current.

Restoration Teams

The restoration and preservation of historic buildings and sites should be primarily a locally-supported activity. But at relatively low cost, one could imagine the NEBE aiding in the restoration process by making it possible for professional societies to assemble voluntary "teams" of experts who could go into a community for a brief period to give valuable advice. These would be experts from such fields as architecture, engineering, history, fund-raising, and public relations.

Productivity and the Quality of Working Life

Two issues of crucial importance now and in the years ahead will be productivity and the quality of working life. Each is critical in its own right and each has an important bearing on the other. There is an urgent need for support of research, demonstration projects, comparative studies, and dissemination of results in respect to these two problems.

Addressing Key Problems

The NEBE would have many opportunities to identify key problem areas over the next decade and to work with private sector institutions and other government agencies to sponsor research and development activities leading to fresh insights. Some examples: how to preserve and strengthen the hard-pressed non-profit private sector; how to preserve small liberal arts colleges; how to improve the quality of government employees at the federal, state, and local levels; how to better understand and encourage the phenomenon of voluntarism; how to improve the use of the energies and talents of young people at the critical age period of 18 to 25; how to develop new methods of assisting in the setting of national goals and priorities; how to develop further research into alternative futures so that the future consequences of present-day decisions might be better perceived.

IV. CONCLUSION

Conclusion

Without question, the period of time that has been defined as the Bicentennial Era -- from the present through 1989 -- will be one of the most critical in American history. The values and institutions of freedom are seriously threatened all over the world. Our own unique experiment in democracy is assailed by stresses and strains that could not have been imagined a decade ago, to say nothing of 200 years ago.

It may well be that in the next decade or so we will learn the answer to the question of whether a great democracy can survive and prosper in this difficult and changing world. If that answer is to be a positive one, it will be because we will have rekindled our spirit and summoned our energy to face forthrightly the problems and challenges that lie ahead. We will need to be innovative and inventive. We will need every element of American society -- all branches and levels of government, the institutions of the private sector, the individual citizen -- to play a strong and affirmative role.

We believe that the approach outlined in this document can be a vital step forward. Again, we say this without in the remotest sense holding that the NEBE will be a panacea that by itself will turn the tide and solve major problems.

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But we do believe that creation of the NEBE will redeem the original promise of a serious and substantive Bicentennial. If such action is not taken, the Bicentennial will surely have to be judged a failure. But if it is taken, there will be new hope and promise.

If the Congress and the White House and leaders in the private sector can rally together to affirm the Bicentennial Era and create this new institution, that in itself will be a manifestation of the kind of spirit -- a commitment to cooperative action and achievement -- that we will need so desperately in the years ahead.

Senator PELL. Thank you.

I will now turn over the meeting to my colleague, Senator Javits. As I said earlier, it is due to his initiative that we are holding these hearings.

Senator JAVITS [now presiding]. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Allow me to ask you this, Mr. Rockefeller, why should this be a Government effort? Why should the organization not stay with the American Revolution Bicentennial Foundation and remain in that activity for 13 years?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Senator, we tried. We tried hard within the private sector to lift this situation and move it forward and that was more than 1 year ago. Sometimes people refer to a problem—to a situation—as being "5 minutes before midnight." I really feel that is where we are with the Bicentennial now.

I just feel there is no private group with the impact, the initiative to move this situation effectively on the private front; but I do feel, Senator, that if the Federal Government would be willing to take the initiative, that there would be a strong response from the private sector.

In connection with our Bicentennial declaration, we approached a number of corporations asking for financing. The initial reaction was always very positive, but we did not get terribly much in the way of money.

It always came down to the fact that they could not find what to hold on to in relation to the Bicentennial—they could not find what the focus of it was, what Washington expected of them in the private sector. We, as you know, tried in Washington to get leadership, but we were not successful.

To me this action that is proposed could be of significant importance right now.

Senator JAVITS. Now, do I understand the amount sought is $15 million in fiscal year 1977 and $20 million in fiscal year 1978?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. I thought it was $35 million.

Senator JAVITS. $35 million?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Each year.

Senator JAVITS. Have you put that amount in the House bill?

Mrs. SCHROEDER. We have put in our bill.

Senator JAVITS. Is there a copy of it?

Senator PELL. I think it would be helpful if that bill were incorporated in the record of the hearing. It has not been referred to us, but it could be useful for information purposes, as we consider whether its concepts are to be further developed.

[The bill referred to follows:]

94TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. R. 12342

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARCH 4, 1976

MRS. SCHROEDER (for herself and Mr. SIMON) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service

A BILL

To establish an American Constitution Bicentennial Foundation.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SHORT TITLE

SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "American Constitution Bicentennial Foundation Act of 1976".

DECLARATION OF PURPOSE

SEC. 2. The Congress hereby finds and declares—

(1) that the Constitution of the United States, now one hundred and eighty-eight years old, established the longest surviving government now existing in the world, and has been the model used by countless other nations as they formed their governments;

(2) that the continued vitality of our representative democracy is dependent upon a renewed commitment to, and understanding and strengthening of, the principles underlying the Constitution;

(3) that the period between the two-hundredth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence and the two-hundredth anniversary of the Constitution provides our Nation with an appropriate period in which—

(A) to study the principles of the American Revolution and how they were translated into our present form of government,

(B) to assess where our society and government stand in relation to such principles, and

(C) to determine the most effective ways to set and pursue goals appropriate to America and its citizens during our third century.

(4) that, while the commemorative efforts regarding the Bicentennial of the Declaration of Independence have been largely historic and celebratory in nature, the observance of the Bicentennial of the Constitution should be primarily focused on projects which will bring together the public and private sectors in an effort to find new processes for resolving the problems facing our Nation in its third century; and

(5) that, in order to implement these findings, it is necessary to establish an American Constitution Bicentennial Foundation.

AMERICAN CONSTITUTION BICENTENNIAL FOUNDATION

SEC. 3. There is established an American Constitution Bicentennial Foundation (hereinafter in this Act referred to as the "Foundation").

GRANTS-IN-AID

SEC. 4. (a) The Foundation shall establish and carry out a program of grants-in-aid to groups and individuals to assist in developing or supporting projects and programs—

(1) to improve the understanding of our founding values and our heritage generally,

(2) to maintain and strengthen democratic institutions and processes, and encourage public participation in such institutions and processes, or

(3) to develop fresh insights and approaches to resolving the social and economic problems which confront us.

(b) (1) Except as provided in paragraph (2), the amount of any grant under subsection (a) may not exceed 33⅓ per centum of the estimated total cost of the project or program, as shown in the application.

(2) Fifteen per centum of the funds appropriated in any fiscal year under section 7(a) of this Act shall be

available in such fiscal year for grants which may not exceed an amount which equals the estimated total cost of the project or program, as shown in the application.

(3) The amount of any grant under subsection (a) shall be reduced by the amount of grants for the project or program from other Federal sources.

(c) Grants shall only be made under subsection (a)—

(1) on application submitted in the form and manner prescribed by the Foundation; and

(2) if the applicant satisfies the Foundation—

(A) that no part of the net earnings from the project or program will inure to the benefit of any private stockholder or individual,

(B) that no part of the grant will be used other than for the project or program for which it was granted,

(C) that, with respect to a grant which is subject to the limitation of subsection (b) (1), the excess of the estimated total cost of the project or program, as shown in the application, over the total amount of Federal grants will be paid, within a period which the Foundation may prescribe, from—

(i) the proceeds from the project or program, or

(ii) other non-Federal sources, and

(D) that every other condition, regulation, or procedure prescribed by the Foundation which is applicable to such grant will be complied with.

(d) (1) Except as provided in paragraph (2) of this subsection, if, after—

(A) receipt of a grant under subsection (a), and

(B) reasonable notice and opportunity for hearing,

the Foundation determines that the recipient has not complied with the provisions of subparagraph (A), (B), (C), or (D) of subsection (c) (2), then the amount of such grant shall be a debt owing to the United States, and the Foundation shall so notify the recipient.

(2) The amount of a grant under subsection (a) shall not be a debt owing to the United States solely because the recipient has not complied with the provisions of subparagraph (C) (i) of subsection (c) (2).

(e) The Foundation may accept, use, and dispose of donations of money, property, or personal services to assist it in carrying out the purposes of this Act.

(f) Payment of all grants under subsection (a) shall be made before January 1, 1989.

MEMBERSHIP

SEC. 5. (a) The Foundation shall be composed of fifteen members appointed by the President from among individuals in private life who, by reason of their knowledge,

expertise, and diversity of experience, are particularly qualified for service in the Foundation.

(b) Except as provided in subsection (e), the term of office of each member of the Foundation shall be three years.

(c) The Foundation shall have a Chairman who shall be elected from the Foundation membership by at least two-thirds of the members. Except as provided in subsection (d), the term of office of the Chairman shall be three years.

(d) The term of office of any member or Chairman which would end, if not for this subsection, within twelve months before the date of the termination of the Foundation under section 9 of this Act, shall not end until such date of termination.

(e) The holding of office as a member or Chairman of the Foundation by an individual shall not be deemed to make such individual ineligible to be reappointed or reelected to such office.

(f) A vacancy in the Foundation shall be filled in the manner in which the original appointment was made and any new member appointed to fill a vacancy shall serve for the remainder of the term for which his predecessor was appointed.

(g) (1) Each member of the Foundation shall be entitled to receive the daily equivalent of the annual rate of basic pay in effect for level V of the Executive Schedule

(5 U.S.C. 5316) for each day during which they are engaged in the actual performance of duties of the Foundation.

(2) While away from their homes or regular places of business in the performance of services for the Foundation, members of the Foundation shall be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, in the same manner as persons employed intermittently in the Government service are allowed expenses under section 5703 (b) of title 5, United States Code.

(h) The Foundation shall meet at the call of the Chairman or eight of its members.

(i) Eight members of the Foundation shall constitute a quorum.

DIRECTOR AND STAFF OF FOUNDATION; EXPERTS AND CONSULTANTS

SEC. 6. (a) The Foundation shall have a Director who shall be appointed by the Foundation upon a vote of at least two-thirds of the members of the Foundation and who shall be paid at a rate not to exceed level V of the Executive Schedule (5 U.S.C. 5316).

(b) (1) The Foundation may appoint such additional personnel as it deems necessary.

(2) The staff of the Foundation shall be appointed subject to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, gov-

erning appointments in the competitive service, and shall be paid in accordance with the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates.

(c) The Foundation may procure temporary and intermittent services as authorized by section 3109(b) of title 5, United States Code.

(d) Upon request of the Foundation, the head of any Federal agency may detail, on a reimbursable basis, any of the personnel of such agency to the Foundation to assist it in carrying out its duties under this Act.

APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 7. (a) For grants under section 4(a) of this Act, there are authorized to be appropriated—

(1) $35,000,000 for the fiscal year 1977 and for each of the following four fiscal years; and

(2) such sums as may be necessary for the fiscal year 1982 and for each of the following seven fiscal years.

(b) For purposes of administering the provisions of this Act, there are authorized to be appropriated—

(1) $2,000,000 for the fiscal year 1977 and for each of the following four fiscal years; and

(2) such sums as may be necessary for the fiscal

year 1982 and for each of the following seven fiscal years.

REPORTS

SEC. 8. (a) The Foundation shall transmit a report to the President, the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, and the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service on or before April 30 of each year. Each such report shall contain a summary of all activities carried on by the Foundation during the preceding year, together with recommendations for such legislation as it deems appropriate to carry out the purposes of this Act.

(b) The Foundation shall transmit a final report to the President, the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, and the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service on or before April 30, 1989.

TERMINATION

SEC. 9. The Foundation shall cease to exist on July 31, 1989.

ENFORCEMENT AFTER TERMINATION

SEC. 10. Effective as of the close of July 31, 1989, the duties of the Foundation under section 4 (d) of this Act are transferred to the Office of Management and Budget.

Senator JAVITS. I gather you would see this as an umbrella organization? You have listed a number of activities which are now being carried out by the nonprofit, private sector. Do you propose that this entity would be, as it were, an umbrella organization for projects of that kind?

Would it carry on any projects of its own in an operating sense?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. I would think not. It would be a catalyst working between Government agencies and the private sector and its own self to serve the public interest.

Senator JAVITS. I assume we now have—and you can correct me if I am wrong—this type of activity authorized under the endowment for the humanities? Suppose it were requesting a Federal grant. Would it come to the humanities or would it come to the National Endowment for the Arts?

Senator PELL. May I interrupt for a moment here?

The specifics of legislation have yet to be developed. The specific bills of Senator Mathias and Representative Schroeder are referred elsewhere. We are concerned today with their concepts.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Our hope—our feeling is it is terribly important to have this a separate institution, and not tucked in under the National Endowment for the Arts——

Senator JAVITS. Endowments for the humanities or arts?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. But it must be perceptible to the public, must stand out as something new and fragile and the leadership must be focusing on the basics I have outlined.

Senator JAVITS. Is there any comparable institution in Government other than the National Endowment itself?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Not in relation to the Bicentennial.

Senator JAVITS. Well, or any other activity? Is there any comparable institution to the American Constitution Bicentennial Foundation?

Perhaps the ARBA, I assume, would be comparable.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. I guess I do not know my Government well enough to answer that.

Senator JAVITS. You do not feel that it could fit in, for example, as a grantee of the National Endowment on the Humanities?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. I think, above all, it must be seeable from the public angle, it must have impact.

Senator JAVITS. You foresee, for example, an organization like the American Film Institute, which derives important support from the National Endowment of the Arts and also derives great private support, including industry support. One part is functioning as a separate entity but not authorized by Federal law of a special kind such as you have proposed here that we do. That was the reason for my questions as to whether it would fit into the humanities endowment.

Is there anything—after all, we are discussing a concept.

Is it not a fact that the concept could be preserved in an organization which was not necessarily a federally established foundation?

It could be done. In other words, if you got the necessary money through one of the endowments, this could be set up as an integral organization deriving a good deal of its support from one of the existing endowments, and you would need no Federal law at all.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Well, we have lived with this problem of private leadership for many months now and we have become convinced, Senator, that the situation is so far along that there is nothing further in the private sector that we can do to provide an entity with the strength and the impact that we believe is required to do the job.

I hate to say no to your question, as I believe very strongly in the private sector. I just feel though at this point it cannot take the initiative required. I really do. I think there is need for a national commitment and a national sense of mission; and I think only the Congress can provide that at this late point.

Senator JAVITS. You spoke of a group of 40. Are those 40 individuals?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. That is right.

Senator JAVITS. Is it permissible to ask who they are?

Mr. ROCKERFELLER. Yes.

They are mentioned in one of the two papers I asked included previously.

Senator JAVITS. Then it has already been included in the record.

[The information referred to appears on p. 9]

Senator JAVITS. Now, your testimony says that one of the innovative things in the statute establishing the American Revolutionary Bicentennial Commission was the provision that it stay in existence until 1983.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Yes.

Senator JAVITS. This particular proposal seeks an agency or a foundation that would stay in business until 1989.

Would you repeal, therefore, the American Revolutionary Bicentennial Commission's continuance in existence to 1983 as well as install the foundation you recommend, which goes for 6 years beyond that?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. My understanding is that that has already been repealed, Senator; that when the present organization (ARBA) was created, the earlier one went out of existence. ARBA goes out of existence this year; so this would pick up after they were gone.

Senator JAVITS. I am advised that your understanding of ARBC and ARBA is correct.

Well, it is a very interesting and very fine initiative. I am cosponsoring the bill, S. 3100, now before the Judiciary Committee, as has Senator Pell. We did this to develop a framework and the legislation which we feel would be congenial to the situation and the activities we are already carrying on; and I certainly would welcome the testimony of the other witnesses as well as anything of our own that you would wish to add respecting the activities. You gave us some examples, and you may wish to add more subsequently.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. And there are more in here—one of the two documents we want to leave with you.

Senator JAVITS. Well, fine.

Have we accepted these documents, Mr. Chairman?

Senator PELL. Yes.

Senator JAVITS. Thank you very, very much. I think it is a very stimulating, interesting concept.

Senator PELL. One followup question.

Do you visualize much private funding going into this program and, if so, what percentage of private funding to Government funding?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. The way Mrs. Schroeder's bill is written, it would be $1 for $2. I would be happier if it were $1 for $1, on the same basis as the existing endowments; but my belief is that the private sector would come along at least at the same rate; and I would hope would go substantially further.

Senator PELL. What funding is called for in Mrs. Schroeder's bill?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. $35 million.

Senator PELL. You are talking about additional funding, over and above the 35?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Right.

Senator PELL. On a matching basis; and up to what limit?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. My point to you is, I would hope the private sector would put in more money beyond what is called for in the bill on the matching basis. I think if this could really get off the ground, the private sector could be counted on in a more substantial way, beyond what the bill calls for.

Senator PELL. Is there a top limit?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Mrs. Schroeder's bill calls for $35 million a year during the duration of the bill, and to get any of that money it would have to be matched 2 to 1.

What I am urging is that the matching be cut back to 1 for 1 as far as the bill is concerned, but then anticipate the private sector would do much more on its own.

Senator PELL. I join Senator Javits in congratulating you on this idea. Our luncheon meeting the other day further stimulated my own interest. As you know, specific legislation is not before our jurisdiction. We have held these hearings as a matter of general interest, and we look forward to seeing this testimony developed. The concepts are obviously good and fine and I congratulate you for helping to advance them.

Senator JAVITS. Mr. Chairman, could I just ask one other question?

Has any effort been made to draw up a proposed budget for the foundation?

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. I do not think so.

Senator JAVITS. Has there been prepared any kind of budget so we could get a look at why $25 million, and not $35 or $45 million? If you can tell us anything about this it would be helped. We would have some kind of a budget as to exactly how this money would be used, and what the estimated overhead cost would be, et cetera.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. We would be glad to work on that.

Senator PELL. Our next witness is Congresswoman Schroeder.

STATEMENT OF HON. PATRICIA SCHROEDER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF COLORADO

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Thank you for allowing me to testify.

Mr. Rockefeller is going to be a tough act to follow, but I will try to go forward with some of the fervor I think he has been able to convey.

I would ask unanimous consent to put my statement in the record.

Senator PELL. All right; and it will be done, without objection at the conclusion of your testimony.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. As I apologized earlier, I am on the Armed Services Committee and we have the authorization and amendments up right now on the House floor, so I am very anxious to get back over there and complete that.

I do appreciate your allowing me to come over here because I think Mr. Rockefeller really has pointed out something that a lot of us have been very concerned about, and that while the Bicentennial has done a beautiful job of recalling our past, and we all sit basking in the glory of what was accomplished 200 years ago, we have not done enough reflection on the future and on who we are, where we are, and where we are going as a Nation. I think, if you go back and read much of the founding fathers, what the founding fathers did was to concentrate significantly on the future and the next generation and the duty to turn over the country a little bit better than they found it; and that is one of the things they had and that has been left out of this whole Bicentennial celebration.

So I think that what this bill would do would really help us to revitalize our own vision of what we Americans are all about and what is the heritage we are planning to carry forward and how does it make some meaning in the world 200 years later.

All sorts of things have changed tremendously; and where do we go from here?

I think this gives us some understanding.

It requires for every Federal dollar, two private dollars, so it requires a real commitment by the private people and it is not just going to be a ripoff.

Senator JAVITS. Mrs. Schroeder, I am not clear.

You say every dollar requires two private dollars; but does that include the $35 million?

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Yes.

Senator JAVITS. You draw a dollar of the $35 million for every $2?

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Except for 15 percent of the project.

In other words, $35 million goes into the kitty; 15 percent of that project will be permitted not to have the matching, and that is so you can get some small projects that are just not going to have access to matching funds. For the other 85 percent, you have to have this 2-to-1 match; so I think it really shows substantial commitment; and yet you are not totally shutting out everybody to participation.

Senator PELL. To start out, you need to have some seed money. You cannot start out with each dollar being matched; is that your thought?

Mrs. SCHROEDER. That $35 million is your money that goes in.

Senator PELL. With respect to seed money, let's assume perhaps $2 million for start-up needs and administrative costs. That would not be matched?

Mrs. SCHROEDER. No.

Senator PELL. In other words, it would be $33 million and $2 million, would it not?

Mrs. SCHROEDER. The other $33 million, and 15 percent would be put aside and not be required to be matched.

Senator PELL. In other words, $2 million would be allocated directly to administrative beginnings. Of the remaining $33 million, 15 percent would be unmatched.

The other 85 percent would require matching.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. That is correct.

Now, there is probably a lot of things that might be done if the bill as it stands can go on its own. I think tying this into the celebration on July 4th is very critical. What you might be able to do is draw a separate line item with language that there is a lot of things that might transpire.

Congressman Simon, as a cosponsor, feels very badly that he could not be here today, and he is in Chicago with plane difficulties, so he did not quite make it; but basically we worked this up and introduced it and we put it in, we hope, as an innovative way to move this concept along.

It might be tied in with the current Endowment for the Humanities if it was able to maintain a separate identity and have separate goals. But I think we have to make it very clear that we do give it a separate identity with its own integrity so that it does not become consumed as part of the other things.

Other than that, I really do not have a whole lot to add except I certainly hope that all of us in our collective creative wisdom can find some way to deal with this before the July 4 celebration comes off and we sit here and say, "Was not that fun?"

Senator PELL. Do you think you will have any success getting it through committee in the House? What is your prognosis?

Mrs. SCHROEDER. We have this on the Post Office and Civil Service House side, which is interesting; and we did get it—I have oversight on that Bicentennial thing, and this is how partly I got interested.

The Post Office and Civil Service did put $35 million into the tentative budget request on the House side when we were getting ready for our March 15 deadline. So, we got over that hurdle, and hopefully, we can get over a few more hurdles, but it seems to be very much on track here, if there are some ways we can work together and work something out between the two bodies.

Senator PELL. Do we have any administration reaction to it?

Mrs. SCHROEDER. I am not sure of any administration reaction that we have at this point.

Senator PELL. Thank you.

Senator JAVITS. I think we have got the story from you, Mrs. Schroeder, and we certainly can see what can be done here in terms of the committee's jurisdiction, procedure, et cetera.

We are marking up the Arts and Humanities reauthorization bill. I do not think we would want to throw that bill to some other committee and complicate its life.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. That makes a lot of sense.

Senator JAVITS. I meant here in the Senate. So let us think it through. We are generally pretty good strategists.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Yes; you are.

Senator JAVITS. Let us see what can be done.

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Thank you so much.

Senator PELL. Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Mrs. Schroeder follows:]

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HONORABLE PATRICIA SCHROEDER
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Statement before the Senate
Special Subcommittee on Arts and Humanities
April 9, 1976

BICENTENNIAL ERA

I want to thank you for the opportunity to testify today ~~coming~~ CONCERNING efforts to establish a substantive federal government observance of this Nation's Bicentennial.

As Chairwoman of the House Subcommittee with jurisdiction over the Bicentennial, I -- as most of us -- have been disappointed by the almost total lack of meaningful projects and programs which are connected with this year's Bicentennial celebration. I do not think that it would be constructive to place blame, because I do not believe that it is the fault of any individual or institution. Certainly the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration was never given the mandate or resources to do any more than coordinate or facilitate projects which others developed and financed.

From my point of view, ARBA was forced to become everything to everybody, and the results have been disappointing in terms of a national effort.

But it need not have been this way -- nor need it be in the future. We do not have to let this unique opportunity for ourselves as a people to analyze how we stand today in relation to the principles of the American Revolution, and where we want to go in our Third Century as a Nation.

I think that the interest is there -- but that the leadership has been lacking. If we are to have a national effort, we need a

mechanism through which the federal government will act both as a legitimizing force and as a catalyst to bring together the resources and energies of the private sector and the government.

The object would be to focus in on some of the problems which confront our society today, and to attempt to develop some processes through which these problems may be addressed. Towards this end, Congressman Paul Simon, a member of our Subcommittee, and myself, recently introduced legislation to establish an American Constitution Bicentennial Foundation for the time period, July 4, 1976, until April of 1989, when the Constitution took effect, when the first President of the United States was inaugurated, and the 1st Session of Congress began.

I am delighted that this Subcommittee is interested in primarily the same goals. Obviously, the mechanism proposed in our legislation is not the only way to go. Indeed, it would probably be better if our Constitutional Bicentennial efforts were to become a part of an already existing mechanism.

However, I do believe that it is absolutely vital that the Bicentennial effort be given a separate identity. If it is not then I fear that it will be overwhelmed by interest groups which will take the funds and run there own projects but label them as "Bicentennial efforts."

I believe that it is not too late to start on our venture, and perhaps we should view July 4, 1976, as the logical starting point, rather than the culmination of a national effort to renew our commitment to the principle of the American Revolution. Once the birthday is over, it will be time to get down to work.

Mr. Chairman, for the record, I would like to include the Declaration of Purpose contained in our legislation, H.R. 12342.

DECLARATION OF PURPOSE

SEC. 2. The Congress hereby finds and declares—

(1) that the Constitution of the United States, now one hundred and eighty-eight years old, established the longest surviving government now existing in the world, and has been the model used by countless other nations as they formed their governments;

(2) that the continued vitality of our representative democracy is dependent upon a renewed commitment to, and understanding and strengthening of, the principles underlying the Constitution;

(3) that the period between the two-hundredth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence and the two-hundredth anniversary of the Constitution provides our Nation with an appropriate period in which—

(A) to study the principles of the American Revolution and how they were translated into our present form of government,

(B) to assess where our society and government stand in relation to such principles, and

(C) to determine the most effective ways to set and pursue goals appropriate to America and its citizens during our third century.

(4) that, while the commemorative efforts regarding the Bicentennial of the Declaration of Independence have been largely historic and celebratory in nature, the observance of the Bicentennial of the Constitution should be primarily focused on projects which will bring together the public and private sectors in an effort to find new processes for resolving the problems facing our Nation in its third century; and

(5) that, in order to implement these findings, it is necessary to establish an American Constitution Bicentennial Foundation.

Senator PELL. Our next witness is Mr. Daniel Yankelovich, a very distinguished, well-known public opinion analyst and social scientist.

STATEMENT OF DANIEL YANKELOVICH, PUBLIC OPINION ANALYST AND SOCIAL SCIENTIST, PRESIDENT, YANKELOVICH, SKELLY & WHITE, INC., NEW YORK, N.Y.

Mr. YANKELOVICH. Thank you very much for giving me the opportunity to testify. I trust that it might be useful for me to say a few words about the nature of the social needs that such a program might meet.

Taking as a point of departure some of the studies that my organization has carried out, plus those of other social research firms, such as the Harris organization and the Gallup organization and the University of Michigan, the studies over the past decade have converged in showing a sharp erosion of confidence and trust in our national institutions, especially in government and business, and they have also showed an increase of people's feelings of powerlessness.

More and more, the average American has come to feel, with a sense of irony, that his or her views do not count, that he or she has very little to say about the decisions that deeply affect his or her life on the job and in the community.

I think it might be helpful if I were to say a few words about what the findings are and what these trends are that substantiate this erosion of confidence, and what it means and what it does not mean.

It is important not to overreact or misinterpret the findings. They do not mean a collapse of faith by Americans in our political system of representative democracy. There is a national consensus on this—the old values, in other words, are strong and intact. Nor do they mean any rejection by our citizens of the free enterprise system.

Fewer than 10 percent of the public would like to see business nationalized and most people—two-thirds of the majority are willing to make sacrifices in order to preserve the free enterprise system. Nor are these findings harbingers of large-scale violence and protest as was in the 1960's, although a majority of the people feel something is wrong.

Most Americans—more than 80 percent, are satisfied with their own personal and family life.

What, then, do the signals of change and distress mean?

Well, we have come to feel that they signify various kinds of loss: A loss that comes from a transition between old values that are being undermined, and from new values that have not yet been fathomed out; and a feeling of loss of trust in ordinary, everyday mores and norms—the glue that really holds this society together.

There is a very widespread feeling in the country that the people who work hard and live by the rules do not get a fair break, while those who flaunt the rules seem to make out just fine. There is the feeling that the system is rigged, undermining the trust and traditional values of self-reliance, initiative, hard work, the value of education, justice, self-improvement. In other words, people have come to feel like suckers when they make these interpretations, and they do not find themselves rewarded or reinforced in the larger society.

Second, there has been a sense of loss of involvement and participation in the life of the community. And thirdly, a discernible loss of the sense of purpose—I mean less commitment to goals, the traditional goals of success.

There is a loss of sense of meaning.

Why has this happened?

The reasons are very complex and varied. They have to do with the aftermath of Watergate, Vietnam, with questions about the economy, and the fact that modern industrial life requires large-scale bureaucracy or centralization and that people feel we have not learned how to make this function correctly. Many people believe the traditional goals of success just are not as attractive as they used to be, either because they are felt to be out of reach for some people or because they have not proven satisfying for others when they have been met. Also, we are dealing with the fact that the country has been undergoing a virtual revolution in social values which leaves people very much up in the air.

As a society, we have been very vigilant about some aspects of being citizens in a free democracy. We have been alert to the needs to protect our freedom and civil liberties, but perhaps we have not been as vigilant about some other aspects of being free citizens that are equally important to maintaining our kind of open society.

We do not even have a good name for what I am talking about; but it has a lot to do with everyday concern for one another, with the feeling of one's being treated as a human being with dignity and not manipulated and with the feeling that one needs to get a fair break. It has to do with trusting people you may not know personally, such as a garage mechanic, schoolteachers, the mayor, one's Congressmen.

It has to do with revitalizing the social bond that holds communities together and keeps the society from degenerating into the nightmare that Thomas Harps described a long time ago—each against all and all against each; and there is that fear—that underlying fear in this society that people have that things come apart in that sense, and this has to do with wanting to participate and find ways to be involved in the life of the community and the country.

Americans feel today confident that their political freedom is being protected, but they have an uneasiness about other aspects of life that we share in common as citizens. These are intangibles but they are nonetheless real. They have to do with normalcy and stability and having a common purpose, shared values, a sense of fairness.

In fact, however intangible these factors may be, they are real. So much so that they may indeed be the central issue in the coming Presidential campaign. Certainly, that is my interpretation is what is going on.

Now, these brief remarks may indicate why I feel that this program is so timely and important. Its emphasis is coming at this particular time and coincides with the emergence of the new, pressing and vital national need to reaffirm and revitalize the shared ideas that give us a distinctive American civilization, to find new ways to create citizen involvement and participation, to find new ways for the public and private sector to work together, and to find and appreciate an approach to the problems that our country faces.

The reason that I was eager to come here to testify on behalf of this program was because I feel that this particular set of problems may be clearer to people in my line of work, which is similar to your own: Namely, the operation of political and the psychological aspects of the country, of public life, as compared to areas considered by economists, lawyers, or administrators, who are necessarily looking at more fixed, more tangible aspects of American life.

In January of this year there occurred a rather startling change in the trend of public moods. For several years, people were gloomy and pessimistic and felt they were victims of uncontrollable events—fearful that we were plunging into a deep depression.

Then the trend changed very abruptly, very suddenly, beginning in January. Most people now feel that the worst is behind them, not ahead of them; and there is a hunger in the country to be positive and to act positively and optimistically and constructively. Thus, the timing for this program, not only in terms of the symbolism involved—the Bicentennial—but in terms of the mood of the country and its needs, just could not be better. I think that this program can therefore be very helpful and constructive.

Thank you.

Senator JAVITS. Thank you very much, Mr. Yankelovich.

I really have only one question.

I am an admirer of yours in terms of the work you do. This would be the kind of a philosophic and general approach to recreating the values which developed the American Revolution. Most of these activities are carried on privately or publicly.

For example, I noticed Mr. Rockefeller's analysis here was a provision respecting productivity, and I forget the title of it——

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Work in America.

Senator JAVITS. We have a commission for productivity for which we appropriate Federal funds. Yet in a philosophic sense, I am sure it could be under such an umbrella. It could be a philosophic operation, as Mr. Rockefeller and Mrs. Schroeder have described.

What is the public acceptance? Do you think the public would accept more work under that aegis and pay more attention to it? Would the public be more interested in it than, for example, the report of the commission which we have set up and financed on productivity?

Mr. YANKELOVICH. Well, Mr. Rockefeller stressed the need for this program to have a kind of a special visibility, to be given initiative and leadership; so that it would stand out, be prominent. I think that is important because of the feeling that the public has that somehow the existing institutions are not being responsive, and that whatever mechanism and whatever machinery we now have just is not being responsive to the kinds of concerns and feelings people have, especially with regard to an opportunity to participate.

Let me be a little more specific for just a moment. I do not know whether this is the kind of program that properly fits in, but at least it corresponds to my analysis of the public need.

I think the most fundamental rule of any society is that people have to feel the rules make sense. They must somehow conform to the social norms, but they must make sense.

Now, what has happened in the past few years is that people have come to feel that the rules do not make sense. They feel they work hard, but instead of being rewarded, the fellow who gets the reward

is the criminal rather than the victim, and the criminal gets away with it.

It would seem to me that this kind of a program could help to identify those seeming anomalies in the law, and in our practices, that are undermining this feeling people have of conforming to rules which do not make sense.

Now, the reason that that ties in so well, I think, is because many of the traditional values on which the country was based are still very much alive—work ethic, self reliance, desire to control one's own fate; but they need reinforcement. People need to feel they can make sense, so what you have on the one hand is this need on the part of people to feel that these rules must make sense, while on the other hand you have practices that are undermining these desires and needs.

If you had this kind of a program you could place emphasis on identifying more precisely these problem areas and what institutional practices are causing concerns I have mentioned.

So I feel that you do need to have some special entity that will say to people that we are dedicating our Bicentennial anniversary to understanding what is standing in the way of some of these old values that have not been working out as well as they used to, and that we are responsive to new solutions, to new values.

Senator JAVITS. One thing does concern me. I am frank about it because I have so much affection and admiration for Mr. Rockefeller and his associates. My concern is whether or not this could be a governmental organization without being constrained that it is coming from the Congress; and must seek appropriations annually. I would really want this to be a revolutionary thing.

I am very concerned about this aspect, notwithstanding all the love and affection that I have for the proponents. We have to think through whether or not this really can do what is so admirably set forth in its purpose when it gets involved in the bureaucracy and governmental processes and popular ideology.

I think you are right that a lot of matrixes have to be broken and that this would be very much in the spirit of the revolution. I admire it a great deal.

Mr. YANKELOVICH. The point Mr. Rockefeller made, which I have also found to be true, is that corporate leaders in the private sector who have money and leadership to give do not have a sense of direction.

Now, it is possible therefore that if the leadership and the initial funding and a sense of direction came from that kind of a program that there are plenty of followers; and once that leadership was given, many of these private groups would be encouraged to support this. Perhaps some of them would offer a more far-reaching program that would not necessarily have to have the combination of Government and private funding, that they could then be more privately funded, giving them a greater freedom. But some initiative that starts from Government is very important, some signal from the Government that gives an opportunity for followthrough. I feel Mr. Rockefeller is right. It is not going to start from the private sector because of lack of clarity, and if it starts with a clarity of definition from the Government, then some of the more useful programs might not have to have that process later on.

Senator JAVITS. I think it is eminently useful. I have no doubt of that. It only worries me whether the Government is going to contribute

money to destroy some of its own structure which urgently needs to be dismantled.

Mr. YANKELOVICH. Well, you know, I think putting it that way, it sounds paradoxical, sounds impossible, but there is another way of looking at it which is not that there would be a great deal of resistance to the pursuit of revolutionary new values, but there would be an enormous amount of support for taking traditional values that have been undermined and finding ways to revitalize them and give them full life once again.

Senator JAVITS. Maybe I am expressing my hopes, but when I think of these Founding Fathers, I think of them as revolutionaries who, if they had been caught, would have been hung. Not too many Americans understand that. I am very serious. I am very serious. Not all of the lovely celebration of these men would be recognized if the British had been successful; and this is something very sober to think about.

Senator PELL. Also, the fate that awaited those on the other side if they had been victorious.

Thank you very much, Mr. Yankelovich.

Senator PELL. Our next witnesses are Mr. John Gentry and Mr. Milton Kotler.

Mr. Gentry represents the Citizens Involvement Network, and Mr. Kotler represents the Alliance for Neighborhood Government.

STATEMENT OF JOHN N. GENTRY, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT, CITIZENS INVOLVEMENT NETWORK, VICE PRESIDENT, WIRTZ & GENTRY, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. GENTRY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for giving me the opportunity to be here today.

It is my understanding that the purpose of these hearings amongst other things is to explore legislative ways to maintain and strengthen democratic institutions and processes and to encourage public participation in such.

Senator PELL. That is correct.

Mr. GENTRY. And second, to develop fresh insights and approaches to resolving some of the critical social and economic problems which confront us today.

The testimony that I will be submitting is as brief as possible and will be limited to highlighting the recent findings of the organization I represent and to suggest to you why we feel the purpose the subcommittee is pursuing is of critical importance.

Two years ago, three foundations—the JDR III Fund; the Charles F. Kettering Foundation; and the Lealley Endowment—joined forces to explore the emerging phenomena of community-based citizen participation programs.

It was their original intent to, one, assess the diversity of citizen involvement activities throughout the country and, two, if circumstances seemed to warrant, to facilitate the establishment of a network of citizen participation programs that would be examined in depth over a period of several years, with a view toward sharing the experiences of these local programs with a much broader array of citizen groups and with their communities.

The facts underlying this action on the part of these foundations were twofold; first, they shared with other Americans a deep, increas-

ing evidence that the vast majority of our citizens had become alienated and distrustful toward public institutions, as Mr. Yankelovich alluded to; and that there have been a number of surveys in recent years which for many Americans have been quite shocking.

One of those surveys, I might add, was prepared for a subcommittee of the U.S. Senate back in 1973 by the Louis Harris & Associates organization. That survey documented to a large degree the extent to which we are living in a time of pervasive disaffection with large-scale institutions, particularly public, and with the disbelief in an individual's ability to influence public policy.

One quote from that survey might be called to your attention. It says,

> The majority of people now do not know how to involve themselves directly with the workings of government. The crisis is broad and deep and involves the basic elements of trust and confidence in government.

I should point out, however, that the same survey also indicates that there are signs of encouragement provided people can be given the opportunity to participate more directly in public affairs. Again, I quote:

> The public feels deeply that it can and would participate much more than now in an open and inviting process and wants to participate in an even more pluralistic and vigorous system involving dialogue between leaders and the led.

The second fact which influenced the same three foundations to explore this area was the increasing evidence that a number of communities throughout the United States were developing mechanisms to give citizens a greater voice in addressing common concerns. Substantial evidence of this growth in citizen-participation programs stem from the work of Kettering Foundation in the early 1970's.

During that period the foundation devoted a considerable amount of staff time and resources to identifying localities with community-based citizen involvement programs and to examining the extent to which these programs appeared to meet the individual citizen's desire for greater participation.

The Kettering staff concluded that while the limited number of programs they examined appeared to be serving a constructive purpose within their community, there were several handicaps in several respects.

While there is a considerable amount of citizen involvement activity now taking place, there are also significant drawbacks, caused by the fragmented ad hoc nature of such efforts, by the limited availability of resources for such activity, and by the lack of capacity for research evaluation and information sharing.

The Kettering conclusions, which were shared also by the the JDR III, Fund and the Lalley Endowment were that a need existed to collect and systematically fashion more information on citizen involvement—activities, and to develop the capacity among such programs for evaluation and the common sharing of their experiences.

These early discussions among these three foundations led, in the fall of 1974, to the creation of the Citizen Involvement Network, a nonprofit tax-exempt organization supported by a combination of public and private funds.

The initial planning grant for the network was provided by the three foundations previously mentioned as well as by the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration. The Network is governed by a distinguished board of directors, the Chairman of which is Mr. Wil-

liam Friday, the president of the University of North Carolina, and along with the president of the Network is Mr. Willard Wirtz; and I might add, Mr. Chairman, that both Mr. Friday and Mr. Wirtz would very much like to be here, if that were possible——

Senator JAVITS. Could I interrupt?

I must go and vote in another committee where I am urgently demanded. I will return in about 10 minutes; so if Senator Pell must depart, would you suspend?

Senator PELL. I will be here another 4 minutes and then I have to go.

Mr. GENTRY. I will move along as quickly as I can.

Senator PELL. If you wish, you can put your statement in the record.

Mr. GENTRY. I understand.

As I was saying, I was sorry both Mr. Friday and Mr. Wirtz could not be with us today but unfortunately they did have prior commitments.

The primary purpose of the network involvement was to identify some 20 diverse community programs that would participate in a 3-year research demonstration project to assess the potential of broad-based citizen participation.

In the first 6 months of its operation, the Network staff identified approximately 250 citizen-involvement programs throughout the United States which expressed an interest in our program.

These community programs submitted detailed written descriptions of their organization and activities to the network. Each in turn was subject to an intensive screening process to determine the extent to which they represented broad-based citizen programs rather than being limited to a single issue or subject matter focus.

Following this initial screening, the network staff and consultants visited approximately 60 programs scattered throughout the country—programs, I might add, ranging in size from the State of Washington, with over 3 million, to the small town of Clarendon, Iowa, with a population of 5,000.

On the basis of these visits, extensive review by our board of directors, 20 communities were ultimately selected to form the nucleus of the Citizens Involvement Network

It would be a disservice to these programs to attempt to summarize for you what we discovered through a review and site visit. Suffice it to say this is an emerging development in communities throughout the United States. There are other developments that we should all be paying a great deal more attention to.

People in all walks of life and in communities, large and small, are initiating citizen participation programs that promote the opportunity for much larger personal roles in shaping the future.

These programs are often privately initiated but they also frequently have activity support from the local government.

In some locations, a substantial number of the population becomes involved in other participations which are more limited but in each program the participants are representative of all segments of the community. Each program we have examined has its own unique characteristics, even though each falls within a broad descriptive category.

For example, some of the programs are of a goal setting nature in which representatives of the community come together to plan and create what they would wish for the community in 10, 20, 30 years from now.

Senator PELL. I must ask you to excuse me and recess for a moment and Senator Javits will be back. I am sorry.

[Short recess.]

Senator JAVITS [presiding pro tempore]. The subcommittee will come to order. Proceed, please.

Mr. KOTLER. Mr. Gentry has not finished his statement and I will follow him briefly.

Senator JAVITS. I hope you can contract your time. I have a Foreign Relations Committee meeting which has already begun.

Please proceed.

Mr. GENTRY. I was referring earlier to just the variety of types of citizen-involvement programs that exist around the country, and in order to just give you a sense of both the scope of the program and the type, I will give you a few examples.

There are, as Mr. Rockefeller referred to earlier, so-called community-wide goal-setting programs such as in Dallas, and Corpus Christi, Tex.; in Charlotte, N.C., and in the State of Washington—and a number of other programs that have more of an issue-oriented position.

One example is the so-called Acorn project in Arkansas.

A third group, which Mr. Kotler will refer to more in detail, is the so-called Neighborhood Coalition, where people within a neighborhood have common problems and seek ways to work together to solve them. Finally, there are a variety of planning groups, often with a research base in a university, where the university reaches out to the community itself and tries to help community residents to resolve common problems.

I could go on in some detail in terms of trying to suggest how we feel about these goals of local-citizen programs, but I know that you are time-pressed; and I will, if appropriate, incorporate in the record my full statement. There are a couple of final points I want to make. We feel that the citizen involvement programs do represent a significant constructive, indeed, a whole new force in the political process in this country. Moreover, it is our strong conviction that if these are to be given attention by the Government at the Federal level, these local programs should be encouraged financially. The vast majority of the programs we have examined operate with only minimal financial assistance and, since participation is and should be essential, a volunteer effort must be made; but some financial resources are essential in maintaining staff support and services required to insure practical effectiveness and continuity.

These programs deserve the financial support of government foundations and corporations.

In closing, let me reinforce our feeling that legislation to encourage greater public participation in the democratic process is sorely needed. We know that the many citizen-participation programs operating throughout the country will improve the quality of life, and particularly the life of communities.

We feel equally strongly that such programs can go a long way toward correcting the distrust and lack of confidence that individual citizens feel with respect to various levels of government.

Senator JAVITS. Thank you. Your full statement will be incorporated in the record.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Gentry follows:]

S-146

Statement of
Mr. John N. Gentry
Executive Vice President,
Citizen Involvement Network
Before the
Senate Committee on
Labor and Public Welfare
Subcommittee on Arts and the Humanities

April 9, 1976

It is my understanding that the purpose of these hearings is, among other things, to explore legislative ways:

-- to maintain and strengthen democratic institutions and processes, and encourage public participation in such institutions and processes, and

-- to develop fresh insights and approaches to resolving the social and economic problems which confront us.

The testimony I am submitting today will be limited to highlighting the recent findings of the organization I represent and suggest to you why we feel that the purposes the Subcommittee is pursuing are of critical importance.

Two years ago three foundations - the JDR 3rd Fund, the Charles F. Kettering Foundation and the Lilly Endowment - joined forces to explore the emerging phenomenon of community-based citizen participation programs. It was their original intention to (1) assess the diversity of citizen involvement activities throughout the country and (2) if circumstances seemed to warrant, to facilitate the establishment of a network of citizen participation programs that would be examined in depth over a period of several years with the view toward sharing the experiences of these local programs with a much broader array of citizen groups in other communities.

The factors underlying this action on the part of these foundations were twofold. First, they shared - with millions of other Americans - a deep concern over the increasing evidence that the vast majority of our

citizens had become alienated and distrustful toward public institutions. As you know, significant findings in this regard resulted from the survey conducted (and subsequently updated) by Louis Harris Associates for the Senate Subcommittee on Government Operations in 1973. That survey documented, to an alarming degree, the extent to which we are living in a time of pervasive citizen disaffection with large-scale (particularly public) institutions as well as an epidemic disbelief in the individiual's ability to influence public policy. I cite only the major findings of the Harris survey:

> The majority of people now do not know how to involve themselves directly with the workings of government --- The crisis is broad and deep --- and involves the basic elements of trust and confidence in government.

I should point out, however, that this same report added a strong note of encouragement to the view that the average citizen would participate in community affairs if given the opportunity to do so.

> The public feels deeply that it can and would participate much more than now in an open and inviting process, and wants to participate in an even more pluralistic and responsibility-sharing system, involving more dialogue between leader and led.

Another factor which influenced the foundations to explore this area was the increasing evidence that a number of communities throughout the U. S. were developing mechanisms to give citizens a greater voice in addressing issues of common concern.

Substantial evidence of this growth in citizen participation programs stemmed from the work of the Kettering Foundation in the early 1970's. During that period, the Foundation devoted a considerable amount

of staff time and resources in identifying localities with community-based citizen involvement programs and examining the extent to which these programs appeared to meet the individual citizen's desire for greater participation. The Kettering staff concluded that while the limited number of programs they were able to examine appeared to be serving a constructive purpose within their communities, they were severely handicapped in several respects:

> While there is a considerable amount of citizen involvement activity taking place now, there is also significant dissipation of such efforts by reason of their fragmented, ad hoc nature, the limited availability of resources for such activity, and the lack of capacity for research, evaluation and information sharing.

The Kettering conclusions - shared by the JDR 3rd Fund and the Lilly Endowment - were that a need existed to collect, in a systematic fashion, more information on citizen involvement activities and to develop the capacity among such programs for evaluation and the common sharing of their experiences.

These early discussions among the foundations led, in the Fall of 1974, to the creation of the Citizen Involvement Network - a non-profit, tax exempt organization, supported by a combination of public and private funds. Initial planning grants for the Network were provided by the three foundations previously mentioned as well as the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration. The Network is governed by a distinguished Board of Directors. The Chairman of the Network's Board is Mr. William Friday, President of the University of North Carolina. The President of the Network is Mr. Willard Wirtz.

The primary purpose of the Network program's planning phase was to identify twenty diverse community programs that would participate in a three year research-demonstration project to assess the potential for broad-based citizen participation efforts. The objectives of this experiment are:

1. to develop informational and technical resources and materials for use by local citizen involvement programs to help them achieve their own objectives;

2. to assess the extent to which this type of Network support improves individual program processes;

3. to measure the extent to which citizen involvement programs lessen citizen alienation and mistrust and actually make a community's institutions more responsive to citizen-expressed goals, desires, needs and concerns;

4. to discover whether there might be "models" for citizen involvement structures, processes and techniques which could be useful to others contemplating citizen involvement efforts;

5. to identify and study secondary effects of citizen involvement on democratic processes.

In the first six months of its operation, the Network's staff identified approximately 250 citizen involvement programs throughout the United States which had expressed an interest in our program. These community programs submitted detailed written descriptions of their organization and activities to the Network. Each, in turn, was subjected to an intense screening process to determine the extent to which they represented broad-based citizen participation programs rather than being limited to a single issue or subject matter focus.

Following this initial screening, Network staff and consultants visited approximately 60 citizen involvement programs, ranging in size from the entire State of Washington (pop. 3,423,000) to Clarinda, Iowa

(pop. 5,000). On the basis of these site visits - and extensive review by our Board of Directors - twenty communities were ultimately selected to form the nucleus of the Citizen Involvement Network.

It would be a disservice to these programs to attempt to summarize for you what we discovered through this review and site visit process. Suffice to say that there is emerging, in a number of communities throughout the country, a development that we should all be paying a great deal more attention to. People in all walks of life - in communities large and small - are initiating citizen action programs that promote the opportunity for a much larger personal role in shaping one's own future. These programs are most often privately initiated but they also frequently have active support from the local government. In some locations a substantial percentage of the population becomes involved - in others the participation is more limited. But in each program the participants are representative of all segments of the community.

Each program we have examined has its own unique characteristics, although most fall within one broad descriptive category or another. For example, some of the programs are of a "goals setting" nature in which representatives of the community come together to plan - in very concrete terms - what they would like their community to be like 10-20-30 years in the future and then begin to develop (and monitor) plans designed to meet these goals. Other programs begin with a more "issue oriented" process: that is, they identify current problems in areas such as education, transportation, or public safety and then begin designing programs to ameliorate or eliminate such problems. Still other programs begin

with a single issue such as housing and integration and then, over time, expand to such interrelated issues as education, employment and the provision of appropriate community services for the elderly.

The programs also vary by size of community. In many areas a program will be city-wide while in others it may be limited to a neighborhood or a consortium of contiguous neighborhoods. More recently, citizen participation programs have been developed covering metropolitan areas, regions or an entire state.

Although - as I mentioned before - each program takes on its own unique characteristics, several broad program categories can be identified. The following examples, based upon the 250 programs we reviewed, will serve to suggest the variety of program types in existence as well as their widespread geographical dispersion.

-- the community-wide "goal-setting" programs in Dallas and Corpus Christi, Texas, in Charlotte, North Carolina and in the States of Washington, Iowa, and Hawaii;

-- the more "issue-oriented" citizens organizations, such as ACORN in Arkansas, Northern Plains Resource Council in southwestern Montana, Fair Share in Massachusetts, and Consumer Action in San Francisco;

-- the "neighborhood coalitions" within most of the older urban areas, such as SECO in Baltimore, the Pittsburgh Neighborhood Alliance in Pennsylvania, and the Near East Side Community Organization in Indianapolis;

-- the planning councils in Salem, Oregon, Arlington, Massachusetts, and Rocky Mount, North Carolina; and

-- the community research centers in Columbus, Ohio, Rochester, New York, and Santa Barbara, California.

A mere identification of these programs and their focuses, however, does not afford an adequate feel for what is going on in these communities. One has to examine a program in depth and spend time within a community to fully appreciate the roles people are playing and the sense of community they are taking from the experience. Such an examination, however, leads quickly to the conclusion that these citizen involvement programs represent a significant, constructive, new force in the political process of this country.

Moreover, it is our strong conviction that increased attention should be paid by government (and at the Federal level in particular) to the question of how such local programs can be encouraged and supported. Perhaps the greatest need is a financial one. The vast majority of programs we examined operate with minimal financial resources. Citizen participation is - and should be - essentially a volunteer effort. But some financial resources are essential in maintaining the staff and support services required to assure program effectiveness and continuity. These programs deserve the financial support of government, foundations and the corporate community.

In closing, let me reinforce our feeling that legislation to encourage greater public participation in the democratic process is sorely needed. We know that the many citizen participation programs operating throughout the country will improve upon the quality of life in particular communities. We feel equally strongly that such programs can go a long way toward reducing the distrust and the lack of confidence that individual citizens feel with respect to various levels of government. Legislation to promote these ends would constitute sound public policy.

Senator JAVITS. Mr. Kotler?

STATEMENT OF MILTON KOTLER, POLITICAL SCIENTIST, ALLIANCE FOR NEIGHBORHOOD GOVERNMENT, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. KOTLER. Senator, I will submit the bulk of my statement——

Senator JAVITS. Your statement and attachments will be incorporated in full in the record at the conclusion of your testimony.

Mr. KOTLER. I would like to make just a few brief introductory remarks.

I want to thank you for this opportunity as I speak in behalf of the Alliance for Neighborhood Government, representing neighborhood coalitions and neighborhood organizations, and many American citizens in small towns.

The British journalist, Henry Fairley, said some things in The Washington Post recently that some of us Americans have been saying to deaf ears for some time. It took an Englishman to get it out in the Outlook section.

The American people, Mr. Fairley claims, are not alienated from public life in their desire for public responsibility, but only alienated from politics in the representative system.

While the proportion of Americans who have confidence in our Government and who vote in election steadily deteriorate, more and more Americans are acting through their neighborhood organizations through direct action—direct citizen participation in neighborhoods at the city, metropolitan, State and national level.

The Democratic and Republican Parties may not be doing too well, but Common Cause, The Alliance for Neighborhood Government, and many other direct-action groups are doing quite well.

Now, when Ralph Nader withdrew his name from the Massachusetts primary several months ago and scored the State officials for failing to see the distinction between citizen action and party politics, the point should be made clear to us. There is something new in American politics today—a new dawn of political participation.

Our challenge, beginning in the Bicentennial Year of our Revolution, is to find a new mix of representative government and direct citizen action in the decades to come.

Now, as a part-time historian, I am going to put into the record my remarks on the origin and rise and fall of this participation, as well as some remarks on their survival at the neighborhood level, and come to the end with some recommendations to keep in mind with respect to the Bicentennial affiliation, and some of the things that might be accomplished with respect to citizen participation.

I think it is important that Congress have a vehicle for study and support of citizens' participation throughout the country. For a Nation which requires citizens responsibility in public affairs, such a vehicle is vital to analyze, monitor, and encourage public participation.

There was a time of carelessness and prosperity when we thought we would build a new society on a professional basis.

Now, that myth is thankfully shattered and we now realize we can only progress through citizen participation—participation which we

have found and understand to be the basic element of change. It is a mask of progress and it requires Congress' steady attention and it requires money.

There is nothing wrong with having public money spent for public participation. That is how the citizens want their money spent.

In addition, we need a direct documentation of the public duties and responsibilities which enable citizen organization groups to carry out programs and projects for the improvement of our common lives.

We have expert opinion on whether or not to have public participation.

Let us get documentation directly from the horse's mouth, from the neighborhood groups on what responsibility they wish to carry out.

Neighborhood organizations need model charters to equip them with the legislature and effective structures for public responsibilities. They should also be federally endorsed to encourage State governments to charter neighborhood organizations as appropriate units of local government.

Congress should find ways, possibly to continue the act of 1975, to get taxpayers' money down to the level where the taxpayer pays for improving his own neighborhood; and I would urge use of a Commission to review the matter of making fiscal shares available to citizen groups and to neighborhood groups.

Congress needs to refine the legislative concept inherent in revenue sharing, in housing, in block grants to see that the public's money gets down to the public level of our neighborhoods and our citizen participation groups.

Congress could develop, through the work of this new program being proposed, a citizen participation impact standard, just as we have an enviromental standard.

I should also mention that in the composition of this Bicentennial Foundation or new entity we are discussing, there should be an assurance of representation from neighborhoods, from citizens participation groups. Moreover, the Federal Government and Congress should review appropriate agencies to be sure that the representation from direct participation groups is included in such agencies.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Kotler with attachments and additional materials supplied for the record follows:]

ALLIANCE FOR NEIGHBORHOOD GOVERNMENT

226 East Capitol Street Washington, D.C. 20003

To the Honorable Senators Jacob Javits and Claiborne Pell

Introduction

I appreciate this opportunity to speak to a particular aspect of the American Constitution Bicentennial Foundation Bill (S. 3100), namely its support of citizen participation in our political life, and ways in which the Foundation and Congress can engage and encourage citizen participation in the decade to come.

The British journalist Henry Fairlie said some things in the Washington Post recently which some of us Americans have been saying to the deaf ears of politicians and officials for quite a time. It took an Englishman to get it into the Post's Outlook section. The American people, Fairlie claims, are not alienated from public life and a desire for public responsibility, but only alienated from party politics and the representative system. While the proportion of Americans who have confidence in our government and who vote in elections steadily declines, more and more Americans are acting in their neighborhood organizations, in environmental and consumer groups, and participating in neighborhood, city, metropolitan, state and national direct action organizations. The Democratic and Republican parties may not be doing well. But Common Cause, the Center for Responsive Law, the Alliance for Neighborhood Government, ACORN, Environmental Action Center, Massachusetts Fair Share, and any number of citizen action organizations are doing quite well.

When Ralph Nader withdrew his name from the Massachusetts presidential primary and scored state officials for failing to see the distinction between citizen action and party politics, the point should have been pretty clear to all of us. There is something new in American politics today -- a new dawn of

political participation. Our challenge, beginning in this Bicentennial year of our revolution, is to understand the roots and present power of direct citizen action and to find a new mix of representative government and direct citizen action in the decade to come.

I want to discuss a prominent part of the direct citizen action movement that I know best, neighborhood government, and finally propose some things that Congress might do to encourage neighborhood rights and responsibilities, as well as to assist other branches of the direct citizen action movement.

*

The United States occupies a unique place in the revolutionary tradition. Unlike France, our colonial history was blessed with the gift of freedom in the institution of the New England town meeting. "The American Revolution broke out, and the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, which had been nurtured in the townships and municipalities, took possession of the State: every class was enlisted in its cause; battles were fought, and victories obtained for it; until it became the law of laws."/2 And yet it was the Revolution born of our freedom, that led us toward Constitution and the steady loss of freedom. "One might even come to the conclusion that there was less opportunity for the exercise of public freedom and the enjoyment of public happiness in the republic of the United States than had existed in the colonies of British America."/ 3

Throughout New England general meetings were held several times a year to deliberate and decide the many matters of municipal concern. "Neither were those problems simple. On the contrary, it has already been seen that in the course of the first hundred and ninety years of municipal life Braintree and Quincy had to deal in a practical way with almost every one of those questions which are wont to perplex statesmen. Religious heresies, land-titles, internal improvements

1. Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, Ch. V.
2. Ibid., Vol. 1, Ch. IV.
3. Hannah Arendt, On Revolution, op. cit., p. 238.

and means of communication; education, temperance, pauperism and the care of the insane; public lands, currency, taxation and municipal debt--all these presented themselves, and the people assembled in town meeting had to, and did, in some fashion work out a solution of them."/4.

It was this institution of direct municipal democracy that astonished foreigners and fostered the fundamental respect and concern for the future of American democracy. "Town meetings are to liberty what primary schools are to science; they bring it within the people's reach, they teach men how to use and how to enjoy it. A nation may establish a system of free government, but without the spirit of municipal institutions it cannot have the spirit of liberty."/ 5 Not only worldly philosophers but our own great statesmen recognized town meeting government as the building block of American democracy. The general establishment of town meeting government in communities, small enough for people to assemble, preoccupied Thomas Jefferson. "These will be pure and elementary republics, the sum of all which taken together composes the State, and will make of the whole a true democracy as to the business of the wards, which is that of nearest and daily concern."/6 "Where every man is a sharer in the direction of his ward-republic, or of some of the higher ones, and feels that he is a participator in the government of affairs, not merely at an election one day in the year but every day; when there shall not be a man in the State who will not be a member of some one of its councils, great or small, he will let the heart be torn out of his body sooner than his power be wrested from him by a Caesar or a Bonaparte. How powerfully did we feel the energy of this organization in the case of Carthage?...As Cato,

4. Charles Francis Adams, Three Episodes of Massachusetts History, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, 1894, Vol. II, Ch. XIV, p. 812.
5. Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, Ch. V.
6. Jefferson Letters To Samuel Kercheval, Monticello, Sept. 5, 1816.

then concluded every speech with the words, 'Carthage delenda est,' so do I every opinion with the injunction, 'divide the counties into wards.' Begin them only for a single purpose; they will soon show for what others they are the best instruments."/7

As towns grew too populous, they divided into smaller areas in order to preserve the heart of town meeting government,--the direct assembly of citizens. It was this institution that shaped the American democrat. "The native of New England is attached to his township because it is independent and free: his cooperation in its affairs ensures his attachment to its interest; of his ambition and of his future exertions;' he takes a part in every occurrence in the place; he practises the art of government in the small sphere within his reach; he accustoms himself to those forms which can alone ensure the steady progress of liberty; he imbibes their spirit; he acquires a taste for order, comprehends the union or the balance of powers, and collects clear practical notions on the nature of his duties and the extent of his rights."/8

And then, into the 19th century new forces set to work: industrialization, nativism, commercial expansion and imperial design. Together they worked to change an American mentality. The municipality was no longer to be a "little

7. Jefferson Letters to Joseph C. Cabell, Monticello, February 2, 1816.
8. Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, Ch. V.

republic"--a school of virtue. Instead it was to become a city, run as a business with efficiency instead of liberty. "There is a historic propriety, if no other, in choosing town officers upon party-ticket, for the town is a miniature republic, a mirror of the State, a State-atom. But the city is an economic, and not a political unit. It is a business corporation, endowed for business purposes, and it bears the least intrinsic resemblence to the ancient city, which was, indeed, a State. When the true essence and meaning of the modern city shall be generally comprehended, there will be a wondrous reformation in city administration."/

In town after town, new forces urged the abolition of town meeting government. Town liberty was too rough and crude, too tumultous for some. We needed instead the grace of aristocratic rule. 'Mr. A. Quincy begged indulgence for rising again. He had felt the inconvenience of our present system, and had deprived himself of his privileges as a freeman for want of confidence in himself to appear before the townsmen. He thought Boston would not preserve its high character without a better system than we now have. The Father of his country was received here in an uncouth manner; was obliged to stand on the Neck half a day before it could be settled who should receive him into town. The town had no head. It was a nine-bodied monster without any head at all. The consequence is the interests of the town had been neglected. He hoped that we should be called a City. There is a charm in names. Mentioned London as a Republican city. There the King cannot enter without leave of the Mayor. He concluded by hoping that the name City would be given to Boston. (Considerable clapping mingled with some hissing.)"/10

Others resisted this deprecation, 'Mr. Fitch Tufts was surprised to hear that we have no head because we have no Lord Mayor. The gentle man was a great traveller. The other day he led us to New York: today he led us to his favorite

9. Charles H. Livermore, The Republic of New Haven, Baltimore, 1886, Johns Hopkins University, p. 296.
10. Boston Town Debates, 1 January 1822, p. 6-7.

City of London. It will do well enough for them to have Lord Mayors and Aldermen, with long cloaks and big-wigs and the privilege of kissing the King's hands. It is said a town has no dignity. The gentleman has alluded to past times. Let us look at times before the revolution. Had we no dignity then? What did the nine bodied monster then? A town meeting was called, a committee was sent to the governor; Hancock and Adams were on that committee; when Adams lifted up his voice, Felix trembled--Was there no dignity in this?"/11 Yet George Blake's view won by a small majority. "We must adopt the representative system. Let it be an epitome of our state government. There can be no system more free than the one now proposed."/12

The forces of liberty and participation lost in Boston, and elsewhere. Assemblies of the people were abolished in favor of elected city councils. Some of the strongest partisans of this change had doubts. "As it was with Boston in 1822, and has been with many other municipalities since, so was it with the town government of Quincy in 1887. Never had it been better administered, never had it performed its work in a way more satisfactory, never had the reputation of the town stood so high among its sister towns, as it then had for fifteen years; but, nevertheless,...Municipal affairs have become, like public life, a profession; and, while the experiment has doubtless got to be tried, contributing something to the final result, there is certainly no great reason to hope that a good and satisfactory system of municipal government can be brought about through any mechanical charter process, no matter how carefully studied or how well contrived. If subjected to that test, the Quincy charter, it is needless to say is doomed to failure."/13.

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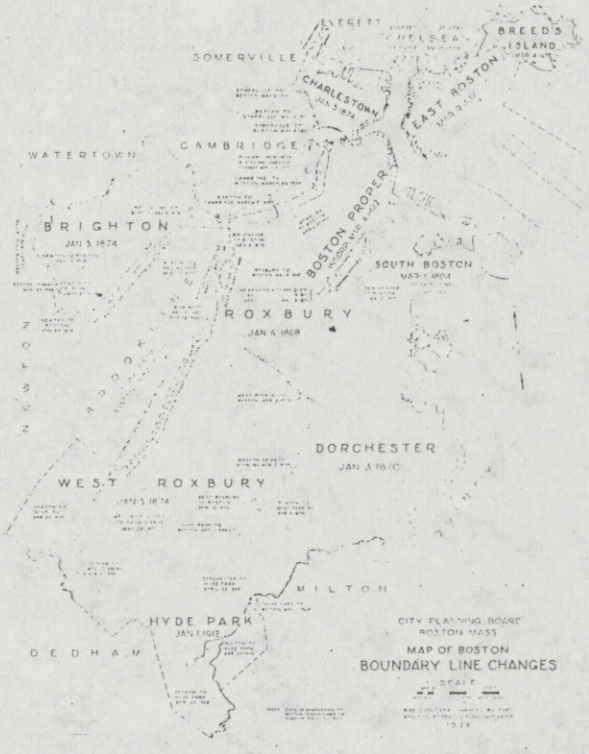
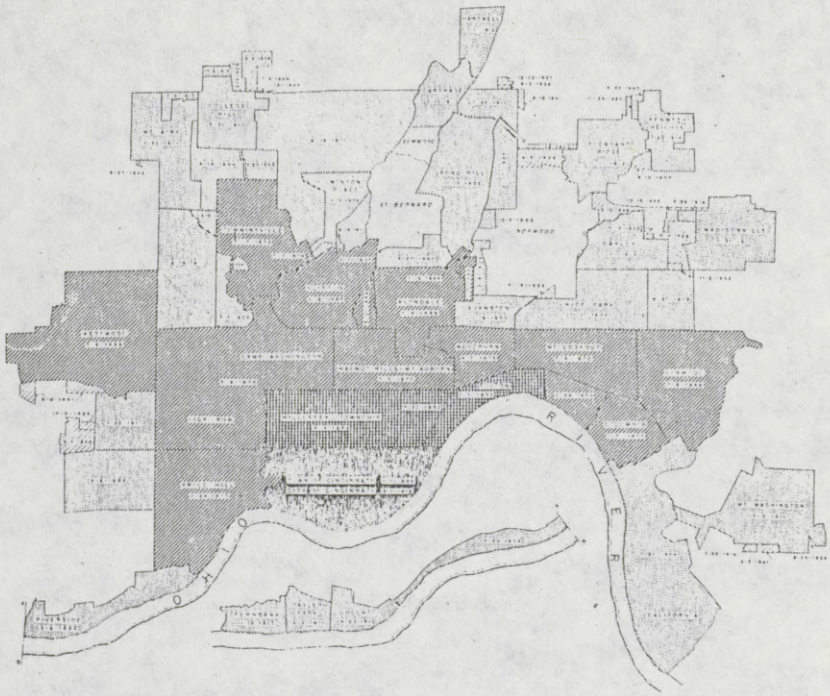
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Charles Francis Adams, Three Episodes of Massachusetts History, op. cit. p. 983-984.

With the replacement of assemblies by city councils, now only a few, no longer the many, legislated and were responsible for town affairs. The republic of Boston had general meetings where as many as 6,000 attended to decide law and town business. Now by 1823, 48 common councilmen, 7 aldermen and a mayor ruled. The requirement of assembly had always limited the size of little republics. When a town grew populous a section would petition to be set off, so that the townsmen of that area could assemble in familiarity to each other. Now that only the elected representatives need meet, there was no limit to the size of cities. Throughout America thousands of small towns and cities were annexed by strong and ambitious central cities. Boston annexed ancient Roxbury, Charleston, Dorchester and Brighton. Philadelphia annexed Kensington, Spring Gardens, the Liberties and 21 other towns and boroughs. Cincinnati annexed Clifton, Avondale, Woodburn, Fulton, Cumminsville and other towns. New York City annexed hundreds of cities and towns; not the least of which was Brooklyn, itself the third largest city in America in 1885.

We come to our cities today--their mammoth size and mammoth problems. Roughly one hundred and thirty years have passed since the first wave of experimentation with city government, and some eighty years since their massive annexations around the turn of the century. Participation receeded into the background as the "scientific" discovery of representative government was applied from the federal and state constitutions to city charters. In place of small scale municipality and political participation, representative government ruled the cities through patronage and bureaucratic expansion. Citizen responsibility was replaced by party politics, and today the chickens have come home to roost. City governments are at the limits of their fiscal capacity. New York, Philadelphia, Buffalo, Boston and many other cities are on the edge of bankruptcy. In the new austerity of city government and the decrease of public services and welfare, neighborhood organizations and citizen participation are encouraged to pull the slack of urban decline.


EVERETT
CHELSEA
BREED'S ISLAND
SOMERVILLE
CHARLESTOWN
JAN 5 1874
EAST BOSTON
MAR 3 1870
WATERTOWN
CAMBRIDGE
BOSTON PROPER
BRIGHTON
JAN 5 1874
SOUTH BOSTON
MAR 7 1804
ROXBURY
JAN 6 1868
DORCHESTER
JAN 5 1870
WEST ROXBURY
JAN 5 1874
MILTON
HYDE PARK
JAN 1 1912
DEDHAM
CITY PLANNING BOARD
BOSTON MASS
MAP OF BOSTON
BOUNDARY LINE CHANGES
SCALE
1924



ANNEXATIONS TO CINCINNATI

1930 THRU 1945
1900 TO 1920
1860 TO 1900
1820 TO 1850
CITY AS OF 1820

NORTH
SCALE IN MILES
0 1 2 3

CITY PLANNING COMMISSION
CINCINNATI OHIO

METROPOLITAN MASTER PLAN

Here are some things that neighborhood governments are doing today. The Adams-Morgan Organization in Washington, D.C., includes a community of 31,000. Organized on the basis of direct assembly decision and community self-sufficiency, there has been good progress over the past two years. Two anti-profit food and drug stores, Stone Soup and Fields of Plenty, organized as collectives, are feeding the community at cheaper prices than the chain supermarkets. After six months of operation, Stone Soup alone was grossing $14,000 a week. A health clinic is operating; a tenants' union has formed to protect renters against speculators; trucking and home repair collectives are established; offenders are being released to the care of the community; commerce is being revived in the community. The community has control of two public schools in the area. Most recently, a community technology project demonstrated the practicability of raising trout and a variety of agricultural products within the community.

In McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania, outside of Pittsburgh, the Sto-Rox Neighborhood Corporation is running its own health clinic, senior citizens programs, credit union, library, mental health program and other human services. The general corporation has monthly meetings and each of the 21 neighborhoods which comprise the corporation meet also once a month. The Sto-Rox Corporation is seeking to abolish city government and institute a town meeting municipality. Their purpose is to return legislative power to the general meeting of the citizens.

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14. Jefferson To John Adams, Monticello, Oct. 28, 1813.

In Baltimore, the South East Community Corporation manages its budget of over a million dollars a year in social programs, credit union, health programs and economic development. In Boston, the South East Planning Action Committee has legal control over public housing management and the urban development process in its neighborhood. The story of a growing movement for political self-determination can be told for every city.

In order to gain national recognition of neighborhood interests and neighborhood democracy a number of neighborhood organizations formed the Alliance for Neighborhood Government in 1975. The Alliance has just held its third national meeting in Philadelphia and signed a National Neighborhood Bill of Rights. Representatives from over 25 cities took part in this historic event of participatory politics. The Alliance believes that all governments and private institutions must recognize and orient themselves to (1) the concept of neighborhoods as significant units of citizen participation and self-government; (2) the right of neighborhoods to determine their own goals and initiate and execute their own plans and programs; (3) the right of neighborhoods to review in advance and decisively influence at all stages of planning and execution all actions of governments and private institutions affecting the neighborhood; (4) the right of neighborhoods to control public and private resources necessary for the implementation and support of neighborhood decisions; (5) the right of neighborhoods to define their own governing structures, operating procedures and boundaries.

Last year Senator Mark Hatfield introduced the Neighborhood Government Act of 1975 establishing a Federal income tax credit to neighborhood government organizations. "The communities and neighborhoods of America are our untapped resource. Moving together they can direct the nation's effort toward the

betterment of life, and toward the rebirth of political opportunity the likes of which has not been seen since the revolution."/ 15

Many federal programs in the executive branch of government fund neighborhood organizations for the direct design and administration of services in the areas of juvenile delinquincy, comprehensive manpower training, community education, law enforcement, housing and community development, and other areas of interest.

National non-governmental entities also have recognized neighborhoods. In 1971, The American Institute of Architects issued a special policy report. The report stated the "the measuring rod of national growth should be the quality of our neighborhoods, and the assurance that neighborhoods--even when they change--will not deteriorate. The neighborhood should be America's Growth Unit. By concentrating on the neighborhood as a Growth Unit, National policy can relate to growth and regrowth wherever it may occur." (The First Report of the National Policy Task Force. Newsletter to the American Institute of Architects, Jan. 1972).

At the state government level, the California State Commission on Local Government in 1973 recommended that the process of separation of neighborhood from large cities be made easier. In 1973 the Ohio Local Government Commission also recommended the establishment of neighborhood government units in large cities, with appropriated funds for staff and programs.

At the municipal level the trend of legalized participation has been the strongest. Some of the more recent landmark cases of neighborhood decetralization point toward the legal incorporation of neighborhoods.

Washington, D.C.--In May of 1974 residents of the District of Columbia approved by referendum a charter calling for the establishment of Advisory Neighborhood Councils. The City Council has created 372 single member districts

15. Mark O. Hatfield, Speech to the Alliance for Neighborhood Government, Washington, D.C., May 1975.

within 36 Advisory Neighborhood Commission areas. Some 300 elected advisory neighborhood commissioners have been sworn into office and are now organizing the internal structures of their commissions. ANCs will advise the District government on matters of public policy including decisions regarding planning, education, recreation and other municipal services in the neighborhood area.

Pittsburgh, Pa.--In 1974 residents of Pittsburgh approved by charter the establishment of community advisory boards with somewhat the same duties and powers as the Washington councils. However, Pittsburgh's Advisory Board will not be broken down to the single member district level. Presently, no election date has been scheduled.

Simi Valley, Calif.--In February 1972 City Council enacted an ordinance creating five neighborhood council districts. Any member of the community over 18 is entitled to vote at meetings which operate like New England Town Meetings. A wide range of topics have been discussed at neighborhood council meetings including animal control, sewer expansion and land development.

Portland, Oregon--In 1973 the City Council of Portland, Oregon passed an ordinance legally recognizing the neighborhood associations of Portland as authorized agencies of citizen participation in city government. The council instituted and funded an Office of Neighborhood Association which proceeded to help the neighborhood associations determine their boundaries and strengthen their internal structure. The neighborhood associations have cooperated with the city on the community development block grant program, and have received a percentage of this grant for neighborhood run projects. The city government, through the office of neighborhood associations, has already completed contracts with several neighborhood associations for the performance of certain municipal program functions.

The same process of the legal recognition of citizen participation is going on in many other cities including Birmingham, Detroit, Baltimore, San Francisco, Houston, Atlanta, Minneapolis, St. Paul, and elsewhere.

There are a number of technical problems that face the new legal powers of neighborhood government such as their operating procedure, internal structure, and external relationships. By far the greatest current problem they face is the fear that the power of neighborhood political participation will be used against minorities within neighborhoods and against the interests of weaker neighborhoods outside. This problem has been highlighted in the tragic circumstances of the Rosedale community in New York City. A black family moved into white Rosedale one year ago. Since that time certain residents have bombed the house and harrassed the black family to drive them away from the neighborhood. The black family claims its legal right to open housing, while many of the white families desperately fear black entry and the block busting of their neighborhood. It is situations like Rosedale that lead people to fear that political participation will result in intolerance and oppression. While we argue that assembly based neighborhood government will be government under Constitutional law, the fear remains that popular power lacks the ethical norm which centralized government is presumed to have. As much as we may reduce this latter fear by forging neighborhood government under Constitutional law, we must still face the challenge of discovering an ethical basis of direct action and citizen power. We need a new ethical vision of justice and love between neighbors, regardless of wealth or race, to serve our period of political participation. "Our time stands in need of a new revelation. A revelation obtains whenever man comes into touch with a reality distinct from himself. It does not matter what this reality is made of, provided man feels it to be absolute reality. Man needs a new

revelation. For he will be lost in the arbitrary and boundless fancies of his mind if he is not able to contact them with something truly and inescapably real. Reality is the only mentor and master of man. Without its inexorable and solemn presence it is idle to hope for culture, civil welfare, or even--and that is the most dreadful--authenticity in personal life."/16

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Recommendations

Here are some things which Congress might do to advance neighborhood rights and responsibilities, as well as to assist other branches of direct citizen action in the decade to come.

1. Congress should have a vehicle for studying and supporting citizen participation throughout the country. For a nation which requires citizen responsibility in public affairs it is as vital to analyze, monitor, and encourage the public participation of neighborhoods and citizen interest groups, as it is to have a Joint Economic Committee. There was a time of careless prosperity, when we thought we could build a new society on a paid professional basis. Thankfully, that myth has been shattered and society can progress only by the will and participation of responsible citizens. Participation, then, is the basic element of change. It is the coin of progress, and warrants your steady attention. The Bicentennial Foundation could be such a vehicle for this attention.

2. We need direct documentation of the public duties and responsibilities which neighborhood organizations and citizen action groups want to carry for the improvement of their common life and the country as a whole.

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16. Jose Ortega y Gasset, Concord and Liberty, W.W. Norton & Company, New York, 1946, p. 20.

3. Neighborhood organizations need model charters to equip them with legitimate and effective structures of public responsibility. There should also be a federal encouragement to state governments to charter neighborhoods as sub-city units of local government.

4. There should be public financing of neighborhood government organizations and citizen action groups. I refer you to Senator Hatfield's Neighborhood Government Act of 1975 which provides for tax credits to neighborhood organizations.

5. Neighborhood organizations and citizen action groups must have representatives in federal agencies, at the national, regional and local levels.

6. Congress should review legislation like Revenue Sharing and Housing and Community Block Grants and require that a percentage of these funds go directly to the level of neighborhood government organizations and citizen action groups.

7. Congress should develop a citizen participation impact standard for legislation in all areas.

8. The board of the proposed Bicentennial Foundation should have representation from the Alliance for Neighborhood Government and citizen action groups.

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Finally, I would like to submit for the record the following information on the Alliance for Neighborhood Government and the present state of the movement for neighborhood rights and responsibilities.

1. On March 7, 1976, Parade magazine published an article on the Alliance for Neighborhood Government that reached millions of Americans.

2. I submit a list of member neighborhood organizations and coalitions of the Alliance for Neighborhood Government.

3. We introduce the report of the Second National Alliance for Neighborhood Government Meeting in Baltimore, Maryland which describes the range of issues which are central to neighborhood rights and responsibility.

4. We add John Hamer's authoritative report on neighborhood control for the Congressional Quarterly.

5. I introduce the brochure of the Institute for Neighborhood Studies which is the research arm of the Alliance for Neighborhood Government.

ATTACHMENT -1-

parade

A nationwide reaction against power concentrated in Washington has sparked many local initiatives. The incorporated neighborhood group near Pittsburgh (above) offers benefits that include a library and senior citizens' hot lunch.

A New Approach to Local Government

by Phil Stanford

STO-ROX, PA.

Sto-Rox—which is how the residents of the adjoining towns of Stowe and McKees Rocks refer to themselves—is a slightly down-at-the-heels industrial community just outside Pittsburgh. It is, as one resident put it, "a poor place," and the people who live here—mostly the hard-working descendants of immigrants from Poland, Italy and Russia—are "typically status quo, interested mainly in keeping life the way it was."

It's not the sort of place you might expect to find a new and perhaps daring political movement taking shape.

However, a number of people, including Oregon's Sen. Mark Hatfield, feel that what is happening in Sto-Rox is the most important political development in the country today.

Basically, what's happening here is that people have decided to take government into their own hands. They formed a corporation in 1972, the Sto-Rox Neighborhood Corp., to provide services that most people expect from federal, state or local governments.

Several of the corporation's services, such as its credit union, health clinic, dental service, minibus service and senior citizens clinic, pay for themselves. Others, such as a storefront library and a food program for the elderly, operate on federal funds and gifts from individuals and churches.

Sister Paulette, a Vincentian nun and a leader of the Sto-Rox Neighborhood Corp., says that the aim is to make all programs self-supporting. She says it is working because the people have a real stake; they know they have a voice.

All decisions on corporation programs are made by a vote of the members meeting as a general assembly. Anyone who lives or works in Sto-Rox can join. So far, the corporation has 1500 members out of approximately 20 000 who live in the area.

Personal responsibility

"It is a return to direct democracy," says Sister Paulette, "a chance for people to take direct responsibility for what happens to them.

According to Milton Kotler of the Institute for Neighborhood Studies in Washington, D.C., groups in several cities, including Washington and Grand Rapids, Mich., have incorporated to provide services.

The Adams-Morgan Organization, incorporated in 1972 in a predominantly black and Spanish neighborhood of Washington, D.C., has managed to provide a health clinic, a food cooperative and a banking collective. It also has a "community technology center" that has developed plans for people to grow their own food—in basement trout pools and hydroponic greenhouses—or to heat their homes with homemade solar batteries.

The Eastown Community Assoc. in Grand Rapids has established a food co-op and is trying to set up a radio station. It has obtained equipment but is awaiting a license from the Federal Communications Commission.

In addition, says Kotler, a number of cities — including Honolulu, Hawaii; Philadelphia, Pa.; Simi Valley, Cal.; Boston, Mass.; Dayton, Ohio; Seattle, Wash.; Portland, Oreg.; Baltimore, Md.; Pittsburgh, Pa., and Washington—have recently given community groups an increased role in government.

Promotes local government

As Kotler sees it, there is a definite trend across the country toward neighborhood government. "For some time," he says, "people have seen that big government doesn't work. Now they are beginning to realize that the only real alternative is government on a small, neighborhood scale."

Last spring a new organization called the Alliance for Neighborhood Government held its first meeting, which was attended by representatives of 40 neighborhood associations from six Eastern states. Kotler, who was one of the organizers of the meeting, says the alliance, which sees itself as a lobby to promote local control of government, plans to expand its membership soon to cover the entire country. (Mailing address for the Alliance for Neighborhood Government is 3505 McKinley St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20015.)

The keynote speaker at the meeting was Senator Hatfield, whose Neighborhood Government Act is a bill the alliance would like to see enacted.

Under the bill, private citizens would be able to give up to 80 percent of their federal income tax directly to neighborhood corporations. Technically, an individual would receive tax credits for each dollar given to the corporation.

Historic roots

"Actually," Hatfield says, "there is nothing more American than community-based self-government. In 1776 we were a nation of small political and economic units."

It is only recently, says Hatfield, that so much power has become centralized in Washington.

A local government serves best, he says, "because the people know the community problems firsthand."

Most important, according to Hatfield, his bill would restore government to "human size." If government can be brought down to manageable size, he says, people will no longer feel powerless to control their lives. They will no longer have a reason to feel cynical and apathetic about politics.

The people in Sto-Rox, Pa., agree.

Senior citizens belonging to the corporation may use a van to come and go. Driver Ray DiPerna and aide Donna Saunders furnish door-to-door service.

— ATTACHMENT -2- —

Member Neighborhood Organizations and Coalitions
of the Alliance for Neighborhood Government

Pittsburgh Neighborhood Alliance
211 Oakland Ave.
Pittsburgh, PA

ACTION-Housing, Inc.
Two Gateway Center
Pittsburgh, PA

South East Area Coalition
141 Pearl St.
Rochester, NY

Association of Neighborhood
Housing Developers
29 East 22nd St.
New York, NY

The Urbanarium at RIT
1 Lomb Memorial Dr.
Rochester, NY

The Adams-Morgan Organization
2431 18th St., N.W.
Washington, D.C.

WEDGE, Inc.
172 Jay St.
Rochester, NY

Dupont Circle Advisory Neighborhood
Commission
Washington, D.C.

Community Services Society
105 East 22nd St.
New York, NY

Whitman Area Improvement
Council
Philadelphia, PA

Near East Side Community Organization, Inc.
958 North Beville Ave.
Indianapolis, IN

Neighborhood Tenants Association,
Cambridge
94 Larchwood Dr.
Cambridge, Mass.

Forest Hills Community House
108-25 62nd Dr.
Forest Hills, NY

Capitol Hill United Neighborhoods, Inc.
P.O. Box 18575, Capitol Hill Station
Denver, Colorado

Lawrence Neighborhood Service
Center
295 Eggerts Rd.
Lawrenceville, NJ

Neighborhood Improvement
1300 Broad St.
Jacksonville, FL

Neighborhood Counseling Center
1801 Nicollet
Minneapolis, MN

Greater Homewood Community Corp.
Baltimore, MD

Hoes Heights Improvement Ass.
Baltimore, MD

Charles Village Civic Ass.
Baltimore, MD

Citizens Planning and Housing Ass.
Baltimore, MD

Coalition of Peninsula Organizations
Baltimore, MD

Abell Improvement Ass.
Baltimore, MD

Little Important People, Inc.
Baltimore, MD

Peoples Free Medical Clinic
Baltimore, MD

West Village Community Association
Buffalo, NY

Couper Grant Community
Camden, NJ

Eastown Community Association
Grand Rapids, Mich.

JOIN
New Brunswick, NJ

Harlem Consumer Education Council
New York, NY

National Neighbors, Inc.
New York, NY

Hartranft Community Corporation
Philadelphia, PA

West Frankford Civic Ass.
Philadelphia, PA

Council of City-Wide Community Organizations
Philadelphia, PA

Northwest Interfaith Movement/Penn Knox Neighbors
Philadelphia, PA

Queens Village Neighbors Ass.
Philadelphia, PA

Delaware Valley Land Policy Ass.
Philadelphia, PA

Cedar Park Neighbors
Philadelphia, PA

Corcoran Neighborhood Ass.
Washington, D.C.

Naylor Dupont Community Assembly
Washington, D.C.

Upper Connecticut Avenue Betterment Ass.
Washington, D.C.

Mayor's Ad Hoc Committee on Citizen Participation
723 Chew St.
Allentown, PA

Stanton Park Neighborhood Ass.
Washington, D.C.

North Dupont Community Ass
Washington, D.C.

Southeast Community Ass.
Washington, D.C.

Kensington Citizen's Committee
Philadelphia, PA

Ethnic Neighborhood Action Center
Brooklyn, N.Y.

South End Project Action Committee
Boston, Massachusetts

— ATTACHMENT -3- —

Alliance for Neighborhood Government

No. 3—November 1975

226 East Capitol Street
Washington, D.C. 20003

THE ANG BULLETIN

SPECIAL ISSUE

PROCEEDINGS OF SECOND EASTERN REGION CONFERENCE
ALLIANCE FOR NEIGHBORHOOD GOVERNMENT
OCTOBER 17-19, 1975 BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

This issue of the Bulletin contains the proceedings of the October ANG conference in Baltimore.

The next issue (No. 4—December 1975) will revert to the regular format.

BEGINNING WITH THE JANUARY 1976 ISSUE, THE BULLETIN WILL BE PUBLISHED MONTHLY AND DISSEMINATED ON A SUBSCRIPTION BASIS ONLY. This is in accordance with a decision made at the October conference to charge a membership/subscription fee of $10 per year as one of several ways to finance the legislative research and other work done by the Alliance, as well as publication of the Bulletin itself.

There is a subscription form insert with this issue. Please use it to become a supporting member of the ANG and to share in its work and information exchanges.

CONTENTS

PROCEEDINGS OF SECOND EASTERN REGION CONFERENCE

INTRODUCTION

The Alliance for Neighborhood Government was created in May 1975 by approximately one hundred representatives of forty neighborhoods in five Eastern U.S. cities. The purpose was to exchange information on neighborhood activities and issues and to share resources and energies in solving common neighborhood problems.

The group agreed to meet again in several months to further define its goals and to continue its debate over ways and means of achieving them. That meeting was held in Baltimore, Maryland, on October 17-19, 1975, at St. John's United Methodist Church, hosted by members of the Greater Homewood Corporation.

Representation was broader than in May: one hundred and ten people from forty-five neighborhood organizations in thirteen cities. Most knew each other from the first meeting, but some valuable new contacts were made also.

Through a series of workshops and a plenary session of formal actions, a good deal of progress seemed to be made—both in in-house matters and in matters of public endeavor.

Several committees were formed to pursue specific activities, a program of funding for the Alliance was put into effect, and plans for the next regional workshop conference were begun—Philadelphia in 1976!

ATTENDANCE

Baltimore, Maryland

Greater Homewood Community Corporation
- ✓ Mary Pat Clarke
- ✓ Meredith Coughlan
- ✓ Richard Cook
- ✓ Allen Holmes
- Donna Keck
- ✓ Elisabeth Leonard
- ✓ Ralph Schley

Hoes Heights Improvement Association
- ✓ Marie Coles
- Gladys Gunther
- James Gunther
- ✓ William Hopkins
- ✓ Mozelle Johnson
- Modiest Rice

Charles Village Civic Association
- Charles Kelly
- Pam Kelly
- ✓ Roberta Nevitt

ISSUE PAPERS

Four Issue Papers were submitted for use at the conference:

"Assumptions, Definitions and Issues for Productive Debate Within the Neighborhood Movement"—David Shaw

"Legislative Update"—Bill Bastuk and Maggie Meko

"Neighborhood Economic Development"—David Morris

"Controlling Neighborhood Land Use"—Susan Meehan

The set of four Papers is available on request from the ANG. Please send 50¢ in stamps or coin to cover mailing costs.

WRITE TO CONGRESSPERSON SCHROEDER

The ANG Neighborhood Information Committee urges all individuals and neighborhood organizations to write to Rep. Pat Schroeder (Colo.), chairperson of the House Subcommittee on the Census, to urge her subcommittee to help neighborhoods get improved services from the Census Bureau.

—The Census Bureau does not now have brief, low-cost publications containing the neighborhood information they have gathered. It is difficult for citizens to get access to census information.

—The Census Bureau has no staff assigned to the specific job of helping neighborhoods, although many staff members are assigned specifically to help business.

—The Census Bureau has local and national advisory committees but these do not now have neighborhood representatives.

—The Census Bureau does produce some limited information on a block basis, but produces most of its information on a tract basis. Tract boundaries do not usually coincide with neighborhood boundaries. It is crucial that we find a way to have census information on a neighborhood basis.

If Rep. Schroeder hears from enough people about these needs, she will call a public hearing which will force the Census Bureau to answer and act.

Write to: Congressperson Pat Schroeder
Subcommittee on the Census
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

Citizens Planning and Housing Association
- Al Barry
- Joyce Leviton

Coalition of Peninsula Organizations
- Michael Seipp
- Irene Reville

Baltimore City Department of Planning
- Ruth Louie
- Christine Fowler

Abell Improvement Association
- John Lombardi

Little Important People, Inc.
- Alida Warren

Peoples Free Medical Clinic
- Jane Conly

District Planning
- Nick Sheridan

Neighborhood Design Center
- Don Meserve

Independence in Living Coalition
- Myra Bonhage-Hale

University of Maryland
- Marilyn Anikis

Buffalo, New York
West Village Community Association
- Ron Linville
- Rick Sprout

Cambridge, Massachusetts
Center for Community Economic Development
- John MacPhee

Camden, New Jersey
Couper Grant Community
- Milo Billman
- Carthina Davis
- Carrie Foxx
- Yvonne Gaines
- Roy Jones
- Tony Murry
- Eric Randolph
- Cheryl Vogel

East Lansing, Michigan
Department of Urban Planning, MSU
- Annabel Dwyer

Freeport, Maine
Project for Economic Alternatives
✓. Michael Schaaf

Grand Rapids, Michigan
Eastown Community Association
. Glen Barkan
✓. Linda Easley
✓. Tom Edison
. Jim Lobdell

Hampton, New Jersey
Department of Community Affairs
. Matthew Powell

New Brunswick, New Jersey
JOIN
✓. Peter Jessen

New York, New York
American Jewish Committee
✓. Jesse Auerbach
. Fran Chessler

Harlem Consumer Education Council
. Claude Flythe

Forest Hills Community House
. James Drinane

Video Simulations
✓. Martin Steinmetz

National Neighbors, Inc.
. Charles Cluxton

Neighborhood Housing Developers
✓. Jackie Long

"Neighborhoods" Magazine
✓. Celene Krauss

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Hartranft Community Corporation
. James Brown
✓. Emanuel Ellerbee
. Margaret Joins
. Ruth Jones
✓. James MacGruther
✓. Nathaniel McGhee
✓. Alonzo Randall
. Mattie Williams

West Frankford Civic Association
✓. Carol Vento

NEIGHBORHOOD VISITS

One of the most popular aspects of the ANG conferences so far is the "neighborhood visit," in which local groups in the host city take conference participants on tours of various segments of the city—both to show off their accomplishments and to show, in real-world concepts, what the problems are.

Five such tours were given in Baltimore by:

—Dave Wecht, Harbel Neighborhood Association (Herring Run Park, Mental Health Clinic, Drug Abuse Program)

—Mike Seipp, COPO (Highway Plan Impact)

—Dick Cook, Greater Homewood Corporation (Wyman Park Redevelopment)

—James Gunther, Hoes Heights (Picnic/Play Area, New Lighting)

—Jim Keck, Northwest Baltimore Corporation (Belpark Tower, Elderly Hi-Rise)

DEFINITION OF "NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZATION"

In beginning to arrive at a conclusion about what a neighborhood organization is for purposes of legislation, this definition was approved at the conference, subject to further study and refinement:

A neighborhood organization

—is residentially based,

—is publicly selected and structured,

—is effectively organized,

—is non-partisan,

—exists in a specific territory,

—holds public decisionmaking meetings,

—is concerned with neighborhood issues and improving neighborhood life.

Let us have your comments on this.

NEW ANG COMMITTEES

The ANG, since its founding in May, has had two active committees: Legislation and Neighborhood Information.

The following new committees were created at the October conference:

—Committee on Statement of Purpose

. Tom Hamper
. Pam Kelley
. Celene Krauss
. Jim MacGruther
. Tani Martinat
. Ralph Schley
. Michael Seipp

—Committee on (Nader/ANG) Cooperative Projects

. Bill Bastuk
. Dave Davies
. Milton Kotler
. Jackie Long
. Bob Love
. Conrad Weiler

—Committee on ANG Funding

. Allen Holmes
.
. (Need more volunteers)
.

—(Legislative) Subcommittee on Fraser Omnibus Neighborhood Bill

. Charles Kelley
. Conrad Weiler

The workshop and plenary reports explain why these committees were formed and what they were instructed to do.

These and all such committees, of course, can use more help. If you have the time and inclination, please let us know so we can let you know when meetings are held.

Council of City-Wide Community Organizations
. Jack Dennis

Northwest Interfaith Movement/Penn Knox Neighbors
. Fred Zepernich

Queens Village Neighbors Association
. Conrad Weiler

Delaware Valley Land Policy Assn.
Tani Martinat

Cedar Park Neighbors
. Tony Edgerton

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
F.O.R. Sto-Rox Corporation
. Father Regis Ryan
. Sister Paulette
. Ed Dempko
. Loretta Farrell
. Audrey Gross
. Lee Macadangdang
. Patricia McMahon
. Al Spatero
. Mrs. Spatero
. Sandra Wolf

Pittsburgh Neighborhood Alliance
. Vera DeBenedetti
. James Cunningham
. Ronald Madzy
. Jonathan Robison
. James Vallas

School of Social Work, U. of Pitts.
. Robert Loranger
. Henry Loubet

Perry Hilltop Citizens Council
. Fran Bertonaschi

Washington, D.C.
Adams Morgan Organization
. Robert Love

Corcoran Neighborhood Association
. Susan Meehan

Naylor Dupont Community Assembly
. David Shaw

U.S. Census Bureau
. Edgar Elan
. Paul Zeisset

Institute for Local Self-Reliance
. ~~David Morris~~
✓. James Taylor

Congress Watch
✓. Linda Hudak

Center for Responsive Law
. Martin Rogol

Independent
. ~~Tom Hamper~~

Guest Speakers
. Karl Hess, author of Dear America, project coordinator of Community Technology, Inc.
. Joseph Arnold, Professor of Urban History, University of Maryland.
. William Donald Schaefer, Mayor, City of Baltimore.

ANG Staff and Interns
. Bill Bastuk, ANG Research Coordinator
. Dave Dewitt, Intern
. Therese Hess, ANG Secretary
. Milton Kotler, Institute for Neighborhood Studies
. Maggie Meko, Intern
. Greg Reamer, Intern
✓. Greta Smith, ANG Treasurer; Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs
. Wayne Watkins, Intern

COMMENTS OF GUEST SPEAKERS

Karl Hess. Karl is an ex-political speechwriter and policy formulator, author of the recently published book, Dear America, and project coordinator of a group called Community Technology, Inc., whose goal is to apply scientific knowledge and low-impact technology to city neighborhoods to help them become self-sufficient.

His talk at the Friday evening dinner (very brief because he was beginning a flu bout) centered on "smallness"—the beauty of it, the simplicity of it, the possibility of it when bigness everywhere is proving impossible as a solution to the world's problems.

His observations on the advantages of smallness, or decentralization, ranged over agriculture (individual farmers versus agribusiness), industry (the Carnegie empire versus the Bessemer invention), medicine (the National Cancer Institute versus Jonas Salk), education (the consolidated "plant" versus the one-room school house), and politics (the nation versus the neighborhood).

In one particularly memorable analogy, he observed that dinosaurs and cockroaches both existed in prehistoric times. The dinosaur soon proved too large to be practical on earth and became extinct. But the little cockroach.....

Karl said he believes, like Gandhi, that there should be only the villages and then the world as units of political and social organization—nothing in between, such as nations.

Neighborhoods are where we live; they should be where we make all the decisions that affect our lives.

Joseph Arnold. Also on Friday night, Professor Arnold, from the University of Maryland, discussed the "Origins of Modern Neighborhoods, 1870-1970."

He reviewed how social, economic and political histories of specific neighborhoods are compiled (through birth and death records, newspaper files, prison records, census information and, more recently, computer records of everything from medical data to bank transactions).

He noted that Baltimore in 1850 influenced what the city is today. Then, he said, the city's docks were its central business

(Continued on page twenty-four)

WORKSHOP DISCUSSIONS/RECOMMENDATIONS

Workshop: Models for Neighborhood Organization

Moderator, Part I—Donna Keck
Recorder, Part I—Nick Sheridan

Moderator, Part II—Allen Holmes
Recorder, Part II—Sarah Reeder

Part I of this workshop reviewed several existing types of neighborhood groups in terms of their public, or external, structure, and Part II discussed possible modes of internal structure.

External Structure. Five models were described: (1) city-wide coalition of neighborhoods, (2) legal neighborhood council, (3) private umbrella group, (4) city-wide issue coalition, and (5) small-city neighborhood government.

As an example of (1), Jim Cunningham talked about the Pittsburgh Neighborhood Alliance. PNA has thirty affiliate organizations and deals with city-wide issues such as expressways, mass transit, overseeing the city budget, etc. It recently worked successfully to obtain a change in the city charter to set up formal, elected neighborhood councils. One weakness noted was the tendency of such a coalition to become an entity unto itself rather than a federation of other entities. The major means of communication among such groups, Jim said, were monthly meetings, a newsletter, and committees and task forces.

Greta Smith described the Citizens' Neighborhood Council Coordinating Committee in Washington, D.C., as an example of (2). The process for elected neighborhood councils was set up in Washington in 1974 by referendum to advise city government on planning, zoning, etc. Funding by the city is based on population. Five percent of the voters in each neighborhood must petition the city council to set up an advisory council in each neighborhood. The city government, Greta reported, is constantly trying to lessen the power of these councils. The CNCCC is now fighting a bill that would prohibit the neighborhood councils from forming city-wide alliances. Boundaries for the councils were drawn by citizen task forces, usually within political ward boundaries, and can be redrawn by petition. The neighborhood council concept is the inspiration of Rep. Donald Fraser of Minneapolis. Proposals for similar councils are pending in both Minneapolis and St. Paul.

The Greater Homewood Community Corporation in Baltimore was cited by Dick Cook as an example of a private umbrella group (3). It is a federation of eighteen neighborhood groups, with each group having a member on the board of the corporation. Its purpose is to act as a check on the city government and to develop needed services for its area. Dick noted that city-wide coalitions in Baltimore had been sporadic and weak, with no permanent link among the eight federations in the city. He said there had been incidents of two groups claiming to represent the same neighborhood and that Greater Homewood acts as a forum for groups to argue with each other over these and other issues. Greater Homewood also manages a senior citizen group funded by the city government and other social agencies.

An example of (4), a city-wide issue coalition, is the city-wide housing group in New York City organized by Ron Shiffman around the Community Development Act. This group has had some success in diverting funds from demolition to renovation.

No example of (5), a small-city neighborhood government, was discussed. Other relevant observations were that:

. Efforts at a city-wide coalition in Boston were meeting with severe difficulties because neighborhood groups there have different and often hostile outlooks based on differences in class, race and political views.

. In New York, there is a city-wide United Federation of Block Clubs, but it has lost much of its legitimacy by its close ties to City Hall.

. The key issue, regardless of the type of organization, is the power to allocate resources. One way to get this power is through charter revision, so that neighborhoods can take power for themselves from the politicians.

. Coalitions have to form from the bottom up. People need to be directly involved and need to work first on their own turf. Coalitions may develop and may be necessary in some instances, but representation is never as worthwhile as participation.

Internal Structure. The discussion centered on neighborhood government versus advisory councils. A couple of local government organization structures were cited:

. In Independence, Missouri, there is a representative government structure. Neighborhood units are drawn along the lines of the school districts, and each unit elects twenty people. Thus there are four hundred neighborhood representatives out of a population of 120,000. In each unit, those elected are divided into committees such as sanitation, housing, etc., and all the committees that deal with a particular problem work together across the city and report back to the neighborhood units. The representatives are elected on the same day that the city elections are held but not in the official polling places; neighborhoods run their own elections. The job of the representatives is to communicate with the elected politicians and service agencies of the government.

. In the Sto-Rox area, citizens sign up into the assembly government corporation. An Agenda Committee sends out the agenda to all citizens listing the issues and the pros and cons of those issues to be discussed at the next meeting. If there are not enough people to reach a quorum, citizens are called until the quorum is reached. The purpose is to make each citizen feel important in the governmental process. Also, if the issue to be discussed reaches across the neighborhood lines or the neighborhood is particularly large, a number of meetings are held in different places at different times over a five- to ten-day period. The purpose, again, is to allow as much citizen participation as possible.

The importance of focusing on basic needs was stressed. The effectiveness and inclusiveness of a neighborhood or community organization depends on the ability of that organization to demonstrate that it can provide the people in its area with the services they need (food, housing, etc.). It must also be able to show its people that they can participate in the process and provide for themselves. A Baltimore example was given in which federal funds were used to organize neighbors to grow their own food. There was said to be a very good response from otherwise disinterested citizens who are poor. The key is to offer something which obviously and immediately responds to real needs.

A further procedural suggestion for assembly government was that votes on an issue from each area should be tallied with votes from the rest of the city or town, as a way of carrying the debate from one area to another.

In discussing advisory councils, these points were made:

. Pittsburgh will soon have elected community advisory boards. The city is to be divided into districts corresponding with large neighborhoods or groups of smaller ones. The city council will determine how they will be elected, but the advisory board members are to be partisan and chosen as part of the regular election process. However, the board will have no real economic, political or cultural powers.

. In New York, huge neighborhood units were organized into advisory councils for tree planting and cultural events. As in Pittsburgh, though, the groups had no control over the budget of the city government.

. The Washington, D.C., advisory board will consist of thirty-six advisory commissions which will each represent from four thousand to thirty thousand citizens. Congress is allocating one dollar per person covered by each commission and the commission may determine how to use the money.

The benefits cited for an advisory council arrangement are that citizens have a sense of territory, of belonging, and a sense that they have some input into their government. On the other hand, people can not carry through themselves on the suggestions given to their advisory councils, except in those cases where money is allocated to the councils and the councils use it as directed by their constituency.

Workshop: Land Use Policy and Housing

Moderator—David Davies
Recorder—James Taylor

Discussion focused on a variety of housing and community development and reinvestment programs in the City of Baltimore. Dave Gilece of the Baltimore Citizens Planning and Housing Association described the Baltimore city programs. These programs, because of the Mayor's support for organized neighborhood interests, have a strong local community orientation. They can provide models for community groups in other cities.

The problem of "redlining"—the refusal of financial institutions to make loans for home purchases, repairs or rehabilitation in certain neighborhoods—came up early in the discussion. To counter this common practice, a "Dedicated Dollar" program has been established in Baltimore with the cooperation of the city's largest savings and loan association. So far, $250,000 has been deposited as part of the program. The depositors of these dollars can designate the specific area of the city in which the money their deposits make available for loans can be used. Alternatively, they may specify that the money is to be used anywhere in the city but only for housing costing under $15,000.

Code enforcement was also discussed. Baltimore has made a significant innovation in its housing code program which gives neighborhood organizations a real role in the enforcement process. Community groups can now influence the implementation of penalties for noncom-

pliance within their areas. It is now possible for a neighborhood to protect its home-owners of limited income from enforcement which would force them out of their homes, while at the same time assuring that absentee landlords are effectively dealt with.

Another Baltimore innovation in the area of code compliance is the Residential Environmental Assistance Loan (REAL) program. These loans are at low interest (six percent), for up to $20,000, with a pay-back period of twenty years. They are made by the Baltimore Housing and Community Development Department with funds derived from the sale of city revenue bonds. Loans may be used to bring homes up to code and also to improve their appearance.

The discussion of rehabilitation loans raised the possibility of using Community Development Block Grant money for this purpose. Representatives of neighborhood organizations in Grand Rapids, Michigan, and Trenton, New Jersey, said this had been done in their cities. In effect, the dollars designated for this purpose become a revolving fund since they are repaid by the borrower. Alternatively, the public money can be used to guarantee private loans for the same purpose.

Baltimore's REAL loans are the financing key to a program that was discussed at length: urban homesteading. The homesteading program allows families to acquire publicly-owned row housing for one dollar. To become homesteaders, an applicant family must meet certain credit qualifications, agree to bring the house up to code within a specified period and be willing to live in the house for five years. In addition to the REAL rehabilitation financing assistance, the city allows a three-year tax exemption to all homesteaded units.

Homesteading is in progress in several areas in Baltimore. A number of units are being handled on a scattered-site basis, but the greatest demand is for the housing in concentrated REAL program areas. The popularity of the program is indicated by the fact that one homesteading area of some three hundred properties had more than five thousand applicants—so many that the allocations were made by lottery. Unfortunately, the high demand means that it will be difficult for neighborhood groups to keep control of their neighborhoods. New, wealthier families will inevitably drive out the present poorer residents unless some mechanism is utilized to remove housing from the private speculative market.

The workshop ended—because the time ran out—in the middle of a discussion of a possible mechanism to facilitate community control of real property: cooperative ownership. This form of ownership can be used to permit lower-income families to remain in their neighborhood by removing housing from the inflationary pressures of the market. Cooperative ownership exists successfully on a significant scale—some two hundred townhouse units in a solid, several-square-block area—by the Washington Hill group in Baltimore's South East Community Organization. Washington Hill's cooperative organization is coordinated by a Board made up of home-owners. The equity that any owner can accrue has been legally limited and prices cannot be raised at least until the entire cooperative mortgage for all the units is paid off. Other successful housing coops for lower income families are in operation in New York City. These are described in Robert Kolodny's Self Help in the Inner City: A Study of Lower Income Cooperative Housing Conversion in New York.

PHILADELPHIA IN '76!

Workshop: Economic Self-Reliance

Moderator—David Morris
Recorders—Vera DeBenedetti, Robert Loranger

Several topics were suggested for discussion:

. Elaboration on the Kansas City experiment (as related by Mr. Falk).
. Internal funding for neighborhood government.
. How to hold a group together until the funds arrive.
. Keeping the land and keeping the land values down.
. Relationship of the community to legislation.
. Businesses that make large profits off of community; how to keep dollars in community.
. Alternative institutions—credit unions, "radical" banks.
. Control over municipal tax monies.
. How far should we go?

From these, an agenda was proposed and accepted and the workshop centered on descriptions of (1) the Kansas City experiment, (2) the Sto-Rox story, (3) the food distribution system in Washington, D.C., and (4) the Center for Community Economic Development (CCED).

The Kansas City experiment was described as a plan to cut costs, increase property values and make safer, better neighborhoods. The method is to get two percent of the people in a neighborhood involved in the project, on a paid membership basis, and organize on a block level for decisionmaking, with regional associations for educative and informational functions. The project centers on real estate: the association deposits its money (from membership dues) in a savings and loan institution or commercial bank, obtains options on land in the neighborhood, repairs/rehabilitates the property, finds a suitable buyer and resells the property, and puts the profit back into the association. The key to success of this plan, Mr. Falk explained, was not the membership dues, but rather the number of people involved; that this is what makes the banks cooperate. A book on the subject, Cooperative Community Development, is available from The Future Associates, P. O. Box 912, Shawnee Mission, Kansas 66201.

Sister Paulette described several community enterprises now working successfully in McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania, under the organizing and guidance of the F.O.R. Sto-Rox Corporation: a Child Health Center which is a non-profit corporation handling 1,800 patients; a food coop; a credit union which is presently self-sustaining and which will take deposits from outsiders but make loans only to residents and at an interest rate of one percent of the unpaid balance; and a Senior Citizens Center (on which a case study is available) which started on a volunteer basis but now has paid employees with employment priorities given to ex-volunteers and neighborhood residents.

The food distribution system in Washington, D.C., started with block buying coops. Eventually, a worker collective grocery store was started using $25,000 raised by the collective in two ways—selling certificates for cash to neighborhood residents that were later redeemable in food from the store, and obtaining low-interest or interest-free loans from wealthy individuals. The store, because of its low prices, was a fast success and a few months later a second grocery store was opened on cash accumulated much more easily because of the success of the first store. In time, a warehouse was started for bulk buying, a trucking collective was started, then another grocery store, a restaurant, a sprout production collective, a women's bakery. The groups are all independent but supportive of each other. Workers are all paid, including paid vacations, and make their own decisions about salaries, employment, etc. The businesses answer a specific need in

the neighborhood and serve as well as a political organizing mechanism. The groups all take part in the Washington Area Food Federation which is the policymaking and coordinating mechanism for the collectives. In the works for addition to the Federation are a flour mill collective, a nut butter production collective, and a soap-making production collective. Some factors important to the success of the D.C. Federation are location of the business, bulk buying to undercut the larger competitors, and a good distribution network.

John McPhee described briefly the Center for Community Economic Development. It is funded by the Office of Economic Development of the federal government, maintains a library on community economic development materials, publishes a monthly newsletter, and has a research department that works primarily on land development and national banking issues. It sets up community development corporations, mostly in poverty, minority neighborhoods, and funds neighborhood groups in business ventures of almost any type—restaurants, travel agencies, factories, and so on. Its goal is to help neighborhood people establish profitable businesses and become self-sufficient, and to build successful communities as well as successful businesses.

Workshop: Goals, Structure, and Organization of ANG

Moderator, Part I—Milton Kotler
Recorder, Part I—Bill Bastuk

Moderator, Part II—Greta Smith
Recorder, Part II—Therese Hess

This two-part workshop addressed the questions: What do neighborhood groups want from the ANG? What is the role of the Washington office? How shall the ANG be funded?

There was considerable discussion about the name "Alliance for Neighborhood Government." It was stated that some neighborhood groups did not want to associate with that title but did want to be a part of an "alliance of neighborhoods." A suggestion was made, but not finally resolved, to either form two alliances or to change the name of the ANG to reflect the participation of groups who are not interested in neighborhood government per se, but in neighborhood issues and problem-solving; for instance, to call ourselves the Alliance for Neighborhood Government/Alliance of Neighborhoods. This way, the Alliance can keep an eye on all things that affect neighborhoods and also help those neighborhoods that wish to organize themselves for legal power.

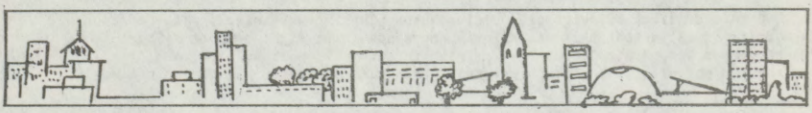
About the role of the Washington office and the newsletter, there was general agreement that there be legislative research at the national level, that there should be an "arm in Washington" for the neighborhoods, and that the Legislative and Information Committees of the ANG should continue along the lines they have started. The newsletter should concentrate on reporting the legislative activities of the Washington office and soliciting and reporting on neighborhood activities around the country—among other ways, by requesting newspaper clippings from ANG members that could be reproduced in the Bulletin. The acquiring of neighborhood news was characterized as a problem of the cities, not of the Washington office, because there is not a well-developed mentality of responsibility for affairs beyond the immediate neighborhood.

These responses were made to the questions "Why are we here?" and "What do we want from our alliance?"

- By getting together, we can share experiences and tactics for decisionmaking and problem solving.
- We need a forum for all neighborhood groups to get together.
- We need to find out more about neighborhood government.
- Neighborhoods need to be strong to survive in a city. We need to learn from others how to do this. We need to learn we are not alone.
- We share many common problems. By uniting, we gain inspiration from others and strengthen ourselves to pursue our goals.
- The ANG is a vehicle of communication. In workshops and conferences we hear and talk about things that are important to us.
- We need a Statement of Purpose to define our values and goals more explicitly.
- The ANG is a place to exchange ideas and recharge our energies. It should remain flexible and open, should not organize itself too much. For example, its lobbying function is good as long as it is general; as long as it does not dictate "how" on revenue sharing but rather works to ensure that neighborhoods get funds as well as cities.
- The ANG can perform an information referral service; it is automatically compiling a directory of neighborhood groups.
- Neighborhood organizations need the sanction of a larger entity such as the ANG.

Methods of financing the ANG were discussed, based on a Treasurer's Report by Greta Smith and a Proposed Survival Budget and Funding Plan by Milton Kotler (see, infra). Sliding scales for both membership fees and newsletter subscription fees were discussed. The group decided to "pass the hat" at the conference for cash or pledge slips for later contributions. It also agreed to recommend for approval at the Plenary Session that:

- The newsletter be issued on a subscription basis only.
- There should be a sliding scale for subscription and registration fees.
- The ANG should work for a balanced budget of $7500 raised from fees and donations and allocated to office expenses ($6000), a revolving conference fund ($500), and a contingency fund ($1000).
- The ANG should incorporate as a 501(c)(4) organization and should begin writing its by-laws.
- A Committee on Statement of Purpose should be formed.
- Greta Smith should be confirmed as ANG Treasurer, and Therese Hess as ANG Secretary.



Workshop: Neighborhood Information Gathering Systems

Moderator—James Cunningham
Recorder—Ron Madzy

The premise of this workshop was that neighborhoods can act in a more rational way if they have information—to use both in problem solving and as back-up pressure.

The group discussed how to reach groups that aren't organized and how the U.S. Census Bureau can be used and who can use it.

The Pittsburgh Neighborhood Atlas was described as an example of how information can be obtained, used, and disseminated.

Two representatives from the Census Bureau were present to explain what it does (takes the national census every ten years and studies patterns of housing, education, income, ownership, etc.).

Workshop participants joined the ANG Committee on Information in recommending that individuals and organizations write to Rep. Patricia Schroeder, Chairperson of the House Subcommittee on the Census, to urge changes in Census Bureau services so that neighborhoods can more easily get the information they need. (See box on page three.)

Jim Cunningham gave the following report on meetings of the ANG Neighborhood Information Committee with Census Bureau staff, and with Chairperson Pat Schroeder, on September 24, 1975:

Participating from the ANG Committee were Donna Keck (Baltimore), Father Kakalec (Philadelphia), Greta Smith (Washington, D.C.), and Jim Cunningham (Pittsburgh), and for the congressional meeting David Shaw (Washington, D.C.).

Meeting with Census Staff. Census staff members present were Michael Garland (Chief, Data User Services Division), Marshall Turner (Assistant Chief, Demographic Census Staff), Paul Zeissert (Chief, Data Access Use Staff, DUSD), and Cynthia Murray Taeuber (DUSD).

Several subjects were covered relating to the Census Bureau being more helpful to neighborhoods.

The general need for Bureau help was stated in terms of the growth of neighborhood organizations and particularly of neighborhoods assuming a formal role in government. It was pointed out how useful it had been to have interested Census staff support in the person of David Shaw who had understood neighborhood needs and served their interests particularly well. On the general question, the Census staff enunciated their constraints of money, resources, fear of offending the public, and the like, and were silent about David Shaw. (David Shaw was removed from his position at the Census Bureau. He believes the action was based on political motives and is fighting for reinstatement. The ANG has supported his fight.)

The participation of neighborhoods in census planning was raised. The Census staff indicated that this was an area where something might be done. They suggested we contact Census "key people" in each metropolitan area, and promised to get us a list of such persons. They also suggested (1) communicating

with Regional Directors and (2) ANG attendance at the next meeting of the Bureau's "Small Area Advisory Committee" to be held at the Bureau's headquarters in Suitland, Maryland, on November 20, 1975. In answer to a question about the possibility of having a neighborhood spokesperson placed on the committee, they suggested we send such a recommendation to the Director of the Bureau, Mr. Vincent Barabba. (Jim Cunningham was to follow up with Mr. Barabba; Greta Smith was to follow up on the November meeting.)

The Census staff pointed out that the questionnaire for the 1980 census will be "locked up" in April 1977. Additional questions can still be suggested but it will be difficult to get them added. After the questionnaire is locked up, the Bureau will still be open to suggestions on such matters as how to tabulate, publish and distribute the results of the 1980 census. Public meetings on the latter matters will be held throughout the nation beginning in 1977. Concerning Census Bureau publications, the ANG Committee pointed out that they are unknown to many neighborhood people, are difficult to obtain, and are large, expensive and formidable. The Census staff agreed, and offered to consider publishing a pamphlet on how census data could aid neighborhoods, and perhaps give information on other kinds of data available for aiding neighborhoods. They also said they had 1970 census data broken down by sub-areas within tracts, but had not published it. The Census Bureau has published an index of variables for 1970. However, it is available at a charge of about $20 per tract. The Bureau can now get computer print-outs in narrative form.

The ANG Committee pointed out that the most serious problem neighborhoods face is that tracts are not adequate areas for organizing census data to best aid neighborhoods. Tract boundaries and neighborhood boundaries are not always the same. It is an especially acute problem for cities now establishing formal neighborhood governments.

There was a long discussion of this problem, but no resolution. There is a limited amount of census data available on a small block basis, but it is not adequate. Even this data does not help neighborhoods whose boundaries split blocks (census blocks divide at streets, not alleys). The Census staff said that it would be too expensive to furnish special counts by neighborhood.

The Census Bureau offered to send representatives to speak at the October ANG conference. (They did, as noted in paragraph four of this workshop report.)

The Census people said that local community representatives will be hired by the Bureau for the 1980 census. Their role will be to contact community groups to explain the importance of the census, and to gain support and cooperation in its execution. Recommendations of people for these positions should go to the Bureau's Regional Directors.

It was also suggested that the ANG, in looking for information help, go to such planning organizations as the AIP and ASPO.

Meeting with Rep. Schroeder. Subcommittee Counsel Don Terry also attended this meeting. The ANG Committee described the problems with the census. Rep. Schroeder had to leave early for roll call. Mr. Terry proved very sympathetic and said Rep. Schroeder was also. He offered to do two things: (1) write a letter to the Census Bureau about the publications issue and (2) hold an oversight hearing on the general question of the Bureau being more responsive to the needs of neighborhoods. However, before he can move on the

latter, there must be some evidence, by way of letters or otherwise, that the ANG has a constituency of some substance. This will be on the agenda for the Baltimore conference. Meantime, members of the ANG Committee on Information are asked to arrange for letters to Rep. Schroeder from city planners, city council members, neighborhood council presidents, and the like.

Again, because it is of substantial importance to all neighborhoods, please help us to help Rep. Schroeder set up that oversight hearing by writing to her about the neighborhood information problem. The box on page three outlines the basic problems; use that information in your letters.

Workshop: Legislation

Moderator, Parts I and II—Conrad Weiler
Recorder, Parts I and II—Maggie Meko

It was noted that the ANG at its May conference supported a resolution to amend the Revenue Sharing Act and the Housing and Community Development Act to include the concepts of citizen participation and direct passage of funding to neighborhood organizations. Since then, the ANG Legislative Committee has met with various congressional people and has been advised that Congress does not want to make major funding changes but might make some "symbolic" changes (i.e., might include the concept of neighborhood eligibility for funds without specifically providing for it).

Discussion turned to the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act of 1975 (S. 1281) and the practice of "redlining." People were asked to demonstrate their support for disclosure legislation but to express their disapproval of certain loopholes in the particular bill up for voting on October 21 (i.e., a four-year limitation, exemption of financial institutions under $25 million, exemption of areas less than 50,000 population).

The questions were asked: Should the ANG be satisfied with symbolic amendments or push for more? Where should pressure be applied? What constitutes a merely symbolic amendment and what is a substantive change? What about agency (HUD, particularly) guidelines as well as congressional legislation?

People agreed that a necessary first step in answering these was to arrive at a suitable definition of "neighborhood" for purposes of amending and drafting legislation. There was consensus that we should work for concrete legislative changes but that we first must have agreement on general guidelines and on what a neighborhood is. After lengthy discussion and revisions, the group agreed on the elements, if not the specific language, of a definition. A neighborhood organization should be one that:

. is residentially based,

. is publicly selected and structured,

. is effectively organized,

. is non-partisan,

. exists in a specific territory,

. holds public decisionmaking meetings, and

. is concerned with neighborhood issues and improving neighborhood life.

The group also agreed to recommend working for changes in HUD guidelines as well as in the various legislative acts relating to neighborhood matters.

Part II of the legislative workshop was devoted largely to presentations by Linda Hudak of Congress Watch and Marty Rogol of the Center for Responsive Law—both of them Ralph Nader-inspired public action groups. They outlined two particular programs of their groups and wanted to explore ways in which they and the ANG could cooperate on those and other issues.

One program is RUCAG—Residential Utility Consumer Action Group. This is a proposal to establish a consumer action committee to oversee utility companies and work for lower utility rates. It would be funded by voluntary contributions which would ensure its accountability to the public. A contribution of one dollar a year would obtain voting rights for the contributor.

The other program is carried on by PIRGs—Public Interest Research Groups. These are student funded and staffed local level citizen action groups that do research and draft model legislation on such issues as redlining, consumer protection, energy uses, whatever issues affect large numbers of people and are primarily economic in nature.

Cooperative efforts with the ANG are sought because PIRGs have the resources while ANG has the neighborhood people. To work for national legislation, it was stated, requires more than lobbying in Washington; there has to be pressure back home in the congressional districts.

It was pointed out that cooperation is a two-way street and ANG people wondered if and how the PIRGs could help on issues of particular interest to us. It was finally decided to set up an ANG committee to work with the Nader people on the RUCAG proposal and on redlining activities and then see what other issues are open to cooperative endeavors. (Committee members' names on page five) ANG people decided not to support the Nader-sponsored Consumer Protection Agency legislation.

A final topic of discussion dealt with efforts to draft a general or "omnibus" neighborhood bill. Rep. Donald Fraser (Minneapolis) has expressed interest in such legislation and is willing to have his staff work with the ANG on it. Workshop participants thought this should be pursued and Charles Kelly and Conrad Weiler volunteered to work on it.

A REMINDER

Beginning in January, 1976, you will receive copies of the Bulletin only if we have received your membership/subscription form and payment.

We are just beginning to roll. The legislative research and neighborhood news reported in the next few issues should be highly valuable to all neighborhood organizations and residents.

HELP THE BULLETIN SURVIVE BECAUSE IT CAN HELP YOU SURVIVE.

PLENARY SESSION

Several formal decisions were made at the Plenary Session, concerning both in-house matters and public activities. Workshop reports given at the Plenary are summarized only very briefly here; refer back to workshop discussions reported earlier in this paper for the details. Members of the new committees referred to in this section are listed in the box on page five.

Treasurer's Report and Discussion of ANG Structure and Goals

ANG Treasurer Greta Smith preceded her report with an announcement that $610 in registration fees had been collected at the conference and that another $140 was raised by passing the hat between sessions on Saturday. This, added to the $550 in pre-registration fees mailed in to the Washington office, made a grand total of $1300 raised by the conference.

The following Treasurer's Report was submitted, reflecting receipts and expenditures up to the beginning of the conference, October 17, 1975:

> On May 6, 1975, Susan Meehan and Greta Smith opened a checking account at the National Bank of Washington and deposited the money—$140—that was collected at the May meeting.
>
> It was arranged that checks would be signed by two of three people—Susan Meehan, elected Treasurer at the May meeting; Milton Kotler, convenor of the meeting; and Greta Smith, who had agreed to help with the bookkeeping.
>
> During the summer, Susan asked that Greta take over the financial responsibilities and serve as Acting Treasurer until the October meeting.
>
> The attached report reflects receipts and expenditures from May through October 16. The current balance is $130.79.

RECEIPTS			EXPENDITURES	
Contributions			Telephone	$134.80
Alliance Meeting, May 1974	$140.00		Telegraph	36.69
Milton Kotler	50.00		Printing	232.67
Celene Krauss	25.00		Secretarial	330.00
Dave Shaw	100.00		Office Supplies	18.00
Greta Smith	25.00		Postage	80.80
Elinor Ostrom	50.00		Transportation	1.25
James Cunningham	25.00		Total Expenditures	$834.21
		$415.00		
Meeting Registration (as of 10/16)		550.00	CURRENT BALANCE	$130.79
Total Receipts		$965.00		

Milton Kotler submitted the following statement, reflecting his ideas on direction and funding of the ANG:

On the basis of our first six months experience, I would like to share some thoughts on the structure of the Alliance.

(1) Our first problem is money. Starting with $140 raised at the last general meeting, we have managed to get out about five mailings, including two newsletters, maintain an office to receive and answer correspondence, have a staff including a writer/editor/secretary (Therese Hess), a legislative researcher (Bill Bastuk), an acting treasurer (Greta Smith), and also coordinate two separate legislative delegations to Capitol Hill.

Greta's financial report explains how this was done—namely, by volunteer work, personal contributions, and the pre-meeting registrations.

I do not believe we can get to the next meeting on the same basis. Greta and I have worked out the following survival budget—which includes a program of two semi-annual conferences with reports, a monthly newsletter, and an office—and the following possible sources of income:

EXPENSES		POSSIBLE SOURCES OF INCOME	
Secretary (Hess)	$1,248	Two mtgs. of 150 people; $15 registration fee	$4,500
Researcher (Bastuk)	1,200	Two hundred Bulletin subscriptions @ $10 each	2,000
Newsletter (printing)	600	Ten organizational donations of $50 each	500
Stamps	780	Personal contributions	500
Extra printing	250		
Extra mailing	104		
Telephone ($20/mo.)	240		
Supplies	250		
Two conference reports			
. Printing	308		
. Preparation	300		
. Postage	208		
TOTAL EXPENSES	$5,488	TOTAL INCOME	$7,500

(2) It would help our Alliance to expand our working relationship with other groups practically involved in direct citizen power. For example, we should relate to Ralph Nader's different groups, like the PIRGs in different cities. These groups are funded by students and would bring our neighborhoods some technical and legal skills. Our neighborhood groups can in turn add legitimacy and citizen support to the PIRG groups.

Another group we could work with would be the National Housing Action Coalition which did an effective job lobbying for the Proxmire Disclosure Act to prevent redlining.

(3) Our legislative committees need to do more Washington work. Bill Bastuk and Maggie Meko have done an excellent job tracking legislation and reporting it in the newsletter. They have also worked with Jim Cunningham and Conrad Weiler to help arrange congressional meetings of member delegations from different cities.

We should take more stands on legislation affecting neighborhood interests. We should also diversify congressional responsibilities to different ANG legislative committees. We should testify to Congress more often.

This activity should not detract from neighborhood, city, and state work; but we have to more rigorously pursue the national recognition of neighborhood interests and neighborhood democracy.

Furthermore, the cities in our region are the closest to Washington. As the Alliance expands to new regions, these new regions will look to our mid-Atlantic region for legislative responsibilities because of our proximity to the Capitol.

(4) As you can see in the newsletter—very little community information has come in from the different organizations. We need more intercommunal exchange. We must become more familiar with each other—our problems, battles, programs, and vision. It is only our fellow neighborhood organizations that will give us the guidance and confidence to fight and win. Neither the cities, states, or federal government will encourage our militancy and victory. We can only draw our strength from fellow neighborhood organizations. To do this we must exchange more information about what we are doing.

(5) We should authorize a committee to begin drafting By-Laws for our Alliance to be submitted for discussion at the next meeting.

I suggest we incorporate as a non-profit corporation so that individuals will not be personally liable for activities of the organization, and for banking convenience and tax benefits.

After agreeing that the three broad and general purposes of the Alliance were information exchange, lobbying for legislative recognition of the legitimacy of neighborhood organizations, and twice-a-year conferences of all ANG participants to know and learn from each other, discussion turned to ways and means of funding these activities.

The group agreed to work toward a balanced income/expenditure budget of $7500 for 1976, following generally the figures outlined in Milton's statement but with the additional categories of revolving conference fund ($500) and contingency fund ($1000). The remainder ($6000) is to be used for office expenses.

There was a long discussion over whether to establish a sliding scale of payment for subscription fees and/or conference fees. These points were finally agreed upon and motions to adopt them as policy were carried:

- That the ANG Bulletin, beginning in January 1976, will be issued on a subscription basis only, that there will be no sliding scale but rather a flat rate of $10/year, and that the subscription fee is also an ANG membership fee (i.e., individuals will become both ANG members and Bulletin subscribers by paying this fee).

- That the Bulletin subscription rate for libraries and other such institutions will be $25.

- That the registration fee for future conferences will be $15—again, with no sliding scale.

- That a committee be established to pursue individual and organizational philanthropic contributions. (Allen Holmes was the only one to volunteer his services on this committee. Nevertheless, the motion to establish such a committee was passed.)

Discussion turned to matters of incorporation. Some felt that we should not incorporate; that the present loosely organized, unstructured Alliance is the way we ought to continue. Most others agreed with that argument but felt that incorporation would lend certain protections and conveniences to us as an organization. If we do incorporate, we will probably be designated a § 501(c)(4) organization for purposes of federal taxation because we are a lobbyist group. It was suggested that we might incorporate two ways—as an educational organization (§ 501(c)(3)) and as a lobbying organization (§ 501(c)(4)), and that this would be one way of solving the problem raised earlier in the workshop on ANG structure, where it was alleged that some neighborhood groups are reluctant to federate with us because of our emphasis on neighborhood government rather than on neighborhoods generally. These people, it was argued, could more easily join forces with an educational arm of the Alliance while those who wanted to could work with the legislative arm. Ultimately, a motion was passed:

- That the newly-created Committee on Statement of Purpose be instructed to investigate all aspects of incorporation, pro and con, including the possibility of dual incorporation as an educational/lobby organization, and report back to the Alliance at its next conference.

Workshop Reports; Public Activities

Allen Holmes summarized the two workshops on Models for Neighborhood Organization. He said that they had not reached consensus on any point, but that most participants felt that the assembly process is vitally important to neighborhoods, and that both funding and legality are crucial to the obtaining of neighborhood power. No motions were passed; no actions were recommended. The debate will go on.

Emanuel Ellerbee reported on the Neighborhood Information workshop. He noted that the 1980 census could be much more valuable to neighborhoods if we begin now to get Congress to make the necessary changes in the operations of the Census Bureau. Toward this end, a motion was passed:

- That all affiliate organizations and individuals of the Alliance write to Congressperson Pat Schroeder and to their own congressional representative, requesting that they address the issue of neighborhood information as a specific part of the national census. (See box on page three for details.)

A further request was made that copies of all such letters be sent to the Alliance office in Washington, and that names of members' congressional representatives also be sent in so that the ANG staff could begin preparing a directory of them. A further motion was passed:

- That the ANG go on record as being interested in helping the Census Bureau on the particular problem of undercount, but only if the Bureau works toward providing useful, easily accessible information to neighborhoods.

Conrad Weiler reviewed the two Legislation workshop sessions. After he explained the elements of a disclosure (redlining) bill that was to be voted on October 21, a motion was passed:

- That the ANG supports the concept of disclosure but disapproves of those provisions in the bill that exempt small financial institutions (under $25 million) from reporting and small towns (under 50,000 population) from being able to require reports.

Conrad noted that the main focus of the ANG Legislative Committee in the past few months had been on the Housing and Community Development Act. He pointed out that the Legislative Committee had been authorized by the ANG to pursue changes in the legislation but not also in HUD guidelines for implementing the legislation, which were equally crucial to the effect of the Act on neighborhoods. A motion was passed:

- That the legislative Committee is authorized to expand its activities to work for changes in HUD guidelines on the HCD Act as well as for amendments in the Act itself.

There was consensus, but not a formal vote, on a suggestion that the Legislative Committee work for a requirement, not merely a recommendation, of neighborhood participation in both the HCD Act and the Revenue Sharing Act.

The definition of "neighborhood" formulated during the workshop was read. (See box on page four for text of this definition.) People agreed that the phrases used in the definition needed clarification as to their meaning, but passed a motion:

- That the definition be accepted temporarily as a tool to be used in dealing with HUD on administration of the HCD Act, and that a subcommittee of the Legislative Committee be established to further refine the definition.

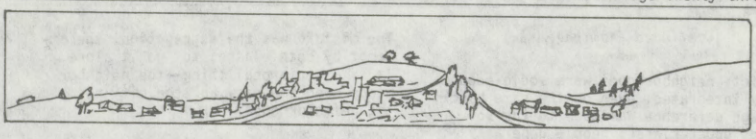
A report of an unscheduled meeting during the conference with the two Nader group representatives—Linda Hudak of Congress Watch and Marty Rogol of the Center for Responsive Law—was made. At that meeting it was agreed (subject to ANG approval at the Plenary):

(1) to form a Committee on (Nader/ANG) Cooperative Projects to study possible areas of cooperation;

(2) to let them use our mailing list and the Alliance name on their materials on disclosure;

(3) to let them use our mailing list and the Alliance name on the RUCAG proposal;

(4) to do an article in our newsletter on their Consumer Protection Agency proposal but to not endorse it; and



(5) to convene a meeting of the Committee on Cooperative Projects in three months to evaluate the affects of the above actions and report them at the next ANG conference.

A motion was passed:

- That all of the above be ratified.

Finally, there was brief discussion about whether the ANG should testify at upcoming hearings on revenue sharing. In voting on a motion to that effect, there was no clear majority so the matter was dropped.

Sister Paulette said that there was no report to be given on her workshop on Assembly Government, but invited people to come to McKees Rocks in May to witness how their assembly works.

Jim Taylor reported on the Self-Reliance workshop. There were no motions passed and no specific actions recommended.

No report was given on the Housing and Land Use workshop.

These final motions were passed:

- That Greta Smith be confirmed as Treasurer of the ANG.
- That Therese Hess be confirmed as Secretary of the ANG.
- That the functions and responsibilities of the Washington office of the ANG shall be, in order of priority, to:
  - . act as a central administrator of communications and finance;
  - . coordinate and support planning of conferences of the Alliance with the host city and others;
  - . encourage, guide and assist in developing state, local, and regional conferences of Alliance members; and
  - . pursue programs of national impact as directed by the Alliance in assembly.
- That we express our appreciation and thanks to the Greater Homewood Corporation and other Baltimore neighborhood groups for their hard work and conference facilities.
- That we accept the invitation of the City-Wide Council of Community Organizations to hold the next semi-annual conference of the ANG in Philadelphia in April 1976.

[Continued from page six]

district; neighborhoods were socio-economically integrated, even on the same block; although deference was made to the so-called "upper class"; people generally owned their own homes; and a spirit of "noblesse oblige" existed which caused the city's "leading citizens" to go literally from door to door to help the less privileged.

Then came certain organizational inventions —the streetcar (mass transit) and central administration of agencies, for example— that facilitated the "sorting out" of people into various physical and socio-economic groups. The result: segregation and suburbia.

Following this sorting out process, the neighborhood associations were invented (1870s-1890s). The purpose was to protect the neighborhood, watch who moved in and out, be sure the townhouse wasn't turned into apartments.

Taxation was, as it is today, a major factor in the shaping of the city. The wealthier people lived more and more in suburbs and paid county taxes which were often forty percent less than city taxes. Although the suburban neighborhoods were gradually annexed by the city to broaden its tax base, it was not until 1939 that the suburban taxpayers had to pay the same rate as paid by city taxpayers.

In 1911 and the beginning of the World War I era, Baltimore had its first City Congress—an interneighborhood organization—to look at the city's problems on a city basis. The resulting actions, looked at today, were racist and elitist, particularly the zoning laws.

These actions were, of course, decided on and implemented by the middle class. In the poorer, working class neighborhoods, people were forming political clubs, fraternal organizations and churches to help each other. (There are fewer records of this process, Professor Arnold noted.)

The mistake was the segregation, the attempt by both classes to "go it alone." It is a reciprocal thing—the neighborhoods need the city and the city needs the neighborhoods.

William Donald Schaefer. Saturday's luncheon speaker was Baltimore's Mayor Schaefer. He was lauded as a very active, "visible" public official who had worked his way up from neighborhood politics, who works constantly with neighborhood groups, and who supports new and innovative ideas.

One such innovation Mayor Schaefer described is the "Mayor's Representative"— a position held in each neighborhood by a person elected by the neighborhood and whose salary is paid by the city government.

Mayor Schaefer stressed the importance of strong, active neighborhoods who help themselves as much as possible rather than requiring the city to do it all. Because Baltimore is like that, he said, it is financially stable while New York City and other large cities near bankruptcy.

The key, he said, is to always look for community involvement first in city projects; i.e., if a neighborhood wants a playground, they should design it and then get the city to fund it. If they can't help out, probably their request should be denied.

In Baltimore, he said, people don't identify with the city; they identify with their neighborhood.

He cited the Baltimore City Fair as an example of neighborhood pride and accomplishment. It is a yearly event in which seventy-two neighborhoods now participate. Because of its success there had been attempts at incursion by the city's business community, but they were turned down —the Fair remains a noncommercial celebration of neighborhood identity.

Author/Editor/Typist of this report: Therese M. Hess, ANG Secretary

EDITORIAL RESEARCH REPORTS

— ATTACHMENT -4- —

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NEIGHBORHOOD CONTROL

by

John Hamer

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NEIGHBORHOOD CONTROL

THE AMERICAN NEIGHBORHOOD just isn't the same anymore. The neighborhood has been perhaps the most neglected political, social and economic unit of American urban life for decades. But today neighborhoods all over the country are staging a strong comeback. Residents of many areas which have been deteriorating for years are organizing to fight for their neighborhood's improvement or even its very survival. They are not simply demanding more attention and services from City Hall, but they are moving to take over basic powers of government for themselves. Neighborhood revival has many variations, but one common thread seems to run throughout—the desire of people to control the things which affect their neighborhoods and thus their lives.

In some places, the neighborhood-control movement represents a return to grass-roots democracy, to the assembly-meeting or town-hall style of government upon which the nation was founded. In other cities, it means a shift from remote and impersonal representative government to a closer and more responsive elected council system. In still other areas, established municipal governments have responded to neighborhood pressures by agreeing to decentralize power and authority *(see case studies, pp. 795, 801).* Whatever form it has taken, the neighborhood-control movement is viewed by some as a fundamental if not revolutionary change in the way American cities are governed. If it continues to gain impetus at the present rate, neighborhood control will establish itself, along with the environmental and consumer movements, as one of the most significant citizens' movements of the 1970s.

"Why shouldn't people be responsible for everything that affects their lives?" asked Milton Kotler, founder and director of the Institute for Neighborhood Studies in Washington, D.C., in an interview with Editorial Research Reports. "Why should they say, 'Well, I didn't have anything to do with it'? Our object is always to increase people's responsibilities in their own communities. The people and the communities will both become better for it."

Kotler, one of the nation's leading proponents of neighborhood control, has been active in neighborhood organiza-

tion and research for 12 years. He is the author of *Neighborhood Government: The Local Foundations of Political Life* (1969), a book widely regarded as a basic work in the field. In it, Kotler wrote: "[I]t is in the neighborhood...that people talk to each other and amplify their feelings until they move to recover the source of value in their lives. They move toward objects that neighbors understand and share—namely, the community and its self-rule, rather than its present neglect."

The Institute for Neighborhood Studies was started in 1971 as a tax-exempt educational organization whose goals are to encourage citizen involvement and to promote legal neighborhood governments. It explores the problems and potential of local government decentralization by researching neighborhood economics, history, legal rights and efficiency. The Institute's philosophy, as expressed in a recent brochure, is that after a decade of upheaval and reexamination Americans are searching for ways to make democracy work better: "Part of that search is a nationwide trend toward decentralization and local control over governmental structures and institutions."

Forming a Neighborhood Government Alliance

One of the most significant recent developments in the neighborhood-control movement was the formation earlier this year of the Alliance for Neighborhood Government, a group made up of about 40 neighborhood organizations from the eastern United States. About 100 persons attended a meeting May 1-3, 1975, in Washington, D.C., which is believed to be the first such gathering of neighborhood groups from different cities. The meeting was convened by Kotler of the Institute for Neighborhood Studies and Marie Nahikian of the Adams-Morgan Organization *(see p. 801)*, with the help of a grant from the McDonald's Corp. In an opening address, Sen. Mark O. Hatfield (R Ore.), sponsor of the Neighborhood Government Act of 1975 *(see p. 802)*, told the gathering:

> There is nothing more American than community-based self-government. The town meeting, the voluntary organizations, the PTA, the neighborhood associations—such have been the historic, tangible expressions of self-determination for the American. Such groups must become options for genuine political power once again.... The neighborhood associations existing in the United States today are developing new ideas, new initiatives and new ways of solving local problems—and they are doing it on their own.

The delegates agreed to form a continuing alliance, to broaden their membership and to become a national association. To that end, the alliance has begun publication of a monthly newsletter containing information about various neighborhood groups and research on neighborhood issues. Another resolution declared

What Is A Neighborhood?

People involved in neighborhood organization and control often find it easier to define the boundaries of their neighborhoods than to define what a neighborhood is. Daniel Henninger of *The National Observer* (Jan. 25, 1975) offered this definition: "I'd say a neighborhood is whatever the people living there think it is."

Similarly, Milton Kotler wrote in *Neighborhood Government* (1969): "The most sensible way to locate the neighborhood is to ask people where it is, for people spend much time fixing its boundaries. Gangs mark its turf. Old people watch for its new faces. Children figure out safe routes between home and school. People walk their dogs through their neighborhood, but rarely beyond it."

Neighborhoods may arouse a sense of pride or devotion in their residents. In *Neighborhood Power: The New Localism* (1975), David Morris and Karl Hess wrote: "When people then say 'my neighborhood,' it usually means they have found a place to live where they feel some human sense of belonging, some human sense of being *part* of a society, no matter how small, rather than just being *in* a society, no matter how large."

Along the same line, Andrew Greeley of the Center for the Study of American Pluralism in Chicago has said: "[I]n the real neighborhoods the neighborhood is an extension of the self. It is one's turf not merely physically but also psychologically and sociologically. It is an extension of the home, the family, of who and what one is."

Gerson Green of the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs suggests 10 criteria for defining a neighborhood's geographic boundaries: official designations by municipal governments; or by public or semi-public institutions; sub-areas of the cities which had their own boundaries prior to annexation; or were designated by indigenous voluntary neighborhood citizens organizations; or by churches, schools or community centers; by local folklore; are within natural boundaries such as hills and rivers; are within artificial boundaries such as freeways or railways; contain public and commercial clusters of amenities; or are consistently recognized by the mass media.

In *The Resurgent Neighborhood* (1965), James V. Cunningham suggested four major elements an urban area needs to become a neighborhood: (1) adequate facilities and services, such as good housing, convenient commercial and recreational establishments, active churches, excellent schools and well-run public utilities and services; (2) forces that build a sense of community, including a community newspaper, neighborhood political and civic groups, and responsible families with a sense of local pride and identity; (3) links to the whole metropolis, such as good roads or public transit, working relationships with city government, and a broad outlook among neighborhood leaders; (4) a mixture of all kinds of people, where new neighbors are accepted on their merits and there is an awareness of racial equality.

the rights of all neighborhoods to determine their own goals and carry out their own plans and programs; to review and influence all government and private actions affecting neighborhoods; to control the resources necessary to implement neighborhood decisions; and to define their own structures, procedures and boundaries.

One of the biggest debates during the initial alliance meeting concerned the problem of structuring a neighborhood organization and defining its goals and powers. Some neighborhood groups have chosen an assembly structure through which decisions are made by the entire membership, while others have elected a representative council or committee to make decisions and provide leadership. There was no final consensus, but participants agreed to a motion endorsing the assembly concept as a valuable—but not the only—model for neighborhood organization. A report on the conference proceedings noted that "no form of citizen participation has proven workable yet so no particular structure should be set—just goals and objectives, which change as the neighborhood changes."[1]

Another debate revolved around the question of tactics for neighborhood groups—whether to work within the prevailing municipal government system to obtain a stronger voice in decision-making or to work for a basic change in the system to achieve actual neighborhood control. The proceedings report said: "Neighborhood 'power' to some meant some sort of self-government by residents of a neighborhood; to others it meant the power to advise or influence the existing city government."

The alliance met again in Baltimore Oct. 17-19, and more representatives from additional neighborhood groups attended. Participants agreed to base their membership on subscriptions and voted on an operating budget. A "goals and definition" committee was formed, and two joint projects with Ralph Nader organizations were agreed upon. One concerns the practice of "redlining" *(see p. 791)* in urban neighborhoods and the other is an effort to encourage contributions to consumer action groups through a check-off plan linked to utility bills.

Economic Deterioration of Urban Neighborhoods

The question of neighborhood-level economics is one of the most basic which the neighborhood-control movement must face. If a neighborhood is to be strong and self-sufficient, it must have a stable financial base. Yet the clear trend in many urban neighborhoods in recent years has been one of steady economic decline. This pattern is evident in numerous American cities: a sound downtown commercial and office district is sur-

[1] "Report on Proceedings," Eastern Region Neighborhood Government Meeting (Alliance for Neighborhood Government), May 1-3, 1975, Washington, D.C., p. 18.

rounded by a rapidly deteriorating ring of older urban neighborhoods within the city limits, which are in turn surrounded by a sprawling band of prosperous suburbs and shopping centers.

Yet once the process of neighborhood decline has begun, it is often extremely difficult to reverse the trend and to attract adequate funding into the neighborhood. "A realistic view of the present exploitation of powerless neighborhoods, in taxation, speculation, profiteering and police control limits the present possibilities of cooperative life," Milton Kotler told the George Washington University Symposium on Urban Affairs, March 21, 1975. In *Neighborhood Government,* Kotler argued that neighborhoods must establish their own economies to generate wealth for residents rather than for outside interests. "The establishment of a territorial economy in neighborhoods is a crucial challenge to the present imperial economy of the city, which has been based on the commercial exploitation of the neighborhoods for the interests of downtown."

There is relatively little documentation of how neighborhood economics work, however. A 1969 study conducted for the Institute for Policy Studies analyzed the income flows of the Shaw-Cardozo area in Washington, D.C., a low-income neighborhood of about 80,000 people. It showed that the residents paid out some $45 million in taxes and received only $35 million back in the form of public services and welfare payments.[2] A similar study of the Bedford-Stuyvesant poverty area in Brooklyn found that although the local residents received more in services than they paid in taxes, the net balance "passed through" the community in the form of payments to government employees who worked in the neighborhood but lived elsewhere.[3] These two studies are among the few in existence showing financial inflow and outflow at the neighborhood level.

Another important factor contributing to urban decay is the controversial practice of "redlining"—the refusal of banks and savings and loan institutions to make mortgage and home-improvement loans in what they consider high-risk neighborhoods. Critics charge that this practice discriminates against a wide variety of blue-collar, minority and ethnic neighborhoods. A study by the U.S. Senate Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs Committee found that 90 per cent of the mortgage loans by savings and loan companies in Washington, D.C., were made outside the city, and that nearly half of those

[2] Earl F. Mellors, "Public Goods and Services: Costs and Benefits," Institute for Policy Studies, October 1969.

[3] Dr. Richard L. Schaffer, "Toward an Economic and Social Accounting System for Bedford-Stuyvesant," Department of Economics dissertation, New York University, April 1973.

within the city went to upper-middle-class white areas. In Chicago, a study by the Metropolitan Area Housing Alliance found that 41 of the city's banks, with assets of more than $40 billion, invested less than one tenth of 1 per cent of that amount in conventional home mortgages in the city.

The Senate in September 1975 passed a bill aimed at encouraging more mortgage lending in urban neighborhoods by requiring lenders to disclose the general neighborhoods where they make mortgage loans during the next three years. The theory is that city dwellers will not deposit their savings in institutions that curtail mortgage lending in their neighborhoods. The House is working on comparable legislation.[4] At least two state legislatures—in California and Illinois—are considering similar action.

Some neighborhood organizations have tried to develop their own financial institutions. Credit unions and community banks based in the neighborhoods may be more responsive to the needs of local residents. Senator Hatfield has said: "Developing such institutions at the neighborhood level will be one of the most critical factors in the success or failure of neighborhood-based government in the long run."[5]

Control of Schools and Busing as Central Issues

Schools, historically, have been central to the definition and spirit of countless urban neighborhoods. But the role of the school as a neighborhood institution has changed greatly and today is the focus of a bitter national controversy over school busing. The 1954 Supreme Court decision in Brown *v.* Board of Education, which banned *de jure* (officially ordered) racial segregation in the public schools, set off more than two decades of conflict which has yet to be resolved.[6] The most divisive of all issues emanating from the decision is court-ordered busing to achieve school desegregation. In many places this has become a neighborhood-control issue. Busing plans to obtain racial mixing in the schools are aimed at correcting *de facto* segregation in society, which is essentially segregation by neighborhoods. Many parents—black and white—have opposed busing on the ground that their children should be allowed to attend schools in their own neighborhoods.

The demand for neighborhood control over schools arose in several cities in the late 1960s. The most famous battle was in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district of New York City, site of a Ford Foundation experimental program in school decentralization which began in 1967. A bitter confrontation between mili-

[4] See *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, Sept. 6, 1975, p. 1932.

[5] "Bringing Political Power Back Home: The Case for Neighborhood Government," *Ripon Quarterly*, summer 1975, p. 22.

[6] See "Desegregation After 20 Years," *E.R.R.*, 1974 Vol. I, pp. 323-342.

tant black parents and an equally militant teachers' union over who should control the hiring and firing of teachers culminated in three teacher strikes in the fall of 1968. The state legislature finally ended the dispute in 1969 by requiring the New York Board of Education to create from 30 to 33 community school districts to be governed by locally elected school boards.

"The school decentralization act was a disappointment to the community control faction," wrote Diane Ravitch, author of *The Great School Wars: New York City, 1805-1973* (1974). "Militant community leaders, black separatists, and their allies in foundations and universities had wanted a school system in which each district was as autonomous as separate towns, free to choose its curriculum, to hire and fire at will, and to allocate its own capital funds. On the other side, defenders of centralization were equally dismayed. Many school professionals saw decentralization as capitulation to ethnic demands and an abandonment of the merit system."[7]

New York City now has 32 community school districts, each with about 20,000 students in its schools and a nine-member local school board chosen in special elections. Each board has the power to hire a community superintendent, to define educational policy, to choose textbooks, to appoint teacher aides, to select new school sites and oversee maintenance. Several other U.S. cities, most notably Detroit, also have taken major steps toward decentralization of public school systems. But such efforts have had mixed results. Neighborhood control of schools demands widespread parental involvement, which is more successful in some communities than in others. Some neighborhoods have established effective day-care centers and alternative classrooms, but these have not been satisfactory in many areas.[8] "In sum, decentralization is far from being an educational panacea," Ravitch concluded.

Rise and Fall of the Neighborhoods

THE NEIGHBORHOOD is perhaps the quintessential building block of urban civilization. When the world's first cities arose more than 5,000 years ago in Asia and the Middle East, there is little doubt that groups of friends, relatives, coworkers and barterers gathered in small but distinct clusters which together made up the whole.[9] "Neighborhoods, in some

[7] "School Decentralization in New York City: 1975," *Neighborhood Decentralization*, May-June 1975, pp. 1-2.

[8] See "Education's Return to Basics," *E.R.R.*, 1975 Vol. II, pp. 665-684.

[9] See "Urbanization of the Earth," *E.R.R.*, 1970 Vol. I, pp. 361-382.

primitive, inchoate fashion, exist wherever human beings congregate in permanent family dwellings," wrote Lewis Mumford, the prominent urbanologist, in a 1954 essay entitled "Neighborhood and Neighborhood Unit."[10] The ancient Greek city-states not only had active neighborhoods but realized the economies of smaller scale by limiting the size of cities rather than allowing them to grow too large.[11] The various districts of ancient Rome all had their own markets, public baths and temples around which local community life centered.

"The urban neighborhood as a livable place with a sense of unity flowered in the Middle Ages," wrote James V. Cunningham in *The Resurgent Neighborhood* (1965). The typical medieval city up to about the 16th century, containing some 25,000 inhabitants, was usually divided into quarters—each with its own churches, markets and workplaces, and its own section of the city wall to defend. In his definitive book, *The City in History* (1961), Mumford wrote of the medieval neighborhood's cohesion: "The division of the town into quarters, each with its church or churches, often with a local provision market, always with its own local water supply, a well or a fountain, was a characteristic feature; but as the town grew the quarters might become sixths, or even smaller fractions of the whole, without dissolving into the mass."

Cunningham, in his history of neighborhoods, wrote that the independence of medieval cities and their citizens began to decline with the rise of the absolute state. "Most of the physical delight of the medieval neighborhood was obliterated by the soot of industrialism and the exploitation of laissez-faire capitalism, which glorified long working hours, low pay, and maximum economic return from real estate—maximum return meaning overcrowding and ugliness," Cunningham wrote. Nonetheless, a sense of neighborhood clearly persisted in many large European cities. London, Paris, Munich, Amsterdam and Venice all contain numerous areas with a well-defined architecture, a strong sense of history and an obvious feeling of devotion among their inhabitants.

Small Municipalities and U.S. Annexation Trend

American cities began as villages and towns which were small enough to be, in effect, neighborhoods unto themselves. The early American preference for small towns and rural living was reflected in the first census in 1790. At that time a mere 5 per cent of the nation's nearly four million inhabitants were urban dwellers, and there were only 24 cities with more than 2,500 residents. The areas which today are major cities were then

[10] Reprinted in *The Urban Prospect* (1968), pp. 56-78.
[11] See "Restrictions on Urban Growth," *E.R.R.*, 1973 Vol. I, pp. 85-104.

City-Sponsored Neighborhood Councils

A number of cities in recent years have adopted new charter provisions giving neighborhoods advisory functions or actual governing powers:

Newton, Mass., a city of 91,000 people just outside of Boston, provided for neighborhood councils in 1971. Voters in specified neighborhoods may petition for a council in their area, and then undertake housing, zoning, anti-crime, refuse collection, health, recreation and education programs.

Honolulu, Hawaii, voters approved a new consolidated city-county charter for the island of Oahu in 1972. It established a nine-member neighborhood commission which developed a plan to give residents a larger role in shaping their communities.

Detroit, Mich., adopted a new charter in 1973 which required the mayor to appoint a decentralization commission to study the feasibility of giving certain powers of city government back to the neighborhoods. It specifies powers for community councils, including advisory or substantive authority over many programs.

Pittsburgh, Pa., began studying a new charter in 1972 and adopted a final draft in 1974. To take effect next year, it provides for community advisory boards and may be amended so that neighborhoods can obtain even broader powers.

Washington, D.C., "home rule" legislation passed by Congress in 1973 and approved by District voters in 1974 required the city council to divide the District into areas in which advisory neighborhood commissions are being organized. They will advise the District government on planning, streets, recreation, social services, health, safety and sanitation.

SOURCE: Center for Governmental Studies.

dotted with dozens of small municipalities—each independent and unique. The area of what is now New York City once contained hundreds of small towns and cities. Milton Kotler has written:

> For centuries of human history it was the conventional wisdom that small areas and small populations were capable of self-government and further, that this smallness of size and population enabled a greater liberty of participation. The second point is that in the smaller municipality a greater proportion of citizens to population held [civic] responsibility....[12]

The explosive growth of American cities, most historians agree, was a result of the industrial revolution which followed the Civil War. Masses of immigrants from Europe arrived in the major seaports of the United States and many rural Americans came to the cities at about the same time looking for work. Both had strong traditions of community life and they settled in well-

[12] In "Citizen Liberation," speech to the Citizens Neighborhood Councils Coordinating Committee, Washington, D.C., Feb. 22, 1975.

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defined neighborhoods, often adjacent to industrial areas. But during the late 19th and early 20th centuries another movement swept the cities which, according to some analysts, was even more important to the development of urban America. It was annexation.

Milton Kotler, in *Neighborhood Government,* argues that annexation was chiefly responsible for the decline of many original American neighborhoods as independent political units. Some historians have maintained that the annexation process was benign, and that neighborhoods willingly went along with their own dissolution in order to become part of a stronger central city. Kotler vehemently disagrees.

Kotler maintains that the business and political leaders of central cities used the pretext of scientific management and more efficient administration to obtain control of surrounding areas. "The city was no longer viewed as a political unit, but a unit of bureaucratic administration. Of course, beneath this pretext the real force of annexation was the ambition of downtown power, endeavoring to gain vast domain for its concentrated financial, ecommercial...and cultural interests."

City Planning Efforts to Redefine Neighborhoods

There were other factors that contributed to the dissolution of neighborhood power in American cities in the early 1900s, including the increasing segregation of rich and poor, the sprawl of residential and industrial areas, and the frenzy of road construction that accompanied the rise of the automobile. In *The Urban Prospect,* Mumford wrote: "By means of the traffic avenue, often ruthlessly cutting through urban tissue that had once been organically related to neighborhood life, the city as a whole became more united perhaps; but at the cost of destroying, or at least of...undermining, neighborhood life."

There were some attempts to reestablish the social cohesion of neighborhoods, even though their political power was largely gone. Settlement houses, first organized in the United States in the 1880s, survived in some places to serve surrounding neighborhoods. Local schools functioned as community centers in many cities in the early part of the century. "A strong community council movement emerged in the 1920s," wrote Howard W. Hallman in *Neighborhood Government in a Metropolitan Setting* (1974), "and commencing with the publication of the *Regional Survey of New York and Its Environs* in 1929, the neighborhood unit came to be seen as the building block for city planning." In Rochester, N.Y., what became known as the Community Center movement sprang up, its advocates seeking to enliven city life by providing common local meeting places.

One of the leaders of this movement was the city planner Clarence Perry, who believed that neighborhoods should be given back the functions they had lost. Perry based his analysis on the work of Ebenezer Howard, an English planner who successfully proposed the "garden cities" concept around London, where a number of self-contained, carefully planned and limited-population towns were built between 1900 and 1930 and again after 1945.[13] Perry adapted the Howard idea to the city neighborhood, with definite boundaries, centralized shops, numerous parks and playgrounds, community schools and a limited population. "The Howard-Perry concept dominated nearly all neighborhood planning of the last generation," James V. Cunningham wrote.

Federal Programs to Rejuvenate the Urban Areas

The postwar urban-renewal movement led to an effort to encourage neighborhood improvement through federal legislation. The Housing Act of 1954 was the first law to require citizen participation among municipalities receiving federal funds for urban renewal. However, according to an early analysis of the program, the results were less than successful from the neighborhood standpoint. "The use of advisory committees was found to be one of the most widespread devices to permit citizens to participate," wrote G. Lewis in the *Journal of Housing* in 1959. "Membership on these committees, however, concentrated heavily on representation from real estate, construction, and business groups, particularly chambers of commerce, as well as some community-wide housing and planning groups, but representation from the project areas was almost totally absent."

The Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961 authorized $10 million in federal grants for neighborhood-based delinquency prevention programs. "While few of the board members of these projects came from the designated neighborhoods," Kotler wrote, "the project orientation of this program established the neighborhood unit as a basis of program development and administration."

The Johnson administration's omnibus anti-poverty bill provided the next big step in neighborhood involvement. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, which established the Community Action Program (CAP), called for "maximum feasible participation" of local residents in planning and administering anti-poverty programs. Howard Hallman of the Center for Governmental Studies, in an extensive recounting of the history of the neighborhood-control movement,[14] said the act "brought in

[13] See "New Towns," *E.R.R.*, 1968 Vol. II, pp. 803-822.

[14] "Neighborhood Power: A Ten Year Perspective," in *Neighborhood Decentralization*, November-December 1974, p. 1.

a new era in the way government deals with citizens." "Maximum feasible participation" meant different things to different people, however. Daniel P. Moynihan, then a member of the War on Poverty Task Force, wrote in his book *Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding* (1969): "It was taken as a matter beneath notice that such programs would be dominated by the local political structure." On the other hand, Richard Boone, who became assistant director of CAP, later wrote: "Overall was the continuing thrust toward localism—the right to local decision-making in planning and operating...programs."[15]

Hallman believes that other social forces of the mid-1960s had an even greater influence on federal programs—particularly the black-power movement and the urban riots that plagued many major cities. A central proposal of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders was that "city governments...need to provide opportunity for meaningful involvement of ghetto residents in shaping policies and programs which affect the community." The Model Cities program, part of the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966, was controlled by city governments but it called for "widespread citizen participation." The staff of the Model Cities Administration produced guidelines stating that "there must be some form of organizational structure, existing or newly established, which embodies neighborhood residents in the process...." The Department of Housing and Urban Development, in administering Model Cities, encouraged citizen participation through its control of planning grants.

When President Nixon came into office, the "New Federalism" was hailed as a means of returning power to the local level,[16] but in practice this meant established municipal governments and elected public officials rather than neighborhood groups. The administration began to dismember the Office of Economic Opportunity and tried to abolish the Community Action Program. Nixon's general revenue-sharing program provided funds to state and local governments with few strings attached, but little trickled down to the neighborhood level. The special revenue-sharing proposal for an urban community development program was embodied in the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974, which absorbed the Model Cities program, but it is essentially a block grant program requiring federal review of state and local spending plans.

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[15] Both quoted by Hallman in *Neighborhood Decentralization*, p. 2.

[16] For background, see "Revenue Sharing," *E.R.R.*, 1975 Vol. I, pp. 227-244.

Outlook for Neighborhood Government

ALTHOUGH neighborhood control is gaining wide attention in the United States today, only a few years ago many urban analysts were suggesting that local government was too decentralized.[17] Robert C. Wood, a former Under Secretary of Housing and Urban Development (1966-68), criticized the decentralization of the New York metropolitan area in his 1961 book, *1400 Governments:* "The state of fragmentation can be defended as carrying on the cherished democratic tradition of home rule. It can be deplored as hopelessly unsuited to the realities of modern metropolitan life." The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, a permanent federal board established by Congress in 1959, also voiced alarm at the growing fragmentation of local government and the resulting diffusion of control during the 1960s. In a 1966 study, *Metropolitan America: Challenge to Federalism,* the commission said that a prime need of cities was the authority to extend their jurisdiction throughout metropolitan areas.

The trend has clearly been one of centralization in local governments and school districts, although there has been a proliferation of special districts, as shown by the following Census of Governments figures:

	1962	1972
School districts	34,678	15,781
Counties	3,045	3,044
Municipalities	17,997	18,517
Townships	17,144	16,991
Special districts	18,323	23,885
Local governmental units	91,187	78,218

Nonetheless, the spread of various forms of neighborhood control and governmental decentralization has given rise to what is essentially a new political science of neighborhood government, with a growing number of analysts and advocates. Many have found support in the work of Jane Jacobs, who as early as 1961 was challenging the prevailing view that fragmentation was bad. In her influential book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961), she noted that voters "inexorably and invariably" turned down proposals for metropolitan-wide governments. "The voters are right in spite of the fact there is great need for common and coordinated action," she wrote. "...The voters sensibly decline to federate into a system where bigness means local helplessness, ruthlessness, oversimplified

[17] See "Local Government Modernization," *E.R.R.*, 1967 Vol. II, pp. 739-756.

planning, and administrative chaos—for that is just what municipal bigness means today."[18]

Most analysts are realistic about the prospects for neighborhood control, however. "Neighborhood government will clearly not be won without a struggle, for City Hall will not give up power easily," Peter Freiberg wrote in *Commonweal* magazine.[19] Howard Hallman, president of the Center for Governmental Studies, said in an interview: "This movement has sort of shifted the balance of power. The governing coalition that runs cities has always been the power structure of city hall, business, developers, retailers. Now neighborhoods have a much broader say. It's not yet neighborhood control, but it's definitely a new voice."

The Center for Governmental Studies is a private, non-profit corporation based in Washington, D.C., and supported in part by a Ford Foundation grant. In November 1973 it began publishing a newsletter, *Neighborhood Decentralization*, which features case studies, surveys and other information about neighborhood government. Hallman, the author of *Neighborhood Government in a Metropolitan Setting* (1974), sees neighborhoods as sub-units of municipal government, not as politically autonomous entities. "[N]eighborhood government should be cast in a context of shared power in a federated system of urban government," he wrote. "The different levels—metropolitan, city and neighborhood—would all be involved with the basic governmental functions and programs, such as public safety, health, sanitation, education, recreation, transportation and others."

Hallman believes that small suburbs or neighborhoods of 10,000 residents can handle the following activities: police patrols, routine investigations and traffic control; fire protection; street and highway maintenance; refuse collection; local water and sewer services; parks, playgrounds, recreation centers and swimming pools; branch libraries; elementary schools; social welfare services; local planning, zoning and urban renewal; and public housing management.

View of Crime Control as Neighborhood Function

One of the most controversial elements of the neighborhood-control movement concerns crime. Hallman and others believe crime prevention can be improved by greater citizen involvement. George J. Washnis, director of municipal studies at the Center for Governmental Studies and author of *Citizen Involvement in Crime Prevention* (1975), has said: "For some aspects of crime prevention, citizens are more suited than law-

[18] Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961), p. 427.
[19] "Saving the Neighborhoods," *Commonweal*, Sept. 7, 1973, p. 474.

Case Studies in Neighborhood Control

Los Angeles has the nation's most extensive program using the traditional approach to municipal decentralization. Its Branch City Halls originated many years ago when outlying suburban towns were annexed so they could tap the main city water supply. The existing town halls became Branch City Halls, of which about a dozen exist today. They have million-dollar budgets and employ more than a thousand civil servants. The largest branches provide every service that is available in the downtown city hall—probably the only city where this is true. Most of the branches have authority over streets, sanitation, planning, safety and engineering.

Dayton, Ohio, has what is "probably the most effective organization" for neighborhood participation, according to Howard Hallman of the Center for Governmental Studies. Dayton is divided into six areas for purposes of citizen involvement in planning. A predominantly low-income black neighborhood has a Model Cities Planning Council with a locally elected staff. The other five areas, which range from racially integrated to almost all-white, have "neighborhood priority boards" which hold open elections. With the help of a computerized system called the Neighborhood Achievement Model, each area ranks its major problems for fund allocations.

The *Adams-Morgan Organization* (AMO) represents a six-square-mile area in northwest *Washington, D.C.*, with a population of about 31,000 people. Fifty-five per cent of the residents are black and the rest are white or Spanish-speaking Latin Americans. The economic range is great—from affluence to poverty. AMO was founded as a neighborhood government in 1972 and a 30-member executive council was elected in 1973. Legislative power is vested in a general assembly.

The *Birmingham, Ala.*, city council in October 1974, recognizing "the need and desirability of involving its citizens more directly and on a continuing basis in its community development efforts," designated 86 neighborhoods in the city of 308,000 people. Each neighborhood has a citizens' committee with open membership and elected officers. Residents 16 or older are eligible to vote and hold office. At the next level are 19 community committees, each representing two to seven neighborhoods, which consider matters too large for individual neighborhoods. The presidents of these 19 committees make up a citywide Citizens Advisory Board.

Sto-Rox Neighborhood Corporation, just outside of *Pittsburgh, Pa.*, is named for two adjacent municipalities—Stowe Township and McKees Rocks Borough. In 1965 a citizens' committee established some programs under the federal Economic Opportunity Act, and succeeded in winning direct control over the anti-poverty funds away from the mayor's office. The Roman Catholic Diocese of Pittsburgh also established the FOR (Focus On Renewal) Neighborhood Center in the area. The two groups incorporated as a tax-exempt, non-profit corporation in 1972.

enforcement officers and in some cases more effective. Citizens are invaluable in identifying criminals, acting as the community's eyes and ears, motivating police into improving performance, especially caring for the neighborhood and its services, and adding a sense of morality and standards so very much needed in the fight against crime."[20]

In a year-long study of community involvement in police activities, Washnis and the staff of the center personally reviewed 34 projects in 20 cities and surveyed more than 100 other city and county projects. They found that organized volunteers were having a significant effect on the reduction of crime. "With few exceptions we have found that community groups cooperate well with police, carry no weapons, and perform mainly as eyes and ears for sworn officials," Washnis reported.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Police Foundation in July 1975 announced a program to mobilize greater citizen involvement in anti-crime measures. It involves four police departments, each concentrating on a different type of crime: Wilmington, Del. (crimes against the elderly); Birmingham, Ala. (stolen property); Norfolk, Va. (crimes against women); and DeKalb County, Ga. (crimes against youth).

Some advocates of neighborhood power believe that citizens should be given complete control over many police functions. Hallman thinks that cities of 500,000 people should be divided into 20 neighborhood units, each with its own police force. A central police bureau would handle training, laboratory work and communications. One problem is that citizen involvement in police work means vigilantism to some people, of which there is widespread fear.

Proposed Law to Return Taxes to Neighborhoods

The new Alliance for Neighborhood Government in May 1975 approved two resolutions concerning federal aid to neighborhood organizations: (1) to support amendments to the proposed federal Revenue Sharing Act of 1976 to provide automatic "pass-through" funds to neighborhood groups, and (2) to support amendments to the 1974 Housing and Community Development Act which would require that it include the recognition and funding of neighborhood organization proposals.

In a sense, federal legislation to promote neighborhood control seems to be a contradiction in terms. But the proposed Neighborhood Government Act sponsored by Senator Hatfield

[20] "Citizens and Police Working Together in Crime Prevention," *Neighborhood Decentralization*, July-August 1975, p. 1.

is indeed intended to encourage neighborhood control by returning tax monies to the local level.[21] The bill would provide a dollar-for-dollar federal income tax credit for all funds that citizens contributed to local neighborhood government corporations. The maximum amount of the credit would be based on the taxpayer's annual income, as shown in the following table:

Income	Percentage
$10,000 or less	80
$10,001 to $15,000	60
$15,001 to $20,000	40
$20,001 to $25,000	20
$25,000 or more	10

Hatfield's bill does not appear to have wide support in Congress, perhaps because it is such a radical departure from the recent trend toward stronger central control of the purse strings. There are other objections as well: "Like many other tax-reform proposals, it would benefit the rich," said Howard Hallman. "I'm by and large against tax gimmicks to carry out projects like this. I don't think the federal government can do very much about local government, except perhaps in a demonstration program as a way to develop ideas."

Local Units in National Policy of Urban Growth

The neighborhoods of America have been the target of action proposals at the national level before. In 1972 a task force of the American Institute of Architects, after a year of study, submitted a comprehensive plan for a national urban growth policy. It concluded that "the measuring rod of national growth should be the quality of our neighborhoods, and the assurance that neighborhoods—even when they change—will not deteriorate. The neighborhood should be America's Growth Unit."[22]

But neighborhoods often are unusually resistant to grandiose plans made in their behalf by large, remote institutions. "Neighborhood organizations will not tolerate central initiatives," Milton Kotler has said. "They only need what's good for them." In a similar vein, Gerson Green of the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs commented: "People must be involved at the grass-roots level. After all, egalitarian, participatory democracy is the American dream." And the neighborhood-control movement has added a contemporary dimension to that dream.

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[21] Hatfield first introduced neighborhood government legislation in 1971, and endorsed the concept in a speech to the platform committee of the Republican National Convention in 1972.

[22] "A Plan for Urban Growth: Report of the National Policy Task Force, The American Institute of Architects," *MEMO* (newsletter of the AIA, special issue), January 1972, p. 3.

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ATTACHMENT -5-

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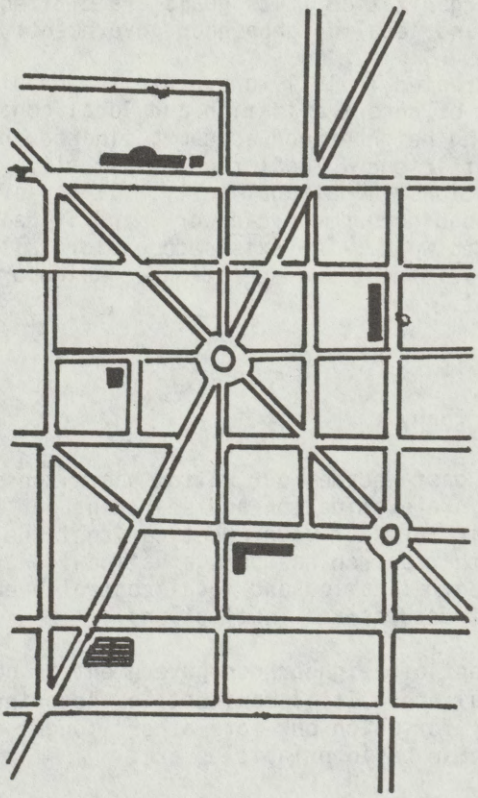

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THE INSTITUTE

The Institute for Neighborhood Studies is a tax-exempt charitable and educational organization dedicated to research and action in the field of neighborhood organization. Its goals are citizen responsibility and legal neighborhood government.

INS was created in 1971 to explore the problems and potential of decentralization and local control by researching neighborhood economy, finance, history, ethics, efficiency, legal rights, security, and interrelations in national unity. It explores how neighborhood government can work, and it helps neighborhoods to work. INS exists to explore all facets in the development and operation of neighborhood government.

ITS PHILOSOPHY

Over the past decade, our nation has witnessed an upheaval, re-examination and searching for how our democratic forms of government can continue to work. Part of that search has been a nationwide trend toward decentralization and local control over governmental structures and institutions.

The concept of neighborhood government is not a new or radical one. It is manifest in the principles of democracy for which our forefathers fought a revolution. Those basic principles are:

- o A belief in the ability of people to govern themselves at the community level.
- o A belief in the equity of one person/one vote.
- o A humanistic faith in the moral precept of "do unto your neighbors as you would have them do unto you."

The most unique thing about neighborhood government is that people come together not because they are alike but because they are different yet share the same geographic territory and therefore common problems and bonds. In every neighborhood, there are particularly trusted neighbors who solve common and individual problems. This is the real mutual aid, found at the neighborhood level, which must be recognized and expanded in the community. Neighborhood government is the political institution that promotes this goodwill, humanity and compassion.

The Institute for Neighborhood Studies endeavors to learn, and then to teach, how assembly-based neighborhood government can work in the United States.

ITS ACCOMPLISHMENTS

INS has consulted with many neighborhood organizations and with city, state and national officials and academic institutions.

INS was invited by the California Governor's Cabinet to present arguments for neighborhood government. It was also invited by the California Department of Mental Health to confer with them on community mental health programs.

At the request of the Secretary for Health, Education and Welfare, INS prepared the Task Force Report for recommendations on the devolution of legal authority to community-controlled institutions which was approved by Secretary Richardson.

In conjunction with the Pittsburgh Neighborhood Alliance, INS initiated the Pittsburgh Information Project which is currently in its pilot stage, and which will prepare the neighborhood organizations of Pittsburgh for intelligent decision-making and increased responsibility in local government.

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INS assisted John Platt and Associates in establishing the Neighborhood Law Institute at Lewis and Clark College, Portland, Oregon. The Neighborhood Law Institute represents the first law school recognition in the field of neighborhood legal rights.

INS participated in designing the neighborhood government charter of the Adams Morgan Organization in Washington, D.C. The AMO charter contains several important innovations in neighborhood government charter theory.

INS technically developed the model municipal charter for the Sto-Rox Neighborhood Corporation (a federation of 21 neighborhood organizations) in McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania.

INS has sponsored several seminars on neighborhood government, including meetings on neighborhood economy led by Dr. Richard Schaffer, Director of Research for the Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation, and meetings on "Liberty and Oligarchy in Contemporary America," led by Walter Karp, author of the National Book Award nomination Indispensable Enemies: The Politics of Misrule in America.

In 1974, INS convened a conference of 100 theologians and political scientists on "Ethics and Politics." The purpose was to explore the ethical problems and potential of neighborhood government. Papers and proceedings were published in the theological journal, Dialog (Volume 14, Summer 1975).

INS convened the three-day conference that ended with formation of the Alliance for Neighborhood Government, a mideast region federation of some 40 neighborhood groups from New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Baltimore and Washington, D.C., representing, altogether, more than a million people. ANG hopes to combine neighborhood resources and energies to solve common problems.

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ITS REPUTATION

INS is regarded highly by neighborhood organizations in many cities. Professor James Cunningham, past president of the Pittsburgh Neighborhood Alliance, observed:

> *During the past four years, Pittsburgh has moved from a place where neighborhoods had no voice in the decisionmaking life of the city toward a strong, respected position where there is a vigorous coalition of neighborhood organizations and a new city charter which will grant neighborhoods a formal role in city government.*
>
> *This new position was reached with considerable help, strategic advice, technical assistance and encouragement from the Institute for Neighborhood Studies. Now the Institute has opened up vast new resources to neighborhood organizations and leaders by launching the Alliance for Neighborhood Government.*

This is what the Report of the DJB Foundation, 1971-1975 said about their $25,000 grant to INS:

> *High level theory and on-the-ground practice of decentralized government. Publications in history, philosophy of local government; experiments in several places in self-made and community independence. Nothing elsewhere like it.*

ITS DIRECTOR

Milton Kotler, founder and director of INS, has worked in the field of neighborhood organization for 12 years. In 1964 he developed the first model

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neighborhood corporation in Columbus, Ohio, where, in the words of Robert F. Kennedy:

> *The East Central Citizens Organization (ECCO)...took over administration of welfare services from a church settlement house—and, building on this base, evolved a sophisticated and effective democratic assembly of citizens in the neighborhood.*
>
> —*Robert F. Kennedy*
> *To Seek A Newer World*
> *(Doubleday, 1967)*

Milton Kotler has organized many new model neighborhood corporation charters and has consulted with organizations in Chicago, Boston, Pittsburgh, New York, Grand Rapids, Washington, Buffalo, Portland (Oregon), Philadelphia, and elsewhere.

He has lectured at Yale, Columbia University, the University of Chicago, MIT, the University of Wisconsin, Michigan State University, the University of California at Berkeley, the University of Louisville, and many others.

His many papers and professional presentations include three for annual meetings of the American Political Science Association:

- o "The Disappearance of the Municipal Regime"—1971
- o "The Territory and Legitimacy of Neighborhood Government"—1973
- o "The Ethics of Neighborhood Government"—1974

He spoke on "The Neighborhood Government Movement" at the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 1969, on "Neighborhood Administration" at the American Association of Public Administration in 1972, and on "The Elements of Neighborhood

Leadership" at the American Association of Public Administration in 1975.

Milton Kotler is author of the basic work, Neighborhood Government (Bobbs-Merrill, 1969), which is, perhaps, the single most significant contribution to the entire neighborhood government movement. The book earned this comment from Dr. Kenneth Boulding, past president of the American Economics Association:

> *I am immensely excited by this book. It makes a vital and hitherto unrecognized contribution to the whole dialogue of our times. It cuts through the nonsense of the romantic revolutionaries and points the way to what is, I think, the most significant revolution of our times—the rediscovery of the neighborhood and the small community as a political entity. It points the way toward a hopeful resolution of our present social conflicts more than any work I have seen. It should be read and studied by both left and right. It is in the great American tradition of hard-headed, realistic, political thinking. It is by no means absurd to compare it with the Federalist Papers and to see it as a portent of a new and very hopeful direction in the whole organization of our society. It is indeed a tract for our times, a book which could quite possibly change the course of our history.*

Milton Kotler received his B.A. and M.A. in political science from the University of Chicago, attended the University of Chicago Law School, taught political science at Chicago City College, and has been a resident fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C., since 1963. He has been the director of INS since creating it in 1971.

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...Neighborhood corporations...today...are developing new ideas, new initiatives and new ways of solving local problems—and they are doing it on their own. They are exercising genuine political liberty. They are confronting human conflicts and problems on human terms and they are succeeding...because they have imagination and compassion. There is no task any greater than humanizing our systems in order to renew a sense of individuality and integrity that will allow for both the frailties and the genius of man....

—Senator Mark O. Hatfield, S. 2192, Neighborhood Government Act of 1975

REMARKS BY THE HONORABLE ROBERT J. MCKENNA, R. I. STATE SENATOR ON BEHALF OF THE BICENTENNIAL COUNCIL OF THE 13 ORIGINAL STATES PRESENTED TO THE PLATFORM COMMITTEE OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE AT THE TREADWAY INN, NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND, APRIL 3, 1976.

May I first of all express our appreciation to Governor Noel and the other members of the Platform Committee for this opportunity to offer our ideas regarding the significance of the Bicentennial of America's independence.

In June of 1970 the Rhode Island Bicentennial Commission invited delegates from the other original states to Newport to establish communications regarding those interests they shared in the celebration of the Bicentennial of American independence. Out of this initial meeting has developed the Bicentennial Council of the 13 Original States which I represent here today.

The Chairman of our Council, Mr. Walter T. Peters, Jr., had planned to present this testimony. He sends his sincere regrets on his inability to make these remarks personally. On his behalf, as well as that of the Bicentennial Commission of the 13 Original States, I would like to suggest that the Democratic National Convention adopt as a central theme of its 1976 platform, the motto which the Bicentennial Council has adopted as its fundamental principle: WE ARE ONE. This fundamental principle of unity within diversity has been a guiding principle for our country throughout its history. We must, as we enter our third century of national independence, re-emphasize the basic principles which guided our founding fathers in 1776 and re-affirm

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our fundamental agreement with and support of these principles.

As Thomas Jefferson so eloquently said in the Declaration of Independence, the purpose of Government is the preservation "of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" and these are principles which we owe to "our Creator who has endowed us with these unalienable rights".

While these principles must continue to be our guide, it is essential for us to understand that these principles have endured because the patriots of 1776 did more than initiate them. They took the necessary actions to make them meaningful in the lives of the people of these United States in the period from 1776 until the conclusion of our War for Independence and finally on to the adoption of a new constitutional frame of Government in 1789. This whole period has been entitled the Bicentennial Era.

Just as it took these many years to bring to reality the ideals and aspirations of our founding fathers, as we rededicate ourselves to them, we too, must realize that this is not a matter for a day, a week or month, but must be celebrated and recalled during an era extending from 1976-1989. I think it is important that the Democratic Party commit itself to work for the ideals of equality and justice which are embedded in our Declaration of Independence and our Constitution. I would urge that the party adopt a strong platform plank acknowledging the Bicentennial Era and dedicating the party and its

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candidates for public office to these ideals and a fresh renewal of the spirit of our Nation which has carried us to 200 years of challenge and accomplishment.

Today I think our country, as in 1776, is in need of a new beginning and rededication to the fundamental rights of all of our citizens and to a fresh commitment to achieve these with justice and compassion. The Democratic Party has, of course, been the vehicle for the development and implementation of these many ideals of our founding fathers. I would strongly recommend that the Bicentennial theme be adopted by the national convention in its platform and that through this platform, that all those who would support the Democratic Party would reaffirm their fundamental commitment to America and to its enduring ideals. We can do no less, and no one can do more.

Statement for the Record: Reference S. 1800
Senate Sub-committee on the
Arts and Humanities

The following testimony is submitted for the record pursuant to the April 9th, 1976 hearings on S. 1800.

The testimony is submitted by Ms. Perdita Huston, 424 Sea Ridge Drive, La Jolla, Calif. 92037, formerly of the ARBA, and who during a four-year period directed the Office of Women's Participation, The Citizen Participation Division, and the Program Division of both Festival USA and Horizons '76, the future-oriented theme of the Bicentennial Observance.

It is in the capacity of these former responsibilities that Ms. Huston submits testimony.

On June 29th, 1972, a coalition of national women's organizations, called together by the ARBA to discuss voluntary organization's roles in the Bicentennial observance, passed a resolution which, I believe sets the tone for discussion:

"We believe that greater emphasis must be given to the opportunity to build for the future under the aegis of the Bicentennial observance."

Signers of this resolution included the American Association of University Women, the National Council of Negro Women, Church Women United, the Federation of Women's Clubs, the Intercollegiate Association of Women's Students, the National Organization for Women, B'nai B'rith Women, the League of Women Voters, the National Council of Jewish Women, the League of United Latin American Citizens, and others.

Again and again, while working with non-governmental or voluntary organizations, we witnessed the belief in the Bicentennial's potential to stimulate alliances for community planning and national programs related to the future.

The ARBA-sponsored Call for Achievement program exemplifies this interest in continuing Bicentennial initiatives. It is a program which provides guidance and materials for citizen involvement programs at the community level. Call for Achievement is a collaborative program involving the Chamber of Commerce, National Council of Churches, the Conference of Mayors, the Urban League and various national voluntary organizations as well as many local citizen involvement programs in the design of what the "tools at the community level" should be.

Another example is the Community Resource Center program, initiated by a coalition of over 30 women's organizations. Believing that local service

delivery has become so undisciplined and has so multiplied in the public, private and volunteer sectors, these organizations wish to play an active role in creating citizen-initiated Resource Centers which identify the available resources to service citizens as well as the gaps in service delivery at the local level. Only after three years of constant lobbying were we able to obtain minimal funds to support this national effort for creating and monitoring 10 Community Resource Centers which serve as models for other communities which wish to undertake a similar program.

It should be pointed out that this program was supported through matching funds by the Charles F. Kettering Foundation which believes it holds the potential for a new institution for continued involvement of citizens in local problem-solving and future planning. At this point there is no plan for further funding of this program. Although several federal agencies are most interested in pursuing the idea, they watch and wait.

But what in truth was the response mechanism to these program initiatives? The Bicentennial Commission, which later became the ARBA, was an agency which grew slightly as the demands for the public's involvement grew geometrically.

Funds were not adequate. Program funds, if one looks at the record, were minimal in proportion to those allocated for communications, administrative costs, travel, etc.

Also, during the period of political upheaval we have witnessed in the past two years, the ARBA's credibility was constantly challenged. Partisan politics continued to taint the believability of ARBA initiatives. Election year politics were also a hindrance to long-range planning. In addition, the ARBA seemed to suffer from a time-frame syndrome. July 4th was viewed as the day for the Bicentennial. Must one target all initiatives to that date?

To those of the private and voluntary sector, this notion of a cut-off date is anathema. The Bicentennial observance cannot be pegged to a day... but rather to an era for national introspection, learning and planning. Little thought was given by the ARBA to the overall, long-range objectives of what the Bicentennial era could mean to a renewal of confidence in government, the ideals of democracy, and citizen involvement in planning our national future.

Here I would like to clarify the basic assumption which guided the Horizons '76 programs. Certainly the Heritage theme was important; the Festival USA theme has highlighted the cultural achievements of the American people; but the Horizons '76 program effort was predicated on our belief in citizen involvement in the affairs of community and government. It was a response in the belief of what people can do for themselves.

The Horizons '76 programs are just now coming to fruition: Horizons on Display, the Community Action Dialogue, CIN, Call for Achievement, and the Community Resource Center Program.

These programs were designed collaboratively between federal agencies, national organizations, volunteer groups...and more importantly, by groups which represent the diversity of American institutions and needs.

They were designed to provide the tools for that belief in what people can do for themselves if given the wherewithal to do so. The tools have been well researched, the needs were identified, and now the American people need a credible response mechanism if they are to continue these programs and if they are to have a long-range impact on local and national planning.

I would like to point out a stumbling block which we encounter at ARBA. The ARBA matching-fund requirements were at best discriminatory. Over and again, programs of significant impact on community and national life were submitted to the ARBA by voluntary organizations. But what voluntary organizations could meet the requirement of matching funds? They have little cash. But they certainly have the most important resource to offer... volunteers. Time and again these programs fell by the wayside due to matching fund requirements. We could not give them seed monies, which was all they required.

In conclusion, one would point out that both the public and private sectors of our society have been well involved in the Bicentennial planning. It is the independent sector, the voluntary sector which would most benefit from the ideas expressed in H.R. 12342 which have been discussed before this subcommittee.

Over 11,000 communities across the country have structured citizen committees which have led the local efforts in Bicentennial planning. The Horizons '76 programs are now operative. If indeed we structure a Bicentennial Foundation, these initiatives, national and local could have continued support. This support must include information on national programs and funds to continue program initiatives and seed grants to voluntary groups for pursuit of the programs already designed, underway or potentially available.

We must reinstate, and reinforce the independent sector by providing opportunity for involvement, creativity and committment to the principles of the American Revolution. Individuals and institutional creativity are there to be tapped if the structure created is one which is devoid of partisan politics, overly restrictive matching fund requirements and representative of the independent sector: Minorities, women, and voluntary organizations.

This representation must be viewed as the key to credibility. Women and minority involvement in the Bicentennial observance has been slighted, both from a funding aspect and from a structural representation. A repeat performance of that neglect is a negative force to be avoided. Citizen involvement demands representation.

Two hundred years ago, on July 4, 1776, the future was open, before us. One did not think in terms of dates, program cut-offs, etc. The future was to be gained. If given the opportunity, there are many who would view the Bicentennial era with the same committment.

(Sig) Perdita Huston

A Citizens' Organization for Better Government • Founded 1894

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Sponsor of

National Conference on Government

April 15, 1976

The Honorable Jacob Javits
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Javits:

We at the National Municipal League are most encouraged to know that you are taking the leadership in the effort to establish an appropriate national institution to give continuing, substantive attention to the American constitutional system during the "Bicentennial Era."

It is absolutely essential that recognition of the nation's founding not end with the 1976 celebrations and subsequent sporadic anniversaries of military engagements of the Revolutionary War, and then, after a hiatus, give passing attention to the bicentennial of the constitutional convention.

Your efforts and those of others who are supporting the "endowment" approach to the bicentennial are pointing to the fact that the significance of the American Revolution went far beyond the declaration and realization of independence. It was in the process of building a new nation based on the principles of liberty and popular sovereignty. Too little attention so far has been given to the part of the Declaration of Independence which states "...it is the Right of the People...to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form...most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness."

Recognition of the enormous importance of the developments in both national and state government which occurred between 1775 and 1789 provides an opportunity to create a better understanding of our evolving institutions of self-government and how they can be strengthened in the late 20th century to meet problems at least as challenging as those of the late 18th century.

Carl H. Pforzheimer Building, 47 East 68th Street, New York, N. Y. 10021
Telephone: (212) 535-5700

A Citizens' Organization for Better Government • Founded 1894

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

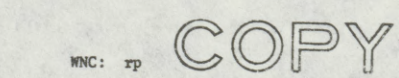
Sponsor of

National Conference on Government

A year ago when the Bicentennial celebration opened at Lexington and Concord it was disturbing that the "shot heard round the world" was being recognized in a strikingly inappropriate fashion. You will recall that there was a celebration and a counter-celebration--a confrontation of sorts between "we" and "they." It would be most unfortunate if the Bicentennial Era celebration does not take a more affirmative form and stress the remarkable capacity of Americans to be innovative in the face of crisis--to build institutions capable of providing solutions to pressing problems--to bridge the we-they dichotomy. Popular sovereignty means that the people are both the governors and the governed. Institutions of popular government are not inanimate structures--they are made up of people. It is the many and varied roles of citizens in the system that need special attention. Because these roles are so many and so varied it is particularly appropriate that the national government use the flexible mechanism of an endowment or foundation, already most effective in the arts, humanities and sciences, to provide stimulus and leadership in this effort. The effort should have both private and public elements operating at all levels of our federal system. This can culminate in formal commemoration of the drafting and adoption of the U.S. Constitution which Gladstone called "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

The National Municipal League, a citizens' organization dedicated to improving institutions of self-government, is anxious to cooperate in every appropriate way in this effort.

Sincerely yours,

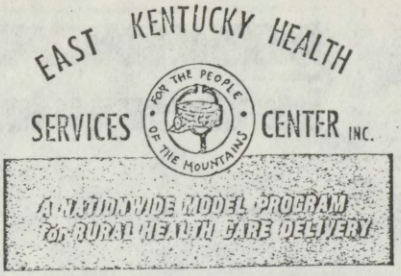


William N. Cassella, Jr.

WNC: rp

cc: Mr. Livingston Biddle
Senate Sub Committee on
Arts and Humanities (for the record)

Carl H. Pforzheimer Building, 47 East 68th Street, New York, N. Y. 10021
Telephone: (212) 535-5700



April 7, 1976

Senator Charles Mathias
Rm 358
Russell Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Mathias:

Pursuant to our telephone conversation, I will try to outline for you the programs of East Kentucky Health Services Center and our support for Congressional action to create a National Endowment for the Bicentennial Era.

The incorporators of EKHSC are myself and Dr. W. Grady Stumbo. Grady and I are natives of the Central Appalachian area; being born and raised on Left Beaver Creek in Floyd County, Kentucky. Neither of our families had annual incomes in excess of $3000.

Growing up here in the Mountains we gained first hand experience in dealing with the problems of a "poverty culture." We also came to realize that if any lasting change were to come to the area, the people living here must take an active part in bringing about and sustaining that change. We knew that if we were to actively participate in this change, we must obtain the best training and experience possible.

In 1968 I, along with five junior college students, began a student outreach program called ALCOR; Grady helped to found and was Executive Director of the Student American Medical Association's Appalachian Program.

During the period 1968-'72, we were able to involve over 5,000 locally reared college students, 1,000 students of the health sciences and more than 18,000 residents of the isolated hollows of a 22 county area here in the Mountains in programs of education, nutrition, recreation, health and community development. Medical students representing 78 of the then 105 medical schools in America participated in these programs.

Phone 1-606-785-3164 Route 1, Box 1024, Hindman, Kentucky 41822

Senator JAVITS. Well, gentlemen, thank you very much for being so patient and for being so very informative, so very supportive of the concept which Mr. Rockefeller has laid before us.

We will take this all under a very serious consideration in connection with the imminent markup of S. 1800, the pending Arts and Humanities bill, when our bill is presented. But you have been very helpful. I consider it a splendid hearing, a remarkably fine exposition and the record will be kept open for 1 week for any additional statements or documents which any of the witnesses care to submit. The subcommittee will stand in recess, subject to the call of the Chair.

[Whereupon, at 11:55 a.m., the subcommittee was adjourned.]

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