MEMORANDUM

To: Task Force Members

From: Richard C. Leone

Downs, MacInnes, Frederic and I had a long and rambling session with Assistant Secretary of HUD Charles Haar and his deputy. The following two portions of our discussion may be of interest to the Task Force.

- 1. It's quite clear that the metropolitan development plans of HUD do not take the ghetto and dispersion into account. The reasons for this are not a lack of interest or understanding of the problem. It is simply that the metropolitan programs themselves are "a weak reed" to carry the heavy burden of integration. Our discussions brought out the unremarkable fact that we would be likely to lose our metropolitan programs if we attempted to force integration through the use of them.
- 2. It is generally agreed that a more promising route for approaching the metropolitan aspects of integration is to the use of the states or providing the cities with special leverage on suburbs. To discuss only the state example here: it appears much more likely that a political executive responsive to pressures from Negroes and indeed to pressures in general will be more likely to work on the kind of problems we are interested in. We should be thinking here of the urban governors of the large northeastern and midwestern states who are undoubtedly somewhat responsive to the problems of central cities. These areas include a large proportion of the cities we are most concerned about.

In short, our feeling was that placing the responsibility for some of these movements in populations (even by the most roundabout means) would be most likely to have a payoff if we depended upon political executives.

I think that one of the principal advantages we've seen in our discussion of metropolitan approaches to the problem goes beyond the feeling that metropolitan-wide solutions are rational. Some of us have seen the metropolitan unit as less responsive to the anti-integration pressures - just as the courts are less responsive than the Congress. The problem, of course, is that the courts exist and metropolitan bodies do not. This has led us in turn to suggest that in round "one" we might create such bodies working with the "winners" such as water and sewer grants, etc., and, then, in round "two" ask them to take on some of the tasks of integration. My reaction to this is based largely on the experience

with authorities in the New York Metropolitan region. They too have taken on the winners but no one has yet figured out a way to force them to take on some of the losers (the commuter railroads, for example).

This is not meant to say that we should leave our metropolitan development corporation, metropolitan services corporation, etc., out of the final report but that we should think about them a bit more in the perspective of what are the most effective and promising ways of building something larger than a city and to the integration problem.

Executive Secretary