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# 50

Golden Years

A collection of short essays  
on the  
Federation of Conservative Students

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## Foreword

**Rt. Hon. MARK CARLISLE, O.C., M.P.**  
**Secretary of State for Education**  
**FCS Chairman 1953**

As President of the Federation of Conservative Students, it gives me great pleasure to write this Forward to the fiftieth anniversary souvenir booklet. My association with the Federation does not go back quite all those 50 years to 1931 when John Buchan founded the Federation, but it is some time since I had the privilege of being Chairman of the FCS, or, more exactly, Chairman of the Federation of University Conservative and Unionist Associations, of FUCUA, as it was then known.

There have been a number of changes to the Federation since that time. Then the Federation was active only within the universities. One of the major changes has been the establishment of Student Conservative Associations in the polytechnics and other colleges of higher education throughout the country, as in the universities. Furthermore, there are now more universities than there were then. Hence, the change from being solely university-based to being a Federation of all Conservative-minded students in further and higher education.

Another change, of course, is that we did not have the vote in those days, the reduction of the voting age to 18 came later. Students today can vote, as well as talk, and of course can choose to vote either from their home address, or from their university address. There is, thus, to a real extent, a "student vote" nowadays and one which politicians would be wise to take note of.

With this broadening of the scope of the FCS has also come a much wider influence. It is true to say that the FCS of today is far more active, far more pervasive, and thus, far more able to put the Conservative viewpoint to a wider audience than ever before. Mind you, we did not do badly, amateur though we may have been!! Of course, a third difference is that I was Chairman of the Federation in the same year in which I took my Bar finals. These days the Chairman has a full sabbatical year in which to fulfil his duties.

Over those 50 years FUCUA, and now FCS, has been and continues to be an important political movement. It has, I believe, provided for all of us much enjoyment and interest in our university days and in university politics. The interest then enkindled has remained with many throughout their later life. It has been the start for many students of a political career, and, indeed, many past members of the Federation are now members of the present Government.

Certainly what is important is that FCS members carry the voice of Conservatism throughout universities, the colleges and the polytechnics, but they should not stop there. Through membership and participation in all kinds of



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political groups and influential bodies, they can reach a still wider audience. With the threat of the extreme Left looming large, and the retreat by others into the sands of Social Democracy, it is as important as ever that the sound of moderate, commonsense, Conservatism is heard in all walks of life.

We can look back on the development of the FCS from those modest beginnings of John Buchan to the important and influential body we have today. We should look forward to the next 50 years with enthusiasm when no doubt yet more changes will occur, but where the Federation will still play a vital part, not only in student politics, but, as ever, in mainstream Conservatism.

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# John Buchan

DAVID BOYD

Sketches the life of the FCS founder

Most people will know the name John Buchan for one thing, "The Thirty-Nine Steps", the book he wrote to take his mind off his duodenal ulcer in 1914, and which he referred to as a "dime novel". But few will know much else about John Buchan, except that perhaps he wrote some other books.

John Buchan's career was wide and varied. He was born the eldest son of a Minister of the Free Church of Scotland, in York Place, Perth in 1875. He attended the Board School of Pathhead just outside Kirkcaldy, the home one hundred years before of that great economist and guru of free enterprise, Adam Smith, and moved to Glasgow in 1888, where he continued his education at Hutcheson's Grammar School and Glasgow University.

He won a scholarship to Brasenose College, Oxford, where he, like many others who have entered Parliament and have gone on to high office in government or the civil service, was elected President of the Union.

He distinguished himself in many areas. As a young administrator in the aftermath of the Boer War he journeyed widely through the South African veld, often on horseback. As well as writing over fifty books, including several biographies, he was a journalist, working for the Times as a war correspondent; a publisher, as director of Nelson's in Edinburgh; an M.P., as member for the Scottish Universities from 1927 to 1935; a civil servant, as Director of Intelligence under Lord Beaverbrook; and a representative of the Sovereign, as High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and as a much loved and respected Governor-General of Canada.

Even at the age of sixty, he tackled an unclimbed mountain face in the frozen Canadian Arctic. He was the first Lord Tweedsmuir and was given the freedom of the City of Edinburgh in 1935.

The Federation of Conservative Students, or as it was then, the Federation of University Conservative and Unionist Associations, is privileged to have as its founder, a man of such distinction and honour. Yet he had no narrow, sheltered life; he knew industrial life and Clydeside. He had been to a tough Glasgow day school, and Glasgow University, before leaving for London and South Africa.

On the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the founding of the Federation we would do well to remember, not only our history and development to the strong fighting force in youth and student politics which we are today, but also the man John Buchan, to whom we owe so much.



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# FCS - Politics and Fun

**PETER YOUNG**  
FCS National Chairman 1981

It is with great pleasure and a considerable measure of fortune that I find myself writing this to the FCS Golden Jubilee Handbook. It is with even greater pleasure that I find myself presiding over a Federation, in the words of former Chairman, Mark Carlisle, "the FCS of today is far more active far more pervasive, and thus, far more able to put the Conservative viewpoint to a wider audience than ever before". For the truth is that the Federation of Conservative Students is the most energetic, successful and expanding political youth movement in Britain today. Who would have thought, at a time when the Conservative Government is supposedly unpopular, that the membership of the Party's Student wing would have risen by 30%, and that there would be more Conservative student branches than ever before. It is a remarkably healthy sign for the Conservative Party that Conservative students are so active and confident.

The future of the Party is based on its young activists of today. Past leaders of the Federation, such as Edward Heath, Mark Carlisle and John Biffen, have risen to eminence in the British Government.

Our success today is mainly grounded on the intellectual vitality of Conservatism on the campuses. All the new ideas are now coming from the right, and most students realise that there is no alternative to the economic course presently being pursued by the government, other than a Marxist one.

Democratic Socialists are very thin on the ground and, in fact, there is no organised democratic socialist grouping. This lack of support for social democratic ideas leads me to suspect that the new Social Democratic Party has no real long-term future, but is more a creation of the media and ambitious politicians. The only students it is likely to attract to its flag are those opportunists and bandwagon-jumpers who constantly flit around the so-called centre of the student political spectrum. They do no great service to any cause as their sole motivation is personal advancement.

In FCS on the other hand we have definite ideas and principles. Of course I am not saying that we all agree on what those ideas and principles should be. Indeed some of our conferences look like replays of the Vietnam War, but at least we're talking about ideas and policies rather than blindly following some party line - and no one's been killed, yet.

Our work is certainly varied, and includes participating in student unions; publishing student magazines; organising meetings for M.P.s.; running campaigns on specific issues; lobbying Ministers; smuggling books and printing equipment into Eastern Europe; etc., etc. What most FCS members will probably remember in later life though, is pushing leaflets under doors in student halls of residence in the early hours of the morning. All the same I think every one of them will admit that it was fun.

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# Intellectual Tradition

**Rt. Hon. JOHN BIFFEN, M.P.**  
Secretary of State for Industry  
FCS Vice-Chairman 1953

The fiftieth anniversary of the Federation of Conservative Students is an occasion for reflection, perhaps for pardonable nostalgia. The Federation has, indeed, played a useful role since 1930 in helping lay the spectre that modern Toryism had no intellectual basis and was devoted solely to the pragmatic exercise of power.

It is difficult at this juncture to understand how dangerously the Tory Party lived in the 1930s. It had traded its own political distinctiveness for the questionable assets of National Government after 1931.

The party continued to experience the sharpest disputes over economic policy—primarily whether Empire could be reinforced by political institutions and trading tariffs which would counter the Great Depression and the related unemployment.

Despite huge parliamentary majorities the Tory Party had a blurred political identity and great inner economic uncertainties. The intellectual initiative rested overwhelmingly with the Left.

That situation has been transformed; and the post war intellectual renaissance of Toryism owes much to work in the Universities—initially at Oxbridge but subsequently on the widest basis.

My own clear recollection from University Toryism was the keen desire to expunge the Imperial past. This was the touchstone of the agonised and passionate debates over the Central African Federation in the early 1950s.

There was a parallel concern to broaden the social base of Toryism and to escape from the middle class bunker into which the party had been driven after 1945.

Meanwhile I am sure there will be new problems and responses as the modern Tory party tries to find an intellectually and electorally coherent means of identifying the protective role of government and how it may best be financed.

The reconciliation of the warring interests to provide the essential role for government without recourse to inflationary finance is the immediate challenge. Its counter will require all the intellectual traditions and stamina of the Federation of Conservative Students.

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# Boisterous, Irreverent

KENNETH CLARK, Q.C., M.P.  
FCS Chairman 1963

I think that the three years or so that I spent in the Federation of Conservative Students set me irreversibly on a career in professional politics. The political bug had already bitten me before I began to attend the Conferences, but I became so immersed in the affairs of the Federation that I was quite incurably gripped by politics by the time I finished. The political intrigue, infighting and debate were, if anything, more ferocious in the Federation than they have proved to be in Parliament. Controversies were more heated and the course of events less predictable than anything in national political life. The process was highly entertaining and exciting however, and showed that politicians could derive an enjoyment from their chosen interest of a kind which I still derive from all political activity.

FCS in my day was not really involved at all with the world of student politics and the National Union of Students. It was a collection of political activists from the universities trying to get into closer contact with national politics and the Conservative Party. It provided a critical and irreverent audience for a procession of members of the Macmillan Government and younger MPs. The students treated every session as an opportunity to listen to whatever the visitor insisted on saying before taking the opportunity of impressing upon him every enthusiasm and prejudice which they themselves held. Many of the visitors who survived the process were soon to become dominant political figures. The most regular performers that I can remember are Enoch Powell, who could be relied upon to travel over the entire country to any university meeting without the slightest complaint, Edward Heath, who dazzled his young audience with long unscripted accounts of his negotiations with the EEC., and young William Rees Mogg, who as the candidate for Chester le Street was no doubt thinking of going into professional politics before he got attracted into journalism. Occasionally the Federation and its members were drawn into great events. I was the Chairman of the Federation and on the Party's Executive in the year of the Profumo crisis, and then Macmillan's resignation at the Party Conference, and the Party Conference was the most entertaining and the most disastrous for the Conservative Party that I can ever recall.

The actual members of the Federation turned into a very professional political generation. There are at least a dozen present MPs who I first met as members of the Federation, including one who at the time of writing is a Labour MP, although he may soon move to another Party. Most of them emerged through the electoral processes of the Federation as officers and then moved

onto the candidates' list. A curious combination of skills were necessary to enter politics by the Federation route. Standing in the elections often depended as much on performance in the traditional cabaret at the Annual Conference as it did in debate. At least one present MP was launched on his career more by his ability to produce a near perfect imitation of Harold Macmillan than by the political skills which he revealed in later life.

Great Left versus Right battles were fought out, intermingled with great personal and university rivalries. The dominant group did have a number of political beliefs in common however. We were rather classless, grammar school, university educated, cast in the early sixties mould. We had been drawn into Conservative politics by an admiration for the political style of Harold Macmillan, but our hero and political mentor was Iain McLeod. For most of us the Bow Group was our natural stopping point between the Federation and Parliament. We became the intake of '70 and '74, and provided, and still provide, a fairly youthful 'One Nation' element in the present Conservative Party.

It is interesting that nothing equivalent existed in the Labour Party. My Socialist contemporaries at university never emerged into professional politics. The Labour Party's university wing was closed down on several occasions whenever it was taken over by Trotskyites. They never succeeded in producing a non marxist intake into their parliamentary party from the university politicians of my day. I hope that the contrast between the state of the two parties now is some reflection of the quality of the work that the Party did then to give the Federation its head.

I hope that the Federation continues to work in the same way. It should be boisterous and irreverent and sometimes out of fashion with the mainstream Party. It should also be a way of fostering close links between the Conservative Party and the university activists of the day. It may occasionally make a contribution to the policy of the day on education and youth affairs. It ought to make a very distinct contribution to the life of the party and provide a continuing flow of people into mainstream Conservative politics.



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# Established and Vital

**NORMAN LAMONT, M.P.**  
Minister of State Dept. of Energy  
FCS G.P. Committee Member 1964

The Federation of Conservative Students has a very important role in the Conservative Party. I am sure also that the fact so many students today support the Conservative Party is in no small way due to the energy and activities of the FCS.

My main theory of the FCS is of the heated controversy of many of the debates which we used to have. It was a very good and refreshing experience for students from one university to be confronted by those from another part of the country often with very different views. I particularly remember Glasgow University as always producing excellent speakers with strong views on social policy and housing. This was not altogether surprising in view of the state of Glasgow's housing in the early 1960s, and those debates made a deep impression on me.

I have always noticed how some universities have a continuing political tradition and attitudes. St. Andrew's, then as now, always argued strongly for a free market solution to political problems. Of course, in those days such attitudes were far less fashionable than today, and St. Andrews' students were some times regarded as being rather way out! Since then I have become wiser and realise that they were only ahead of their time.

My recollection was that the FCS was, at least at that time, not so effective in written policy work! Our pamphlets and student groups were not as numerous as those of the FCS today. But in general, I think it is true that the Federation has established itself as an important part of the Conservative Party's national organisation. I have been much aware in recent years of the officers of the Federation who have made a significant contribution to policy making in the highest councils of the party.

There is nothing more vital for the Conservative Party than to keep the allegiance of the Young, especially when we are facing criticism and controversy over our policies. I personally enjoy addressing student meetings almost more than any other type of meeting. The audience is always lively and well informed and questioning. It is essential that the Federation should continue to be a strong national organisation putting the views of the Conservative Party in universities.

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# European Dimension

**SCOTT HAMILTON**  
FCS Vice Chairman 1975

The time which I spent in FCS was a very formative period in my life, and one which I look back on with much pleasure. While I was naturally involved in many different activities—including the ever-difficult area of fund-raising!—my particular area of responsibilities and interest lay in the Federation's European work. I was International Secretary at the time of the referendum on Britain's membership of the European Community, and I recall well the highly successful campaign which FCS spearheaded throughout universities and colleges which produced an overwhelming "yes" vote from the student population. I became very involved in the Federation's international organisation, the European Democrat Students, and was later elected its chairman for two years. In this field, FCS was a constant campaigner for closer cooperation between the centre-right parties of Europe; and could claim to have made a formidable contribution to paving the way to the establishment of the European Democrat Union, the Conservative Party's International. Most importantly, I increasingly find that the people I worked closely with then, both at home and abroad, have become colleagues in my work today; the value of this cannot be underestimated.

Others will write of the important contribution which FCS has made in the past, and continues to make today, in the field of higher education, in domestic policy thinking within the Party, and in campaigning for Conservative policies on a broad front in universities and colleges throughout the country. For my part, I would pay tribute to the effective role that the Federation has played in promoting our Party's European policy and the cause of freedom and democracy further afield. Many students have a concern for political principles which touch more than just our immediate surroundings; the Federation has skilfully ensured that the marxist view of a world order has not gone unchallenged. Long may it continue to do so.



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# Radical Success

**MICHAEL FORSYTH**  
**FCS National Chairman 1977**

When I was Chairman of FCS in 1975/76, the organisation was regarded as rather too radical for comfort. Conferences actually supported motions rejecting prices and incomes policies, reducing public expenditure, advocating monetary control, denationalisation of the Post Office, student loans, council house sales and the issue of shares in public corporations.

Thankfully, Margaret Thatcher and the Conservative Government have begun the task of implementing these and other policies. In 1975 they were little more than pipe dreams. I make this point because it illustrates the important policy role which FCS and FUCUA, as it was, has traditionally played within the party. As a forum for talented people to develop ideas and influence Party thinking, it has enjoyed considerable success.

But if FCS has helped to shape the future, it has also been known to predict it and here I am reminded of a leaflet given out by my own University Association, St. Andrews, in 1971 to the Party Conference. The format was a facsimile of the front page of the Daily Telegraph ten years on in 1981 (June 18). As the Government was expanding the money supply, long-term inflation was assumed and the price was set at 15p which is of course today's figure - at the time it was 4p. News items included Ronald Reagan's election as President of the United States, Rhodes Boyson's appointment as Minister for Education, Ralph Harris created a Knight, the floating of the pound, the introduction of commercial radio, the denationalisation of the telecommunications side of the Post Office to form Telecom, and the issue of Shares in British Airways. Fortunately, Ralph Harris became a peer rather than a Knight, though sadly the article prediction of a private company delivering letters, speedpost, has yet to come to pass.

Of course, "the battle of ideas" to choose a well worn phrase, is central to FCS activity in the Colleges and Universities and in recent years it has become a formidable campaigning organisation.

The organisation is constantly evolving and if the last 30 years of success are a measure for its future, there will be much to celebrate on the occasion of its next Jubilee.

For the student arm of a political party, this is as things should be and the record on defending free enterprise, human rights, personal liberty and excellence within education is impressive. The NUS campaign has, however, tended to turn FCS towards a role more akin to a student political party and in the past minority elements have tended to forget that the object of involvement in NUS is to change policies and not to achieve office at any price.

**Compiled by DAVID BOYD**  
**National Committee Member, FCS 1981**

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# Campaign for a Free Economy

# Lakerise local Government

## MONOPOLY = INEFFICIENCY

Local government services in Britain provide in many ways a microcosm of British Industry as a whole, exhibiting on the small scale many of the weaknesses and failings which afflict the national economy. Not that the scale is all that small. Local authorities spent between them the sum of £19,375,000,000 in 1978; the final figure for 1979 will be greater; and, despite all the talk of cutbacks, the same will probably be true of the 1980 figure.

The weaknesses and failings of local government services reflect those of their big brothers in the giant state-owned concerns and the monopoly public utilities and services. The combination of escalating costs and increased manpower levels with declining quality has led to a questioning of the very basis of public service.

On the face of it, the monopoly public service, be it national or local, eliminates the need for profits and wasteful advertising, and offers the public a guaranteed service. The reality is that everywhere the public sector is perceived as failing the nation. The combination of a protected monopoly position with a claim on tax revenues removes all incentive for efficiency of operation and quality of service.

## PROFIT = EFFICIENCY

It is the need for profit which keeps the private sector alert to consumer requirements, and competition which keeps it both efficient and innovative. The public services have no need to attract custom, no profitability requirements to reduce their costs, and no competition to fear usurping their position, tend to operate in the interests of those who administer them. It is an irony of British economic life that the "public" services are almost impervious to influence or control by the public. It is the private sector, depending upon satisfying public tastes and needs for its very survival, which is the part of the economy controlled by the public.

The public sector, on the other hand, is in the effective control of the bureaucrats who administer it and the unions which provide the workforce. The consumer participates, via his purse and his preferences, in the decisions made by the private sector. Given that the consumer has nowhere else to turn with his preferences in the case of a public service, and that his purse can be raided through rates and taxes without any input on his part, it is hardly surprising that it is easier in the public sector for the bureaucrats and the unions to meet each other's needs than to consider those of the absent and captive consumer.

## EXPENSIVE AND WASTEFUL

The result of these tendencies has been to make local government services expensive, wasteful, inefficient and inadequate. They are vastly overstuffed, subject to ruinous restrictive practices by their labour force, and top-

heavy with unnecessary layers of bureaucracy. One can add to these the fact that they are constantly subjected to complaint from a public which likes neither the service nor its cost.

## 'TORY CUTS' HYSTERIA

Whenever local authority officials are called upon to make economies, the officials themselves make the economies in such a way that the most popular services are put at risk, while bureaucratic jobs remain unthreatened. When the Thatcher administration required local authorities to play their part in cutting the burden of expenditure borne by taxpayers, it was inevitable that local officials up and down the country would respond with a programme of cuts in services, and equally inevitable that skillfully orchestrated campaigns should arise everywhere in response to the proposed cuts.

Actual economies achieved in response to government requirements have been few and far between. Loud talk of cuts and protests attracts media attention, but the reality is of near record manning levels and expenditures. The problem is, once again, that many well-meaning councillors do not know how to cut costs of local government. They have no conception of alternative approaches, and are led by their similarly blinkered (if otherwise motivated) officials to think in terms of unpopular cuts in services.



MADDOCKS.



# Campaign for a Free Economy

## PRIVATE SECTOR METHODS

There is no doubt that some economies can be made by using the business efficiency methods of the private sector. When local government does stand back and assess its own efficiency, cost-cutting opportunities are often presented. Elimination of time-wasting and duplicated effort, together with tighter control by streamlined management techniques, can lead to considerable savings.

Making a direct charge for services to the public is another route to economy. Again, it is a method which brings some of the disciplines of the private sector to local government. The charge not only raises offsetting revenue and acts to ration the service, it also provides a useful indicator of how much the service is demanded and appreciated.

## PRIVATISATION

While the adoption of business efficiency methods and charges for services both have a role to play, undoubtedly the greatest potential for improvement in local services lies in the idea of privatisation. The difference between local government providing the service and **ensuring that the service is provided** is a crucial one. By "privatisation", we usually refer to the process by which a local authority service provided by its own employees (direct labour) is replaced by one contracted for by the authority, but provided by private businesses or, occasionally, by voluntary effort.

Privatisation combines public service with private provision, and represents the attempt to blend public accountability and control of standards with the private enterprise disciplines of efficiency, cost-effectiveness and responsiveness to consumer requirements. As a means of cutting the costs of local government while at the same time improving rather than reducing the services, privatisation has been staggeringly successful practically everywhere it has been introduced. Numerous examples of its success in the United States and several European countries are augmented by dramatically good results from the as yet few examples of its introduction into British local government.

We can improve services, cut rates and cut public spending, if Local Authority Services are contracted out to private enterprise. **Freddie Laker** proved that you can cut prices and make a profit if you are efficient. We need that approach to be adopted with local services.



*The cost of public and private refuse collection compared*

## PROVEN SUCCESS

The proof of the Laker pie is in the eating.

Maldon District Council contracted out its refuse disposal, saving £50,000 out of its £187,000 budget. The somewhat larger Rochford Council produced plans to go private, with a budgeted saving of £150,000 out of its £500,000 budget. In the Rochford case there was a revealing outcome which bodes well for other authorities. Faced with the plan to go private, the workforce at Rochford produced a new agreement on working methods and conditions which will save the authority over £100,000. So effective is the private provision of services that even the threat of its produces instant savings for the rate payer.

## ACTION IN KENT

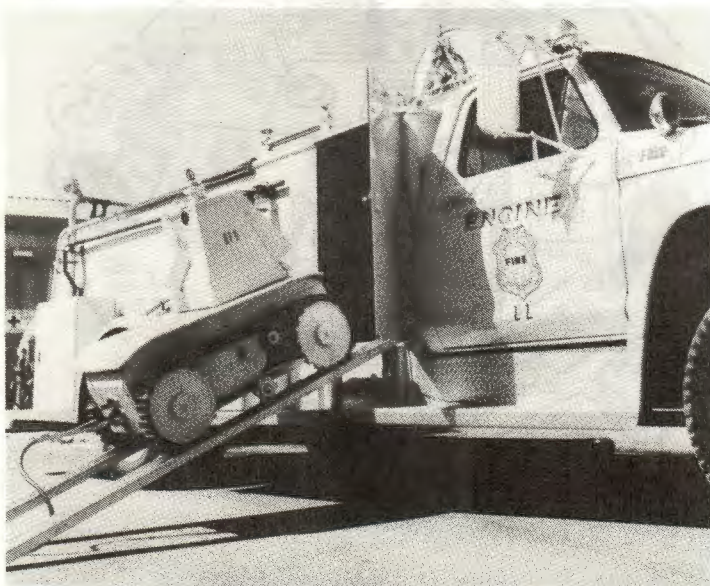
The principle of private provision led Kent County Council, with the personal Social Services Research Unit at Kent University, to set up a Community Care Scheme. In the scheme the Council paid families to undertake "good neighbour" tasks for the dependent elderly people. This scheme enabled old people to have a high standard of care in their home and it meant that they could lead an independent and active life outside the institutionalised council OAP homes. The scheme improved services, made the lives of elderly people better and saved money.

## SECURITY IN OPPORTUNITY

In engaging in the public provision of local services, both local councils and the unionised workforce have fallen into the national malaise of opting for what they thought was security as opposed to opportunity. Almost too late they are finding how fragile is the security of a service insulated from the efficiency-producing disciplines of the real economy. Grown both expensive and incompetent in the absence of competition or any valid means of assessing and responding to consumer preferences, it is the public services which must now economise, and the so-called secure services which are at risk.

For both the service itself and for those engaged in its provision, privatisation teaches that the best security is opportunity. Unleashing the talents of enterprise and initiative, it creates successful business out of loss-making failure and turns grumbling ratepayers into satisfied customers. Local authorities seeking to make cuts in expenditure and increase benefits to ratepayers must now undertake extensive privatisation of their services. The best method is just to do it, to put out services for private contract. The arguments of theory against the success of such action melt away in the practical results gained wherever it is done.

The British people have come to expect that public services will become lower in quality and more expensive to provide. This need not be so. Privatisation has its part to play, therefore, not only in reservicing Britain, but in helping to restore the country's faith in itself.





# THE OPPRESSIVE SOVIET EMPIRE

## THE SLAVE ARMY

Never has the Soviet military potential been so apparent as it is today. The Soviets continue to spend between 10 and 20% of their Gross National Product for military purposes, this compares with the West's 6% - those people who are worried about the possibility of another arms race might realise that the race has already begun, though only one side is racing. It is obvious and well known that such a level of expenditure by the Soviets is far above that required for legitimate defence - indeed an offensive push on both ideological and military fronts has been the established Soviet pattern since 1917. Arm in arm with this outward aggression has come internal repression of an horrific magnitude until we reach the stage today where the Soviet Empire stretches over three continents and is based upon servitude and totalitarianism.

## EXPANDING EMPIRE

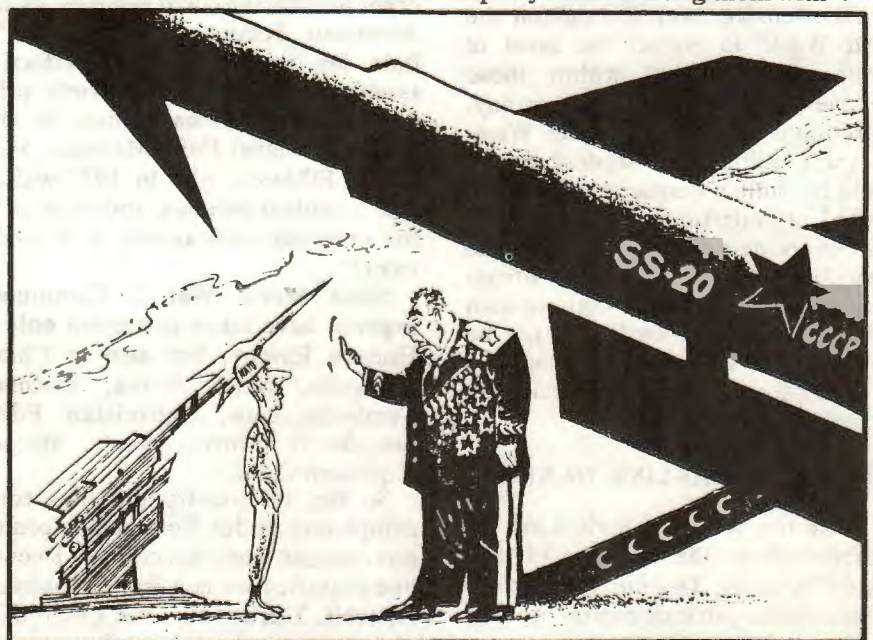
While Afghanistan - with the napalm bombing of villages populated by only women and children, and the wholesale butchery of those who seek to defend their country from invasion - has served to focus attention upon the expansionist nature of the Soviet regime, it would be a mistake to consider the Soviet actions in Afghanistan in isolation. Afghanistan is yet one more example of Soviet imperialism, before it have gone the annexation of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, the Soviet invasions of Hungary and Czechoslovakia and the Soviet military engagements in Angola, Mozambique and the Horn of Africa. Slowly the empire is being created while the West has stood and watched.

## RUSSIAN SUFFERING

This empire is an empire of which the Russian people are not proud. It is an empire which belongs not to the people but to the ruling elite. Indeed, of all the races which have suffered under Soviet communism the Russians have probably suffered the most. For the ordinary Russian, existence is difficult. Deprived of economic, political or religious freedoms (though the last two are supposedly guaranteed by the Helsinki agreement which the Soviets signed) by the dictat of the state, forced to participate in an economic system which is inherently inefficient; it results in an average standard of living one-third of that of the West and starvation and malnutrition among the peasants prohibited from free religious practice, persecuted if he demands 'heretical' human

rights. Such are the benefits for the worker from state communism.

Despite the persecution, some Russian citizens **do** speak out. The bravery of people such as Ginsberg, Orlov and Sakahrov have attracted the sympathy of the West, but what use is sympathy alone? For everyone outspoken and well known dissident there are countless millions of lesser known men and women sentenced to work in the Gulags and Labour camps - their only crime being a desire for freedom. While such men and women suffer the West does nothing, indeed it aids the existence of the Soviet state by ever increasing trade and credit. As Lenin said "Capitalists will sell us the rope by which to hang them with".





## HELP FOR THE OPPOSITION

There is, however, hope. Simply because the Soviet empire depends upon the continuing subserviance of its people, it is unstable. Whilst all sane people would agree that war against the Soviets is unthinkable, this statement must not be confused with "appeasement at any price", especially when that price is not being paid by us but by the citizens of the Soviet Empire. The free Trade Unionists in Poland have shown that change can be brought about from within, and that Communist states are defenceless against well-organised opposition from their own people. For such opposition movements to organise, the help of the West is essential.

The present governmental policy of the West of preserving the status quo is in effect saying, 'you keep your tyranny to yourselves and we'll keep our freedom'. Such a policy, while advocating the abdication of our responsibility to other human beings must in the long term lead to our defeat. The Soviets will not keep their tyranny to themselves, they will continue their policy of expansionism.

Enforced change of the Soviet regime from the outside is impossible without war, and such a war would be suicidal for all concerned, however without change the Soviets will continue to expand until war is inevitable. Therefore, change must be brought about from within, and the West has a compelling obligation to help bring about such a change.

## IDEOLOGICAL OFFENSIVE

The free world must adopt an ideological offensive, both throughout the Third World to curtail the level of Soviet influence and within those countries subject to Soviet tyranny. Expressions of Solidarity from Western trade unions and student movements to similar democratic and persecuted organisations must increase, and Government must be prepared to sacrifice short term pecuniary advantage for long term peace. Without such a strategy, the free world will not be free for much longer, and the suffering in Eastern Europe will continue unabated.

## SOVIET COLONIALISM IN AFRICA

Unlike the West the Soviets are not bothered about the morality of trafficking in arms. Despite being newcomers to the African continent, they supply more than 75 per cent of weapons going there. With the aid of



**"THEY MAY BE USING HELICOPTER GUNSHIPS  
BUT WE DIDN'T SEE ANY"**

**RON BROWN M.P. (LABOUR) after visiting Afghanistan**

**Above: A captured Soviet helicopter in Afghanistan**

arms, East German "security" experts, Cuban troops, propaganda and Soviet intelligence, the Soviets have obtained a sizeable base on the continents in Angola and Mozambique. Their influence exists throughout other totalitarian client regimes, as the American Spectator points out "A flair for imaginative and effective leadership is what the Soviets prize most in their African allies. In this respect, Colonel Haile Mengisto Merian of Ethiopia, who in 1977 walked into a cabinet meeting and shot all of his erstwhile colleagues, is a model ruler!"

Since World War II Communist regimes have taken power not only in Eastern Europe, but also in China, Mongolia, North Korea, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, South Yemen, Angola, Mozambique and Cuba.

So far, no country that has come completely under Communist control has escaped from that control. Twenty-one countries are now in the Communist orbit. Territorially, the Communist powers are advancing all over the world and the West is retreating.

Officially, Soviet ideology is international, but it surreptitiously exploits nationalist and racist prejudices. As Andrei Sakharov testifies; "The idea of nationalist superiority, which takes on a dark, hysterical and pogrom-like form among some Russians, and not only among Russians. One often hears exclamations: "We're wasting our money on these black (or yellow) monkeys'. We're feeding parasites!" Or one hears: "The Jews are responsible!" — or the "Russians" or the "Georgians" or the "Chuchmeki", a derogatory term for the peoples of central Asia." By such exploitation the Soviets divert attention away from the real causes of failure in their economic system and deliberately create a domestic atmosphere in which their colonist activities are viewed in a more acceptable light. The policy of Russification brutally persuade throughout the Baltic states epitomises the real internationalist face of Soviet Communism, they will not tolerate racial, cultural or ideological differences in their pursuit of superiority for the Soviets, they see themselves as the new 'master race'.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 9 1982

Mr. Paul Mercer  
Youth for Peace with Freedom  
30a St James's Square  
London SW1Y 4JH  
United Kingdom

Dear Paul,

I enclose the text of the film "Attack on the Americas" as mentioned in my letter of last week. I will send the film itself as soon as is possible. The film is available to you at no cost on the condition that it is shown at six colleges minimum this term. It would help if you were able to send me any programmes, newsletters or press cuttings from the screenings.

I hope that you will be able to circulate this properly - it will certainly help you to do so.

yours,



Mark



## The Federation of Conservative Students... how it works

At the Annual FCS Conference, the following Officers and Committees are elected:

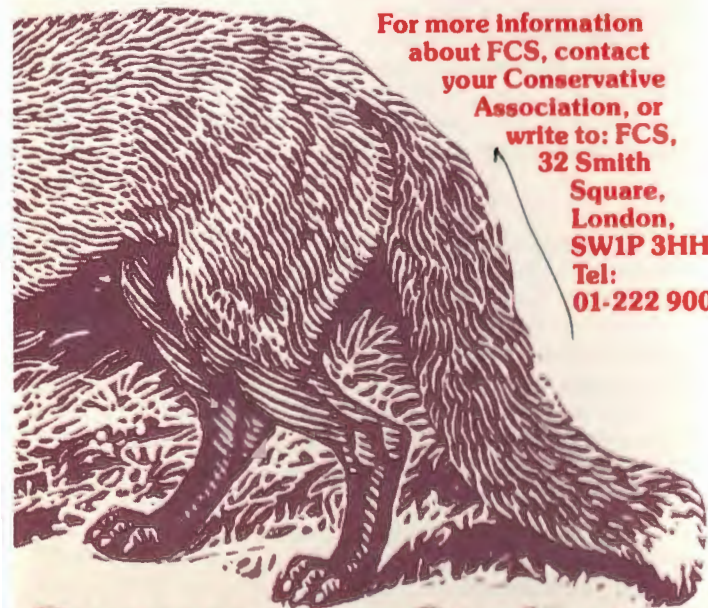
FCS's Chairman is full-time. This year's Chairman is Peter Young. Peter previously studied at Aberdeen University and was Chairman of Scottish FCS.

FCS has three Vice-Chairmen who with seven other officers form the National Committee of the Federation. The National Committee is responsible for organising and co-ordinating the work of the Federation on a national level.

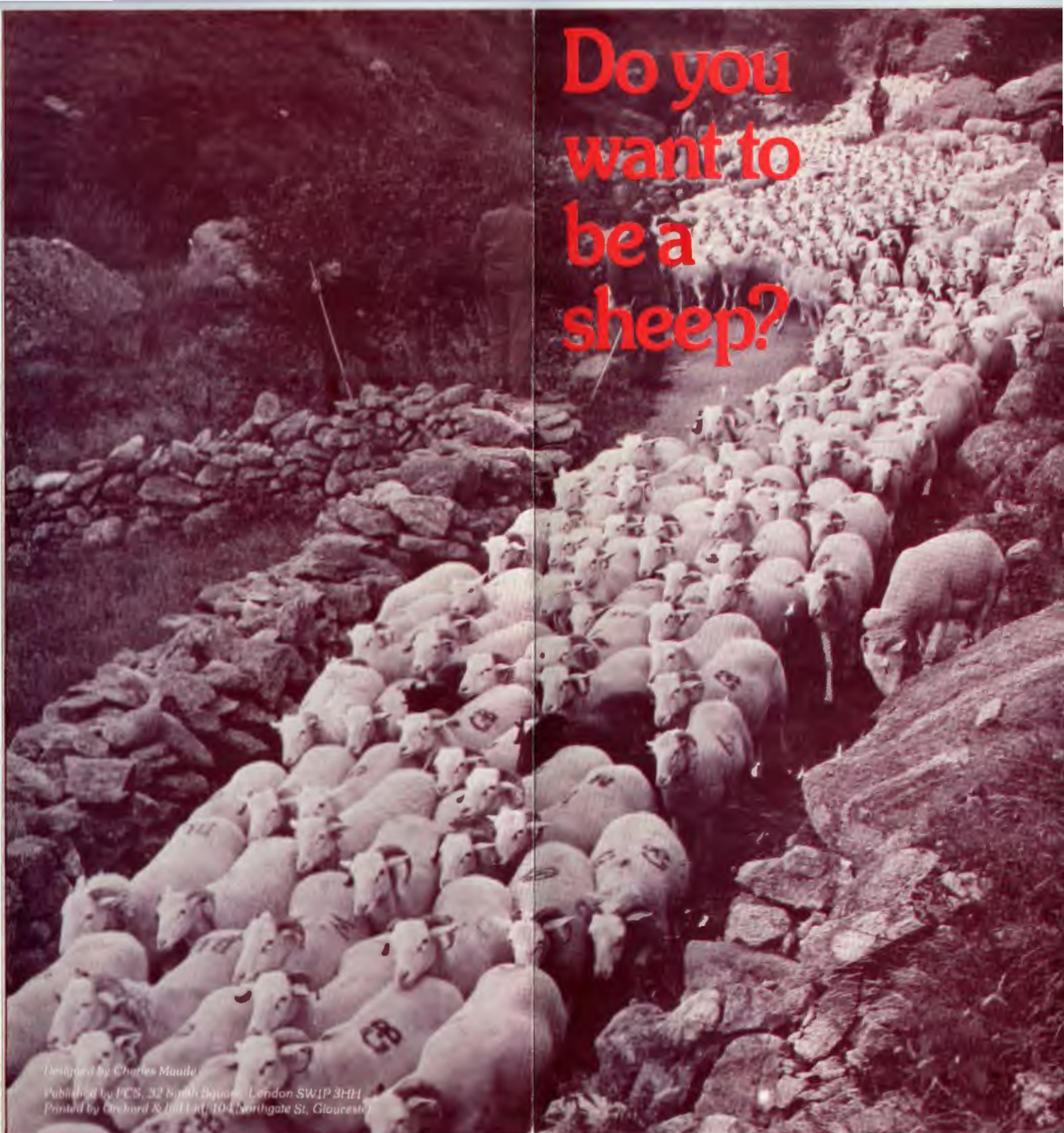
The Student Affairs Committee has six elected members and three co-opted members. As the name implies, the Committee is concerned with FCS's work in student unions and national student politics.

Further, FCS is divided into 13 regions. Each has a Chairman and a Committee.

For more information  
about FCS, contact  
your Conservative  
Association, or  
write to: FCS,  
32 Smith  
Square,  
London,  
SW1P 3HH.  
Tel:  
01-222 9000.



# Conservative Students



# Do you want to be a sheep?

*Designed by Charles Maude*

*Published by FCS, 32 Smith Square, London SW1P 3HH  
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## Do you want to be a sheep?

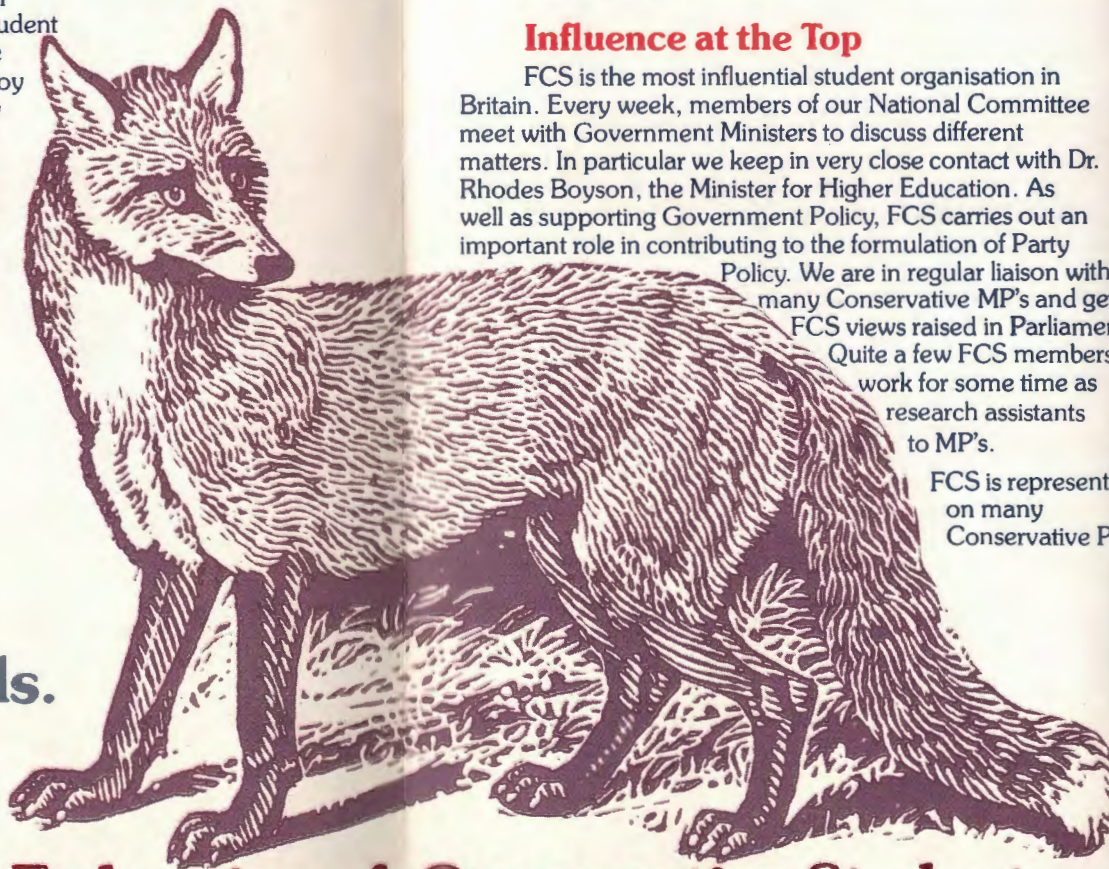
Have you come to college in order to bleat and moan about "cuts", to join in the collective left-wing hysteria and protest about this or that trendy cause – the exploitation of Turkish sheet-metal workers in Tierra del Fuego etc., etc.? Do you ritually applaud each wonderful socialist revolution (but forget to count the corpses left over and freedoms destroyed)?

If so then you won't be interested in FCS, the largest and most dynamic student political group in Britain. We are individuals and we don't think that the purpose of higher education is to provide student demo-fodder for the far left. Rather we believe it is to promote individual thought, and to encourage people to find rational solutions to the problems of our society.

## Student Unions

The Left believe that Student Unions are ideal vehicles to campaign for and promote leftist policies. We believe they are meant to serve the interests of students, not the interests of the Communist or Labour Parties. The main function of a student union is to be the centre of the student community, a place where students can meet and enjoy themselves. Unfortunately many Student Unions are dreary and dirty with very poor facilities, whilst they spend thousands of pounds on various political causes.

**FCS  
makes  
political  
sense for  
individuals.**



**Federation of Conservative Students**

FCS is working to change this situation. A large number of Conservative Students have already been elected to student union posts, and they work to achieve responsible non-political student unions which provide good services for their members.

## National Student Politics

FCS believes that there should be a representative and democratic national union of students. The present NUS is controlled by a motley assortment of Marxists who do much to harm the student cause by their extremist activities. FCS has been fighting the NUS marxists for many years now, and are the only non-marxist group involved with NUS. Even the so-called Liberals have joined forces with the Communists and other left-wing groups to form the socialist "Left Alliance".

The total unrepresentativeness of the present NUS is demonstrated by the fact that there are only two Tories out of 19 on the NUS Executive, compared with the 60% of students who voted Tory at the General Election. FCS will continue to work for an inexpensive, non-bureaucratic and moderate national union of students.

## Influence at the Top

FCS is the most influential student organisation in Britain. Every week, members of our National Committee meet with Government Ministers to discuss different matters. In particular we keep in very close contact with Dr. Rhodes Boyson, the Minister for Higher Education. As well as supporting Government Policy, FCS carries out an important role in contributing to the formulation of Party Policy. We are in regular liaison with many Conservative MP's and get FCS views raised in Parliament.

Quite a few FCS members work for some time as research assistants to MP's.

FCS is represented on many Conservative Party

Committees and plays an active part in Conservative Party Conferences. Conservative Students are also involved in Constituency work.

## Ideas and Campaigns

FCS recognises the vital need to fight and win the battle of ideas. Recently the seemingly inexorable intellectual tide towards regimented collectivism and greater state power has been turned in favour of the individual. FCS is in the forefront of the fight to expose socialist fallacies and promote Conservative values of freedom, respect for property, the family and the individual, justice and democracy. We hold student seminars on philosophy, and through research papers, seek to popularise new ideas.

We also run campaigns in support of Conservative aims and in Opposition to the activities of the Left. This year we will be campaigning against bureaucracy and for a strong nuclear deterrent.

## International Work

FCS places great stress on its International work which takes a variety of forms. We are proud of our role as a leading member of European Democrat Students, the organisation of centre-right students in Europe, and FCS members often travel to European Conferences. A smaller number of Tory students represent FCS on international study visits. Last year 14 FCS members visited China and this year delegations will go to Israel and the U.S.A.

The most important purpose of our international work is to oppose Soviet Imperialism and support democratic forces in totalitarian countries. To this end FCS has established working relations with a number of young democratic opposition groups in Eastern Europe and is also seeking to help the Afghan Resistance. For example FCS organised the recent visit to this country of the main Afghan Resistance leader.

## Conclusion

Perhaps you just want to be apathetic and drift along with the tide. However, you'll soon find that others, be they jumped-up leftist politics in student unions, faceless town hall bureaucrats, or Socialist Parliamentarians, will want to organise your life their way. FCS believes in fighting back, and in having fun in the process. We are not all boring fanatics like the marxists, FCS members are easier found down at the Pub than on the picket line, and the large number of FCS Conferences are a good opportunity to meet students from other colleges.

FCS was founded in the academic year 1930-31 by John Buchan the famous novelist and proponent of freedom, individualism and adventure. 50 years on in our Jubilee Year FCS is stronger than ever and still following those principles.



## DEFEATISTS

The scare propaganda about nuclear war churned out by CND is extraordinarily similar to the scare tactics used by the Appeasers during the 1930s. Those people too tried to persuade the public that defending ourselves against the Nazis was both useless and a provocation.

The great fear for that generation was the possibility of city bombing and gas attacks by the Germans. Prominent Left-wing scientists, academics, literary figures and politicians predicted enormous casualties, and spoke about the futility of Britain building up defences in the face of an aggressive Nazi Germany.

Those arguments by the defeatists of the 1930s led Hitler to believe that he could walk over Europe with no opposition – and so World War 2 began.

Today the CND encourage the Soviet Government to believe that we would not stand up to defend the free and democratic society in which we live. They risk provoking the same miscalculation, this time among the Soviet leadership.

The defeatists of the 1930s have come back to life in the 1980s– they call themselves The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

**REJECT  
COMMUNISM, NEUTRALISM, DEFEATISM**

**REJECT  
UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT**

**SUPPORT  
PEACE THROUGH SECURITY**



**CND**

**C**OMMUNISTS

**N**EUTRALISTS

**D**EFEATISTS

## WHY THIS



is the symbol of  
**COMMUNISTS, NEUTRALISTS,  
DEFEATISTS.**



is the symbol of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The CND wants Britain to disarm *unilaterally*. That means that we give up our weapons and defences without any opponent giving up theirs.

## COMMUNISTS

At least seven CND leaders are either card-carrying Communist Party members or sympathisers.

Leading Communists regularly use CND meetings to attack British and American defence policies while praising Soviet Government 'peace' propaganda.

The Communist Party pamphlet *The Case for Peace and Disarmament* refers to CND General Secretary Bruce Kent as paying tribute to the Communist Party 'which he considered had vigorously worked to help sustain the peace movement through recent years'.

Despite repeated denials of any link with the World Peace Council (a Soviet Government funded propaganda organisation) one of CND's official representatives for north London is the National Organiser of the World Peace Council's British section, (March 1982).

## NEUTRALISTS

CND pretend that if Britain throws out our American allies from their bases here and gives up its own nuclear weapons then this island will be safe from a Soviet attack. *THAT IS RUBBISH!*

So long as Britain dares to remain an independent nation, with adequate conventional forces and pledged to the Western Alliance, then our airfields and ports will continue to be targeted by the Russians.

CND know this. For them, throwing out the Americans is only the first step; their next step, which they are scared to reveal openly, will be to pull Britain out of NATO, the defence alliance which has kept us free and out of war for over thirty years.

The destruction of NATO from the inside in this way is the top priority for Soviet Communist leaders. That is why they encourage CND.





# COMMITTEE FOR PEACE WITH FREEDOM

MARSHAL of the ROYAL AIR FORCE SIR NEIL CAMERON . winston S. CHURCHILL MP . ALAN LEE WILLIAMS  
EDWARD LEIGH . NORRIS McWHIRTER . GENERAL SIR HARRY TUZO

*Secretary & Treasurer:*  
Ken Aldred,  
30a St. James Square  
London SW1Y 4JH  
Tel: 01-930 0555/6

## BRITONS PETITION OF WELCOME FOR REAGAN.

A petition signed by over 15,000 people, endorsing President Reagan's disarmament proposals, rejecting unilateral disarmament, and affirming support for NATO (text attached) is to be handed to the President during his visit to Britain.

The petition to welcome President Reagan, organised by the Committee for Peace With Freedom, has been in circulation for only three weeks and many more names are coming in.

The idea behind the petition was originated by the Coalition for Peace through Security to counter the massive propaganda effort misrepresenting true British public opinion launched by the CND and the "Reagan Reception Committee."

The petition will be handed to Mr.Ed Streator, Minister at the American Embassy in London, at 10.30 am, Saturday 5 June, at the Franklin Roosevelt Statue, Grosvenor Square, where British Atlantic Youth are mounting a 24 hour vigil of support for NATO. Mr.Streator will personally pass the petition to President Reagan during his stay in London.

Commenting on the significance of the petition, Mr.Edward Leigh, of the Committee for Peace with Freedom, said: "The fact that so many people have already signed this petition shows the true feelings of the silent majority who wish to welcome, not insult, the leader of Britain's most important ally."

Press contact: Edward Leigh 876 4271





**PEACE  
through  
STRENGTH**

**PEACE  
through  
STRENGTH**

**PEACE  
through  
STRENGTH**





# FCS NEWSHEET

No. 3. 1981

## FCS STARTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND

An FCS Region has been started again in Northern Ireland following visits there by SAC member Brian Monteith and FCS Chairman Peter Young. The Unionist Association at Ulster Polytechnic which is over 400 strong and comprises Unionists from all Unionist parties, has affiliated to FCS. The Official Ulster Unionist Association at Queens University, Belfast has also reaffirmed their affiliation to FCS, though they have decided not to send anyone to the FCS Annual Conference.

Whilst in Northern Ireland Peter Young met with officials of the Official Ulster Unionist Party and with the Deputy Leader of the Democratic Unionist Party, Peter Robinson MP.

Peter Young later addressed a rather rowdy meeting at Ulster Polytechnic on the subject of NUS. Several eggs were thrown though none hit, and police in armoured Landrovers were waiting outside in case of serious violence, which did not in fact occur. The report of the meeting in the SU newspaper goes as follows:

After the Union Jack had been displayed and one minute's silence had been observed in respect of those who have died at the hands of terrorists in Ulster, an audience of approximately 300 students listened in awe to congratulatory letters of support and loyalty from Official Unionist Leader Mr James Molyneux, JP, MP, Ulster Popular Unionist Leader Mr Jim Kilfedder, United Ulster Unionist Party Leader Mr Ernest Baird, and from Deputy Leader of the Democratic Unionist Party Mr Peter Robinson, MP.

This was immediately followed by an excellent exposure from the United Kingdom National Chairman of the Federation of Conservative Students, Mr Peter Young.

Mr Young, arrived from London to speak in favour of the Unionist Association's campaign for disaffiliation from Communist left wing dominated NUS and USI, claiming they are "unrepresentative, bureaucratic and wasteful."

After thirty minutes of questions, the meeting was closed and many new members were enrolled to the rapidly increasing ranks of Unionists at the Polytechnic.

Mr Young expressed his delight at the initial response that the Unionist Association had achieved in its disaffiliation campaign and pledged the full support of FCS to this Unionist Association.

Mr R. S. Smyth, President of the Unionist Association, quoted Senator Teddy Kennedy,

"The work goes on,  
The cause endures,  
The hope still lives  
And the dreams shall  
never die!"

Like Senator Kennedy he denied rumours that he would be running for President in the forthcoming elections.

## EX NC MEMBER JOINS SDP

Steve Fox, who was co-opted onto the National Committee last year at the behest of the then FCS Chairman Stuart Bayliss, has joined the SDP. He says, however, that his political stance hasn't changed.

## NUS Conference

### Violence and Thuggery at N.U.S.

Oppressed Minorities was the watch word for the recent N.U.S. Conference, with debates on Gays, Blacks, Women and F. E. students, another oppressed Minority was the F.C.S.

Firstly our delegate strength was down, a direct result of the increasing alienation felt by students against N.U.S. Secondly our delegates that did manage to drag themselves to another charade, were physically oppressed! Isolated delegates on Conference floor were forced to vote left (during free votes) by other members dragging up our delegates hands and delegation cards. Threats were issued of censure, withdrawal of funds, withdrawal of delegate status and the kicking out of their hotel. Then indeed most of these threats were carried when our delegates broke mandation. An F.C.S. delegate speaking from the rostrum was hounded out, so that he failed to even begin his speech, let alone finish it. Delegates walking through the streets bravely wore F.C.S. stickers, were subject to abuse and risked violence. Even in the Conference hall one was not safe. Paul Lowery the Chairman of Student Affairs Committee was assaulted and his glasses knocked to the floor, whilst on the F.C.S. stall. Later that afternoon the same delegate, smashed up the stall and pursued Paul down the Conference foyer. F.C.S. delegates hid in the Conference hall while Aaronovitch was forced to rule on the incident. He said if more people from F.C.S. were hit, he would get annoyed! He added a rider saying it was probably their own fault anyway. I'm sorry to say that we had to take the regrettable decision to censure some of our own publicity for fear of physical assault. Can we really continue to participate in such an organisation?

## THE DUAL STRATEGY

SAC has been faced with growing problems this year over NUS. We have been acting under contrary directives from last year's conference to participate in NUS and at the same time to support disaffiliation. The result has been a totally unsatisfactory situation and the opportunity to mount a strong campaign against the present NUS has faded this year. The option of disaffiliation has been exercised in several associations and the problem over this policy was highlighted by the fact that SAC members found other national FCS officers coming and speaking against them and the conservative association. This was a ridiculous situation as conservatives did not know which way to vote!

This year NUS is being discussed again at conference. We must finally decide on one, single, policy and thus enable SAC to tap the growing opinion in student unions against the present structure and cost of NUS.

Kings, Reading, Heriot-watt and Loughborough were amongst those associations which decided to run disaffiliation campaigns. Many others are running general educational campaigns against NUS and are reported to be ready for disaffiliation.

PAUL LOWERY



## VIOLENCE AT SUSSEX

The Conservative Association at Sussex University has had to suffer violence and intimidation from the left, who have tried to stop Conservative meetings taking place. The worst incidents occurred when FCS Chairman Peter Young tried to speak, and there was much publicity about the violent attacks on him in the National Press. In the following article, published in the philosophical journal 'The New Humanity', Peter Young explains what happened and what should be done.

On one rather cold and damp December evening, I had to address an open meeting at Sussex University, and there my reception differed markedly from elsewhere. Immediately I ascended the platform to begin my speech, I was greeted with howls, yells and general abuse from about two thirds of the 150-strong audience. This deafening torrent of abuse continued with the object of preventing me from being heard. Although my speech was constantly being interrupted, I was able to get some of my views across by shouting into a microphone. After about fifteen minutes, however, the public address system was ripped out of the wall and I was reduced to yelling at the top of my voice, though friends in the audience later told me this was barely, if at all, audible.

The attitude of the mob (for that is the most accurate description) became more menacing. The lights were constantly being switched on and off, and elements of the mob were circulating at either side of me, as if preparing to rush the platform. Indeed, one of them jumped up beside me and began shouting in my ear. When I ignored this unfortunate creature entirely, however, he withdrew.

Next I had to suffer a bucket of water being thrown over me, and, when they saw that this still hadn't deterred me, a second bucket was thrown a few minutes later. Finally, my speaking notes were snatched from the table in front of me and, whilst leaning over trying to recover them, I was pulled, with the table, off the platform on to the floor, with the mob surging around me. Luckily, I was grabbed by members of the University Conservative Association and rushed out of the hall into a car, with irate left-wingers shouting 'kill him' behind me.

Let there be no doubt that this violence, which has also occurred at the two other meetings that the Sussex University Conservative Association has held since last October, represents a determined and deliberate attempt by extreme leftists to prevent Conservative students holding any meetings at all on the university campus. I think it is constructive to try and examine the underlying reasons for this mindless thuggery. Most of the violence and intimidation at Sussex is carried out by students associated with two extreme political groups, the 'Socialist Workers Student Organisation' and the so-called 'Libertarian Anarchists'. Interestingly enough, these students do not come from deprived backgrounds, but largely privileged ones, educated at public schools, the sons and daughters of diplomats, businessmen etc. At Sussex, they encounter a very high proportion of far leftist lecturers and tutors, especially on Arts and Social Science courses. Indeed, it is said that the most right-wing lecturer in the Politics Department is a Communist.

It is not, in my view, surprising that some of the weaker and more insecure students are indoctrinated into various forms of crude marxism, into believing that our whole society must be destroyed. In following such doctrines, they don't need to think, or to account for their own actions; they just follow the herd, viciously attacking anyone, such as myself, who dares to challenge their assumptions.

However much liberal-socialist intellectuals hold up their hands in horror, and disown them, these junior totalitarians are the true progeny of the liberal-socialist establishment which held sway over Britain in past decades. Due to the huge and thoughtless expansion of higher education in the early 1960s, our Universities and colleges have been flooded by scores of crude marxists and their fellow travellers, teaching phoney subjects to students who



know not at all what they're doing, and care even less. Our liberal-socialist intellectuals have always subscribed to the idea of 'pas d'ennemis à gauche', have condoned or half-accepted marxism as a 'progressive' doctrine. Higher education is seen by students not as a privilege provided by other members of the community, but as just another handout from the welfare state, which they have to do nothing to earn.

What can be done to rectify this situation? Firstly, a greater appreciation must be encouraged of the inhuman and totalitarian nature of marxism, a philosophy which is not compatible with our liberal democracy. Secondly, we must re-examine the size, nature and purpose of our higher education system. Do we need so many universities and polytechnics? Ought we not to be concentrating rather more on scientific and technical subjects, and rather less on sociology and the like? Thirdly, university and college authorities should take a far tougher attitude to student troublemakers, who should be expelled if they consistently bring the name of their college into disrepute. Fourthly, students should be asked to make a personal contribution to the cost of sending them through our higher education system. Student maintenance costs should be paid for in future by a mixed scheme of grants and student loans.

---

### The Anti-Soviet Society

An anti-Soviet Society has been founded and is keen to build up its membership amongst students and set up student branches. Its founding statement, which is fully in line with FCS policy on the Soviet Union, reads as follows:

"The Soviet government is one of the biggest causes of conflict and hostility in the world today.

It inflicts on all the people it rules a life of fear, poverty and hopelessness. Central planning of the Soviet economy has been and continues to be a catastrophe. It has resulted in misery for millions and wealth and power only for the elite in whose interests it is perpetuated.

The Soviet government has been responsible for more terror, more oppression and more millions of deaths than any other regime in history, and the system that did all this still thrives. Worse, those who command it miss no opportunity to try to expand the area of their despotism, and they hope one day to engulf our entire planet.

The Anti-Soviet Society is *not* anti-Russian. It opposes not the peoples of the Soviet empire, but the government which now oppresses them.

The Anti-Soviet Society exists to discuss, proclaim and act upon the belief that the Soviet government is a totalitarian abomination which can and should be transformed into, or replaced by, a civilised form of government, accountable to those it governs and no threat to anyone else.

The Anti-Soviet Society does not, however, merely exist to *protest* against this or that Soviet evil, valuable though this is. It seeks *fundamental changes* in the Soviet system, and to this end it studies not only what this system is now, but how it can be changed with the minimum of chaos and bloodshed, and what it ought to be changed into.

Since big changes are only likely if they are widely believed to be possible, the Anti-Soviet Society proclaims the possibility, as well as desirability, of the changes it seeks to all whom it can reach, anywhere in the world.

For further information write to:

The Anti-Soviet Society,

c/o The Alternative Bookshop, 40 Floral Street, Covent Garden, London WC2, England. or phone: 01-478-4564 (evenings only).



# Labor leader sees 'bloodbath' in party councils after election

By Peter Almond  
WASHINGTON TIMES STAFF

HULL, England — With the latest opinion polls indicating the Labor Party is heading for its worst defeat in 50 years Thursday, hand-wringing and soul-searching already have begun in this Labor-dominated city of 300,000.

"There's going to be a bloodbath in the Labor Party after this election, I can tell you," said John Prescott, Labor Member of Parliament for East Hull, who is expected to hold on to his 24,000-vote plurality

(out of 70,000 voters). "Michael Foot will have to go. Denis Healey will have to go. We've got to find new direction and new leaders."

Prescott, 44, an MP for 13 years and a member of the center-left Tribune Group within the Labor Party, appears to represent the frustrated mass of Labor MPs who credit Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher with giving Britain a badly needed shock over the last four years but who fret about the divided way the party has responded to that challenge.

Weekend polls give the Con-



servatives a runaway (but slightly lower) lead of about 46 percent, Labor about 29 percent and the

see LABOR, page 12A

W. Times  
6/7/83  
p. 1 A

file  
Great  
Britain

## LABOR

From page one

SDP-Liberal Alliance about 24 percent.

Two polls, however, for the first time, put the Alliance ahead of Labor. The pundits say this boost in Alliance fortunes at the expense of Labor can be attributed directly to a major contradiction of Labor policy by former Prime Minister James Callaghan last week when he said Britain would not disband nuclear weapons unilaterally and to an insult to British pride by Labor Party deputy leader Denis Healey when he accused Thatcher of "glorifying in slaughter" in the Falkland Islands War.

"Callaghan's statement is probably one of the most damaging things that has happened to Labor in this election," Prescott said. "We should be talking about jobs, jobs, jobs. Instead we're going off on defense and other things."

Prescott left the thought unsaid, but there is a growing suspicion here that the right wing of the Labor Party, represented by Callaghan and Healey, wants Labor to be soundly defeated at this election.

Labor cannot win, the theory goes, so let it lose badly enough that the post-election blood-letting will result in the left-wing radicals' splitting off from the party. Labor then would return to the center-left of British politics and recapture some of those who have joined the Social Democratic Party.

Certainly in this traditional Northeast Labor stronghold, a city which gave Labor its third-best result in last month's local elections (57 percent to the Tories' 28 percent), there is a lot of unhappiness.

"I've always voted Labor, but I'm inclined to spoil my ballot on Thursday," said Ian Jones, 36, the deputy principal of a junior high school. "I don't like this hard line the left wing has pushed on the party. I'm for disarmament, but they want to nationalize the banks and spend our way out of trouble."

Like the rising middle class in this country, Jones owns his home and wants to keep what he has worked for. His socialism is based on intellect, but even among the "working class," who are instinctive Labor voters, there is considerable skepticism.

"I'll vote Labor," said 47-year-old

Syd Shepherd, a storekeeper in a local engineering firm, who rents his home on a neighboring public housing estate. "My father voted Labor, and my grandfather before him."

But did that mean he wanted Michael Foot as the next Prime Minister, did he want unilateral nuclear disarmament as Labor proposes, or wholesale nationalization, or massive public expenditures? Wouldn't he like the opportunity to own his home, like the neighbor whose grass he was cutting?

"Oh, Harry (the neighbor) votes Labor," Shepherd answered. "But I do think people should have the chance to buy their own homes (contrary to Labor policy). And I don't know that they're right on this disarmament. I don't know that we should give it all up unless the Russians do, too (contrary to Labor policy)."

"That's the damage Callaghan has done," said MP Prescott. "There are two main problems for Labor voters in this area. One is defense. The other is leadership. Micheal Foot is seen as a kindly man, but he doesn't cut it as a leader. That's one thing you can't say about Maggie Thatcher. She is a decisive leader."

Labor has been trying to bring the campaign back to jobs and the economy, and it did succeed over the weekend in focusing media attention on a leaked government document outlining a "worst case scenario" of Britain's economic prospects in the next few years, and on a March for Jobs which started in Glasgow and concluded in London's Hyde Park. Some 250,000 were purported to have attended, but typical of the party's sputtering campaign, only about 20,000 were counted by police.

Part of Labor's problem is that, for all its concentration on the nation's 3.2 million unemployed, there is little evidence of real suffering, thanks to an institutionalized welfare system that Thatcher's Conservatives have rarely tinkered with.

In a nation where an unemployed father of two children draws 85 percent of the pay he would get on average male manual earnings, where 17-year-old employed youths can get 60 percent of the adult wage for the same job (compared with 17 percent in low-unemployment Switzerland), there is little real fire in the Labor belly.



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  
November 17, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: RICHARD RAHN  
FROM: Morton C. Blackwell  
SUBJECT: The Right of Public Housing Tenants to Buy  
Their Own Homes

As you and I have discussed, the Thatcher government has done a brilliantly successful thing in establishing, in law, the right of British public housing tenants to buy their own homes. It seems to me there is an obvious opportunity for us to follow her example.

As the recent election campaign in Britain ended, I saw a news story in which Labourite leftist Tony Benn lamented that, when he canvassed "council houses" there, he could tell by the new doors and shiny brass door knockers which houses were being purchased by their owners. He said the occupants were likely to be voting Tory.

Attached from my British friends are the following items:

1. The housing plank from the 1983 Tory election manifesto;
2. Remarks by Thatcher's Housing Minister, Ian Gow at the post-election Tory party conference;
3. A September 1983 summary of Thatcher's housing measures from the Conservative Party Central Office in London.

Hope this inspires some action.

MCB:jet

cc: Faith Whittlesey

Attachments a/s

I will send some more papers when I  
receive them.

With Compliments

*M. A. L.*

file  
Great  
Britain



U.S. Department of Housing  
and Urban Development  
Office of the Secretary



From: B. A. Smith  
Assistant to the Secretary  
for Labor Relations

6-17-83

To : Morton Blackwell

date

In further reference to  
the Urban Homesteading package  
I sent you this week, attached  
is a HUD handbook describing  
our current program which is  
not very similar to the British  
Plan.

With best wishes,

B. A. Smith

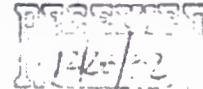


U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT  
COMMUNITY PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

# TRANSMITTAL

6400.1 - CHANGE 2.

November 24, 1982



1. This Transmits:  
Handbook 6400.1, Change 2, Urban Homesteading Handbook.
2. Significant Changes:
  - a. Chapter 7, Program Reports. This chapter revises the Form HUD 4027, Urban Homesteading Quarterly Report, and introduces a new monthly report for the reporting of financial and dwelling unit information. A new numbering system has been established for these reporting forms.
  - b. Appendix 12, (Instructions for Part I, Status of Section 810 Urban Homesteading Funds and the remaining Parts II-V) has been revised.
    - (1) Parts I and III, Status of Section 810 Urban Homesteading Funds and Status of Applications, respectively, have been replaced by a single form (HUD 4027, Section 810 Urban Homesteading Monthly Report, Financial and Dwelling Unit Information). The new form reports the number of properties and expenditures for the current month, cumulative for the current Fiscal Year, and cumulative for the program. The report also shows the current fiscal year allocations in agreements only and the remaining balance. HUD 4027 is to be submitted monthly.
    - (2) Part II, Section 312 Urban Homesteading Area Loans to Homesteaders and Non-Homesteaders, is deleted. A new Form HUD 4027.1, Urban Homesteading Semiannual Report, Financing Sources for Rehabilitation of Section 810 Urban Homesteading Properties for Fiscal Year, reports data on the various sources of financing the rehabilitation to be done on Urban Homesteading properties. This form is currently undergoing O-B clearance and is not included in this Handbook change. When HUD-4027.1 is approved a separate handbook change will be made.

CCRM: DISTRIBUTION: 047, 023-4, W-1, W-2, W-3, R-1, R-2, R-5, W-3-1, R-5-1, R-3-1 (CPD), R-3





- 
- (3) Part IV, Milestones in the Urban Homesteading Process, is replaced by HUD 4027.2, Urban Homesteading Quarterly Report, Milestones in the Urban Homesteading Process. Column (f) Homesteaders Selected, has been deleted and more clarity in the instructions has been provided.
3. Cancellations: Parts I through V, Form HUD 4027, dated October 1979, have been revised, and only the new version, Forms HUD 4027 and 4027.2, dated September 1982, may be used.
4. Filing Instructions:

Remove:

Table of Contents  
Pages i and ii  
dated 4/80

Appendices  
Page iii dated 4/80

Chapter 7, Program Reports  
Page 7-1  
Page 8-1  
Dated 4/80

Appendix 12,  
Pages 12-1 through 12-2  
Pages 13-1  
Dated 4/80

Insert:

Table of Contents  
Page i dated 4/80  
Page ii dated 9/82

Appendices  
Page iii dated 9/82

Chapter 7,  
Page 7-1 through 7-2 dated 9/82  
Page 8-1 dated 4/80

Appendix 12,  
Pages 12-1 through 12-5, 9/82  
Page 13-1 dated 4/80

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- APPENDIX 11: Numerical Codes for Regional Offices, Area Offices, and States
- \*APPENDIX 12: HUD-4027 (Financial and Dwelling Unit Information)  
HUD-4027.2 (Milestones in the Urban Homesteading Process) \*
- APPENDIX 13: HUD-4117 Urban Homesteading Program Application Package



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**CHAPTER 7: PROGRAM REPORTS**

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**\*7-1. Urban Homesteading Monthly Report.**

- a. Form HUD 4027, Section 810 Urban Homesteading Monthly Report, Financial and Dwelling Unit Information, is to be prepared and submitted by the Urban Homesteading Coordinator. This form reports the number of properties and expenditures for the current month, cumulative for the current Fiscal Year, and cumulative for the program. HUD 4027 also shows the current Fiscal Year funding allocation and remaining balance after expenditures. (See Sample in Appendix 12).
- (1) Data for HUD 4027 will be obtained from Urban Homesteading administrative documents in Community Planning and Development. The administrative documents include copies of VA and FmHA closing documents and Property Disposition's Notice to CPD of properties transferred.
  - (2) HUD 4027 is to be submitted monthly within 10 calendar days after the end of each month.
  - (3) The Reports Management System (RMS) symbol for HUD-4027 is HI-00402R.

**7-2. Urban Homesteading Quarterly Report.**

- a. Form HUD 4027.2, Urban Homesteading Quarterly Report, Milestones in the Urban Homesteading Process, is to be prepared and submitted by the Urban Homesteading Coordinator. (See Appendix 12).

Data for HUD 4027.2 is to be obtained from all localities with HUD-approved Urban Homesteading Programs. This report shows the status of property activity from initial conveyance to a locality to final conveyance from the locality to the homesteader. All data on this report will be program cumulative. A report is to be prepared and submitted even though a locality has become inactive.

- (1) HUD 4027.2 is to be submitted to Headquarters within 20 calendar days after the end of each quarter.
- (2) The OMB Control Number for HUD 4027.2 is 2506-0042. \*

\*7-3. Retention and Submission of Urban Homesteading Reports.

- a. Forms HUD 4027 and 4027.2 shall be sent each month or quarter, as appropriate, to:

Director  
Rehabilitation Management Division, CPD  
U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development  
451 "7th" Street, S.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20410

Area Offices needing more than one form for HUD 4027 or 4027.2 are to use additional copies of the form as needed, and enter the totals for the Area Office on the last page of the appropriate form.

- b. The Urban Homesteading Coordinator in the Area Office is to retain a copy of each Monthly and Quarterly Report.
- c. A copy of each Monthly and Quarterly Report is to be submitted to the Regional Director for Community Planning and Development.
- d. Monthly and Quarterly Reports are to be prepared and submitted even though no new activity has taken place during the reporting period. \*

7-4. OTHER PERIODIC REPORTS (RESERVED).





6400.1 - CHANGE 2

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8-1. AREA OFFICE RESPONSIBILITY FOR PROGRAM MONITORING (RESERVED)



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APPENDIX 12

\*

HUD - 4027

Section 810 Urban Homesteading Monthly Report--  
Financial and Dwelling Unit Information

HUD - 4027.2

Urban Homesteading Quarterly Report--Milestones in the Urban  
Homesteading Process. \*



<b>AREA OFFICE</b>	<b>U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT SECTION 810 URBAN HOMESTEADING MONTHLY REPORT FINANCIAL AND DWELLING UNIT INFORMATION</b>	<b>PREPARED BY</b> Coordinator
<b>MONTH OF</b>		<b>TELEPHONE NUMBER (FTE)</b>

LOCALITY	I SEC. 810 FUNDS AUTH. BY UH LOCALITY (Re- served By UH Agreement) AND TOTAL AUTH. FOR AREA OFFICE	II PROPERTIES TRANSFERRED FROM HUD TO LOCALITIES									III SECTION 810 FUNDS	
		DURING MONTH			CUMULATIVE FOR FISCAL YEAR			CUMULATIVE FOR PROGRAM			Unobligated Balance (I-III)	Anticipated Need Remainder FY
		(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)		
		Cumulative for Fiscal Year	No. of Prop.	No. of D.U.'s	Section 810 \$ Value (Obligations)	No. of Prop.	No. of D.U.'s	Section 810 \$ Value (Obligations)	No. of Prop.	No. of D.U.'s	Section 810 \$ Value (Obligations)	
CITY	300,000	2 - VA	2	30,000	4 - VA	4	60,000	15 - VA	15	240,000	229,000	-0-
		1 - Fm	1	11,000	1 - Fm	1	11,000	1 - Fm	1	11,000		
COUNTY	150,000	4 - H	4	60,000	7 - H	7	105,000	9 - H	11	135,000	24,000	100,000
					2 - Fm	2	21,000	2 - Fm	2	21,000		
CITY	50,000	2 - H	2	24,000	2 - H	2	24,000	2 - H	2	24,000	13,000	50,000
					1 - VA	1	13,000	1 - VA	1	13,000		
Subtotal for Localities:	500,000	2 - VA 1 - Fm 5 - H	2 1 6	30,000 11,000 84,000	5 - VA 3 - Fm 9 - H	5 3 9	73,000 32,000 129,000	16 - VA 3 - Fm 11 - H	16 3 13	253,000 32,000 159,000	266,000	150,000
Area Office Amount Unreserved:	200,000										200,000	
<b>TOTAL for Area Office:</b>	<b>700,000</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>125,000</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>234,000</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>444,000</b>	<b>466,000</b>	<b>150,000</b>

SAMPLE

HUD 4077 19-821  
11/81 (11)

APPENDIX 12

12-2

9/82

**INSTRUCTIONS FOR HUD-4027—SECTION 810 URBAN HOMESTEADING  
MONTHLY REPORT FINANCIAL AND DWELLING UNIT INFORMATION**

General. This report is to be submitted monthly to Headquarters within 10 days after the end of each month to:

Director  
Rehabilitation Management Division  
U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development  
451 - 7th Street, S. W.  
Washington, D. C. 20410

The Urban Homesteading Coordinator in the Area Office is to retain a copy, and submit a copy to the Regional Director for Community Planning and Development.

Locality. In this column, list each locality in the Area Office jurisdiction that is participating, or has participated, in the Section 810 Urban Homesteading Program. Any locality which has, or has had, a HUD-approved Section 810 Urban Homesteading Program is to be listed.

1. Indicate in this column, the cumulative Section 810 funds authorized (*placed in Agreement/Amendment*) during the fiscal year for each locality. Also indicate opposite the appropriate listings in the locality column, the subtotal for all localities and the Area Office unreserved amount, and the total authorization for the Area Office for the Fiscal Year.

II.(a). Indicate the total number of properties transferred from HUD, the Farmers Home Administration (FmHA), and/or the Veterans Administration (VA) during the month for each locality and the total for the Area Office. Totals are to be indicated for properties transferred from each agency on separate lines. For those properties transferred from HUD, indicate the number transferred followed by an "H"; for those transferred from FmHA, indicate the number transferred followed by "Fm"; and for those transferred from VA, indicate the number transferred followed by "VA." Thus, one locality could have three lines of information if it received properties from all three agencies. Be sure that items II.(b) and (c)—the number of dwelling units and Section 810 dollar value—correspond appropriately to the properties transferred from each agency.

II.(b). Indicate the number of dwelling units in properties transferred during the month by locality and for the Area Office.

II.(c). Indicate the Section 810 dollar value of properties transferred during the month by locality and for the Area Office. The Section 810 dollar value is the amount of deduction from the locality's Section 810 allocation and also is the amount of reimbursement to the appropriate HUD/FHA insurance fund or to FmHA or VA.

II.(d). Indicate the cumulative number of properties transferred from HUD, FmHA and/or VA for the fiscal year for each locality and for the Area Office. Totals are to be indicated for properties transferred from each agency on separate lines followed by H, Fm and/or VA to indicate the total number of properties transferred from HUD, FmHA and/or VA, respectively. Again, be sure that items II.(e) and (f)—the number of dwelling units and Section 810 dollar value—correspond appropriately to the properties transferred from each agency.

II.(e). Indicate the number of dwelling units in properties transferred during the fiscal year by locality and for the Area Office.

II.(f). Indicate the Section 810 dollar value of properties transferred during the fiscal year by locality and for the Area Office.

II.(g). Indicate the cumulative total number of properties transferred from HUD, FmHA and/or VA from the beginning of each locality's homesteading program and the cumulative total for the Area Office. Totals are to be indicated for properties transferred from each agency on separate lines followed by H, Fm and/or VA to indicate the total number of properties transferred from HUD, FmHA and/or VA, respectively. Again, be sure that items II.(h) and (i)—the number of dwelling units and Section 810 dollar value—correspond appropriately to the cumulative total of properties transferred from each agency.

II.(h). Indicate the number of dwelling units in properties transferred from the beginning of each locality's homesteading program and the total for the Area Office.

II.(i). Indicate the Section 810 dollar value of properties transferred from the beginning of each locality's homesteading program and the total for the Area Office.

III.(a). Unobligated Balance. For each locality, subtract II.(f), the cumulative Fiscal Year obligations, from I, the cumulative Section 810 funds authorized for the Fiscal Year. Also subtotal for all localities and for the Area Office.

III.(b). Anticipated Need for Remainder of Fiscal Year. Indicate in this column the Section 810 funds that are anticipated to be needed during the remainder of the fiscal year for each homesteading locality and the total for the Area Office.

For the last month of the fiscal year (*September*), indicate the Section 810 funds that are anticipated to be needed during the next fiscal year.



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT  
**URBAN HOMESTEADING QUARTERLY REPORT - MILESTONES IN  
THE URBAN HOMESTEADING PROCESS**  
(PROGRAM CUMULATIVE)

CONTACT PERSON AND PHONE NUMBER

DATE (Mo., Day, Year) | AREA OFFICE

LOCALITY	PROPERTIES IN URBAN HOMESTEADING PROGRAM					PROPERTIES TRANSFERRED-LOCALITY TO HOMESTEADER (CONDITIONALLY)	PROPERTIES REHABILITATION BEGUN	PROPERTIES REHABILITATION COMPLETE	PROPERTIES OCCUPIED BY HOMESTEADERS	PROPERTIES TRANSFERRED-LOCALITY TO HOMESTEADER (FINAL CONVEYANCE)
	HUD SEC. 810	HUD OTHER	OTHER FEDERAL	LOCAL	TOTAL					
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)	(k)
1.										
2.										
3.										
4.										
5.										
6.										
7.										
8.										
9.										
10.										
11.										
12.										
13.										
14.										
15.										
16.										
<b>TOTALS</b>										

12-4

9/82

APPENDIX 12

Previous Editions are Obsolete

HUD-4027.2 (9-82)  
(HB 6400.1)



**INSTRUCTIONS FOR FORM HUD-4027.2,  
MILESTONES IN THE URBAN HOMESTEADING PROCESS**

This report is to be submitted to Headquarters, Director, Rehabilitation Management Division, CPD. The Urban Homesteading coordinator in the Area Office is to retain a copy, and submit a copy to the Regional Director for CPD.

The Area Office can obtain the information for Form HUD-4027.2 by sending a copy of this form and the instructions to all of its communities with HUD-approved Urban Homesteading programs. After completing the data within 15 days after the end of the quarter, the locality is to send the information to the Area Office. After reviewing the data, the Area Office is to then send a copy of the information to Headquarters within 20 days after the end of the quarter. The Area Office should place the information from each locality on one sheet.

**GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS:** If there is no activity to report in Columns G, H, I, J, or K, enter "0" as appropriate in the relevant column.

For every locality, indicate the number of properties which have completed each step in the Urban Homesteading process since the inception of the program. Include any properties conveyed to demonstration cities. These program cumulative figures are to be updated quarterly.

**REPORTING PROPERTIES WITH MORE THAN ONE UNIT:** Report as a separate property each unit or property occupied or intended to be occupied by a homesteader. Example: A four-unit property in which one unit is intended for occupancy by a homesteader, or is occupied by a homesteader, is to be reported as one property.

**COLUMN A - LOCALITY:** List any locality that has an approved Urban Homesteading Program.

**COLUMN B - F - PROPERTIES IN URBAN HOMESTEADING PROGRAM:** (Source of properties regardless of funding mechanism).

Column B. **HUD SEC. 810:** Indicate the number of Secretary-owned single-family properties (1-4 dwelling units) that have been transferred from HUD to the locality cumulative from the beginning of the program.

Column C. **HUD OTHER:** Indicate the number of Secretary-owned properties that have been transferred from HUD that were not acquired with Sec. 810 funds; i.e., properties acquired with CDBG funds or through the PROP program, etc.

Column D. **OTHER FEDERAL:** Indicate the number of other Federal single family properties (1-4 dwelling units) that have been transferred to the locality in the Urban Homesteading Area (e.g., V.A. and FmHA). If no other Federal single-family properties have been transferred, enter "0".

Column E. **LOCAL:** Indicate the number of local single-family properties (1-4 dwelling units) in the Urban Homesteading Area that have been approved by the locality for transfer to homesteaders. If no local single-family properties have been approved, enter "0".

Column F. **TOTAL:** Indicate the total number of properties in the Urban Homesteading Program by adding Column B, C, D and E.

**COLUMN G - PROPERTIES TRANSFERRED: LOCALITY TO HOMESTEADER (Conditionally).** Indicate the number of properties that have been conditionally transferred from the locality to the homesteader (or other conditional step as applicable). This should include properties transferred under section 810 and other properties in the locality's Homesteading Program.

**COLUMN H - PROPERTIES - REHABILITATION BEGUN:** Indicate the number of properties where rehabilitation work has begun.

**COLUMN I - PROPERTIES - REHABILITATION COMPLETED:** Indicate the number of properties where all rehabilitation work is completely finished.

**COLUMN J - PROPERTIES OCCUPIED:** Indicate the number of properties that have been occupied by homesteaders.

**COLUMN K - PROPERTIES - FINAL CONVEYANCE:** Indicate only the number of properties where final conveyance (fee simple title) has been given to homesteaders who have fully complied with the terms of their Homesteader Agreements.



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APPENDIX 13

Department of Housing and Urban Development  
Division of Urban Homesteading, CCRM  
451 7th Street, S.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20410

Urban Homesteading Application Package

Contents

Instructions

General Instructions  
Instructions for Parts I through VII

Forms

- PART I : Standard Form 424 - HUD-4117
- PART II : Project Identification - HUD-4117.1
- PART III : Description of Neighborhood(s) and Map(s) - HUD-4117.2
- PART IV : Coordinated Approach Toward Neighborhood Improvement  
(Neighborhood Development Plan) - HUD-4117.3
- PART V : Rehabilitation Financing - HUD-4117.4
- PART VI : Urban Homesteading Management Plan - HUD-4117.5
- PART VII : Staff - HUD-4117.6
- PART VIII: Assurances - HUD-4117.7

URBAN HOMESTEADING PROGRAM  
APPLICATION PACKAGE



RECEIVED  
6-16-83

# Executive Memorandum

The Heritage Foundation

**RUSH**

513 C Street N.E. Washington, D.C. 20002 (202) 546-4400

6/13/83

Number 26

## LESSONS OF THE TORY TRIUMPH

Margaret Thatcher's crushing win in Britain's general election no doubt produced smiles all round at the White House, and even broader grins among GOP strategists planning a Reagan re-election bid. After all, Prime Minister Thatcher was swept back into power while presiding over an unemployment rate of nearly 13 percent and a recovery still more a promise than a fact. Most economic forecasters expect Reagan to be in a much better position in the run-up to the 1984 election.

Yet the lessons from Britain are a little more mixed for the President than the landslide result suggests. The campaign was the culmination of shrewd political groundwork laid carefully by the Conservatives during the last four years, aimed both at building support for the government and at defusing damaging issues. Many of the actions of the Reagan Administration, on the other hand, seem to have had exactly the opposite effect. Only time will tell if the difference is fatal.

The Tory campaign displayed remarkable effectiveness in dealing with sensitive issues. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Britain's freeze movement, was attacked vigorously and methodically for the almost pro-Soviet stance of its leadership. The Conservatives did not allow the radical unilateralists to hide behind a wall of honest, genuinely concerned men and women. The nuclear disarmament issue seemed to help Mrs. Thatcher, by enabling her to denounce Labor's anti-nuclear policy as both naive and suspect.

The Conservative campaign also built upon earlier legislation designed in part to draw urban and black voters from the Labor column. Measures have been taken to improve police relations with minorities (mostly immigrants from the Commonwealth), and a new law has clarified the immigration status of dependents and eased racial tension. So the Conservatives managed to portray themselves as the party of integration, based on equality of opportunity rather than special treatment. "Labor says he's black," asserted one campaign poster featuring a black youth, "Tories say he's British."

In the cities, the Conservatives combined electoral damage control with an effective counterattack. Within a year and a half of taking office, the government showed its commitment to urban job creation by designating 11 enterprise zones in key cities (the number was increased to 24 last year). Far more important, however, the Conservatives gave public housing tenants the right to buy their units at substantial

Note: Nothing written here is to be construed as necessarily reflecting the views of The Heritage Foundation or as an attempt to aid or hinder the passage of any bill before Congress.



discounts. Over half a million have been sold in this way, turning many traditional Labor voters into homeowners sympathetic to Tory overtures.

Most critical of all to the election success, Thatcher was able to defuse the issue of unemployment--now running at nearly 13 percent. Pre-election polls showed that about 50 percent of the population rated unemployment as the election's most serious issue. Yet the Conservative picked up well over a quarter of the votes of the unemployed--almost half the number going to Labor. The Thatcher government did this by convincing the electorate that real, lasting jobs could only come with a healthy and growing economy. The government stood steadfast against "jobs" bills, and refused even to predict the unemployment rate would fall. By maintaining this firm stand, Conservatives could argue that they stood for policies aimed at permanent job creation, and denounce the other parties as favoring vote-buying short-term relief while endangering long-term growth.

These features of the Conservative win should indicate to the White House that much work needs to be done if Ronald Reagan is going to emulate Mrs. Thatcher in 1984. Unlike his ally, Reagan has almost gone out of his way to alienate the black and urban vote. Administration bungling over civil rights will probably ensure a Democratic shut-out among black voters. And the President's one vote-winning urban initiative, the enterprise zone proposal, has still to pass the Republican-controlled Senate in this third year of his Presidency.

The economy still looks good for Reagan in 1984, but the federal deficit may yet be his downfall. The total government deficit in the United States (including state and local deficits, and "off-budget" items) is more than 10 percent of the nation's GNP. Mrs. Thatcher, on the other hand, fought the election with a total deficit of under 3 percent, projected to fall to 2 percent by 1986, and a zero "structural deficit." This was achieved not by massive tax increases, but by tight control over public spending, together with the restructuring and "privatization" (that is, the sale) of government-owned industries.

The Conservative strategy, then, was based on a mixture of offense and defense. Potentially damaging issues and voter blocs were defused and courted, while other normally hostile voters were won over by innovative policies. The strategy was so successful that bookmakers in London refused to take bets in the campaign's final days because the odds on a Conservative win were too great. Unless Ronald Reagan learns the real lessons of the British election, that is unlikely to happen here.

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For further information:

"The Thatcher Style," The Economist, May 21, 1983.

"Britain Has Bad News for Our Democrats," Washington Post, June 5, 1983.

"What Hath Thatcher Wrought," Business Week, June 6, 1983.

"Blueprint for a Second Thatcher Term?" Wall Street Journal, June 9, 1983.



the rents of 194 of the 230 Demonstration units with construction completed by January 1983. Of these 194 units, 171 (88 percent) were occupied and renting at or below the Section 8 Existing FMR for that unit. Only 23, or 12 percent, of these units were occupied and renting at more than the FMR.

Low- and Moderate-Income Tenants. Available data provided by local officials and HUD field staff indicate that the majority of the households residing in the rehabilitated buildings are low- and moderate-income households. According to these data, which represent 149 units that are occupied and for which the incomes of the tenants are known, 88 percent (126) have incomes of less than 80 percent of the area median, and 12 percent (23) have incomes that exceed 80 percent of the area median. The incomes of tenants residing in 82 of the occupied units are unknown.

Local Assessments of the Demonstration. According to the local officials interviewed, the strong point of the Demonstration is the extent of local discretion permitted. They were especially pleased that they, instead of HUD, actually made the decisions regarding the specific properties to be funded and the procedures and practices to be used in the Demonstration project. Some local coordinators said that this discretion enabled them to address the needs of rental properties that could not feasibly have been rehabilitated through other programs and to vary the subsidy provided to the property owners to match the particular situation.

This local discretion also allowed communities to reduce the extent of their involvement in administering the rehabilitation program. Local officials in 13 of the first round communities reported they were successful in reducing public involvement in administering rehabilitation, primarily by shifting some of their former responsibilities to the property owner. Seven of these officials reported that the owner had taken the majority of the responsibilities, four indicated that the lender and owner shared the responsibilities about equally, and two reported that the lender had taken the majority of the responsibilities.

Despite the fact that owners frequently took on added tasks in the rehabilitation process, many local officials said it was the rental property owners' lack of experience with financing rehabilitation and their unfamiliarity with HUD housing programs that hampered efforts to reduce the community's role in the rehabilitation process. According to these officials, the Demonstration is new, and the use of the Section 8 certificates involves a normal, but in their view, nonetheless considerable, amount of paperwork. Local officials reported that many small property owners were not experienced at filling out applications or fulfilling their responsibilities without substantial assistance from the city. In contrast, those officials that dealt with experienced developers or investors found that they were aware of necessary requirements and needed very little assistance. However, several local respondents did indicate the program was not financially attractive enough for many sophisticated investors. Participating lenders were cited as generally cooperative and reportedly were willing to take increased responsibility.



## PART TWO: THE URBAN HOMESTEADING PROGRAM

### INTRODUCTION

Section 810(e) of the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 requires HUD to submit to Congress an annual report on the Urban Homesteading program.

Section 810 of the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974, as amended, authorizes the transfer of unoccupied one-to-four-family properties owned by HUD, the Veterans Administration (VA), and the Farmers Home Administration (FmHA) at no cost to communities with HUD-approved homesteading programs. Local governments, in turn, offer the properties at nominal or no cost to homesteaders who agree to repair them within 18 months and live in them for a minimum of three years. Section 810 appropriations are used to reimburse the respective Federal agencies for the value of the units transferred to local homesteading programs.

This section reports on Urban Homesteading program activity during FY 1982. The section is divided into two major parts. The first part outlines program initiatives and changes that occurred in FY 1982. The second part describes the current status of the program in terms of funding, properties, and participating communities.

### RECENT PROGRAM DEVELOPMENTS

#### CURRENT PROGRAM STANDING

The Department considers the Urban Homesteading program to be an effective way to use existing stock in order to expand homeownership and to contribute to the preservation and revitalization of neighborhoods. Congress appropriated \$12 million for the program in FY 1983, and the Department is proposing reauthorization and another \$12 million appropriation for FY 1984. HUD is also proposing expansion of the program to include multifamily property.

#### INCREASED AVAILABILITY OF FEDERAL PROPERTIES FOR HOMESTEADING

Section 106 of the Housing and Community Development Amendments of 1979 provided for reimbursement by HUD to the VA and FmHA for VA- and FmHA-owned properties conveyed to local urban homesteading agencies under the Urban Homesteading program. Since the number of properties in the HUD-owned inventory had been significantly reduced, the intent of this legislative change was to increase the supply of Federal properties available to homesteading communities.

The initial interim rule implementing the 1979 amendments did not incorporate a provision permitting HUD to increase the otherwise applicable limit (\$15,000 per initial dwelling unit and \$5,000 for each additional unit) relating to the reimbursement for VA- and FmHA-owned properties. Since the majority of VA and many FmHA properties have values greater than \$15,000, the absence of a waiver provision made it practically impossible for many localities to include such properties in their homesteading programs.



In September 1982, an interim rule incorporating authority to increase the \$15,000 limit became effective. However, since this change occurred too late in FY 1982 to affect the transfer of VA and FmHA properties in FY 1982, only 32 VA properties were transferred to homesteading programs during the fiscal year.

### MANAGEMENT IMPROVEMENTS

During FY 1982, HUD's Office of Inspector General (OIG) and Office of Finance and Accounting (OFA) undertook a joint assessment of the effectiveness of internal controls on the Urban Homesteading program. This effort was one Departmental response to the President's initiative to reduce and/or eliminate fraud, waste, and mismanagement in Federal programs. The OIG/OFA review identified a series of improvements that could be made in the internal controls used in the Urban Homesteading program. The project team recommended that the Department: (1) establish controls over the allocation, certification of fund availability, obligation, and expenditure of homesteading appropriations; (2) improve the accuracy of property transfer charges; (3) record receivables and collect prepaid taxes due HUD from cities which receive properties; and (4) develop effective procedures for reconciling OFA records with records kept by HUD field offices.

The CPD Program Office and OFA have completed funding reconciliation and have developed an automated Regionalized internal control system.

### DEREGULATION INITIATIVES

Pursuant to Executive Order 12291, the Department is currently reviewing the Section 810 regulations to meet its deregulation goals. Other policy changes in this deregulation effort include streamlined application procedures and improved monitoring and corrective and remedial action options.

### EVALUATION FINDINGS

The final report of the comprehensive evaluation conducted by HUD of the 23-city Urban Homesteading Demonstration program was published during FY 1982. The summary report, covering the 1975-1979 period, presents a generally positive assessment of the effectiveness of urban homesteading as a means of encouraging homeownership, providing housing assistance to families, and stabilizing declining neighborhoods.<sup>8</sup>

### INCREASE OF SECTION 312 LOANS IN SUPPORT OF URBAN HOMESTEADING

The Department concentrated all Section 312 single family loan funding in FY 1982 in HUD-approved urban homesteading areas. Sixty-eight (or 75 percent) of the communities with active homesteading programs used Section 312 loans in support of homesteading in comparison with 53 communities the year before. Altogether, 502 Section 312 loans totaling \$9.259 million were provided to owner-occupants and investor owners in urban homesteading areas during FY 1982; in contrast, 281 loans amounting to \$5.216 million were provided to such owner-occupants during FY 1981. Section 312 loans to homesteaders constituted 55 percent of the single family loans and 61 percent of the single family loan amounts for FY 1982; the remainder went to other owner-occupants and investor owners for housing rehabilitation in the urban homesteading areas.



## NEW URBAN HOMESTEADING LOCALITIES

Eleven communities, nine entitlement cities, one urban county, and one non-urban county entered the Urban Homesteading program during FY 1982. All nine entitlement cities met the UDAG distress threshold, and six of them were highly distressed; the urban county did not meet the minimum UDAG distress threshold.

Given the recency of their entry into the program, it is not surprising that most of the new entrants had few properties in their 1982 programs. One city had 11 properties in its program and two others had ten; on the other hand, three communities had no homesteading properties thus far, and two more had only one. Four localities used HUD-acquired properties, three used VA properties, and five used local properties.

## CURRENT PROGRAM STATUS

### PROGRAM FUNDING AND EXPENDITURES

Section 810 funds are used to reimburse HUD, the VA, and the FmHA for the value of Federal properties transferred pursuant to Section 810. The CDBG program, the Section 312 Rehabilitation Loan Program, and private leveraging have been the major sources of rehabilitation financing for homesteaders. Communities have also supported local homesteading program administration and property acquisition with CDBG monies.

Section 810 Funding and Expenditures. Since 1975, Congress has appropriated \$55 million to support the acquisition of Federal properties for Urban Homesteading programs. No appropriations were approved for the period FY 1980-82. The balance of unexpended appropriations was sufficient to operate the program in FY 1982 at a level comparable to previous years. Congress appropriated an additional \$12 million for program operations in FY 1983.

HUD had allocated over \$52 million in Section 810 funds to approved communities by the end of FY 1982. The size of a particular community's allocation is calculated on the basis of the expected number of available HUD, VA, and FmHA properties suitable for homesteading, the average "as-is" value of appropriate Federally-acquired properties in the jurisdiction, and the community's past homesteading experience.

As of the end of FY 1982, \$46.639 million of Section 810 funds had been spent, or 84.8 percent of the Section 810 appropriations to that point. \$11.639 million of that total had been expended in FY 1982.

Uses of CDBG Funding. Most homesteading communities that received CDBG funds have used them to support the administration of their programs; many have used them for homesteading-related rehabilitation financing; and some have used them for homestead property acquisition. Some communities have made direct rehabilitation grants or low interest loans to homesteaders or used CDBG funds to leverage rehabilitation loan funds from private sources. In most communities that purchased local properties for homesteading, CDBG funds were the principal source for that acquisition.



Nearly all communities with approved homesteading programs received CDBG program funds during FY 1982.

Use of Section 312 Rehabilitation Loans. As discussed above, Section 312 Loans constituted a major and, at least for FY 1982, a larger role in rehabilitation financing in support of urban homesteading than in FY 1981.

Private Rehabilitation Financing. Many homesteading communities rely on private sector financing for all or part of the cost of rehabilitating homesteading properties. Some have developed creative financing mechanisms to provide rehabilitation financing. HUD plans to stress more such leveraging in the future.

Use of Sweat Equity. "Sweat equity," homesteader contributions to the rehabilitation of their homesteads, has added to the rehabilitation of homestead properties in some homesteading communities. Sweat equity is generally encouraged by homesteading communities but has been limited by local rules that require homesteaders to be certified or licensed prior to undertaking technical work such as wiring, plumbing, and heating and by local provisions that restrict sweat equity contributions to cosmetic property improvements.

#### HOMESTEADING PROPERTIES

Federal Inventory. Until 1980, the HUD inventory of single family properties was the sole source of properties available for transfer at no cost to local homesteading programs under Section 810. The overall inventory of HUD-owned properties has declined significantly since its high point in the mid-1970's. The inventory of unsold properties had declined from over 75,000 properties at the end of FY 1974 to 17,238 properties as of September 30, 1982. The transfer of HUD properties to local homesteading programs under Section 810 has accounted for a very small (2.5 percent) proportion of all HUD-owned properties disposed of since 1975, although the proportion might be considerably greater for homesteading communities and areas.

While the HUD inventory has declined in absolute numbers, a substantial number of properties are still acquired each year and, therefore, are potentially available for homesteading. During FY 1982, HUD acquired 18,179 properties compared to 13,871 in 1981. However, the overall inventory still declined because sales exceeded acquisitions.

In 1979, Congress sought to expand the inventory of Federal properties suitable for homesteading by authorizing reimbursement to the Veterans Administration and Department of Agriculture for VA- and FmHA-held properties available for homesteading.

Cumulative and FY 1982 Property Acquisitions. During FY 1982, Section 810 funds reimbursed Federal agencies for the transfer of 796 properties to local homesteading programs. This compares with 1,105 properties in FY 1981. Most transferred properties continued to be from the HUD inventory (764) followed by those from the Veterans Administration (32) inventory. FY 1982 was the first year that VA properties were funded through Section 810.



In addition to Section 810-funded properties, 91 other Federal properties were conveyed to localities during FY 1982 for use in urban homesteading programs. In most cases, localities purchased these properties themselves using CDBG or other local funds. Communities indicated that they obtained 95 additional properties through various local means. During FY 1982, localities relied on Section 810 funds to obtain over 80 percent of the properties acquired for homesteading.

Since 1976, localities with approved homesteading programs have acquired 7,115 properties for homesteading use. Section 810 funded properties account for over 88 percent of all properties acquired by localities over this period. Approximately three percent of all homestead properties have been Federally-acquired through non-Section 810 means. Local sources of properties account for the remaining nine percent of all homestead properties.

TABLE 4-10  
NUMBER AND SOURCE OF HOMESTEADING PROPERTIES  
FY 1976 - FY 1982

	FY 1976 - FY 1981	FY 1982*	TOTAL*
Section 810	5,437	796	6233
HUD	{ 5,437 }	{ 764 }	{ 6201 }
FmHA	{ -- }	{ -- }	{ -- }
VA	--	{ 32 }	{ 32 }
Other Federal	101	91	192
Locally Acquired	595	95	690
Total	6,133	982	7115

\* The Office of Finance and Accounting maintains records only on properties acquired through Section 810 funding. The Section 810 property figures reflect OFA data on closing documents received as of September 30, 1982. Non-Section 810 property figures were provided by the Office of Urban Rehabilitation.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Finance and Accounting and Office of Urban Rehabilitation.

Value of FY 1982 Federal Properties Transferred. While the number of Section 810 properties transferred for homesteading declined by 28 percent from FY 1981 to FY 1982, the amount of Section 810 funds obligated during FY 1982 decreased by only 17 percent over the FY 1981 level. The resulting average value of a property transferred in FY 1982 was \$11,005, compared to a corresponding value for FY 1981 of \$9,580.



## URBAN HOMESTEADING PARTICIPATION AND PROGRESS

Number of Urban Homesteading Programs. By the end of FY 1982, HUD had approved 107 communities, 97 cities and 10 counties, as participants in the Urban Homesteading program. Eleven of those communities entered the program during FY 1982.

TABLE 4-11  
NUMBER OF APPROVED URBAN HOMESTEADING PROGRAMS

<u>FY 1976</u>	<u>FY 1977</u>	<u>FY 1978</u>	<u>FY 1979</u>	<u>FY 1980</u>	<u>FY 1981</u>	<u>FY 1982</u>	<u>Total</u>
23	16	0	37	18	2	11	107

Of the 107 approved communities, 91 jurisdictions actually operated programs during FY 1982. Of the 16 inactive communities, three had been suspended by HUD and 13 had failed to sign annual grant agreements with HUD.<sup>10</sup>

Characteristics of Urban Homesteading Communities. More than four-fifths of the communities with approved homesteading programs are in the Eastern United States, with the principal concentration being in the Northeast quadrant where the bulk of the HUD-acquired inventory is also concentrated. Four states--Ohio, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and New York--contain 43 percent of all Urban Homesteading programs.

Urban homesteading communities vary significantly on the basis of size. One fifth of the approved localities have populations over 500,000. On the other hand, 44 percent have populations under 100,000.

Over three-quarters (76 percent) of the approved communities are CDBG Entitlement recipients, including 66 central cities, six cities over 50,000 that are not central cities in their respective SMSAs, and nine urban counties. The remaining communities are 25 small cities and one non-urban county.

The approved communities are more likely to be physically and economically distressed than the typical community. For example, about half of all CDBG entitlement cities fall above the UDAG eligibility threshold, but four-fifths of the homesteading participants have UDAG distress rankings of three or more, making them eligible for UDAG assistance; half of the homesteading communities met the UDAG conditions for high distress.

Property Sources for Local Homesteading Programs. Most homesteading programs rely on the Federal, principally HUD, inventory for homesteading properties. Over half of all approved programs have employed Federal properties exclusively. Twenty-eight communities have utilized both HUD- and locally-acquired properties. Seventeen programs have used only local properties, and six programs have not yet acquired properties for their approved programs.



**TABLE 4-12**  
**SOURCES OF PROPERTIES FOR APPROVED HOMESTEADING PROGRAMS**

<u>Source of Properties</u>	<u>Number of Programs</u>	<u>Percent of Programs</u>
Federal only	56	52%
Federal and Local	28	26
Local Only	17	16
No Properties	6	6
Total	107	100%

**SOURCE:** U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Community Planning and Development, Office of Urban Rehabilitation.

**Program Size and FY 1982 Property Acquisition Activities.** As of September 30, 1982, the 107 homesteading programs fell roughly into three sizes. About one-third of the programs (n=36) were very small, having acquired ten or fewer properties from any source. Most, but not all, of these programs were recent entrants (i.e., had entered the program since FY 1978). Another third (n=33) of the programs had between 11 and 50 properties. The final third (n=38) had programs with over 50 properties. Among these programs were ten which have handled over 200 properties. (See TABLE 4-13).

**TABLE 4-13**  
**CUMULATIVE PROPERTY ACQUISITIONS FROM ALL SOURCES**  
**FOR ALL APPROVED HOMESTEADING PROGRAMS**

<u>Number of Properties</u>	<u>Number of Programs</u>	<u>Percent of Programs</u>
0	5	5%
1 - 5	18	17
6 - 10	13	12
11 - 25	16	15
26 - 50	17	16
51 - 100	11	10
101 - 200	17	16
201 - 300	3	3
301+	7	6
Total	107	100%

**SOURCE:** U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Community Planning and Development, Office of Urban Rehabilitation.

The average size of urban homesteading programs was 68.7 properties and the median was 28 properties.

As the cumulative activity suggests, programs vary widely in the level of property acquisition each year. In FY 1982, for example, one-third of all homesteading programs did not acquire any properties for homesteading purposes. Another third acquired between one and ten properties. The remaining third acquired over 11 properties. Most of these programs acquired between 11 and 30 properties.



**TABLE 4-14**  
**HOMESTEADING PROPERTY ACQUISITION FROM ALL SOURCES**  
**FOR ALL HOMESTEADING PROGRAMS DURING FY 1982**

<u>Number of Properties</u>	<u>Number of Programs</u>	<u>Percent of Programs</u>
0	34	32%
1 - 5	24	22
6 - 10	14	13
11 - 20	16	14
21 - 30	6	6
31 - 40	6	6
41 - 50	3	3
51+	4	4
Total	<u>107</u>	<u>100%</u>

**SOURCE:** U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Community Planning and Development, Office of Urban Rehabilitation.

**Local Homesteading Progress.** Once a property is acquired by a local homesteading program, it is conveyed to a homesteader through a process that includes six milestones: (1) homesteader selection; (2) conditional conveyance to the homesteader; (3) initiation of rehabilitation; (4) homesteader occupancy; (5) completion of rehabilitation; and (6) fee simple conveyance. Table 4-15 shows the status of the properties that have been moved through the process through FY 1982.

The differences in the number of properties at various stages in the process reflect several features of the Urban Homesteading program. First, the homesteading process is ongoing. Properties are continually acquired even as others are being rehabilitated. Second, the process is long relative to the age of the program. Fee simple conveyance of the property to the homesteader occurs at least three years after occupancy begins. The time between local acceptance of a HUD-held property and homesteader occupancy adds more time to the process.

As of September 30, 1982, 7,242 households had been selected for homesteading. Although this figure indicates that homesteaders have been selected for 98 percent of all properties acquired for homesteading, this high proportion may be somewhat misleading because some communities report both their primary and alternate homesteader selections. Nevertheless, by the end of FY 1982, approximately 84 percent of all homesteading properties had been conditionally conveyed to homesteaders, and 76 percent were occupied by homesteaders. Rehabilitation had been initiated on 81 percent of all properties acquired and completed on 65 percent of the properties. Fee simple conveyance, which marks the completion of the minimum three-year conditional conveyance and occupancy period, had occurred in 29 percent of all homesteading properties.



TABLE 4-15  
STATUS OF URBAN HOMESTEADING PROPERTIES AS OF SEPTEMBER 30, 1982  
(Cumulative Totals)

Cities <sup>a</sup>	HUD Properties Transferred To Cities	Home- Stealers Selected <sup>b</sup>	Properties Transferred Conditionally From Cities To Homestealers <sup>c</sup>	Properties Occupied <sup>c</sup>	Rehabilitation	
					Started <sup>c</sup>	Completed <sup>c</sup>
Akron, OH. . . . .	12	12	12	6	12	6
Anderson, SC . . . . .	4	12	12	9	12	9
Athens, OH . . . . .	...	8	8	7	8	4
Atlanta, GA. . . . .	167	140	140	140	140	140
Babylon, NY. . . . .	12	20	11	9	11	9
Baltimore, MD. . . . .	78	68	61	55	61	48
Bayamon, PR. . . . .	10	...	...	...	...	...
Benton Harbor, MI. . . . .	15	14	14	13	14	14
Berkeley, MD . . . . .	16	16	16	7	7	5
Boston, MA . . . . .	46	44	43	43	47	46
Bradford, PA . . . . .	...	3	3	3	3	3
Brookhaven, NY . . . . .	63	70	61	57	61	57
Broward County, FL . . . . .	25	18	13	13	13	13
Buffalo, NY. . . . .	31	24	24	5	14	5
Canden, NJ . . . . .	67	62	56	56	56	38
Canton, OH . . . . .	...	14	...	...	1	...
Chicago, IL. . . . .	356	356	307	271	254	158
Cincinnati, OH . . . . .	113	146	146	91	130	105
Cleveland, OH. . . . .	49	50	36	36	36	36
Columbus, OH . . . . .	349	379	344	267	344	281
Compton, CA . . . . .	39	39	39	39	39	39
Dade County, FL. . . . .	82	80	66	61	66	61
Dallas, TX . . . . .	372	371	371	371	371	371
Denverport, IA. . . . .	...	3	3	...	3	...
Dayton, OH . . . . .	135	101	95	81	87	65
Decatur, GA. . . . .	107	113	113	110	113	110
DeKalb County, GA. . . . .	33	33	33	27	33	27
Des Moines, IA . . . . .	6	3	3	3	3	3
Detroit, MI. . . . .	126	92	57	37	53	30
East Liverpool, OH . . . . .	...	15	15	15	15	15
East St. Louis, IL . . . . .	140	100	100	99	100	97
Flint, MI. . . . .	78	78	78	67	70	43
Freeport, NY . . . . .	79	101	75	75	75	75
Gary, IN . . . . .	350	685	313	273	283	150
Hartford, CN . . . . .	...	13	13	9	13	9
Haverhill, MA. . . . .	...	3	3	3	3	3
Hazel Park, MI . . . . .	6	...	...	...	...	...
Hempstead, Village of, NY . . . . .	43	55	35	35	35	35
Highland Park, MI. . . . .	21	19	18	14	14	14
Indianapolis, IN . . . . .	252	248	248	239	248	211
Islip, NY. . . . .	306	331	207	207	207	207
Jackson, MI. . . . .	3	4	3	2	3	2
Jefferson County, KY . . . . .	41	44	34	20	20	20
Jennings, MO . . . . .	17	12	12	8	12	7
Jersey City, NJ. . . . .	15	14	14	14	14	14
Joliet, IL . . . . .	41	38	35	34	37	34
Kansas City, MO. . . . .	177	222	144	130	144	130
Lansing, MI. . . . .	...	1	1	...	...	...
Lawrence, MA . . . . .	...	5	5	5	5	5
Lebanon, PA. . . . .	...	8	8	6	8	6
Los Angeles City, CA . . . . .	24	22	22	22	22	22
Louisville, KY . . . . .	34	29	28	21	28	19
Luzerne County, PA . . . . .	...	1	1	1	1	1
Madison Heights, MI. . . . .	2	1	1	1	1	1
Milwaukee, WI. . . . .	313	317	316	299	316	220
Minneapolis, MN. . . . .	95	203	201	184	201	163
Montgomery County, OH. . . . .	39	39	39	22	30	22
Mt. Holly, NJ. . . . .	3	4	4	4	4	4
Nanticoke, PA. . . . .	...	1	1	...	...	...
Nassau County, NY. . . . .	108	132	95	89	95	89
New Haven, CT. . . . .	5	20	20	20	20	20
Newark, NJ . . . . .	6	2	2	2	2	2
Newport News, VA . . . . .	15	15	15	14	15	14



Cities <sup>a</sup>	HUD Properties Transferred To Cities	Home- Stealers Selected <sup>b</sup>	Properties Transferred Conditionally From Cities To Homesteaders <sup>c</sup>	Properties Occupied <sup>c</sup>	Rehabilitation	
					Started	Completed <sup>c</sup>
New York City, NY. . . . .	29	29	29	29	29	29
Oakland, CA. . . . .	120	118	118	117	118	116
Omaha, NE. . . . .	29	32	32	30	32	30
Palm Beach County, FL. . . . .	89	89	88	88	88	88
Patterson, NJ. . . . .	4	4	4	4	4	4
Philadelphia, PA. . . . .	392	346	346	346	346	173
Phoenix, AZ. . . . .	88	129	87	95	118	109
Pine Lawn, MD. . . . .	17	9	9	9	12	12
Pinellas County, FL. . . . .	10	10	10	10	10	10
Piqua, OH. . . . .	1	2	2	2	2	2
Plainfield, NJ. . . . .	20	19	19	11	19	11
Port Huron, MI. . . . .	5	4	4	4	4	4
Portland, OR. . . . .	9	9	1	1	1	1
Pottsville, PA. . . . .	...	2	2	2	2	2
Racine, WI. . . . .	4	23	4	...	...	...
Richmond, VA. . . . .	4	4	4	3	4	3
Roanoke, VA. . . . .	...	3	3	3	3	3
Rochester, NY. . . . .	181	205	175	170	175	98
Rockford, IL. . . . .	142	127	127	117	127	104
Saginaw, MI. . . . .	41	33	33	32	33	32
St. Louis, MO. . . . .	104	85	85	51	53	29
St. Paul, MN. . . . .	...	151	149	146	149	82
St. Petersburg, FL. . . . .	82	105	75	88	74	88
Shenokin, PA. . . . .	...	7	7	7	7	7
Sioux City, IA. . . . .	...	10	10	9	10	9
South Bend, IN. . . . .	127	134	131	110	114	89
Springfield, MA. . . . .	30	65	63	60	63	60
Springfield, OH. . . . .	9	6	2	...	2	...
Tacoma, WA. . . . .	58	58	58	58	58	58
Tampa, FL. . . . .	23	22	22	8	22	8
Toledo, OH. . . . .	123	132	125	103	109	70
Warner Robbins, GA. . . . .	28	27	27	24	25	24
Warren OH. . . . .	12	11	11	7	10	7
Wilmington, DE. . . . .	107	114	114	107	112	107
Xenia, OH. . . . .	6	6	4	3	4	3
York, PA. . . . .	...	35	35	28	33	28
Youngstown, OH. . . . .	18	31	20	19	20	18
Totals	6,409	7,242	6,189	5,532	5,985	4,775

- <sup>a</sup> HUD has approved 107 localities to date. While Sunbury and Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania; Salem, Oregon; and Steubenville, Ohio are excluded from the preceding table, they are approved localities and have only been excluded because historically they have not requested nor received any Federal properties and no local activity has occurred. The localities of James City County, Virginia; Los Angeles County, California; and Trenton, New Jersey, are also excluded because they are newly approved and activity has not yet occurred.
- <sup>b</sup> The number of "Homesteaders Selected" exceeds the number of "HUD Properties Transferred to Cities" because localities are using locally owned and other Federal properties in their programs and some localities select alternate homesteaders for properties.
- <sup>c</sup> A number of localities with HUD-approved Urban Homesteading programs use locally acquired properties only, or HUD, or other Federal, and locally acquired properties. The last four columns of the table include all properties.