## CHESTER HARTMAN

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August 4, 1975

Dear Friends:

This is the first mailing of a new communications/action network of leftist planners in the US and Canada. At the first level, the idea simply is to put the few hundred North American "radical planners" in regular touch with one another, to share ideas and experiences, discuss their work and lives, develop some sense of community and mutual support. What it might develop into at a later phase is entirely open, although some possibilities will be discussed below. It is an idea I and others have talked about from time to time, and because I presently have the time, funds and initiative to begin the process I am undertaking the project, although I hope and expect that others will join me in directing this effort before long. Earlier this year I sent out a memo regarding the proposal to about two dozen friends and colleagues and got a very positive response, plus some useful ideas (some of which are excerpted below.) But because of serious family problems during the winter and spring I had to spend a good deal of time shuttling back and forth to New York and didn't feel able to begin the network and the commitment to ongoing work it will involve. I now feel I can put some energy into the project.

Let me outline some details and thoughts about the network proposal:

The basic character of the network publications/mailings: What I have in mind at this point is something very loose and informal. Materials and communications submitted by people in the network would be sent out in monthly or bimonthly packets. Ideally, most of the material would be submitted in a form where it could merely be reproduced and included in the packet. (For financial and ideological reasons, there will be no secretarial-type assistance, so copy should be submitted in good, reproducible form, single-spaced to save space.) I hope writing style will be kept as informal as possible. I hope also to have help from a few people in the Bay Area with the mechanics of mailings and other aspects of running the network.

Composition of the network: The present list (enclosed) consists of about 320 names. These have been assembled from the following sources: my own personal contacts; suggestions from the two dozen people who received the original memo; a culling from the mailing/membership list of Planners for Equal Opportunity, a New York-based group of left-liberal planners formed in the mid-60s, which still exists albeit in somewhat dormant condition (communications to PEO can be addressed to 17 Murray St., NYC 10007); responses to notices I placed in recent issues of Social Policy and Working Papers for a New Society; and selected names of attendees at the recent "Marxism and the Metropolis" conference in NYC (based on a brief statement of work and interests called for on the conference sign-up sheet; since I may well have omitted attendees who should be in the network, either because I mistinerpreted their statement or they failed to include one, persons who attended that conference and think other attendees ought to be added should let me know.)

Please think through your own friends, colleagues, contacts and let me know of anyone who should be added to the list (particularly students and recent graduates of planning and related programs, as the present list is quite weak there.) As you can see, the number of Canadian names is quite limited, and one important function of the network could be to increase the all too infrequent communication between Canadian and US urbanists. (The question of non-North American particination in the network is left open for the moment. I'd be interested in people's views on this, suggestions of names, etc. Obviously, the cost factor enters here, as airmail postage of large packets get expensive.) Also, if you have information on how to reach any of the persons whose current addresses I don't have, let me know. In the next mailing I will include an updated list of names with full addresses. I would also like to put next to each name a brief description of your work and interests, so try to get something along those lines back to me. If you do not wish to remain in the network, I'd appreciate your dropping me a note to that effect, as it will save future work and postage. The network I have in mind is an active rather than passive one; if you do not communicate with me and the rest of the network in some way, your name probably will be dropped after a while.

About the kinds of people on the list and criteria for being in the network: Cbviously, this is a problem -- what is "radical"?, what is "planner"? I don't have any good working definition of either (if any of you would like to try, please do.) The network might be set up so as to be quite homogeneous politically, and some people (Dave Ranney, for example) have suggested that -- that we have an explicit socialist perspective, principles of unity, etc. Others, like Linda Davidoff, feel a restrictive label and definition will cut us off from important progressive political currents (she has been working, with some success, within the left wing of the Democratic Party, which she feels is now ready to put explicitly socialist proposals into the 1976 party platform and send a bloc of delegates advocating these planks to the convention.) Herb Gans comments that "groups which organize on an ideological principle become cultish too often and start fighting the non-believers."

My own view is that an overly restrictive policy is not wise, and above all it would be almost impossible to implement. How to know anything about people who write in and ask to be in the network? How to reject people? I would definitely like to see our network be somewhat more to the left than the amorphous "liberal" and "progressive" types that PEO tended to attract (that is the reason the PEO people and I pared their 600-name list down to about 100 names.) I favor having a clear radical perspective and identity, enough homogeneity that people people can feel comfortable talking with one another. Separation of socialists from others can occur around projects and other activities among people in the network.

As far as what a "planner" is, that's even more difficult to define or grapple with. Clearly, having a planning degree is far too narrow (and mistaken) a criterion. On the other hand, I think we will lose an important sense of identity and cohesion if anyone interested in urban problems and cities becomes part of the network. I have applied somewhat intuitive criteria up to this point. Fran Piven feels the self-definition question is very important: "If we're not URPE and we're not the Socialist Sociologists and not a dozen other groups, then we must be planners, and maybe it's on what that means that we should hinge the definition. We could either focus on government policies, particularly domestic policies, and thus define planning broadly; or we could even go back to the things city planners usually do, and make that the basis of our self-definition. Either way seems o.k. to me, and either way would help us decide who we are and

why we're talking to each other." One important issue is whether the network ought to expand to include organizers. Pat Morrissy comments: "You/We ought to reach organizers working in housing and development, particularly if we are talking about action. Strictly 'professional' organizations turn me off somewhat."

Obviously, both issues -- what is a "radical", what is a "planner" -- could benefit from some discussion among ourselves, and I hope you'll contribute your thoughts on the subject.

Name: We ought to have a name, of course. I asked recipients of the original memo to come with ideas, but none of the suggestions really grabbed me; nor was I able to think of a good one. For the time being, I'd like to call us the Network of Radical Urbanists, a title David Gurin inferentially suggested. He wrote me: "I never liked the term 'city planner' because I could never recognize any special discipline, anything like an architectural or medical discipline. I prefer 'urbanist' (which the French use), meaning someone who studies cities intensely and then applies the knowledge won in the process to the solution of urban problems ... The idea that there is salvation in the planned city, as opposed to the so-called unplanned city, has proven terribly misleading. As we know, the relevant question is who does the planning and in whose interests, the ruling class or the people as a whole." Anyway, we should have a good, snappy but very clear name -- a bottle of good California (UFW-picked) wine for a winning Mea (to be picked up on your next trip to SF.)

Content of network communications: What I have in mind is a pot-pourri of work-related political and personal reporting to and sharing with each other. Among the areas that might be covered are:

- Local city, area or neighborhood reports. What comes to mind is something like the New Yorker's "Letter from \_\_\_ " -- a description by someone who lives and works there of what's going on in Minneapolis (Eugene, Toronto, etc.) in the way of relevant planning activities and struggles, political activism, the local political scene, community work, etc.
- Case-histories of specific struggles (renewal, institutional expansion, tenant organizing, highways, etc.), defeats as well as victories, and what was learned about how to plan, counter-plan, fight and organize.
- References to or short reviews/reports of articles, books, reports, etc. (including your own) that might be of interest to others in the network. (Hard to find items might be made available in reprint form.) We might try to get such reviews printed elsewhere as well, to turn others on to readings they might not otherwise see.
- -Reports on developments, problems, innovations in the field of planning education. Critiques, case-studies, recommendations for change in how planners and related types get educated and mis-educated would be highly useful, as would reports and critiques on what is going on the way of university-based research. Dave Ranney notes that a major curriculum change he fought (unsuccessfully) at the Univ. of Iowa "represents a real reactionary trend in the field toward greater 'professionalism', which if widespread enough could produce a new wave of functionaries who see their job as serving the bourgeois state and making it run more efficiently. We might try to find out systematically what is going on and do some sort of analysis of the social forces giving rise to the most current developments in the profession and some suggestions on how best to combat that."

- Jobs and consulting gigs: We should be able to act as a job information service, to place people in the network in good job openings, facilitate geographical moves, etc.
- Personal discussions and statements on how we are relating, or failing to relate, our professional and personal lives to our politics. How can we find ways to be both radicals and professionals in our society? (Bob Heifetz has dusted off an old paper Barbara and Al Haber wrote following the 1967 Ann Arbor Conference on Radicals in the Professions, called "Getting By With a Little Help From Our Friends", which has some useful discussion of this issue -- it's 18 pp., and I'll be glad to make a copy for you if you send \$1 for xeroxing.) People ought to be able to respond constructively to such communications within the context of the network and create a dialogue on the issues raised.
- Analysis and reporting of interesting, important or dangerous legislation at the national or local level. Progressive local ordinances in particular (such as Berkeley's Neighborhood Preservation Ordinance) ought to be reported widely, to facilitate replication elsewhere.
- More formal articles: While I think it is premature to start a journal, there ought to be room to use the network for publication and dissemination of articles that people either cannot get published elsewhere or would like to publish for the network readership.

Finances: I was able to get a \$2500 grant (from W.H. and Carol Bernstein Ferry, who until recently ran the DJB Foundation) to pay for the expenses of the network. It's hard to say what mailing and reproduction costs will be at the point, since I don't know the eventual size of the network or the communication packets, but I suspect that the \$2500 might carry us through a year's expenses. I'd like to avoid subscriptions and want to send the mailings out without charge. But I also will strongly stress voluntary contributions, so that we can insure continued viability of the network past that time and growth in possibly new directions. The network will have to be self-sustaining. So either now or sometime during the coming year I would like to encourage you to send \$5, \$10 or more (checks made out to \*Planners' Newsletter") to support the network.

Future transformations of the network: Several people have suggested that we go beyond a network, to create an organization and a journal. Morris Zeitlin feels that "creating a progressive planning journal ought to be the <u>least</u> we could do. To do more, we will probably need to band together into some kind of progressive planners' society, institute or union." This may evolve. At the moment I think it best to start modestly. I am committed to contributing my time for about a year to make this work. By that time -- sooner, if people want to -- we ought to have some discussions and decisions about what other directions to move into, how to restructure the process, bring new people in, etc. There clearly is need for a good radical publication in the urban planning field and a more formal and sustained organization than a network can provide. Again, your thoughts on how and when to develop this should be brought out. Everything will happen, if it happens, only through the energy of the people in the network.

We should of course seek out opportunities to come together in person over the next year -- at national conferences (AIP, etc.) and regional gatherings (West Coast Socialist Social Science Conference, e.g.) And once the full list of network names and addresses is circulated, people in a given city or metropolitann area might want to bring together others in that area for meetings and organization of activities. Pat Morrissy of Shelterforce (see below) feels strongly

that "a national conference is a must ... A national conference of organizers has been on the back of our minds for a while. It would probably be sponsored by Shelterforce, the National Lawyers Guild, and the Essex County Housing Co-altion... Maybe we could collaborate on a conference." Peter Marcuse feels that, while he supports the network notion, "the opportunity to get together and share experiences and debate ideas would be significantly more fruitful, however, than a newsletter, and it would seem to me not to be too difficult to do, at least on a regional basis."

Relations with other radical organizations, professional caucuses, etc: The network can become a way in which we communicate with other radical community and professional groups, and they with us, to share information, plan joint projects, etc. I am trying to put together a list of such groups and newsletters with whom we should be in contact. Please send me any contacts or information you have.

Beyond communicating with each other, I think the network should shortly develop an action component. Most of this will necessarily be local, but we can think in national terms as well. Among the possibilities are:

- Developing a service function to assist organizations in need of professional help. This can range from standard advocacy planning activities to studies and report-writing.
- Preparing and disseminating our own studies and reports on local and national issues.
- Preparing articles for publication in other journals and periodicals (including newspapers) on current issues, legislation, etc.
- Organizing radical presentations at "straight" meetings and conventions, counter-conventions, etc.
- Dave Ranney suggests that we could serve as a "resource bank relating to activities of socialist political collectives doing organizing work around planning-related issues, many of which lack understanding of the basic social forces involved and some of the technicalities that come up. We might prepare resource material packets on issues like community development monies for use by local groups planning actions in that area."
- David Gurin suggests monitoring use of federal legislation as it comes down -- how, for example, are localities spending new federal transportation money? how will they respond to any new federal land use legislation?

In some ways the Union of Radical Political Economists provides a model for what I'm trying to initiate, although at a somewhat more modest level for the present. URPE, through its conferences, publications and projects, has shaped the energies of radical economists in the country and created a unified, supportive force for them. (The model should not be pressed too far, however; URPE is more university-oriented than our network would be, planning is not as large or well defined a profession or discipline, and has, as Herb Gans points out, less homogeneity in interests, training and functions.) But a successful network can at a minimum help to end the isolation many of us feel in our professional work. It could help crystallize radical North American planners into a coherent body, capable of taking unified political action and assisting the

political and organizing efforts of others.

A couple of related doings you all might be interested in:

- A new national housing newspaper, Shelterforce, is being put out by a group of organizers and community workers, assisted by the National Lawyers Guild. The collective is "committed to the development of strategies for tenants and housing activists around the country. We are attempting to draw housing movement people together, providing a forum and an impetus for a stronger national movement." They've put out two issues so far, both of which look very good. Their address is: The Shelterforce Collective, 31 Chestnut St., East Orange, N.J. 67018.
- In New York City a socialist housing action group, called Homefront, has been formed. For information and their good pamphlet "Profits Are Destroying Our Homes", write Homefront, Box 269, Stuyvesant Station, NYC 10009.
- On the West Coast a proposal for a regional organization "Radicals in the Technocracy" is being circulated (it came out of the May, 1975 W. Coast Social-ist Social Science Conference.) For further information, write Richard Applebaum, Dept. of Sociology, Univ. of California Santa Barbara 93106.

That's ity folks. The ball is now in your collective and individual courts. Whether the network idea "takes" is totally up to you. If you want to communicate with others, hear what others are doing, 360 Elizabeth St. is the place to write. Submit anything you want. I'm leaving at the end of this week for a month in Vermont and the Boston area. When I return on September 6 I trust the mailbox will be crammed full of responses and contributions. If the material is there, I would plan to send the next mailing out around the middle of September.

Sincerely,

Chester Hartman

## NETWORK OF RADICAL URBANISTS

Emily Achtenberg, Cambridge
Peter Abeles, NYC
Tom Angotti, Rome
Natalie Albert, NYC
Michael Abeloff, NYC
Donald Ardell, St. Paul
Dean Armstrong, E. Lansing
Esta Armstrong, NYC
Sherry Arnstein, Wash.
Carl Anthony, Berkeley
John Atlas, E. Orange
Pat Ashton, E. Lansing
Pat Anderson, Seattle

Barbara Beelar, Boston Rachel Bratt, Princeton (Mass.) M. Joseph Baker, Quebec Hans Blumenfeld, Toronto Conn Bloomfield, NYC Robb Burlage, NYC Arthur Bassin, Chicago Bob Bogen, Mt Kisco Jewel Bachrach, NYC Rita Barrish, NYC Ben Bell, L.I. City Bernard Berkowitz, Baltimore Susan Breslin, NYC Carl Byers, NYC Tom Benson, Trenton Leroy Bowser, NYC Eve Bach, Oakland Winifred Breines, Scarsdale Ruth Beinart, NYC Ellen P. Berkeley, NYC R. Stephen Browning, Wash. Peter Barnes, S.F. William Burton, Wilmington (NC) Jeff Baloutine, Austin Howell Baum, Baltimore Bob Beauregard, New Brunswick Robert Burns, Ithaca Christine Boyer, Cambridge Jay Bitkower, NYC Jacqueline Bernard, NYC Karen Ball, Belmont Dick Bellman, NYC

Jim Carras, Boston
Melvin Charney, Quebec
Steve Carr, Cambridge
Elaine Carter, NYC
Robert Call, NYC
Bernard Choden, St. Louis
Eli Comay, Toronto

Tina Calabia, NYC
PaulaCaplan, NYC
James Cleaveland, NYC
Carla Cohen, Washington
Spurgeon Cameron, Raleigh
Alice Cunningham, Berkeley
Daniel Carlson, Seattle
Rick Cohen, Rensselaerville
Fred Cooper, Jackson
Harriet Cohen, NYC

Linda/Paul Davidoff, Larchmont Rosalyn Diamond, NYC Robert Dennis, Dillsburg (Pa) Rosalyn Doggett, Washington John DeBoer, NYC Charles/Linda Deknatel, New Orleans

John Denton, Berkeley
Almuth David, NYC
Paul deBrul, NYC
Cushing/Louis Dolbeare, Philadelphia
Leonard Duhl, Berkeley
Cathy Donaher, Cambridge
William Doebele, Newton

Louise Elving, Cambridge
Matt Edel, NYC
Paula Echevarria, Washington
John Edward, NYC
Robert Eidus, Raleigh
Marshall England, NYC
Richard Eisner, Lawrence (Kans)
Edith Ericson, Iowa City

Jay Farbstein, San Luis Obispo Dan Feshbach, S.F. Vincent Ferrandino, Elmsford (NY) Marie Fielder, Berkeley Evelyn Frankford, NYC Michael Fish, Quebec Michael Fainstat, Montreal Jill Feblowitz, Cambridge Ellen Feingold, Cambridge Carol/W.H. Ferry, Scarsdale June Fields, NYC Edwin Finder, NYC James Friedlander, NYC Marcia Feld, Newton Ruth Friedlander, San Jose Bernard Frieden, Cambridge Eugene Feingold, Ann Arbor Norman Forer, Lawrence (Kans) Larry Florin, Purchase

Alan Gartner, NYC Ken Geiser, Boston Justin Gray, Cambridge David Gurin, NYC Tom Gale, NYC Robert Goodman, Cambridge Herbert Gans, NYC Ann Gordon, Cambridge Wade Greene, Ithaca Walter Gaby, S.F. William Giezentanner, Ithaca J.A. Gray, Philadelphia G.S. Gatter, S.F. Frances Goldin, NYC H.W. Grifalconi, Kingston (RI) Edward Gold, Purchase Martin Gellen, Berkeley

David Hunter, NYC
Jerry Horovitz, S.F.
Jill Hamberg, NYC
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Allan Heskin, Berkeley
Ernest Hacker, NYC
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Morton Hoppenseld, Columbia (Md)
Clifford Ham, Pittsburgh
Britton Harris, Philadelphia
Merk Heyman, Long Beach (NY)
Chester Hartman, S.F.
Rob Hollister, Cambridge
Leroy Higginbotham, L.A.
Rich Hill, E. Lansing

David Hulchanski, Toronto

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Alex Kowaluk, Montreal
Robert Keaton, Montreal
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Ed Kirshner, Oakland
Dennis Keating, Oakland
Charles Kaswan, NYC
Rita Kaunitz, Westport
Mark Kawasaki, Seattle
Ricki Kramer, NYC
Alan Kravitz, Nyack
Rob Kessler, Oakland
Constantine Karalis, Cambridge
Judy Kossy, NYC
Rob Kelsey, Newton
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Margaret Levi, Seattle Lewis Lubka, Fargo Josh Lichterman, Berkeley Richard Lopez, Boulder Pedro Lonez, NYC M. Lustig, Phialdelphia Kevin Lynch, Watertown (Mass) Peggy Latimer, NYC Ellen Lurie, NYC Leo Lillard, Roper (NC) Tunney Lee, Newton Donald Lenz, Madison Florence Ladd, Cambridge Karl Linn, Louisville Barbara Leonhardt, Toronto Jackie Leavitt, NYC Tom Lacey, Floral Park

Peter Marcuse, NYC Marilyn Montenegro, LA Anshel Melamed, Montreal Nick auf der Maur, Montreal Pat McGuigan, Boston David Multack, Sacramento Lewis Mumford, Amenia John Mollenkopf, S.F. Elizabeth MacKintosh, NYC D.G. Millstein, Rye Robert McCabe, Cincinnati Jack Minnis, Atlanta Sho Maruyama, Philadelphia Albert Mayer, NYC Wayne McCabe, Edison (NJ) Jonathan Merrill, NYC Roger Montgomery, Berkeley Roger Mills, Eugene Patrick Morrissy, E. Orange Jon Mills-Erickson, Eugene W. Michael Muller, Toronto Sean MacDonald, NYC Ann Meyerson, NYC Geraldine McNerry, NYC Philip Morrison, Toronto

Carl Ness, S.F.
Arden Neisser, Ithaca
Thomas Nutt, Cambridge
Florence Guild Nixon, NYC
Paul Niebanck, Santa Cruz
Roy Newsome, Harrisburg

Felix Obinani, NYC Rai Okamoto, S.F. Jay Ostrower, Boston Janice Pearlman, Berkeley
Lu Pearman, Minneapolis
Partisan Planning, NYC
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Kenneth Patchen, Wheaton (III)
Yanni Pyriotis, Athens
Lisa Peattie, Newton
Jon Pynoos, Cambridge
John Passerello, Sacramento
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Dave Ranney, Chicago Idrian Resnick, New Haven K.W. James Rochow, Harrisburg Jan Reiner, St. Petersburg Higdon Roberts, Birmingham Yale Rabin, Philadelphia Sam Reisbord, L.A. Shouveri Roweis, Toronto Thomas Reiner, Philadelphia Alan Rabinowitz, Seattle George Raymond, Briarcliff Manor Judith Rabb, Annandale (NJ) Matthew Rudikoff, Poughkeepsie Ira Robinson, Calgary Brian Ruonavaara, NYC Mimi Rosenberg, NYC Steve Rosenheck, NYC Ed Rogowsky, NYC

Andrew Sun, Berkeley Derek Shearer, Santa Monica Jerry Seelig, Chicago Dick Schoech, Columbus Alvin Schorr, NYC Bill Siembieda, San Diego John Sewell, Toronto Michael Stone, Boston Mania Seferi, Watertown (Mass) Carl Sussman, Belmont Ron Shiffman, NYC Elliot Sclar, Waltham Moreland Smith, Atlanta Jeffrey Swain, Rochester Jac Smit, NYC Harvey Schultz, NYC Harry Schwartz, NYC David Stoloff, Knoxville A, Shapiro, NYC Shirley Siegel, NYC Hank Sirlin, NYC Kenneth Simmons, Oakland Charles Shain, Berkeley Michael Sherman, Boston William Shapiro, S.F. Les Shipnuck, Oakland

Susan Sternberg, Flushing Michael Sorkin, NYC Priscilla Salant, Tuscon Teresa Shelley, NYC Tony Schuman, NYC Barbara Schlapp, NYC

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Ed Teicher, Santa Cruz
Bill Toner, Chicago
Louise Taylor, Syracuse
Walter Thabit, NYC
Harold Taubin, Philadelphia
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Charles Turner, S.F.
Nicolas Tountas, Ithaca
Renee Toback, Iowa City

Urban Planning Aid, Cambridge Fred Utevsky, Seattle Jorge Ugaz, NYC

Randy Vereen, Chicago Julio Vivas, Poughkeepsie James Varner, Plainfield

Carol Williams, Cotati Jan Wampler, Boston Elaine Werby, Brookline Mark Winograd, S.F. Marc Webb, Waltham Louis Wexler, NYC Richard Wengraf, Delmar (NY) Robert Weinreb, NYC Katherine Wells, NYC Joyce Whitley, Cleveland Ronald Wilson, Somervile (NJ) Hal Winslow, NYC Stanley Winters, Montclair Al Wroblewski, Minneapolis Harold Waitzkin, Palo Alto Woody Widrow, E. Orange Morris Zeitlin, NYC Jeff Zornitsky, Boston

## Persons whose addresses I need:

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David Malamud