

#10, Sept. 21, 1977

Dear Network:

Sorry for the slight delay in getting out this mailing. In part, it was the heavy work involved in redoing the membership listing (most ably coordinated by Jerry Horovitz and Anthony Bernheim with assistance from Margie Ortiz and Alex Angelo), in part my own involvement in the International Hotel issue, one of the major local turf battles the country has seen in a long time. Many of you may have seen newspaper or T.V. accounts of the actual eviction beginning 3 a.m. on Aug. 4, when 400 cops and sheriff's deputies broke through some 2,000 supporters who had formed a human barricade around the Hotel to carry out the eviction of 55 elderly Filipino and Chinese people. It was a very heavy event. I've done up a description of the struggle, its gains as well as losses (attached), in part because it's been so important here (people should feel free to circulate it if they wish), in part to encourage more people in the Network to write up in greater detail local issues and struggles they are involved in or know about. While the issue of whether a radical planning journal can or should emanate from the Network still is pretty much unresolved, some middle-ground of mini-reports seems like a useful addition to Network mailings. I'd therefore very much like to encourage all of you to write up interesting and instructive experiences of your own; they don't have to be long or polished, just informative and thoughtful.

Two further I-Hotel items: I'm interested in getting leads into or information about various land-use or other confrontational people's struggles, elsewhere in the country or in other countries—victories as well as defeats. I think it would be useful to put together an anthology of case-studies, which among other things looks at tactics and strategies. I can think of about a dozen interesting cases, but I'm sure there are lots I'm unfamiliar with (particularly in other countries). So any information would be appreciated.

The second request has to do with our "liberal" sheriff, Richard Hongisto. He has developed a national reputation and is something of a cultural hero to parts of the left, because of his views on criminal justice reform and other matters. While some of this is deserved, he really showed his true colors on the I-Hotel eviction. Initially he refused to evict, even was sentenced to 5 days in jail for contempt of court. But in the end he not only came down on the side of property, but did so in such a vicious, sensationalistic way as to disgust just about every leftist in the city. Photos of him personally sledgehammering in doors, dressed in his dapper turtleneck, were all over the papers. Writing in the Aug. 10, 1977 *SF Journal* (an Asian community paper), *SF Human Rights Comm.* staff member David Prowler (a Network member), who was an official observer to the eviction, noted: "Of the thousands of people I saw that night, he alone seemed to be enjoying himself: posing with his sledgehammer, basking in the television lights, joking with the press." Anyway, many of us in SF want to end the left's infatuation with Hongisto and are committed to following him around at his various public appearances to make sure the real Richard/Hongisto is made known. A radical gay group in SF (Hongisto's largest political support has been in the gay community) picketed his home two days after the eviction, and we showed up at an Aug. 23 anti-death-penalty rally at San Quentin, where Hongisto was to appear along with such people as Joan Baez and Mimi Farina, to hold up posters showing Richard and His Sledgehammer. (He got advance word and was a "no show.") My request: if any of you hear of events where Hongisto is speaking (he does lots of travelling across the US), would you let me know, with as much advance notice as possible, so we can try to make some arrangements for leaf-letting the event.

Some brief reports on the regions: **BOSTON NETWORK** held a big picnic/party at Jamaica Pond on Aug. 2. Then a large contingent of them went up to the Maine farmlands on the Aug. 13-14 weekend for gathering around the wedding of Barbara Beelar and Ken Geisar of the Network. Big fall meeting is planned.

MIDWEST AND NYC NETWORKS both are planning fall meetings. Contact for former is Barry Checkoway, Dept. of Urban Planning, Univ. of Illinois, Urbana; for latter Bruce Dale/Tony Schuman, 56 W. 22 St. NYC 10010.

A LATE NEWS FLASH from Ann Waterhouse, for all Midwesterners: "We are planning a MW Planners' Network Conference for October 21-23 in Madison, Wisconsin. We will have a keynote speaker on Friday evening and five topic workshops with resource persons on Saturday. Sessions will include tenant/landlord relations, rent control, cooperative housing conversion; CDCs, community economic development, banking; Citizen Participation, city wide organizing; neighborhood organizing; and alternative energy. On Sunday we hope to get a direction for the Network in the Midwest. You could use Rich Gross' numbers ([608] 262-6869 or 257-6410) or mine ([612] 336-3007 or 376-1092) for contact people. Rich will be securing housing in Madison for all interested in attending."

BAY AREA NETWORK: Technical assistance wing produced a good report (available on request) on the potential impact of the city's Rehabilitation Assistance Program on the Tenderloin area downtown, and is completing a housing guidebook for community groups. The Network also served to bring together a group of un- and underemployed members to prepare a proposal-bid on a small rental housing discrimination contract for a fair housing group on the Peninsula; results will be reported in next newsletter.

AIP: I'm told the AIP convention is in October in Kansas City. Network people attending might want to take the opportunity to pull together an informal social gathering/meeting. Since we're not going to have another mailing before then, anyone with the initiative should just do it, by posting a notice. (If it happens, we'd like to receive some kind of report, for inclusion in the next newsletter.) As this newsletter was going to press, I got a note from Lew Lubka, suggesting the Network do something programmatic at Kansas City. I'm going to take the liberty of putting forth Lew's name as the central contact for others going to AIP who would like to coordinate some kind of meeting (he's at the Grad. Prog. in Community and Regional Planning, ND St. U., Box 5673 St. Univ. Sta., Fargo ND 58102).

DISPLACEMENT/RELOCATION: Gloria Cousar of the Office of the Secretary, HUD, is working on the question of government responsibility for the effects of displacement and relocation activities, with a view to modifying program activities and developing new forms of protection for displacees. "Case studies (on a limited version), such as the International Hotel incident, will be reviewed, along with local (model) situations that have attempted to act responsibly on the issue. If through your network contacts you can identify other such examples, we would appreciate guidance." People with relevant studies, information, case-histories, etc. should contact Gloria at Rm. 10141, HUD, Washington 20410.

PROGRESSIVE SCIENTISTS: For those scientists in our membership, a publication of Science for the People may be of interest. It's a listing titled "Periodicals That Progressive Scientists Should Know About." The listing is a project of the Tallahassee Science for the People group (c/o Progressive Technology Co., PO Box 20049, Tallahassee, Fla. 32304.)

DOING IT! is a year-old bimonthly "magazine of practical alternatives for humanizing city life." It reports on what many city people throughout the country are doing to simplify their lives, live more naturally, and revive the sense of community in their neighborhoods. Subs are \$10/year, sample copy \$2, from Box 303, Worthington Ohio 43085. They're also compiling a directory of formal and informal educational settings where people can learn concepts and skills needed to work in community organizing, alternative schools, consumer and other cooperatives, appropriate technology enterprises and other alternatives to giant technologies, bureaucracies and institutionalized human services. Anyone with information to contribute should contact JaquesKaswan at the above address.

LA: Tom Thomassen (121 S. 15th St., San Jose CA 95112) is interested in doing a history of Los Angeles and "in developing a model or sketch of the development of the newer 'Southern rim' cities like LA, Houston, Dallas and even San Jose—more or less products of the 20th century, lacking geographical reasons for existence or any kind of community or center . . . My second reason for interest in LA, etc, is in order to understand the US power structure (not just the ruling class) more completely. For example, LA's dominant interests at the time of WWI into the 20s were oil, media, aircraft, agriculture, Pacific Rim trade, and auto related industrial products; most of these were started or dominated by NY-eastern financial groups, thus indicating a strong affinity of LA as perhaps a 'junior partner' to NYC. This is a very sketchy example, but I think a social-historical analysis of LA could provide many interesting clues to the makings and organization of the US ruling class . . . I would like to hear about any research or writing on LA."

WORKER-OWNERSHIP: Ed Bergman (Dept. of City & Reg. Plng., Univ. No. Carolina, Chapel Hill 27514) is doing a fall research seminar on "an employment retention strategy in labor market areas experiencing plant shutdowns, by transferring the ownership of a threatened firm to its workers." Five of his students have received a \$16,000 NSF grant to study a case of worker-ownership in Roxboro. They could use suggestions for topics, citations, people to contact.

GROWING WITHOUT SCHOOLING is a new newsletter John Holt is putting out. Sample issue (50 cents) from Holt Assoc., 308 Boylston St., Boston 02116.

PATRICK HARE (179 Allyn St., Suite 602, Hartford Conn. 06103) is involved in a revealing, disturbing and somewhat humorous controversy with *TAB*, the ASPO journal, regarding an ad he wanted to insert in their "employment wanted" section. Seems the tone and wording of his ad (which used such phrases as "hired gun for your suburbs," "experienced ghetto fighter," "attacking corporate relocation," and "suburbs need not apply") caused ASPO to reject the text because "we believe many members would be offended by the phrases." Write him if you're interested in copies of the correspondence.

RAINDANCE is a new quarterly publication of the Canadian Assn. of Planning Students. The first issue (April, 1977) contains Andy Melamed's keynote address to the Waterloo Planning Conference, "Who's Afraid of Citizen Participation: A Fable for Planners And Architects." Available from CAPS/ACEU Newsletter, Faculty of Environmental Studies, York Univ., 4700 Keele St., Downsview, Ont.

TENANTS UNITE is a new 65-page resource handbook published by the Natl. Lawyers Guild (S. Cal. Ch.) It's California (particularly LA) oriented and intended for organizers and members of community and tenant groups. Copies are available (\$1) from the NLG Housing Panel, 712 S. Grandview St., LA 90057.

"CDBG'S AND NEPA" is the title of a report recently prepared by Michael Kane, a staff member of the Council on Environmental Quality (722 Jackson Pl. NW, Washington 20006). HUD has agreed to make the changes the CEQ has recommended, and Kane has asked if interested Network members would review the proposed amendments to the existing regulations when they are published by HUD in the Federal Register for comment, which should be in a few months. Write Kane for further particulars.

JOBS (GOOD ONES BUT APPLY QUICKLY): "Barbara Beelar and the Center For The Study Of Public Policy just recently received funding to develop a learning project for public policy practitioners. The project will provide professional level, practice-oriented classes and workshops. Courses will be structured around: issues of social and economic change; issues of professionalism; and developing work skills. Networkistas have been involved in the planning and development of the project. In the future we hope to continue this close relationship with the Network by involving Networkistas both as facilitators and participants in the various learning activities.

Two positions are open on the project.

1) The Educational Planner, who will be responsible for overall program planning and development. We are looking for someone in this position who has a solid left political orientation and, hopefully, good connections in the Boston area.

2) The Instructional Designer who will be responsible for curriculum development, training of facilitators and coordination of all learning activities. In this position we would like someone with experience in non-traditional or community-based education.

Deadline for these positions: September 23, 1977 [given the late arrival of this newsletter, they might extend the deadline for Networkers who contact them right away.] For further information contact: Barbara Beelar, Center for the Study of Public Policy, 123 Mt. Auburn Street, Cambridge, Ma. 02138.

CDBG's: R. Andrew Parker (Urban & Reg. Studies, SUNY-Old Westbury, Box 210, Old Westbury, NY 11568) is completing his research on CDBG's in the Tri-State NY Region and "should have some results and recommendations concerning the equity aspects of Block Grants and their distribution within a few months." Anyone wanting to look at these should write him.

COMPUTERS AND SOCIAL SERVICES: Dick Schoech (1311 W. Lavender, Arlington TX 76013) writes: "I am surveying the US for innovative uses of computers in social service delivery systems. Anyone knowing where computers are being used creatively in delivering supportive social services should write or call me collect at 817-265-0459."

THE ABUSE OF POWER: The Permanent Government and the Fall of New York is the title of a new book Network member Paul DuBrul has written (with Jack Newfield): "I think most Networkers would find it interesting, wherever they are working, because it is the national urban strategy of corporate America as applied in the NY situation."

RADIOACTIVE SMOKE DETECTORS: Charles Warner (625 E. 32nd St. Minneapolis 55407) has sent in an article from the Aug. 1977 *Progressive*, "Caution: Smoke Detectors May Be Dangerous To Your Health" (McKinley Olson), which he thinks will interest Networkers: "The Minneapolis Housing Auth. is asking for \$800,000 from CD funds to put these radioactive detectors into all their 8000+ public housing units. It's probably happening elsewhere too. The City of Mpls. recently passed an ordinance requiring detectors in all units by 1981. The radioactive types are cheaper than photoelectric units and are therefore the most likely to be installed . . . People in a position to advise/pressure local agencies should make the potential dangers plainly apparent to decision-makers. Local PIRG's should be able to supply back-up data or testimony in areas where they're operating."

SEABROOK: Frank C. Miller (72-796 Pitahaya, Palm Desert CA 92260) has a half-hour videotape documentary of the May 30 Seabrook Anti-Nuclear Occupation available.

Rick Kibbey (David Comm. Dev. Corp., PO Box 51, David KY 41616) writes: "What I'm most interested in finding is basic planning and site development materials written so a person with an eighth grade education could read them. Something a little more comprehensive than the usual this-is-planning pamphlets put out by local planning agencies. One of the best I've seen and one I'd like to share is a document called *Building in the Wildlands of Maine*, done by the Maine Land Use Regulation Office. A simple yet thorough and readable review of how a regular citizen can apply good principles of site development."

BOSTON HOUSING AUTHORITY: Louise Elving writes: "I'm still working at the Office of the Court-Appointed Master in a major class action suit that public housing tenants in Boston filed and won against the Boston Housing Authority two years ago. We have just finished negotiating and have signed (as of June 1, 1977) a major Consent Decree with BHA. This Decree requires BHA to implement a three-year program of change that will alter, hopefully for the better, the procedures and policies in almost every one of BHA's departments. The Authority was willing to sign this Decree because the alternative was to have the tenants petition the Court to place BHA in general receivership. That petition would have led to a major legal battle between the Authority and the tenants.

The intent of the Decree is to improve housing services and living conditions for the 15,000 families who live in public housing in Boston. As someone who calls herself a planner for lack of a better term, it is intriguing to work in the midst of a law case whose objective is to improve one public service through the legal process. I'm not sure that the attempt will succeed, but it is a test of whether a public bureaucracy can be altered through legal action, or whether political action is the only way to change the performance of a slow, traditional, and often patronage-dominated public service."

More information and an overview of the Consent Decree are available from Louise at 46 Cottage St., Cambridge Mass 02139.

COMMUNITY NETWORKS (46 Morton Rd., Newton Mass 02159) is a fairly unique institution. From the description by Scott Bass: "We are also a network; we are engaged on a day-to-day basis in providing assistance to agencies and neighborhoods in building new skills and increasing their alternatives in responding to their own problems.

Our work is based on the inextricable link between action and research utilizing the pattern of history and experience as a guide. We are committed to providing local communities with new skills and information and allowing them an opportunity to win.

We have become highly specialized in accessing Federal, State, Local and Foundation monies for agencies to develop new programs (e.g. community based arts, consumer education, ethnic histories, etc.), assess and alter their existing institutional structures (e.g. school and courts—we have done a significant amount of work in schools in the area of institutional assessment and providing avenues for school practitioners to alter the day-to-day processes in schools), or helping through periods of transition or change (e.g. school crime, reduction of cultural isolation, allocation of limited resources). We rarely do daily consulting and build to long range relationships with organizations. Over the past year we have helped one of our poorer mid-sized cities procure close to one million dollars from outside sources. With that money often funded directly to the agency in need we build in work for ourselves but remain behind the scenes so that local people take the credit and develop new skills.

Two companies are used to promote ourselves. One is Community Networks, Inc. and the other is Centre Research Associates. Our knowledge of organizational operation is also turned inward and is reflected in how we are structured. We have no formal facility or physical structure and probably never will. Most of the people who work with us work out of their homes . . . many have children. There is a small office at the Garrett's (John, Pres., Susan, Vice-Pres.) home which serves as a nerve center. This allows us to maintain a painfully honest and respectable overhead for carrying out our work.

We hire no one for a job. What we do is broker individuals who have ideas and a genuine commitment to hard work with an agency of need and then build a bridge to find funding. Everyone wins: the committed person, the agency and community, and us as we are able to keep developing new work in areas of social change. As you well know, it can take a long time to find outside support and while the person is in transition developing their own work we can provide some daily work from our other projects to help financially. Many times people remain with a more secure job while building work with us (generally there is no money for development of work). By the way, we are quite encouraged about the possibilities for people to build meaningful work. There is so much genuine need.

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Over the years we have built an extensive network of scientists, artists, and practitioners from different disciplines. As a consequence, when we need a specific skill or a city requires a unique specialist we are often able to find that person."

COLUMBIA HEIGHTS (DC) COMMUNITY OWNERSHIP PROJECT: Mary Ellen Hombs (1345 Euclid St. NW, Wash. 20009) has sent in materials (which she'll send to others interested) on "the 7-year-old community that I have lived and worked in for 6 years, and our recent year-long and successful campaign to take a vacant, 40-room city-owned house and renovate it for a shelter for evicted families, of which there are about 2000 a year in DC, . . . and the neighborhood and trust that we have organized as a long-term answer to the speculator/developer v. tenant conflict that accompanies the back-to-the-city scheme.

Work is proceeding on the shelter. Since March we have cleared out 110 tons of debris, and the drawings for the interior have just been finished. A plumber and electrician have agreed to sign off on our work . . . The trust is in the process of interviewing some 65 applicants for its first 2 units of housing, and negotiating for another building for the elderly. Life in a trust house carries a monthly assessment of 25% of income for rent and utilities, a lifetime lease, and participation in a cooperative board. We are also working with the Institute for Local Self-Reliance to develop solar energy plans for these buildings."

FROM JOHN FRIEDMAN (School of Arch. & Planning, UCLA): "First, a doubt. Years ago, Harvey Perloff wrote a piece called 'How Shall We Train the Planners We Need?' This question is particularly acute today. Or, let me put it this way: how should the question be rephrased? Who is the 'we?' What is meant by training? How should degree-holding (certified) planners act in the world? Does the Network have any answers?

Some people might say that 'we' need fewer planners, not more. Do planners require a more critical conscience vis-a-vis society? If they develop such a conscience, can they continue to be planners? Is planning only a 9-5 job or a vocation?

We, at UCLA, don't have answers. We do ask the questions, though. We offer some new courses, seminars, etc. which are intended to develop a critical consciousness. We don't apologize for this, but we are aware of the risks.

Among the things we did earlier this year was an informal seminar on Basic Needs. Basic Needs approaches to planning are coming to be talked about more and more frequently in connection with overseas development. Yet it is by no means clear what they are, now they might be defined, and how to fit BN approaches with 'underdevelopment' via transnational enterprise. If anyone is interested in the subject, please write. We do have an annotated bibliography to send out. This is an essential start.

In the effort to get a more critical perspective on regional planning, Clyde Weaver and I started a seminar on The Evolution of Regional Planning Doctrines. We started with 1925, which was the date Lewis Mumford and Co. published the famous number of *Survey Graphic* which for the first time laid out a philosophy of regionalism for America. We take the story through the New Deal and into the post-war era, when regionalism died and functional-spatial planning rose triumphant. The most interesting part, however, is the radical changes which are now occurring in our thinking about 'development' and consequently about regional planning approaches as well. Call them Basic Needs, Another Development, Self-Reliant Development, Agropolis, Ecodevelopment . . . they do constitute a major alternative, it is being talked about increasingly at international gatherings, there is institutional support, and there is a conflict between this group and the establishment which continues to advocate several varieties of unequal development. Again, if Network people are interested to know more, they should write.

Finally, a word about social learning approaches. Several of us are engaged in rethinking planning in terms of social learning. One thrust has been epistemological. Those with an interest in that might want to become regular readers of *Theory and Society* which is a relatively new journal in sociology which carries important methodological articles from time to time. All I can say now is that planning ideology will have to be completely rethought in the next few years or so. The traditional forms of planning are no longer workable, at least they are not workable in the context of the new approaches to development."

NEIGHBORHOOD HOUSING MOVEMENTS: From Erica Pascal (ASPO, 1313 E. 60 St., Chicago 60637): "Could you please ask people in the next 'issue' for people who are working with neighborhood housing movements to contact me? (Not institutional things like NHS or CDCs, but community-based housing efforts in rehab., sweat equity, etc.) I'm trying to get ASPO to do some work in this area and would like to know what's going on."

From David Johnson (Chairman, Dept. of Urban & Reg. Plng., Ball St. Univ., Muncie, Ind. 47306): "We are developing here at Ball St. a new planning program and are working with community groups in inner-city areas in Indianapolis. I would be interested in hearing from Network members in Indiana who share similar interests."

"An Assessment of Newark 1967-1977": A reminder of the Oct. 1 conference, at NJ Inst. of Technology. Brochure and further information from Stanley Winters, NJIT, 323 High St. Newark 07102.

SANTA BARBARA RENT CONTROL: Linda Lillow (1114 Laguna St., SB Ca 93101) is active in a rent control initiative campaign and can provide things that might be useful to others considering doing similar initiatives in the future.

SOME NATL. TRAINING & INF. CTR. PUBLICATIONS that might be of interest (available from 121W. Superior St., Chicago 60610): **DYNAMICS OF ORGANIZING** (Shel Trapp, 1976) . . . features sections on Power Analysis, Strategy & Tactics, Developing an Issue Group, Coalition Organizing, Building Power and Victories, The Myth of the Organizer. (\$2)

NEIGHBORHOODS FIRST: FROM THE 70s INTO THE 80s (1977) . . . a review of community organizing drives throughout the country during the 70s and a projection of community organizing targets for the 80s. (\$3)

HOW TO USE THE HOME MORTGAGE DISCLOSURE ACT (1976) . . . explains the use of PL94-200 which requires financial institutions to disclose mortgage practices. A practical aid to prepare reinvestment strategies and halt redlining. (\$2 non-profit, \$4 for profit)

LENDING POLICIES EXPOSED: PRIME FACTOR IN NEIGHBORHOOD DECAY (1976) . . . expose of lending policies in Chicago through analysis of the Illinois State Disclosure Law and the Federal Home Mortgage Disclosure Act. (\$2)

THE AMERICAN NIGHTMARE: FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION (1976) . . . concise outline of the efforts by neighborhood groups to halt fast foreclosures of FHA insured mortgages and the efforts by National People's Action to win reform of HUD programs. (\$1)

DRAWING THE LINE ON ENERGY? (1977) . . . an analysis of the "utilities game" and of President Carter's proposed energy package. (\$2)

WILLIAM J. COHEN (342 Paper Mill Rd., Newark, Del.), who just has set up a private consultant practice after ten years of government service at state and local levels, writes: "It would be of great benefit to those of us who attempt to bring creativity and integrity to public service to have support from our planning associates. Perhaps the Network could support planners in government who speak out on critical community issues that may be contrary to pre-determined political conclusions." Cohen sent Howell Baum (who in Newsletter #9 requested information on planners' attitudes, values and practicing styles) information about one such case of political conflict he is familiar with; others interested in learning more about that should contact him.

Some general commentary about the kind of suggestion/request reprinted above: If Network people are interested in pursuing a particular idea or program, that's going to happen only through energies and organization that occur among Network members themselves. There's nothing at this end other than a few folk who process lots of mail, thereby creating potential. Anything beyond that happens when people interested in a particular issue make contact with one another directly, use the Network to

further that interest (via the Newsletter, direct contacts, work with the various regional nodes that exist) and advance someone's words and thoughts.

NETWORK ON CO-OPS AND SOCIAL CHANGE (602 Elmwood, Austin, TX 78705) is just getting started. "As we conceive of it, this network will be composed of co-op and community organizers who feel a need to develop a theoretical and complete understanding of what social changes we want and what co-ops have to do with them. We see the participants as both theorists and practitioners, or praxists.

As far as the initial operation of the network is concerned, we propose the following:

a. We in Austin will keep a current list of the participants. The list will consist of those that ask to be listed. It will include: name, address, and, optionally, areas of interest and activity.

b. We will mail the list to everyone in the network.

c. People will mail interesting stuff to Austin, which we will reproduce and send to the mailing list. Of course, individuals and groups may send things directly to the mailing list without going through Austin . . .

f. The Future. The Gung-Ho Collective will commit itself to operate as 'network central' for at least the next year. That should get it started. If it flies, and there is enough interest, we might want to try a conference and/or a journal. Other things we could do include building a bibliography and library on co-ops and social change that could be made available (for copy costs perhaps) to participants.

The social changes that we are seeking are those that give people more direct, democratic control over all institutions that affect their lives. We seek the abolition of capitalism, private property, racism, restrictive sex roles, and class privileges. (And this is not intended as mere rhetoric!) We are attempting to build an understanding of how co-ops can aid in the construction of a socialist society in this country, and if they can't what should we be doing? We should have a paper written within a few months which explains our *current* thinking in greater detail and which points the direction we are heading. We seek all input on the subject from anarchist to Marxist-Leninist to Co-operativist."

NATIVE AMERICANS IN URBAN AREAS: From Nancy West (904 NW 21st Ave., Apt. 205, Portland OR 97209): "I'm a planner working with an organization called the Urban Indian Center. We provide a range of social services (legal aid, employment counseling, health service. . .) for Native Americans in the Portland metropolitan area.

Over the past years, large numbers of Indian Americans have been migrating to Portland. This influx of Indians has happened so rapidly that no agency or person has a comprehensive 'picture' of the Indian community in the city. Formal estimates (the 1970 Census for example) count slightly over 4,000 Native Americans in the Portland SMSA; informal estimates (by our outreach workers and other individuals) suggest there may be anywhere from 10-15,000 Indians here.

Without a reliable data base, it's hard to derive effective programs. We'd like to move from a day-to-day 'crisis-intervention' approach to a planning process orientation. Our first step in this process is to conduct a needs assessment of the Portland Indian community. . . I'd like to put out a call to Network planners for any ideas and/or experiences in collecting data (and involving individuals) in urban Indian communities."

PLANNERS ROLLCALL: Amy Powell thinks Network people should know about this twice-monthly newsletter, published by Al Massoni (formerly on the AIP staff, who purchased the publication from AIP), with the help of several planning and law students. It's a legislative newsletter on trends and decisions in the federal government. Amy will be happy to send a complimentary issue to anyone in the Network (write her at Massoni Assoc., Suite 500B, 1730 Rhode Island Ave. NW, Washington 20036.)

ANTI-SPECULATION MEASURES: Several groups in SF are interested in developing legislation and other measures to counter housing speculation. Anyone with materials or leads should send them to me directly, as I'll be working closely with these groups.

ZONING "BONUSES" FOR LOW-INCOME AND SENIOR HOUSING: Mark Winogron (Director, Residential Zoning Study, SF Dept. of City Planning, 100 Larkin St., SF 94102) writes: "The entire city of San Francisco is in the process of being re-zoned in one fell swoop—new maps and a new ordinance. The prior ordinance was development-oriented and, in the eyes of many neighborhood activists, was leading to the demolition of sound, old Victorian cottages and the construction of out-of-scale apartment buildings which no one could afford, certainly not the poor and middle-class who were living in the 'run-down' cottages.

Thus the new maps are proposed to be largely a 'down-zoning'—that is, a reduction in allowable densities. That's a good goal in terms of neighborhood protection but we fear that it will cut deeply into the potential development of lower income and elderly housing. The scarcity of developable land here means that the cost of a vacant lot is astronomical; given the market demand, a developer of subsidized housing simply cannot out-bid a developer of market-rate housing, not if they must compete equally.

Because of our sensitivity to this need, and because the City's comprehensive Plan calls for the development of scattered-site lower income and elderly housing, we would like to add bonuses to our ordinance, specifically:

a) Doubling the allowable density for housing for senior citizens;

b) Reducing the parking requirement to 1/5 the normal requirement, for housing for senior citizens; and

c) Giving a 10% or 1 dwelling unit (whichever is greater) density bonus for the development of subsidized housing for lower income families.

There are obvious questions regarding the legality and administration of such provisions. We're not sure anyone's tried such density bonuses before. Does anyone out there have any experiences to relate which might benefit us in the public hearings necessary for adoption of this new zoning? Anyone tried this and succeeded? And failed?

We land use planners always joke that zoning ordinances are subservient to the market-place. This is obviously an attempt to change that, to get the housing we need while protecting existing neighborhoods.

Any suggestions or comments will be welcome."

COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURE RESEARCH ON HEALTH ISSUES: Bob Broedel of Tallahassee Science for the People (PO Box 20049, Tallahassee 32304) is working with a group trying to make their local hospital more responsive to the community, more democratically controlled, etc. They're looking for information about reference books, study guides, resource groups, reports of similar projects, etc.

David Hulchanski wants Network people to know about the following papers published by the Dept. of Urban & Regional Planning, Univ. of Toronto: "S.T. Roweis, *Urban Planning in Early and Late Capitalist Societies*. October, 1975. (\$3.00); S.T. Roweis and A.J. Scott, *The Urban Land Question*. October, 1976. (\$2.00); N. Hason, *The Emergence and Development of Zoning Controls in North American Municipalities: A Critical Analysis*. July, 1977. (\$2.50) A.J. Scott and S.T. Roweis, *Urban Planning in Theory and Practice: A Re-appraisal*. August, 1977. (\$2.50)

Katharine Coit (Inst. d'Anglais Charles V, 10 rue Charles V, Paris 75004 France) writes: "I am working on a research project in which I'm trying to analyze the way local movements can be a form of social regulation, i.e. a 'tool of the power structure', etc., using examples from several European countries and the US. I would welcome any recent examples or discussions that Network people might know of." She also adds: "I think it particularly useful to establish international links for planners and community groups. For instance, in May this year there was a 'Symposium on Community Action' held in Christiana, the 'Free City' of Copenhagen (a former military base that was squatted 5 years ago by a group—now 800 or so—of Danes). At the symposium about 40 representatives of different action groups in Europe exchanged their experiences and discussed strategy. Next year the symposium will probably be held in France, and I hope there will be some representation from American groups."

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ANTIOCH WEST GRAD. PROG. IN URBAN STUDIES PLANNING: Irwin Mussen, a Network member who directs this program, described as "an alternative to traditional city planning education," would like to bring the program to Networkers' attention. "Student-participants include active citizens, mid-career professionals and recent college graduates . . . The program combines academic learning with work experience. "Small seminars are led by professionals active in local community improvement activities. Emphasis is placed on community development, neighborhood conservation, housing, citizen participation, human/environmental research and design, public service programs, policy studies, program evaluation and community analysis. The philosophy and technology of 'listening to the people' is stressed as the basis of problem-solving."

Further information from Irwin at 1161 Mission St., SF 94103.

WILLIAM JAMES COLLEGE (Allendale, Mich.) has another program (undergraduate) that may interest Network members. According to Tony Bailecki, who just finished the planning program there: "William James is an alternative college allowing people the chance to obtain an undergraduate education in a manner they find suitable and still obtain skills necessary to function in several professional fields. Within the Urban & Environmental Studies Program is a Community & Regional Planning 'emphasis' . . . for any frustrated undergraduate or activist desiring to obtain skills in an open and creative environment. A revised planning curriculum will take place this coming year with an emphasis on advocacy planning at the neighborhood and community level. . . . The college is run by a council form of governance with students and faculty sharing in all decision-making. Each program has an equal student/faculty committee to determine program development, budgeting and faculty hiring. . . .

One project begun last year by planning students and inner-city neighborhood groups in Grand Rapids is the Prospect St. House. A city owned homestead house was taken over by the college and is presently being rehabilitated by neighborhood youths and students. The house will serve as a demonstration project for 'appropriate technology' concepts and as a neighborhood resource center by neighborhood groups in conjunction with advocacy work by students and community organizers dealing with numerous community issues. During the next year the neighborhood groups and students will work towards a neighborhood plan for revitalization desired by the community as opposed to the city's desire to abandon the area and move in new 'in town' projects. The center will also examine reinvestment strategies, self-managed localized industry, housing cooperatives and offer community orientated classes in rehabilitation and community organizing.

We would appreciate sharing correspondence as we try to build a resource file on community projects elsewhere in an effort to strengthen our own knowledge. Any correspondence can be sent to: Prospect St. House, 1061 Prospect St., Grand Rapids, Michigan 49507."

CATALYST, a new socialist journal of the social services, is just being launched. They're intending to publish their first issue this fall. "In articles on the political economy of the social services, we will seek to explain why these services are being cut back. In essays on radical practice, we will explore alternative approaches to casework, group work, and community organizing. We also want to print articles on the unionization of social service workers and struggles within agencies, on the ways in which the economic and political relationships of this society shape our personal and professional lives, and many other issues of consequence to ourselves, our clients, and what we hope will be a growing American left." They need ideas, manuscripts, money, names of potential subscribers. Address: 173 W. 78 St., Apt. 11-E, NYC 10024.

DOWNZONING FOR SURVIVAL is a study Walter Thabit has prepared for the Community Planning Board 6 in NYC. Copies from Walter at 17 Murray St. NYC 10007.

U-HAB's annual report on homesteading/self-help housing in NY is available from the Urban Homesteading Asst. Board, Cathedral House, 1047 Amsterdam Ave., NYC 10025 (enclose a buck for printing/ mailing).

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HOMEFRONT'S ABANDONMENT REPORT, two years in the making, should be ready sometime in Aug. or Sept., according to Nathan Weber, a member of that NYC group. Requests should be sent to him at 150 W. 21 St., NYC 10011.

ON HOUSING/RACISM LITIGATION: From James Loewen (Dept. of Sociology, Univ. Vermont, Burlington 05401): "Planners surely know of the infamous recent U.S. Supreme Court decision that gave Arlington Heights, Illinois, the right to exclude public or semi-public housing, and thus the right to remain almost all-white (*Village of Arlington Heights v. Metropolitan Housing Development Corp.*, 50 L.Ed. 2d 450, 1977).

But they may not know of an important limitation to *Arlington* to be found in the recent *en banc* decision of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in the case of *Henry J. Kirksey, et al. v. Board of Supervisors of Hinds County, Mississippi, et al.* (# 75-2212).

Anyone facing or considering litigation in this area (which relates to findings of racism in general, not just with regard to housing) should be aware of this important decision and of the reasoning about *Arlington* contained within the majority opinion.

The opinion also notes the role of social scientists' and planners' testimony, an important role for change that we sometimes slight."

ROGER MONTGOMERY on the "socialism issue:" "On the ever recurrent socialism issue which Tom Angotti raises following Mike Stone, much as I respect the arguments for bringing radical socialism out of the closet, I see no gain to Network to make that move now. There's an enormous educational job still to be done just to get planners to the point they can talk without cringing about socializing urban land, putting a floor under incomes, and guaranteeing jobs. To turn Network into an overtly socialist group at this juncture serves no great purpose. Those of us who feel comfortable with Marx and revolutionary socialism can read Tom in the *Guardian*, which we do.

Based on what I have observed in the last year or so about Network in No. Cal., it serves a very useful purpose in giving mutual support to those young planners who are just beginning to feel their way toward a critical view of the present world and their collaboration in it. I see no purpose to be served by making that first step harder."

More on The Debate (from Bill Tabb of the Queens Coll. Econ. Dept., about to move to the UC Berkeley Econ. Dept. for a year): "I don't think the issue is whether one is a socialist. The word, as Tom Angotti says, can mean anything. But defining what you mean is an endless and can be an abstract exercise (what is your position on the Sri Lanka split?) I think it more helpful for people to try and spell out what they think the political implications of their work is. How does it fit into a long term strategy for socialist transformation? Why these particular issues raised in this way? Coalitions with whom, around what, on what basis of unity toward what next steps, what further directions? I think strategic discussions of politics are more fruitful. I believe a new cohesion is emerging to replace the 60s sense of things but the changes go on unevenly and unreflected upon. Anyhow the mailings have been inspirational in conveying the incredible variety of things going on."

And yet more, from Steve McElfresh (Dept. of Psychology, Boston College, Chesnut Hill, Mass. 02167): "Re: the 'are-we-explicitly-political-and-if-so-under-what-banner' debate. It would seem to me that the issue of titling the group is secondary to a careful and conscious exploration of what it *means* to be socialist or Marxist or democratic or decentralist planners (I am not, by the way, assuming these are the same or even necessarily similar). If, for instance, we are talking about an association of planners who also are (incidentally) socialists, it is rather different from a group of socialists who actively implement their beliefs through their work, in this case planning. What would 'actively implement' mean? I don't know, but I would suggest that that is what ought to be explored. If some mutual understanding can be achieved, a 'banner' (or several of them!) will be self-evident."

From Russ Feldman: "In a recent newsletter Tom Angotti made a plea for a crystallization of the socialist basis for the Network. He sought a clarification of its orientation, whether it should be reformist or revolutionary socialism.

I am certain discussion on matters of this sort is helpful in developing one's individual conceptions. I fear, however, that a refinement of rhetorical stances is not in the best interest of the Network. There exists much to be done in the country and the world that we in the Network can involve ourselves in. We are linked by a desire to see change on behalf of the un- and under-represented. To separate those who might take up arms should the circumstances arise from those who aren't sure or might not will only reduce our numbers. A distillation of our perspective thus limits the resources of the Network, not expands them. By outlining situations we find ourselves in, by exploring alternatives and their implications, the membership strengthens each other as operatives in the world. This becomes a concrete contribution to ourselves and through us all, to society."

FROM THE SCOTTISH CONTINGENT: Cliff Hague, our lone Scottish Network member, says he would be very happy to act as a contact for Network members visiting Scotland. He works at the Dept. of Town & Country Planning, Heriot Watt Univ., Laurieston Pl., Edinburgh 3; home: 14, Dalhousie Terr., Edinburgh EH10 5NE, phone Edinburgh 447-5265. He also sends in the following: "We have a couple of things on the go over here. Two years ago a few of us started a group called RIG (Radical Institute Group), with the aim of raising the political consciousness of planners and democratizing the profession. We decided to run candidates in the Royal Town Planning Institute annual elections, and so far we have been modestly successful, so that now the Institute are trying to amend their constitution to make it more difficult for us to exert our influence. Obviously the story is a long one, and if you think that Americans would be interested in hearing it I could write it up more fully, if there is a journal that would take a descriptive and evaluative article on the subject.

Now the same core, plus others, have launched a body called the Conference of Socialist Planners. We drew 250 to an inaugural meeting in London in February, and our next regional meeting will be in Leeds in the fall. We have about 10 regional workshops going, and are aiming to produce a quarterly newsletter, and an annual volume of papers. The political composition thus far is 'broad left', though the issue of our relations with the Labour Party is problematic: some favour a very close association and involvement in national and local policy making groups of the party, while others see the Labour Party as an obstacle to the development of Socialism in the UK. I have taken the liberty of putting a small note about the Network in the first CSP newsletter, and I have arranged for a copy of that to be sent on to you. The letter from Michael Stone in Network No. 7 was interesting from the CSP perspective: we had no problems in labelling ourselves as Socialists, though there are some areas where CSP supporters are being pressured by the professional heads of their planning organizations, or by Conservative controlled councils, on the grounds that as local government officers they should be 'non-political.' As with RIG it is still early days, but I suggest that we try to keep exchanging newsletters at least.

Finally the staff and students of our Department produce a magazine with the unlikely name of "Zoo." It is really the only left planning magazine in the UK, and now sells about 500 copies nationally. I am sending you a copy of the latest issue by sea mail, in the hope that it might interest you. If you know of any college libraries that might be persuaded to take a subscription we would be interested to hear of them, and could then work out a price. The bulk of the magazine is written by undergraduate planning students, with a few articles by staff, or outside contributors."

(People who were active in attempts to radicalize AIP a few years ago might want to contact Hague, with a view to suggesting US journals that might be interested in publishing his account, or we might want to circulate that account within the Network to interested people; if anyone does contact him on this, please send me a copy of the letter, so I know who is following up

on it. On the Conf. of Socialist Planners: I learned about this while in England in May and have been trying to establish some more formal contacts with the group. It sounds like something we ought to stay in touch with, as a model to maybe move toward. Finally, on Zoo: I have received the copy Hague sent, and it looks like something people in the Network would be interested in, particularly libraries. As much as possible, we ought to be supporting publication efforts of this type, especially through whatever institutional resources we have.)

AMY COHEN, who is working as a housing and community development aide for Congressman Jonathan Bingham (the Bronx), sends the following request: "I will be working on writing some housing legislation and would like to develop a rehab program which is especially suited to areas of central cities which don't need massive redevelopment, but have some abandoned housing and much of the occupied housing is in need of rehabilitation. I would also like nonprofit community groups to have control over the rehab programs in their communities. If anyone has developed model legislation or has some ideas, I would appreciate hearing from them.

Also the Carter Administration has been soliciting comments on the reorganization of HUD. Since I have not yet had much experience with HUD I would appreciate some good examples of HUD procedures which are unnecessarily cumbersome. For example, 202 direct loans to build or rehab housing for the elderly have sec. 8 rent subsidies attached; however, each component is processed separately, although you can't get one without the other. The information can be sent to: Cong. Jonathan Bingham, 2488 Grand Concourse, Rm 326, Bronx NY 10458, Attn: Amy Cohen."

The new, updated Membership list contains some 1000 names, with biosketches wherever we had them. A state by state roster is also attached. And we'll also try to do an index of people by interests, to be sent out later. Let us know about any errors, revisions, etc., and we'll make the necessary changes. The entire mailing/filing system was revised (actually, created) in the course of producing the new list, and the whole mechanical aspect of the Network should go a lot easier now. Anthony Bernheim and Jerry Horovitz, have all our thanks. As a result of the red-Xing process (or, more accurately, of people failing to heed The Sign) we dropped over 200 people from the list. It's a process I have mixed feelings about, but basically the idea of keeping only those who express continued interest in being part of the Network seems to make sense. We get lots of new blood all the time, to compensate for the losses. *Planning*, the ASPO mag, did a brief but nice writeup of the Network. We've gotten several dozen inquiries as a result. We don't go out of our way much to make the Network known, which probably is okay, but that kind of heavy response from an article makes me realize how many people who ought to be in the Network have little chance of hearing about it. People in it should try as much as possible to let selected friends and colleagues know of its existence. Students are particularly welcome.

I'd like to list the people we've dropped, for the sole purpose of avoiding any inadvertant errors. Occasionally a letter to us doesn't arrive, occasionally our record system isn't all that perfect. The dropees of course by definition will not be seeing this list, but in case one of you knows one or more of them and feels they have been eliminated unjustly, please let them or us know, and we'll reinstate: Anne Anderson, Arne Aakre, Bob Allison, Pat Ashton, Claudio Arenas, Gary Askerooth, Tony Armstrong, Don Ardell, Mimi Abramovitz, Ibssa Ahmed, Samuel Alexander, Marge Ahrens, Jerry Bill, Barry Benepe, Frederic Bell, Paul Burke, William Burton, Anne Boxall, Eduardo Seda Bonilla, Rick Baer, Tridib/Frankee Banerjee, Ray Brady, Rob Burgess, Avrom Bendavid-Val, Paul Broches, Tom Benson, Rick Bohn, Leroy Bowser, Oleg Borisov-Morosov, Eugene Bober, RWG Bryant, Jorn Barnbrock, ~~Billie A. Bramhall~~, ~~Christopher Gates~~, Georgette Cottin-Euziol, Robert Crow, Chuck Combs, Ned Cherry, Roger Cumming, Alice Cunningham, Jane Clark, Rich Callum, A. Clark, Eli Comay, Eliot Coleman, John Denton, Anne Smith Denman, Jim Draper, David Dobreiner, Robert Don, Vikki DeStefano, Michael Ertel, Paula/Ned Echeverria, Clamore Eberle, Ruth Ellenbogen Flaxman, Al Flowers, Robert Fenning, Rocco Fazio, Sybil Firenetti, Michael Fish, Paul Falchi, Marie Fielder, Michael Fainstat, Mark Francis, Steve Friedman, June Fields, Gary Gumz, Kenn Griffith, Mauricio Gaston, Elias Gutierrez, Doug German, Henry Geiger, Marty Gellen, Sara Gould, David Hepinstall, Mike Hendler, Nancy Hammond, Paula Horan, Sanford Herrick, Wayne Hayes, Edwin Hanson, Denis Hommrich, Thom Heisel, Neil Hayman, Gary Held, J. Hussey, Brad Hodgins, Robert Higgenbotham, Carolyn Hock, Thomas Houris, WL Hoover, Bob Hewitt, Phil Harris, Henry Hightower, Leroy Higginbotham, Ruth Indeck, Steve Ishino, Mike Jacobs, Leo Jakobson, Vesna Juresko, Janet Johnstone, Sara James, Eugene Kramer, Alexander Kowaluk, Rikki Kramer, Charles Keil, Bill Karg, Reginald Kwok, Claire Keininger, David Kennedy, Atis Krigers, Karen Kelley, Scott Kirkpatrick, Pam Larson, Angeles Leira, Megan Lawrence, George Locker, Roger Lazoff, Michael Lugo, Roy Lay, Christiane Lindquist, Myreen Levenshon, Gary Lapoint, Pete McCommons, Jim McDowell, Dorothy Moore, Astrid Merget, Elliott Medrich, Mary Murtagh, Erika Morgan, Robert McCabe, Nancy McKee, Hal Meyerson, Ernest Martin, Alice Marquis, Ken Mar, Mira Marshall, Jim Morgan, Virginia Norman, Leslie Nickel, Jim Novosel, Gerardo Navas, Mark Northcross, Dennis O'Connor, Karen Ouzts, M. Price, People for Self-Management, R. Clay Petrey, Michael Padwee, Lu Pearman, Pamela Procuniar, Dave Posecki, Tom Pelham, Nancy Rudolph, Edward Russell Jr., Alberto Ramon, A. Rubinstein, Bonnie Roche, Roger Richman, Paul Rex, K.W. James Rochow, Higdon Roberts, Wendy Ritmeier, Jesse Reichek, Bruce Rubenstein, Gini Sherry, Kay Stewart, Priscilla Salant, Frank Schiller, Michael Sorkin, Michael Singer, Jean Safir, Alain Salomon, Howard Schwartz, Kenneth Simmons, Lauren Schere, Christopher Swan, Bill Strauss, Bob Sawyer, Laurie Schwartz, Gurbhag Singh, Harlan Smolin, Jamie Somes, Stephen Silverman, Hazel Singer, John Stern, Arlene Stuart, Norm Steinman, Harlyn Thompson, Bixley Townsend, Emanuel Tobier, Sheridan Tatsuno, Brunilda Torres-Nettleton, , Louise Taylor, Mike Vozick, Melissa Villanueva, Tom Vicaire, George Vernez, Julio Vivas, Harold Valderhaug, Ronald Wilson, WRL/Direct Action Comm, Larry Witzling, Nancy Wood, Peter Wollensack, Gail Williams, John Wagner, David Walls, Jeff Zornitsky, Libby Zimmerman.

Thanks to the following in getting out mailing #9: Jane Armbruster, Paul Berger, Martha Holstein, Jerry Horovitz, Rob Munson, Shelley Smith.

Til later,


Chester Hartman.

SAN FRANCISCO'S INTERNATIONAL HOTEL

The 9-year, and still continuing, battle over San Francisco's International Hotel is one of the most controversial, interesting and promising "turf struggles" this country has seen in recent decades.

The three-story, 155-room Hotel is located on the edge between Chinatown-Manilatown and the financial district. As such, it is prime real estate, a juicy morsel to be eaten up by developers as San Francisco grows into its role as financial-corporate headquarters for the Pacific Rim. The Hotel traditionally was the home for low-income elderly Chinese and Filipinos, mostly males (alone largely because discriminatory and inhumane US immigration laws kept out "non-productive" women.) Many were seamen and migratory-seasonal workers who would resume residence at the reasonably priced (\$50 average monthly room rental) Hotel on their periodic returns to the city. Part of a vital Chinatown and severely contracting Manilatown community, with its supportive restaurants, stores and community facilities, the Hotel itself was a mini-community of its own, with its communal kitchen, long-term residents and downstairs recreation spaces. The several street level stores housed commercial and community uses.

The first assault on the building came in 1968 when local real estate mogul Walter Shorenstein (of Milton Meyer Co.), who had recently purchased the hotel, issued an eviction order to the tenants. Shorenstein was a local politico as well (an appointed member of the Parks & Recreation Commission) and a Democratic Party bigwig. Because of his local prominence, tenants, aided by the United Filipino Assn., were able to put lots of embarrassing pressure on him—including picketing a dinner he was hosting for presidential candidate Hubert Humphrey. As a result, Shorenstein was forced to grant the tenants a three-year lease (albeit on onerous terms—the tenants had to pay property taxes, repair costs, plus a hefty net rental to Shorenstein.) During this period, the tenants, aided by UFA, Univ. of Calif. students and others, made major repairs to the structure and removed most code violations. At the end of the lease, further pressure on Shorenstein led him to sell the building to Four Seas Investment Corp., a Hong-Kong/Thailand-based outfit seeking to expatriate its capital and invest it in the US. (The new owners reportedly bought the Hotel sight unseen.)

Beginning in 1974, Four Seas attempted to get rid of the tenants so it could demolish the building for a "higher and better use." The three-year period was marked by stubborn and effective tenant resistance to the eviction orders (including counter-suits); an eventual jury trial (at which the judge directed an eviction verdict to a split jury); initial refusal by the Sheriff to carry out the eviction (for which he served five days in jail on a contempt citation); massive demonstrations (up to 5,000—the largest the City has seen on a local issue in decades) at the Hotel by supporters; and finally, in the early morning hours of Aug. 4 the dramatic, pathetic scene of elderly tenants and their supporters being ejected from the Hotel by an army of 400 SF cops and Sheriff's deputies, who had muscled their way—using clubs, horses and aerial ladders—through a crowd of 2,000 supporters who had formed a human barricade around the Hotel.

The Hotel became so huge an issue in large part because it was the culmination of a process of "renewing" downtown SF that had already shoved out 4,000 poor people from the South of Market area (for the still unbuilt Yerba Buena Center), several hundred more for the Golden Gateway (townhouses, highrises and tennis court for the rich), plus related redevelopment in other parts of the City (such as the Western Addition A-1 plus A-2 projects—totally transforming the area just west of downtown by shoving out nearly 20,000 largely Black and Japanese people, their stores and neighborhoods, for a Japanese Cultural and Trade Center, a new cathedral, high-income high-rises, lots of plastic, poorly constructed 236 and D3 housing, and vast amounts of still vacant parcels.) The I-Hotel was where large numbers of San Franciscans were saying "no more." The fact that the I-Hotel residents were elderly and Third World, that the still viable Chinatown-Manilatown community was being

attacked, that over 2,000 units of housing had been lost in that area, with no new construction—all added fuel to the fire. There was no place for the tenants to go that would meet their financial and social-communal needs. Resistance became a virtual necessity.

During the nine-year struggle many effective and creative tactics were used. While the courts ultimately came down on the side of property—as indeed they are bound to without major changes in the society—imaginative use of legal techniques bought three important years. Embarrassing pressure on big-wigs brought results. Similar pressure on the liberal politicians of the city brought about surprising responses. Historical preservation laws were used to good ends: earlier this year the federal government was convinced to place the Hotel on the Natl. Register of Historic Places, not for its architectural merit but out of respect and recognition for the Hotel's long and honorable history in the Filipino migration to SF. (This step came late, but still may have very useful impact.) And possibly the most exciting victory was the City's willingness to use the Housing Authority's eminent domain powers to take the Hotel from Four Seas and keep it as low-rent housing.

Under great pressure, Mayor George Moscone in late 1976 convinced the city's Board of Supervisors (City Council) to loan \$1.3 million in CD money to the Housing Authority, to cover the eminent domain taking price; the idea was to re-sell the building to the tenants, who then would run it as non-profit low-rent housing. Two problems arose with this plan. First, the tenants soon saw that the plan (which they originally proposed) was probably financially unworkable—buying the Hotel for \$1.3 million (a huge speculative profit for Four Seas, which had purchased it from Shorenstein for \$850,000), plus needed renovation, would bring rents well beyond what low-income tenants could afford, even with the aid of several grants the Hotel had received from the Campaign for Human Development and state and federal sources. Second, the Calif. Superior Court in May ruled the plan illegal—the Housing Authority could not take the property for purposes of conveying it to another private owner. That's exactly what redevelopment agencies do all the time, of course—only they take land from the poor and give it to the rich. Reverse the process, and it's illegal. That decision is presently under appeal and may well be reversed. The real Catch-22 curve the courts threw at the tenants was their refusal to stay the eviction until the appeal could be heard.

Shortly after the city's original eminent domain plan was ruled illegal, the tenants submitted to Moscone an alternative plan: permanent Housing Authority ownership and renovation of the Hotel, with tenant management. That would be legal, according to the court's ruling, and it also would be financially workable. Consultants hired by the I-Hotel Tenants Assn. had shown that with full residential occupancy, at rents no higher than current levels, plus income from the ground floor spaces, their plan would need an annual city subsidy of only \$50,000—a cheap price for saving 155 units of badly needed, well located housing. But this was not a plan the Mayor would buy, and in the month between submitting it and the eviction not enough pressure could be brought on him to file the new, legal eminent domain action that would have effectively stopped the eviction.

But that model of eminent domain to capture threatened low-rent housing from marauding developers is one that may last as the most significant monument of the I-Hotel struggle. It's already become a demand of community groups in the Japantown area, and people in other cities ought to make effective use of this device.

Despite the eviction, the fight around the I-Hotel is very much alive. The building still stands (despite lots of damage done by the cops/sheriffs and by Four Seas—including an illegal attempt to bulldoze the structure in the face of a "stop work" order the City issued on Four Seas' demolition permit, pending court appeals on the validity of that permit). And the fight to retain it as low-rent housing and return the tenants actually looks quite promising.

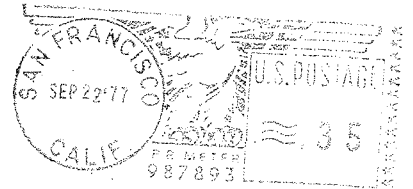
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Several possible means are available to bring this about. The original eminent domain plan may be resuscitated if the appeals court rules it legal, and there are in fact ways to inject subsidies that would make resale to the tenants a viable option. More hopeful, the city elects a new Board of Supervisors in November, for the first time under a new district election plan, rather than the old at-large system. It is clear the new form of election will produce a Board far more responsive to neighborhood needs than the downtown orientation of the old Supervisors. It is hoped that the new Board, upon taking office in January, will institute the new eminent domain action and other steps called for in the IHTA's new plan. A Voters Opinion Statement on the new plan is on the November ballot as well, and a win on that, which many consider very likely, will be a virtual mandate for the new Board to act. The US Customs Dept. is also investigating whether Four Seas brought its capital into the US illegally, in which case it is possible the Hotel could be confiscated. And in a surprise development, Sen. Frank Church, Chairman of the Special Comm. on Aging, sent two investigators out the week after the

eviction (he has seen pictures and a story on the front page of the *Wash. Post*). A supportive report and hearings are future possibilities. Another likely occurrence is passage of an "anti-demolition ordinance," imposing strict relocation obligations on private redevelopers and denying them a demolition permit if they cannot meet those obligations. This ordinance is part of a package that a new citywide housing coalition has put together around the November elections, a package which include important anti-speculation and rehabilitation measures.

The I-Hotel struggle has sparked lots of activity and is a symbol of a citywide, and national, problem. Tens of thousands of people—not only supporters, but others in the city as well—learned about the nature of power through the I-Hotel struggle. They saw clearly the nature of the struggle as one of property/profit rights vs. housing/human rights. They saw where the power structure—politicians, courts, newspapers—comes down when forced to choose. Despite the defeat of August 4, lots of victories have already been won, and even more important ones are coming.

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