#100 -- July 20, 1993

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**WASHINGTON, D.C. 20009** 

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☐ PN CENTENNIAL ISSUE: Please celebrate with us our 100th issue as an international, bimonthly newsletter on progressive planning; and anticipate with us many forthcoming issues as well.

We want to celebrate both continuity and change. This issue, for example, contains our usual mix of news notes, conference and job announcements, and a special essay. Future issues will continue these features, add more debate and commentary in the PN Special Feature section, and occasionally focus on selected topics with guidance from a series of guest editors.

In addition, we will explore creating an on-line, computerbased version of the newsletter as an additional PN service.

These were among the decisions of the PN Steering Committee in reviewing the results of our February PN questionnaire, and affirming the continuing existence of Planners Network. The Steering Committee also reviewed PN's leadership and finances, and proposed a PN conference for some time next year.

(Results of the February questionnaire and a report from the Steering Committee were included in a June 11 First Class mailing to Networkers; we still have a few extras, if you haven't received yours. The mailing also included a follow-up questionnaire; please complete and mail it today, if you haven't already done so.)

☐ FINANCIAL MINI-REPORT: We have received financial contributions of \$1,110 from 28 Networkers since the May newsletter. Please know we appreciate each contribution. Our year-to-date totals now stand at \$4,535 from 115 Networkers.

For comparison, the July 1992 newsletter reported 163 year-to-date contributions, totaling \$5,611.

To tell quickly when you last supported PN with a check, look for the date after your name on the mailing label. We suggest contributing at least once each year, and we change (or add) the date whenever we get a check. The absence of a date means you have not yet contributed financially, and we'd like a check from you, if possible.

## Passing the Word

Lead Poisoning (227 Massachusetts Ave. N.E. #200, Wash., DC 20002, 202/543-1147) and the National Center for Lead-Safe Housing have issued a 47-page policy proposal, A Framework for Action To Make Private Housing Lead-Safe, aimed at eliminating the epidemic of childhood lead poisoning. Single copies are free.
☐ HEALTH REFORM Today: A Resource Manual on Health Reform is available from: The Health and Medicine Policy Research Group, 332 S. Michigan Ave. #500, Chicago, IL 60604, 312/922-8057. Single copies are \$35.

☐ DIVERSITY RESOURCE: The December 1992 Population

☐ LEAD-SAFE HOUSING: The Alliance To End Childhood

Bulletin (Population Reference Bureau, 1875 Connecticut Ave.
N.W. #520, Wash., DC 20009, 202/483-1100) features a 47-
page article by William O'Hare, "America's Minorities: The
Demographics of Diversity." Single issues are \$7.

☐ HEALTH CARE: Consumers Union (101 Truman Ave	÷.,			
Yonkers, NY 10703, 914/378-2000) has issued a 270-pag	ge			
publication, How To Resolve the Health Care Crisis: Affordab	le			
Protection for All Americans (\$4.95), by the editors of Consum-				
er Reports, along with other related documents.				

☐ CITY BUDGET SURVEY: The National League of Cities (1301 Pennsylvania Ave. N.W., Wash., DC 20004, 202/626-3000) has issued a 66-page update of its annual report on municipal finances, *City Fiscal Conditions in 1993*. One conclusion: City budgets remain stressed. No price listed.

☐ HOMELESS/VOTING RIGHTS: Rep. John Lewis (D-GA) and 16 co-sponsors have introduced legislation (HR 1457) to guarantee homeless people the right to vote. The Community for Creative Non-Violence (425 Second St. N.W., Wash., DC 20001, 202/393-1909) is seeking organizational and individual endorsements, lobbying support, and assistance in surveying state policies and practices. Contact: Carol Fennelly.

☐ L.A. REPORTS: The June *Crossroads* (Box 2809, Oakland, CA 94609, 510/843-7495) includes an article, "The War Against the Cities: Who Killed L.A.?," by Mike Davis. Single issues are \$4; subscriptions (10 times yearly) are \$24.

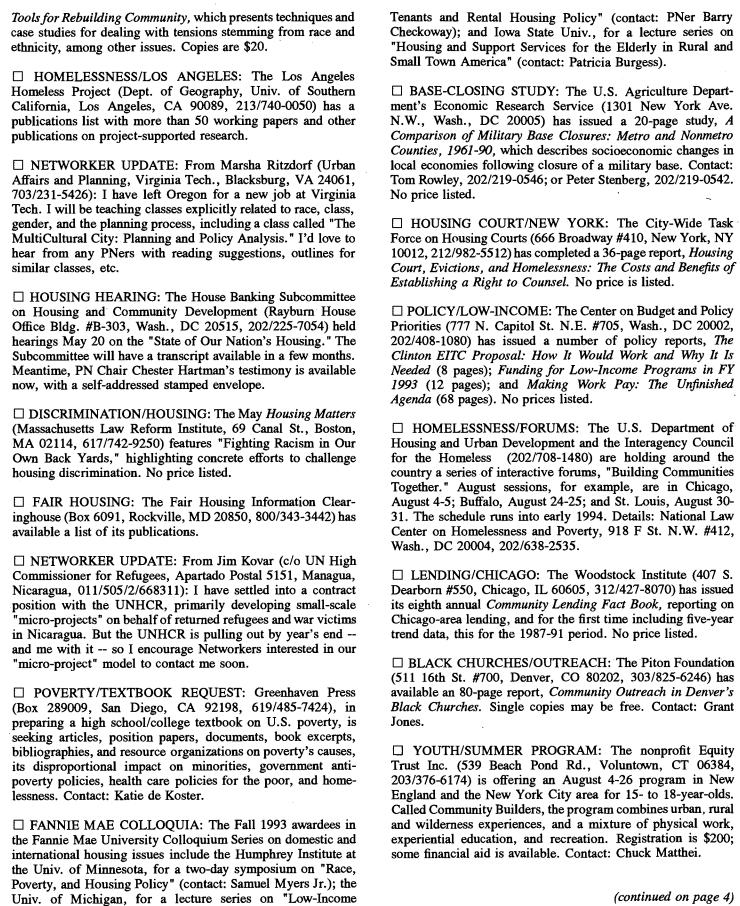
Separately, The Labor/Community Strategy Center (3780 Wilshire Blvd. #1200, Los Angeles, CA 90010, 213/387-2800) has issued a 59-page study, *Reconstructing Los Angeles from the Bottom Up.* Copies are \$10.

Also, The Tomas Rivera Center (710 N. College Ave., Claremont, CA 91711, 909/625-6607) has issued a 112-page report, Latinos and the Los Angeles Uprising: The Economic Context, by Manuel Pastor. No price listed. A 15-page summary also is available.

□ SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITIES: PNer Mark Roseland (School of Resource and Environmental Management, Simon Fraser Univ., Burnaby, BC V5A 1S6, Canada) has completed a book, Toward Sustainable Communities: A Resource Book for Municipal and Local Governments. Single copies are free from: The National Roundtable on the Environment and the Economy, 1 Nicholas St. #520, Ottawa, Ontario K1N 7B7, Canada, 613/992-7189.

☐ HOMELESSNESS/CLINTON: President Clinton has signed an Executive Order, instructing federal agencies to develop a plan for ending homelessness. Background and details: National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty, 918 F St. N.W. #412, Wash., DC 20004, 202/638-2535.

☐ BUILDING COMMUNITY: The Program for Community Problem Solving (915 15th St. N.W. #600, Wash., DC 20005, 202/783-4963) has issued Facing Racial & Cultural Conflict:



## The Great Suburban Train Robbery: The Clinton Administration and Barriers to Urban Policy

## by William W. Goldsmith

Commentators (but for Dan Quayle and Ross Perot) find widespread agreement about bad conditions in inner-city Los Angeles pushing provoked people to explode in rebellion.

As the commentators look ahead, however, they find it much harder to agree on ways to improve inner-city conditions.

Hundreds of studies of LA and other cities suggest that four changes in policy would help most. Three of the four are commonly accepted as needed, but thought of by prominent people as too costly. The fourth reform also would be costly, and undoubtedly would be unpopular for non-budgetary reasons as well.

• First, the country needs an ambitious employment and wage policy that seeks simultaneously to improve incomes and skills, and reduce unemployment.

This is largely a matter of enacting a sound industrial policy, one that recognizes the new role of the United States in the global economy, and guarantees a profitable place for productive workers.

Easier said than done, but, in contrast to the 1980s, at least Bill Clinton and several of his top advisors (Labor Secretary Robert Reich and Council of Economic Advisors Chair Laura Tyson, for example) have endorsed variants of this approach. And there will be plenty of pressure from some corporations to move in this direction.

• Second, we need expanded family support policies to reduce the burdens of poverty, with better health care, more effective schools, and a raft of special efforts to protect and nurture children.

I'd like to see a national health plan, a welfare program that focuses on needs rather than work penalties, and much more funding for needy public schools.

I'll surely be disappointed, but, again, there are luminaries pushing hard in progressive directions (Hillary Rodham

Clinton, Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala and her Assistant Secretary David Ellwood, and Housing and Urban Development Secretary Henry Cisneros, for example).

• Third, we need a revived civil rights policy that seeks anew to address real and harmful discrimination against people of color, women, and ethnic minorities.

Until discrimination by employers, landlords, and public servants is further reduced, that basis for outrage and rebellion will remain.

There are signs the Clinton Administration recognizes these problems; we can hope they will act forcefully.

But as the mayors of every big city in the country know, even if there were to be ample action promoting full em-

## **PN Special Feature**

In its Special Feature, Planners Network presents thoughtful, provocative writings about substantive concerns and issues in the planning professions. Essays typically highlight a single issue, and illuminate with examples and insights.

The Special Feature editor is Bob Beauregard (Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, Forbes Quadrangle, Univ. of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260, 412/648-7600; fax 412/648-2605).

We are grateful for Networkers' support of this feature, and encourage continued ideas, suggestions, commentary, and dialogue. ployment, family support, and civil rights, that still would not be enough.

• A fourth reform also is required. We need to stop the great suburban train robbery: American cities, especially inner cities, have been robbed, and still are being robbed, year by year, by unfair and biased federal spending and taxation.

Every year since the Second World War, the federal government has paid enormous subsidies to people who live in suburbs, monies for the most part denied city people, especially poor people in inner cities, doubly poor people of color.

These suburb/city imbalances in federal payments result from legislation, not regulatory whim; and they can be corrected, although not without real political change.

What is out of balance? The main culprits are federal highway and transit spending, federal housing programs, and the military. The amounts of money transferred to suburbs are gigantic. They look big whether considered individually or in the aggregate.

The great bulk of military and transportation transfers go to benefit the suburbs, whether as industrial complex wages or highway grants.

Today, for example, highway users, mainly people who live in or serve the suburbs, pay through the gas tax only 70 percent of the cost of road building and repair. The remaining 30 percent comes from general revenues. A tiny share of the money goes to people at the other end, those who live in big cities; and virtually none goes to those who do not have cars.

The case with housing is clearer and more dramatic.

A well-off suburban homeowner, for instance, may pay \$2,000 a month for her mortgage. If \$1,500 of that payment is for interest, and she is in the top tax bracket, she will receive a monthly subsidy of \$480 from the Internal Revenue Service, and perhaps another \$150 if she also is subject to a state income tax. This amounts to \$7,560 a year. Some get more; some get less. Imagine the antipoverty benefit that sort of money would confer if paid monthly to a needy family renting an apartment in the (inner) city!

Month by month, or household by household, perhaps it does not seem like so much; but added up, this federal tax expenditure on housing alone amounts to \$50-\$80 billion a year, depending on whose estimate we use.

Not all that money goes to suburban households, but most of it does; not all suburban households benefit, but most of them do; and not all suburban homeowners are white, but the vast majority are.

At the same time, none of this federal spending goes to renters, and precious little goes to homeowners in inner cities, because few people in inner cities own their homes, and fewer still own homes with high values.

These taxes and expenditures are not fair, and laws should be passed to change them.

Passing the Word

No such change, however, will come to pass without an improved relationship between cities and the federal government, one that shifts power to the cities. Shifts of that sort will happen only after intense political struggle. The Mayors' March on Washington (in Spring 1992) was a sign that people who matter are beginning to work in these directions.

Next time the mayors meet, I hope they decide to march every year, and I hope they demand action not only on the economy, family support, and civil rights, but also on fair budgetary balance.

They should demand full disclosure of budgets for federal urban programs,

and demand a fair allocation of tax expenditures that will reduce suburban/city differences.

The great suburban train robbery happens every year, and cities and their residents no longer can afford the loss.

PNer William W. Goldsmith (Dept. of City and Regional Planning, Cornell Univ., Ithaca, NY 143853) is co-author with Edward Blakely of Separate Societies: Poverty and Inequality in U.S. Cities (Temple University Press, 1992).

(continued from page 2)	Dear
☐ TENANT ORGANIZING: The South Arizona People's Law Center (606 N. Fourth Ave., Tucson, AZ 85705, 602/623-7306) has available a 20-page resource, Getting Together for Change: An Organizing Manual for Low-Income Tenants. No price listed. Contact: Paul Gattone.	of the Opposition of the Oppos
☐ BANKING UPDATES: The Southern Finance Project (329 Rensselaer, Charlotte, NC 28203, 704/372-7072) has available a number of reports and reprints, including a briefing paper, "New Lemonade from RTC's Old Lemons," and an Economic Policy Institute report, "The Parallel Banking System." No	page Passe 2nd S are \$
prices listed. Contact: Tom Schlesinger.	for C N.W
☐ DEVELOPMENT TRAINING: The Development Training Institute (4806 Seton Dr., Baltimore, MD 21215, 410/764-0780 ext. 150) has announced a July 26 starting date for its next five-	111- <sub>1</sub> ment
month "Leadership and Management Program for Community-Based Development." Sessions are twice yearly; scholarships are available.	☐ H Hom Cour activ
☐ METROPOLIS 2000: Planning, Poverty, and Politics, by PNer Tom Angotti (808 Eighth Ave. #4-R, Brooklyn, NY	ville,
11215), is a 304-page analysis of 20th Century metropolitan development and planning, which promoted pro-urban sustainable planning, equality, and a progressive approach to	□ E Affai 6500
development. Copies are \$17.95 (paper), from: Routledge Inc., 29 W. 35th St., New York, NY 10001, 212/244-6412.	Econ Amer \$7.
□ POVERTY REPORT/CLEVELAND: The Cleveland Foundation Commission on Poverty has issued a 185-page report with recommendations, <i>The Cleveland Community</i> -	□ N Cont
Building Initiative. Single copies are free, from: Arthur	Lips

Naparstek, Mandel School of Applied Social Science, Case Western Reserve Univ., Cleveland, OH 44106, 216/368-3023.

□ CREDIT UNIONS/OEO: The Woodstock Institute (407 S. Dearborn #550, Chicago, IL 60605, 312/427-8070) has issued a 55-page report, Credit and the War on Poverty: An Analysis of the Credit Union Programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity. Copies are \$10 for nonprofits, universities, and government; \$20 for others.
☐ TRANSIT/RAIL GUIDE: Citizen's Guide to ISTEA is a 50-page resource produced by the National Association of Railroad Passengers' Campaign for New Transportation Priorities, 900 2nd St. N.E. #308, Wash., DC 20002, 202/408-8362. Copies are \$10.
□ DEVELOPMENT DIRECTORY: The National Congress for Community Economic Development (1875 Connecticut Ave. N.W. #524, Wash., DC 20009, 202/234-5009) has issued a 111-page National Congress for Community Economic Development Membership Directory, 1993-94. No price listed.
☐ HOMELESS PROGRAMS: Federal Programs To Help the Homeless is an updated, 99-page guide from the Interagency Council on the Homeless, listing more than 100 programs and activities. Copies are \$4, from: HUD User, Box 6091, Rockville, MD 20850, 800/245-2691.
☐ ECONOMY/U.S.: The Council on International and Public Affairs (Box 337, Croton-on-Hudson, NY 10520, 914/271-6500) has issued a 46-page report, The Underbelly of the U.S. Economy: Joblessness and the Pauperization of Work in America, by David Dembo and Ward Morehouse. Copies are \$7.
□ NONPROFITS FOR HIRE: The Welfare State in the Age of Contracting, by Steven Rathgeb Smith and PNer Michael Lipsky, is a 312-page examination of the social, political and organizational effects of government's burgeoning use of contracting with nonprofits for social services delivery, ranging



☐ ALTERNATIVE BUDGET: An alternative federal budget proposal from the Congressional Black Caucus/House Progressive Caucus, "A Budget for New World Realities and for Rebuilding America: FY 1993," is available from us with a 52-cent self-addressed stamped envelope.	☐ HOUSING/DEVELOPMENT ADVOCATE: The Legal Aid Society of Minneapolis (430 First Ave. N. #300, Minneapolis, MN 55401) has an opening for a Housing/Community Development Policy Advocate. Salary is \$23,100. Contact: Tim Thompson.
□ PROGRESSIVE POLICY: The Commonwealth Institute (186 Hampshire St., Cambridge, MA 02139, 617/547-4474) has available a four-page description of the Progressive Policy Initiative, a joint project of the Institute, the Northeast Citizens Action Resource Center, and the Northeast Network of Progressive Elected Officials. No price listed.	☐ HOUSING SPECIALIST: The Center for Community Change (1000 Wisconsin Ave. N.W., Wash., DC 20007, 202/342-0519) is seeking a Housing Development Specialist. No salary listed.  ☐ EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Food First (c/o Institute for
□ POLICY NEWSLETTER: The Center for Policy Alternatives (1875 Connecticut Ave. N.W. #710, Wash., DC 20009, 202/387-6030) has created a new newsletter, <i>Alternative</i> . It's	Food and Development Policy, 145 Ninth St., San Francisco, CA 94103, 415/864-8555) is seeking an Executive Director. Salary is in the \$32,000-\$40,000 range.
likely free.  □ PEACEWORK is a monthly newsletter on peace and social justice issues from the American Friends Service Committee, 2161 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02140, 617/661-6120 National Property of the Peace of the	☐ PROJECT COORDINATOR: The Fair Employment Council of Greater Washington (1400 Eye St. N.W. #500, Wash., DC 20005, 202/842-4474) has an opening for a Project Coordinator. No salary listed.
Upcoming Conferences	☐ FILENE CENTER: The Lincoln Filene Center of Tuft Univ. has senior staff openings in two of its programs: the New England Institute for Nonprofit Organizations (Program Director, Nonprofit Program Coordinator, Program an Marketing Coordinator); and the Environmental Citizenshi
□ WOMEN/DEVELOPMENT: The Ms. Foundation for Women (141 Fifth Ave. #6-S, New York, NY 10010, 212/353-8580) is sponsoring the Sixth Annual Institute on Women and Economic Development on September 9-12 in Peachtree City, GA. The double-occupancy rate is \$450; financial aid is available. Details: Judy Lorimer.	Program (Program Director). No salaries listed. Contact: Nilima Bhatia, Tufts Human Resources, 169 Holland St., Somerville, MA 02144, 617/627-3453.  ☐ ASSISTANT DIRECTOR: The National Housing Institute (439 Main St., Orange, NJ 07050, 201/678-3110) has an opening for an Assistant Director. Salary is up to \$42,000.
□ SUSTAINABLE TRANSPORTATION: The Northeast Sustainable Energy Association (23 Ames St., Greenfield, MA 01301, 413/774-6051) is organizing a symposium on solar and electric vehicles October 21-23 in Boston, MA,, titled, "Sustainable Transportation: S/EV 93."	□ LA RAZA STAFF: The National Council of La Raza (810 First St. N.E. #300, Wash., DC 20002, 202/289-1380) has two staff openings: Employment and Training Director (\$35,000-\$45,000), and Deputy Vice President-Senior Economic Development Director (\$38,000-\$52,000).
□ PN REMINDER: Some of the jobs we list may have publication deadlines earlier than when you receive the news-	☐ ECONOMIC JUSTICE: The American Friends Service Committee (1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19107) is seeking a National Representative for Economic Justice. Salary is \$31,000 or more. Contact: Lydia Wilcox.
letter. But deadlines sometimes can be adjusted. So we urge you to phone first, if a number is listed, and check on the deadline schedule.	☐ EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Libraries for the Future (c/o Blue Mountain Center, Blue Mountain Lake, NY 12812, 800/542-1918) is seeking an Executive Director to design and manage strategies for building national support for public
☐ FARMWORKER HOUSING: Centro Campesino Farmworker Center Inc. (Box 3483, Florida City, FL 33034) has four staff openings in its affordable housing work in the South Dade area: Senior Development Director, Director of Program Operations, Housing Counselor, and Training Director. Salaries	Ex Conferences
are competitive. Contact: Shawn.  DEVELOPMENT SPECIALIST: The Sea Islands Preservation Project (c/o Emory Campbell, Pen. Center, Box 126, St. Helena Island, SC 29920, 803/838-2432) is seeking a Specialist in Community-Based Economic Development. No salary listed.	☐ ECONOMIC CONVERSION: New England labor unions sponsored a regional conference June 18-19 in Storrs, CT, on "A Call to Action: Labor's Agenda for Economic Conversion in New England." Details: UAW Region 9A, 111 South Rd., Farmington, CT 06032, 203/674-0143.
<del>.</del>	☐ MIDWEST ACADEMY: The Midwest Academy/Citizen

Action conference was held July 16-18 in Chicago. Details: Midwest Academy, 225 W. Ohio #250, Chicago, IL 60610, 312/645-6010.	Arrival deadline for PN #101 copy: Tuesday, September 7.
☐ INSURANCE REDLINING: ACORN (739 8th St. S.E., Wash., DC 20002, 202/547-2500) held a June 4 "Roundtable on Insurance Redlining." Details: Brian Maney.  ☐ FAIR HOUSING: A national fair housing conference was held June 28-30 in Arlington, VA, outside Washington. Details: National Fair Housing Alliance, 1400 Eye St. N.W. #530, Wash., DC 20005, 202/989-1661.	☐ TALK UP PN: Please don't be shy about sharing news of the Planners Network with others. Let them know about us. Probably the best outreach we have is when you educate and recruit your friends, co-workers, acquaintances, and others. We have a good, one-page introductory sheet, "The Planners Network What It Is," which we can send you in any quantity you wish. "What It Is" includes a statement of our principles, a brief organizational history, a list of Steering Committee members (who double as regional contacts), and how to calculate contributions.
☐ AMERICAN CITIES: The American Assembly (475 Riverside Dr., New York, NY 10115, 212/870-3500) sponsored a conference in April on "Interwoven Destinies: Cities and the Nation," and has issued a free, 23-page conference report. Conference background papers are due in book form in November from W.W. Norton, 500 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10110, 800/233-4830. Copies are \$20.	☐ MOVING? TELL PN: When you move, please let us know directly. A thoughtful change-of-address postcard will cost you just 19 cents. On the other hand, if the Post Office returns our (non-forwardable) Third Class newsletter with your new address, which is how we often learn of PNers' moves (we mark the newsletter "Address Correction Requested"), it costs us far more. So please help us cut our costs, send us a postcard.
□ SEPTEMBER PN DEADLINE: The arrival deadline for copy for the next <i>Planners Network</i> is Tuesday, September 7. We look forward to hearing from as many Networkers as possible. As always, our thanks to those who can type their notes. It reduces our chances of misreading what you write.	□ PERSONAL UPDATES: There are a number of short communications in this issue from Network members, letting us know about new jobs, projects, what's happening in their lives, etc. We encourage this. Sharing this kind of "where-I'm-at" information helps create a sense of community, provide contact, and generate support.
The Planners Network	tary, but we need funds for operating expenses. The Steer- ing Committee has recommended the following amounts as minimums for Network members: \$15 for students and unem-
The Planners Network is an association of professionals, activists, academics, and students involved in physical, social, economic, and environmental planning in urban and rural areas, who promote fundamental change in our political and economic systems.  We believe that planning should be a tool for allocating resources and developing the envieronment to eliminate the great inequalities of wealth and power in our society, rather than to maintain and justify the status quo. We believe that planning should be used to assure adequate food, clothing, shelter, medical care, jobs, safe working conditions, and a healthful environment. We advocate public responsibility for meeting these needs, because the private market has proven incapable of doing so.  We oppose the economic structure of our society, which values profit and property rights over human rights and needs. This system perpetuates the inequalities of class, race, sex, and age which distort human relationship and limit the potential for a decent quality of life. We advocate a shift in current national budget priorities to favor human services, social production and environmental protection over military and other nonproductive expenditures.  We seek to be an effective political and social force, working with other progressive organizations to inform public opinion and public policy, and to provide assistance to those seeking to understand, control, and change the forces which affect their lives.	ployed; graduated payments for the employed of \$25 plus \$1 for each \$1,000 earned above \$10,000.  Members of the Steering Committee: Chester Hartman, DC, Chair; Emily Achtenberg, Boston; Eve Bach, Berkeley; Bob Beauregard, Pittsburgh; Donna Dyer, Carrboro, NC; William Goldsmith, Ithaca; Charles Hoch, Chicago; Joochul Kim, Tempe; Judy Kossy, Buffalo; Jacqueline Leavitt, LA; Peter Marcuse, NYC; Alan Rabinowitz, Seattle; Tony Schuman, NYC; Andree Tremoulet, Pittsfield.  Newsletter Editor: Prentice Bowsher.  Enclosed is my check payable to the Planners Network for \$
The Planners Network Newsletter is published six times a year as the principal means of communication among Network members. Annual financial contributions are volun	Washington, DC 20009