

PLANNERS NETWORK

The Magazine of Progressive Planning



Photo By Eugene Patron

March 22, 2003 peace protest in New York City.

War and the Urban “Geopolitical Footprint”

By Michael Dudley

Mushroom clouds blossoming over dense cityscapes. Thousands of gun emplacements throughout Baghdad promising fierce resistance. Civilians killed by the hundreds in open marketplaces, in cars, in their homes. Brutal building-by-building urban warfare, with heritage sites thousands of years old destroyed in the crossfire. Thick oily smoke billowing through the city in a vain attempt to misdirect missiles.

It should, I hope, be apparent to the reader that the impacts of this war are germane to a whole range of concerns integral to the planning profession. Iraq's built environment, its infrastructure, its social fabric, the health and well-being of its impoverished citizens, its natural environment—all have been harmed during this conflict. For these reasons alone this war should be of great concern to urban planners. And indeed, in March, shortly after the attack on Iraq began, the Planners Network Steering Committee released a statement citing six compelling reasons why planning professionals should oppose the attack (see page 7). Yet planners have far more at stake in these events than one might initially suppose.

I argue that planners must now consider the geopolitical footprints of our practice, in [\[Cont. on page 12\]](#)

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WAR, CITIES AND
URBAN PLANNING

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PEACE**

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FORUM**

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ARGENTINA**

MORE...

The SEVENTH GENERATION

"In our every deliberation, we must consider the impact of our decisions on the next seven generations."
- From the Great Law of the Iroquois Confederacy

WAR, CITIES AND URBAN PLANNING

by Tom Angotti

Before the US invasion of Iraq, the PN Steering Committee issued a statement opposing the war that circulated on *pn-net* and other internet lists. We received many responses, mostly in support of the statement. The statement and representative excerpts from some of the responses follow. We reprint them so as to share with PNers the extent and depth of discontent among planners and community activists with the Bush Administration's preemptive war, and so that readers can appreciate the diverse reactions to the statement.

Our statement was, unfortunately, prescient, and is still valid. The bombing and invasion of Iraqi cities destroyed significant infrastructure—hospitals, schools, water supplies, airports—which added to the devastation left by an eleven-year US-led siege. Large numbers of civilians died and many suffer hunger and homelessness. The Pentagon, which brags about its "precision" bombing, throws up its hands and says they can't even guess how many Iraqis they killed. Like the body count mania started during the Vietnam War, it's only US bodies that count. The looting of Iraq's National Museum and other treasures while US troops marched off to defend the oil fields demonstrated that our concerns about preserving the relics of Iraq's rich urban history were not misguided.

As PN goes to press, the US military is securing its occupation of Iraq and sending the message to Iraqis that only the US and its coterie of retired generals recruited to master the rebuilding process—not Shiite leaders, Kurdish leaders, or any other indigenous leaders—will define "democracy" in Iraq. "Participation" in rebuilding by Iraqis will be under the thumb of the US military, the US Agency for International Development, and the transnational US-based firms like Bechtel and Halliburton who will get the lucrative contracts. Of course, the US won't

waste its time micro-managing Iraq but will select and train loyal subjects to handle the day-to-day matters of urban administration. They will pass over the many highly-educated Iraqi leaders who won't bow to the emperor, just as British colonialists put together formidable bureaucracies in their territories made up of humble servants obedient to Western culture and values. Right-wing faith-based organizations are moving in to bring Christian values along with food and clothing. Participatory planning? Only if the generals can pick the participants.

The US military is already foreclosing the use of public space by Iraqis to express opposition to the occupation. The US press gleefully repeats shots of the scattered expressions of joy by Iraqis that welcomed US troops, but when the troops shoot at Iraqi civilians freely expressing their political views it's barely noted. Operation Iraqi Freedom means freedom of expression only for those who worship the imperial rulers and almighty dollars. The future of freedom in Iraq could very well be forecast by what's happening in Israel, where a gigantic wall is going up to divide Israeli settlements and Palestinian cities (see page 2). Heavily bankrolled by US aid, Israel imprisons the outcast population that stubbornly resists the illegal occupation of their land. All urban planners should condemn this blatant segregation as pure metropolitan apartheid.

Our PN statement didn't mention perhaps one of the main impulses driving the US war—securing a strategic hold on Mideast oil. As *Michael Dudley* mentions in his article for this issue, many urbanists make the connection between our chronic problems of sprawl and auto dependency and the aggressive US overseas campaigns. However, even if the US had to pay more for its gas guzzling because it lost control over cheap oil, I believe the auto monopolies, which are now global monopolies, will find alternatives that will keep this instrument of private transportation at the center of global city-building. Even George W. Bush recognizes the importance of developing alternative fuels in the long-range future. Thus, it's important to [Cont. on page 7]

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Statement of Principles

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 environment to eliminate the great inequalities of wealth and power in our society, rather than to maintain and justify the status quo. We are committed to opposing racial, economic, and environmental injustice, and discrimination by gender and sexual orientation. We believe that planning should be used to assure adequate food, clothing, housing, 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.

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GUIDELINES FOR AUTHORS

Planners Network seeks articles that describe and analyze progressive physical, social, economic and environmental planning in urban and rural areas. Articles may be up to 2,000 words. They should be addressed to PN's broad audience of professionals, activists, students and academics, and be straightforward and jargon-free. Following a journalistic style, the first paragraph should summarize the main ideas in the article. A few suggested readings may be mentioned in the text, but do not submit footnotes or a bibliography. The editors may make minor style changes, but any substantial rewriting or changes will be checked with the author. A photograph or illustration may be included. Submissions on disk or by email are greatly appreciated. Send to the Editor at tangotti@hunter.cuny.edu or Planners Network, c/o Hunter College Dept of Urban Planning, 695 Park Ave., New York, NY 10021. Fax: 212-772-5593. Deadlines are January 1, April 1, July 1 and October 1.

UPCOMING SPECIAL ISSUES [Articles welcome]:

The Active City: Changing Urban Form, Promoting Physical Activity
Marxism, Socialism and Progressive Urban Planning
Planning, Food Production and Consumption

Over 160 US Cities for Peace

By Eugene J. Patron

More than 160 city and county councils in the US have passed resolutions opposing a preemptive or unilateral war in Iraq. This groundswell of local civic expression runs directly counter to claims by the Bush administration and members of Congress that they continue to have the support of the great majority of American people for a war to "liberate Iraq." After the successful push to get her fellow council members to adopt a resolution calling for diplomacy instead of unilateral military action, Los Angeles City Councilwoman Janice Hahn told *The Nation*, "We are debating this issue because those we have elected to debate this issue [in Congress] have abdicated."

Thanks to a declining economy, Bush's tax cuts for the wealthy, and cutbacks in federal aid, states and municipalities are facing dire times.

It is not surprising that long-standing bastions of progressive thought like Berkeley and Amherst came out against war. But, when the city councils of places like Chicago, Providence and Cleveland also spoke out against it, you knew something was afoot. It is not easy to write off local governing bodies such as these as rubberstamps for a "liberal" anti-war agenda.

The Washington-based Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) and the National Priorities Project (NPP) in Northampton, Massachusetts recognized the significance of this grassroots, local democratic movement and helped launch a coordinated Cities for Peace Campaign. Working with the Education for Peace in Iraq Center, and some American Friends Service Committee chapters, the IPS and NPP have been educating grassroots groups such as Neighbors for Peace, students, the faith-based community and others on the process of lobbying their city and county councils to pass resolutions opposing war with Iraq.

Cities Pay the Price for War

The Cities for Peace movement started during the

countdown to war and continues today. When considering the prospect of spending several hundred billion dollars to invade and occupy Iraq, it is hard to ignore the equally huge sums of money in the form of monstrous deficits that state and local governments face today. Thanks to a declining economy, Bush's tax cuts for the wealthy, and cutbacks in federal aid, states and municipalities are facing dire times. Local governments are struggling with the increased cost of homeland security amid indications that this first preemptive war against an Arab country is only heightening the risks Americans face from terrorism. Furthermore, the federal deficit is expected to balloon over the next decade to almost \$2 trillion, diverting scarce funds from critical community needs in the US.

The Cities for Peace resolutions reflect how the American public has, despite Washington's rhetoric, understood the real cause and effect relationship between global issues and local security. Most resolutions call for the US to work for the disarmament of Iraq through the UN and warn of the dangers of unilateral action. The Chicago resolution states:

US military actions would risk the deaths of thousands of Iraqi civilians without guaranteeing the safety and security of US citizens...a preemptive and unilateral US military attack would violate international law and our commitments under the UN Charter and further isolate the US from the rest of the world.

Common to all of the resolutions is the way they address the local implications and costs of war. The Los Angeles resolution acknowledges that veterans make up 20 percent of the homeless on Skid Row and calls upon the government to fight homelessness and increase funding to aid existing veterans. The resolution goes on to warn that the real cost of war will "be borne by the people of the City of Los Angeles, who rely on federal funds for anti-poverty programs, for workforce assistance, for housing, for education programs, for infrastructure and for the increased demands of homeland security."

The Gary, Indiana resolution speaks to the issue of who will fight this war: "The City of Gary's 18-25 year-old population is likely to be a primary source of conscription and recruitment for military per-

sonnel to fight a war from which there is no just cause or result." The New London, Connecticut resolution goes even further: "Committing American troops to Iraq will put in harm's way citizens of New London, a disproportionate number of them racial and ethnic minorities from our city's most economically deprived neighborhoods."

Marriage of Global and Local

An argument in many council debates has been that local government has no business making statements on foreign policy. In fact, many local governments are quite adept at mixing local and global and have a long history of doing so. New York has named streets for Soviet dissidents and local politicians routinely court the city's ethnic voter base by visiting places like Ireland and the Dominican Republic. Miami forbids the city to sign contracts with firms or their subsidiaries that have any business dealings with Cuba. (Some say you can't run for dog catcher in Dade County without opposing Fidel.) And after spending millions of dollars to attract the world to Salt Lake City for the most recent Winter Olympics, it is strange that some members of the Salt Lake City City Council felt they had no place in addressing issues that reach beyond the city's boundaries. The mayor of Salt Lake City, to his credit, issued an anti-war proclamation.

Town and city councils first got into the foreign policy business before the nation was founded. The burdensome taxation policies of British colonial rule made for heated discussion and debates in town halls throughout the country. The predecessors of today's locally elected officials had much to say in response to their constituents' concerns about the War of 1812, the Civil War, the Spanish-American War and the World Wars of the twentieth century. If eighteenth century Americans living in small towns and newly burgeoning cities could discern how world events had an effect on their day-to-day lives, it is pure myopia for local elected officials of twenty-first century America to deny how inextricably the local is tied to the global.

The Local Costs of Global War

Almost all Cities for Peace resolutions raise serious questions about how the cost of war will hurt local government. Conservative economic analysts like to point out that even if the war costs \$100-200 billion, this is a trivial figure for a multi-trillion dollar economy. These assurances, however, are misleading. The "cost of war" doesn't include the cost of occupation and rebuilding, which could last for a number of years and exceed the cost of the war itself.

And these estimated costs come on top of the costs of the Bush administration's proposed tax code revisions and budget cuts. Elimination of the corporate dividend tax is expected to force cities to pay higher interest rates on municipal bonds because they will have to compete with newly tax-exempt corporate issues. Ending the dividend tax would also remove the current incentive the commercial market has to buy low-income housing tax credits. An Ernst and Young analysis prepared for the National Council of State Housing Agencies estimates that this could reduce by 35 percent the number of new low-income apartments to be developed.

The Bush administration's budget also calls for direct cuts to a long list of social service programs, not to mention reduced funding for politically sacrosanct services like education and, despite patriotic cries to support our troops, even veterans benefits! At a time when the recession and the impact of 9/11 have brought fiscal pain to local and state governments, the majority of whom face current and near-future budget deficits, the Bush administration's zeal to cut taxes is hardly seen in city councils and state houses as the solution.

Using a figure of \$100 billion as the cost of a war with Iraq, the NPP calculated what taxpayers of each state and selected cities will pay out of their federal income taxes for the war. Atlanta can expect \$80.5 million of its tax dollars to pay for the war. Milwaukee will pay \$114 million and New York City \$2.4 billion. While the Bush administration has tried to sell the public on the idea that the cost of the war with Iraq is an investment that will make the American people more secure from terrorism, local officials doubt the sincerity of the President and Congress when it comes to shouldering the cost of homeland security. More than \$3 billion designated to help pay for the fiscal year '02 security costs borne by local governments was delayed for months, while extra security precautions necessitated by the war are sapping local government of precious funds.

Regardless of whether the Homeland Security Advisory System is at code yellow or orange, most cities have budgets colored in red ink. Furthermore, while federal support for local security may grow in absolute terms, it is accompanied by continuing federal retrenchment in the areas of housing, community development and social services.

Disenchantment with Democrats

Smart politicians should be considering the political repercussions if the outpouring of local ⇒

democratic expression embodied in the Cities for Peace movement continues. This is more of an issue for the Democrats than Republicans. At anti-war demonstrations in New York protesters carried signs chiding the state's two Democratic senators, Hillary Clinton and Charles Schumer, for voting to back the President's position on Iraq. The same holds true in other cities and states, where national Democratic officeholders have been seen as failing to speak out aggressively enough, if at all, against the war. While these protestors are not likely to become a bumper crop of potential turncoat votes for Republican candidates in upcoming elections, a third party or independent candidate could split the Democratic vote in many local races for national office. Or, local voters could display their disenchantment with Democrats by staying away from the polls entirely.

On the other hand, both local Democratic and Republican officeholders in cities that have passed peace resolutions are keeping their ears close to the ground and are heeding what their constituents are telling them. Yvette D. Clark, a councilwoman from New York who voted for the resolution, knows it is not war per se the voters in her Brooklyn district are against. The issue is, What type of war are people willing to get embroiled in? To that question she's heard the answer from her constituents loud and clear: "If we're going to be looking for a fight," Clark says, "let's fight poverty and let's fight firehouse closures."

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Cities for Peace website: www.citiesforpeace.org

Cities Back Civil Liberties

Concerned that the Bush administration's war against terrorism is potentially threatening the rights of American citizens and residents, nearly eighty cities have passed resolutions that call for the protection of civil liberties.

Last year Northampton, Massachusetts became the first city to declare itself a "Civil Liberties Safe Zone" after residents concluded that provisions of the US Patriot Act of 2001 were a threat to rights guaranteed by the US Constitution's Bill of Rights. Working with the local chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, Northampton activists formed a Bill of Rights Defense Committee (BORDC). The resolution they drafted and successfully lobbied the City Council to adopt calls upon local law enforcement and the judiciary to: "Preserve residents' freedom of speech, religion, assembly and privacy; rights to counsel and due process in judicial proceedings; and protection from unreasonable searches and seizures even if requested or authorized to infringe upon these rights by federal law enforcement acting under new powers granted by the US Patriot Act or orders of the Executive Branch."

Other cities that passed similar resolutions with the help of the BORDC include Denver, New Haven, Flagstaff, Detroit and even rural Alachua County, Florida. As in many of the resolutions, that of Alachua County takes aim at the federal government's roll-back of *habeas corpus* rights and asks "the United States Attorney's Office, the Office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Florida Department of Law Enforcement and local law enforcement authorities to publicly disclose the names of any federal detainees suspected of terrorism held in Alachua County." As of now there have been no court cases examining whether local authorities can selectively refuse to comply with provisions of the Patriot Act and executive orders. Yet the establishment of these Civil Liberties Safe Zones is a direct challenge to US Attorney General John Ashcroft and his paternalistic view that the federal government knows what is best for local communities when it comes to matters of security. That, says Flagstaff Councilwoman Kara Kelty, is just not true. "I'm proud of my community. Civil liberties, the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence are dear to us. I didn't want to do anything to alter that."

For more information on the Bill of Rights Defense Committee and Civil Liberties Safe Zones, visit www.bordc.org.

Eugene J. Patron

7th Generation [Cont. from page 2]

plunge more deeply into the matter and understand the complex links between urban sprawl, auto culture, consumerism, global inequalities, and global US hegemony.

In this issue, we discuss some other stories of war, its devastation of cities, and the problems of rebuilding. *Katja Simons* tells the story of the destruction and rebuilding of Beirut. Perhaps there are some important lessons here about the profound, long-term wounds of the kind of urban warfare that may be just starting in Iraqi cities. The remaining war ruins in Beirut suggest that rebuilding isn't just a matter of repairing some roads and pipes. This issue also includes excerpts from an excellent technical report provided to us by Liliana Cotto of the University of Puerto Rico about the bombing by the US Navy of the tiny island of Vieques. The report highlights the impact of bombing on the local economy, health and welfare. As a result of an extensive popular struggle in Puerto Rico, the US ceased its bombing this month, but refuses to acknowledge the extent of environmental contamination it leaves behind. The depleted uranium used in munitions fired on Vieques is scattered all over Iraq.

On the domestic front, *Eugene Patron* reports on *Tom Angotti*

Urban Planners Oppose the War in Iraq

(The following letter is reprinted from the *pn-net* listserve. Responses to the statement follow on the next four pages.)

By The Planners Network Steering Committee: Tom Angotti, Ann Forsyth, Fernando Marti, Richard Milgrom, Barbara Rahder, Ken Reardon, Gwen Urey, Ayse Yonder

We are urban planners and professionals in the fields of community preservation and development. We oppose the U.S. war in Iraq as a politically unacceptable means of resolving the problem of disarmament and dealing with the despotic regime in Iraq. The Bush administration has turned its back on the United Nations and proceeded despite overwhelming opposition throughout the world. The invasion of Iraq increases instability and heightens the dangers of terrorism throughout the world.

Urban planners and professionals in community development have special reasons for opposing this war.

the unprecedented opposition to the US war that took the form of resolutions by local governments throughout the country. State and local governments throughout the country are suffering the budget cuts brought on by the recession, tax cuts for the rich, and the costs of military expansion. They are also in the middle of the Administration's assault on civil liberties, which entails the use of local law enforcement, racial profiling, and suspension of basic constitutional rights.

With Iraq on our minds, this is very much an international issue of PN. *Theresa Williamson* and *Penelope Duda* report on the World Social Forum meetings in Porto Alegre (Brazil) and Hyderabad (India). Progressive planners everywhere can relate to this newly emerging forum for dialogue among professionals, activists, and progressive institutions. Along with the unprecedented global opposition to the war, the Social Forum is a ray of hope for a humane alternative to global capitalism. *Wendy Call* reports on Plan Puebla Panama, a giant plan for Central America, and the popular resistance to the plan. *Alejandro Rofman* writes about worker cooperatives emerging in response to Argentina's deep economic crisis. And *Larissa Larsen* writes about the global imbalances in water supply.

1. Urban planners are dedicated to the preservation and development of cities. We cannot support a war that destroys the physical and social infrastructure of cities. Baghdad is a city of 4.5 million people and large numbers of civilians will die as the result of U.S. bombing.

2. Urban planning is concerned with human welfare and improvement in the quality of life. We cannot support a war that will bring widespread hunger, homelessness and extensive human suffering.

3. The earliest cities were founded in the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, in what is now Iraq. The numerous ancient historic treasures in Iraq are threatened by the extensive U.S. bombing campaign.

4. Urban planning in America is based on principles of participation and equity. We cannot support a war that imposes the will of the mightiest nation in the world on a population that is helpless before a foreign military force. U.S. occupation of Iraq will only expand inequalities and facilitate the plunder by the U.S. of Iraqi ⇒

resources and labor.

5. Democratic urban planning is based on preserving and developing open and integrated cities with accessible public spaces. The U.S. is reinforcing the establishment of elite, walled enclaves in the Middle East, and on its own border. The U.S. supports, through its foreign aid, the construction of walls, very much like the Berlin Wall, that divide people based on ethnicity.

6. Since 9/11, urban planners are being called upon to consider security concerns in the urban development process. We do not believe there are any methods for building "defensible cities" simply by using physical design. Public security is best guaranteed by building cities and societies that minimize social inequality and maximize social interaction. We are concerned that the Bush administration's homeland security efforts are reinforcing inequalities, creating more fear and instability, and increasing social isolation.

We call on all professionals in the urban planning and community development fields to join the global protest against the U.S. war.

Responses to the PN statement on the war

The following comments in response to the statement were either posted on the PN listserve or sent to the PN Editors.

I appreciate the Planners Network statement on the Iraq war and sense that a large number of progressive people (including progressive planners) do as well. It seems profoundly sad to me that for those of us who feel dedicated to creating positive community—in spatial, natural, social, economic, political and emotional terms—our state is involved in the destruction of another in all of the same ways.

—David Henkel

I come from a small city in Canada called Edmonton, Alberta (pop. 700,000) and we held the biggest Peace March in the history of the city since the Vietnam War. There were 20,000 people who marched around downtown last March 22 to let everyone know of the real issues in the war against Iraq. Of course, this kind of mass action does not always get covered on such Pentagon-controlled networks like CNN, which also goes to show that not all people think CNN is a trusted

network. We are urging people to boycott CNN and other networks who are parroting the US military propaganda. More power to you and Planner's Network!

—Lucenia Ortiz

Thanks for your statement on the US invasion of Iraq. The USA has lost all international credibility as a civilized country. Not only does it disdain the conventions and contracts of international laws, but also it betrays the very essential principles of the Founding Fathers regarding issues of Peace, Democracy and Freedom.

Unfortunately the US and its president will gain a greater fame as being a ruthless destroyer of human communities and cultural heritage, rather than as being a builder and peacemakers. Martial states have never in history brought about values, urbanity and durable cultures. This is a difficult moment for the civilized world and for all of those who wish to plan for a better and more harmonious world!

—Lucien Steil

You probably don't have many members in this part of the country, North Carolina...at any rate, I applaud the PN statement on the war. I agree with the statement and am happy that PN is distributing it. (Although NC is pro-war in general, the Triangle and mountain areas have a strong peace movement.)

My only caution for progressive planners is that we hold off on offering post-war solutions of any kind. It is too early and the people of Iraq should be involved in that process from the start. But that is a debate for another day.

—Fred Broadwell, Durham, NC

I agree with many of the points made in the PN Statement about the war in Iraq. The physical and human devastation that war brings is not something that anyone would favor, the planning community included. However, I am not sure that we can say with certainty that this type of war is never justified, especially in consideration of your second point: Urban planning is concerned with human welfare and improvement of the quality of life. We cannot support a war that will

bring widespread hunger, homelessness and extensive human suffering.

We do not know if the outcome and aftermath of the war will bring more or less hunger, homelessness and suffering. If this despot has treated his people with such disrespect and disregard, killing hundreds of thousands if not millions, terrorizing and torturing them, we as urban planners and as humans need to be concerned about improving the quality of life of the people, even if it means using drastic measures.

—Karen Lowrie

I forwarded the statement to a few of my colleagues, and one replied, "Beth, thank you! You have made my day and maybe even my life. Thanks!" And the only credit I could take was hit-

ting the *Message Forward* button!

Thanks, Tom et. al., et for bringing a planning perspective to the war. One of the loudest messages I heard back in planning school was the importance of involving the stakeholders of a decision in the decision-making process. Setting aside for a moment whether there has been participatory decision-making in the move to war over on our side of the Atlantic, let's consider whether anybody has asked the Iraqis what they want. The social equity justification for this war seems flawed to me. When has forcing a new way of life on another culture ever turned out swimmingly?

—Beth Alden, *The Planning Commission*, Tampa, FL

I pray for my country, the US, and for our generations. The Americans and US should work to ⇨

Philanthropic Watchdog Issues Critique On Iraq War

Washington - The board of directors of the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy (NCRP), the nation's foremost philanthropic watchdog organization promoting social justice in US grantmaking, has overwhelmingly approved a statement expressing strong concern about the preemptive war launched by the United States on Iraq and the impacts of the war on charity and philanthropy.

At the organization's spring board meeting in Los Angeles on Saturday, March 22, 2003, the NCRP board approved the statement on the war in Iraq, emphasizing the human and economic cost of the war and the conflict's potential impact on the US non-profit sector and the disadvantaged Americans it serves. At the same time, the statement called on support for US troops and their families, recognizing the hardships that they face by being called up for prolonged service in this overseas war.

"The US philanthropic sector and many of the sector's non-profit leadership organizations have been unusually quiet about this preemptive war and the wartime budget impacts on the disadvantaged Americans served by charities and philanthropies," said NCRP Executive Director Rick Cohen.

The statement of the NCRP board called on philanthropy to provide more resources and more support for social justice efforts around the globe, to work toward securing human rights, and to support non-profits that encourage and promote fundamental debates about the civic climate and threatened civil liberties that this war has exacerbated.

For more information about NCRP and its statement, contact:

Sloan C. Wiesen, Communications Director, 202.387.9177 or sloan@ncrp.org.

establish international peace and justice. I pray for the US to lead the world with principles of justice and liberty against racism. I strongly believe that building, developing and fair negotiations are able to resolve our problems. War did not solve problems and was never a solution for any conflict before. I'm sad and depressed for those children and innocent people who were killed. I am sad to see the anger toward the US and toward us as Americans. Many people all over the world say that this war is for oil, not for justice. We are Americans. We are not selfish. We do not kill others for money. Americans do not deserve to be killed or to be killers. As you said, war will isolate, and create more poverty.

—*Mariam Agrama*

I first want to applaud the PN statement on the war. But also I want to applaud your effort to represent both sides of the issue. While I'm as anti-war as you and yours seem to be, I worry about others who are not, yet find themselves rather deluged by anti-war sentiment or who feel that the anti-war groups are speaking for everyone without asking permission. We must not let ourselves follow Bush's lead into the dangerous world of "you're either with us or you're a terrorist."

So thanks for the anti-war voice, but more importantly, thanks for giving a lot of people a voice...period.

—*Laura Kaub*

This is to inform you that I, as well as the majority of Americans, oppose the Urban Planners political position on the US war with Iran, your acceptance of foreign terrorism, and your opposition to the leadership of the president of the USA.

You give aid and comfort to the terrorists around the world and to the countries that support terrorism. Shame on you. May you and your misguided colleagues reap your just rewards.

Not a tax-exempt organization or individual.

—*Alvin Pecan*

...[Regarding the second point of the PN Statement:] "We cannot support a war that will

bring widespread hunger, homelessness and extensive human suffering." I'm sorry to say, but widespread hunger and extensive human suffering was already going on over there before this war. Honestly I don't know about the homelessness but I suspect that is probably going on too. The people of Iraq have long suffered under their current government, and not just from sanctions after the 1990-1991 Gulf War...The fallacy of this statement is that the people of Iraq are already helpless before its own military and dictator. Also, the US is singled out of a coalition force as being a pirate to "plunder" the nation of Iraq and "expand inequalities" within the country. This is not a fact-based statement. This statement clearly points out the writers' dissatisfaction with the United States, not once mentioning that the US is not alone in this endeavor, and assumes that is the only goal of this country for being in Iraq...The writer of this statement has not studied or reviewed urban planning methods in creating "defensible" space...Honestly, how does an architect or urban planner design and incorporate the surrounding space to stop a terrorist act? It comes back to the concept of "target hardening." The harder a target, the less possibility a criminal or terrorist act would take place there. Target hardening does not mean "social isolation," and how does creating a defensible space reinforce inequality among this nation. Depending upon what sociologist you speak to, inequality comes from many different outlooks and not necessarily security concerns.

—*Shad Lancaster*

I'm only a grad student in the Community Planning and Development Program at the University of Southern Maine's Muskie School of Public Service, but for whatever it's worth I support the PN statement on the war.

—*Fred Dillon, Portland, ME*

It's interesting that we teach our students that planners are not neutral technical experts and that instead planners need to engage in mutual learning and communicative action with their constituencies who are understood as knowledgeable subjects with authority to speak about planning issues. Yet when it comes to broader public policy issues...planners are reluctant to invoke their own authority and ability to participate legitimately in the discussions, presumably willing to let the "experts" in war planning decide

the issues for them. I personally feel there is way too much at stake (for planning and otherwise) for these issues to go undebated and undiscussed in all quarters of academia and elsewhere. Economists, for example, are widely debating

these issues both in "economic" and "noneconomic" terms and have even taken out petitions of Economists Against the War, etc.

—*Enid Arvidson*

An Initiative by Students for Peace and Social Justice, College of Environmental Design, University of California-Berkeley:

Help put together a fact sheet about the history of Iraq in relation to the current situation in the context of your professional concerns.

Choose one of the topics below, synthesize the information, and create a fact sheet that will cover one double-sided page. If you do not have the time to organize a whole fact sheet, you can contribute by sending pertinent information on the following six fact sheet topics to Annie at adecker@asis.com.

.....

1)Physical infrastructure: sanitation; electricity; water supply; short- and long-term housing; refugee needs (housing, safety of travel, & otherwise); transportation systems;

2)Social infrastructure: community and public institutions (schools, libraries, courts, parks, hospitals, social capital, democratic planning);

3)Cultural resources: heritage sites; archaeological relics; historic buildings;

4)Environmental Systems: ecology, species protection, pollution, food production;

5)Economic and Regional Development: economic development, regional instability, relationships with other countries;

6)Reconstruction Principles (e.g.: "reconstruction priorities should be determined by the people living in Iraq;" "reconstruction should not reinforce a social hierarchy but should work toward justice." The sheet could include an analysis of reconstruction successes and failures in Afghanistan).

Please email any questions to Sarah at cedforpeace@yahoo.com. For fact sheet guidelines and more information on how you can contribute, visit the following website:

<http://groups.yahoo.com/group/cedforpeace/files/IraqStatement/CallForPartners.html>

Dudley [Cont. from page 1]

much the same way that we have begun to consider the ecological footprints of buildings, cities and metropolitan areas. The geopolitical footprint is not a new issue, but it has taken on new forms in the present era of globalization.

However much the Iraqi people needed and deserved to be free of America's former ally Saddam Hussein, the level of cynicism both internationally and in the US over the actual motives for the war is substantial. According to critics, the Bush administration was always more motivated by securing a geopolitical and strategic advantage over Mideast oil

The civil and nurturing urban life we strive to create may become almost unreachable.

than by neutralizing alleged banned weapons. The recent controversial ad campaign from the Detroit Project linking gas-guzzling SUVs to terrorism played off of the fact that so much of the oil consumed in developed countries comes from unstable Islamic nations where the geopolitical and military positioning for control over oil has—literally—fueled intense anti-American sentiment that cannot be long ignored or contained.

Before and during the war, one of the principal arguments raised against the attack on Iraq was that the sight of Americans killing large numbers of civilians would be just what Osama bin Laden and other violent fundamentalists would need to spawn more terrorism aimed at the US. Media images of Iraqis mourning over their dead and bloody children in the streets of their blasted cities only confirm that this anger is all too real.

Dark Times for Urban America

The level of anti-American rage now gestating portends dark times ahead for urban America, for it is more than likely that attacks of revenge against the US will take place in its cities. Attorney General John Ashcroft's pre-war announcement that raised the "terror alert" from yellow to orange specifically referred to "soft targets" such as hotels and apartment blocks. More 9/11-style attacks aimed at public spaces, office towers, crowds, apartment buildings, public transit and other urban areas would not only be a tragic catastrophe, they could easily undermine all that we, as planners, work for. Even if no such attack actually materializes, in an urban

environment filled with the continual threat of one (even if voiced only by American officials) it may become increasingly difficult to get people to take subways, visit parks and fill arenas—much less care about "sustainability." The civil and nurturing urban life we strive to create may become almost unreachable.

All this makes it crystal clear that planners have neglected something very important—that international conflict and injustice are directly related to, and can have an impact on, our planning practice in North America. The context for all our planning, i.e., the wealth and prosperity which we have for so long considered normal, was always a mirage. It was only made possible by globalized inequities so grotesque that they could not endure forever. The philosopher Wendell Berry has said that the globalized economy, which considers such disparities essential and has such devastating consequences for both communities and the planet, has become indistinguishable from a war economy. (See "The Failure of War," *Resurgence* 215 (2002) 6-9.)

In *Our Ecological Footprint* (New Society Press, 1995), Mathis Wackernagel and William Rees point out that our cities appropriate resources from regions outside their own boundaries. A major goal of urban sustainability is to lessen this so-called "ecological footprint" and reduce the amount of "appropriated resources" taken from elsewhere. What is often overlooked is that the extraction of those many resources occurs within a variety of geopolitical contexts—and in the case of oil, it is a violent and repressive one. Almost all of the nations in the Middle East from which most of the world's oil is derived are oligarchies or dictatorships. Our cities, in other words, have "geopolitical footprints" as well as ecological ones; they "appropriate" stability, democracy and freedoms from resource-rich but politically oppressive regions around the world.

The link between this geopolitical footprint and the current war is not difficult to find. In articles printed in the UK in the months leading up to the war, British public health professor Ian Roberts goes so far as to blame urban planners for the crisis. He argues that the very reason the United States is so intent on attacking oil-rich Iraq is because of the sprawling car-dependent cities planners have designed. (See full story at www.guardian.co.uk/comment/story/0,3604,877203,00.html.)

Our Planning is Global

Awareness of the geopolitical footprint of the city confronts planners with new priorities. We can no longer, for instance, see our professional practice

in solely local, regional or even national terms; we cannot simply be "American" or "Canadian" planners. Our work occurs in global and geopolitical contexts that we ignore not only at our peril, but the peril of people a world away. We can no longer design a car-dependent suburb without acknowledging that the fuel needed to shuttle its residents to work and home each day may have come from a country seething with hatred for America, or an environmentally and politically ravaged place such as the Nigerian delta. We cannot design a discount "power center" without knowing that most of the cheap goods that fill its shelves have been manufactured in sweatshops in unstable and repressive countries with some of the worst human rights and environmental records on Earth. We cannot assist in designing an office park for multinational corporations that have been accused of unethical or criminal practices internationally without becoming a participant in those acts.

It is, ultimately, not too much of a stretch to say that the decisions we make regarding the local built environment are fundamentally connected to the peace and stability of the world.

I urge the planning profession to consider two principles. First, consider that war—and in particular, this war—should be opposed and disavowed. Our practice is about working with people to create livable environments, not about imposing new order on the unwilling and unconsulted. Second, we need to re-evaluate the context of our work in a world of want and violence. The March anti-war statement from Planners Network is correct; we cannot entirely "design" security into our cities, any more than the Department of Homeland Security can stop terrorism through vigilance alone, and particularly not through a clampdown on civil liberties. We must begin by working towards a more equitable world where resources are not hoarded and squandered by a few. We must begin by empowering and working with—and most importantly listening to—the disenfranchised and disempowered. We must begin by respecting other cul-

tures and traditions, not imposing our own homogeneous models of development and political structures on them. Such processes can only be accomplished through collaboration and multilateralism, and they are quite in opposition to the "unipolar world" currently being pursued by the Bush administration and its intellectual partner, the "Project for the New American Century."

The decisions we make regarding the local built environment are fundamentally connected to the peace and stability of the world.

While such strategies can hardly be considered novel, they have taken on a new imperative. What we need is nothing less than "regime" change—regime in the sense of a pattern of action. We need to begin to transform our world from one of exploitation and immoral inequities enforced through globalized capital and military might, to a more just world where all regions are empowered to better and more fairly use and manage their own resources for the benefits of their own citizens, and to do so within organic political structures arrived at from within.

Planners are significant players in creating the sort of world we want. We need to ask ourselves if the world we are now seeing emerge is one in which we want to share credit. The peace movement did not stop the attack on Iraq. But perhaps, in what I shall optimistically refer to as the "post-war" world, planners can work to prevent its sequel.

Michael Dudley is at the Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg. For information on the Detroit Project, visit www.detroitproject.com. For information on the Project for the New American Century, visit www.newamericancentury.org.

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Dividing and Rebuilding Beirut: Lessons from a Contested City

By Katja Simons

Will the US-led invasion of Iraq make Baghdad into another Beirut? How will the battle to reconstruct Iraq develop? Despite obvious differences, a look at the history of the Lebanese war, where external forces played no small role, may hint at what lies ahead.

Last year an upscale, subterranean Japanese restaurant designed by the Lebanese architect Bernard Khoury opened in Beirut. The underground restaurant is located on the old Green Line, amid heavily damaged, war-torn buildings inhabited by people living in sheer destitution. Despite this, its patrons see nothing but the sky and need never engage at all with their surroundings. The contradictions captured in this bizarre scene on Damascus Street are part of Beirut's post-war rebuilding process.

For the past ten years tremendous efforts and resources have been put into the reconstruction of the city center, which once held the title "Paris of the Middle East." Before the war, Beirut was the only city in the region offering a full spectrum of services and resources like banking, excellent educational and medical facilities and fine dining and entertainment. During its golden age, Lebanon attracted more than 1.5 million visitors annually. Visitors came to see rich archaeological sites and experience the unique night life, azure Mediterranean and mountain resorts. Today, Lebanon is working hard to promote its attractions and to regain its strong regional role as a business and leisure hub.

The Lebanese War

The war in Lebanon, between 1975 and 1990, left more than 150,000 people dead and over 200,000 injured. One-quarter of the pre-war population of 4 million emigrated. The country was in ruins. Countless buildings, as well as the infrastructure of the capital and its surroundings, were destroyed.

The civil war in Lebanon grew out of an imbalance of power in the government. The changing demographic ratio between the country's various religious groups—Maronite and Greek Orthodox Christians, and Sunni Muslims, Shiites and

Druses—was no longer reflected in the power structure. Despite the gradual decrease of the Christian-to-Muslim ratio, Maronite Christians held most of the positions of power. Both sides established private armies to defend their interests. Tensions increased when militant Palestinians who had been expelled from Jordan in the early 1970s entered Lebanon, contributing to the violent outburst of the conflict in 1975. Interventions by Palestinians, Syrians and Israelis made the civil war in part a proxy war for regional powers. The Lebanese conflict became fully intertwined with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Fatah guerrillas in the south conducted strikes in northern Israel, which led to several acts of retaliation. In 1982, Israel launched a full-scale invasion into Lebanon that killed 17,000 people. The siege and bombardment of West Beirut lasted for seventy-three days. With indirect Israeli support, the Maronite Phalange forces massacred Palestinian refugees in the Sabra-Shatila camps of Beirut. When the Multi-National Forces (MNF) intervened, anti-Western militants committed a series of suicide attacks against US Marines, French barracks and the US Embassy. After the "disastrous intervention" of the US as part of the MNF (as Edgar O'Ballance calls it in *Civil War in Lebanon*), the US "concentrated on preventing the UN from instigating any action regarding Lebanon that would be contrary to Israeli interests."

Eventually, in October 1989, the Arab League produced a peace plan (the Taif Accord). The Lebanese National Assembly met in Taif, Saudi Arabia, and decided on an agreement called the Document of National Understanding. The militias agreed to disarm. Syrian troops were to remain in Lebanon. A more representational political structure was introduced. The Maronite president, the Sunni prime minister and the Shiite speaker of parliament were given more equitably divided powers. Parliamentary seats were apportioned fifty-fifty between Christians and Muslims. At last, Israel withdrew from South Lebanon in May 2000.

Tensions, however, remain in Lebanon today. Over 380,000 Palestinian refugees are still living in twelve camps. Christian groups demand the withdrawal of Syrian troops. A constant cycle of vio-

lence continues between Hezbollah guerillas and Israel in the south.

War Divides the City

Urban warfare was a main feature of the military operations in Lebanon. In this kind of warfare, the fighting takes place in streets and alleys and moves from house to house, causing tremendous human suffering. One of the early examples of urban warfare was the infamous, long-lasting "battle of the hotels," when various militias seized luxury waterfront high-rises that towered over adjacent Christian and Muslim neighborhoods. Fighting and sniping were followed by short ceasefires. During the years of war, Beirutis always lived in a half-light between explosions of violence and breaks in the fighting in which the streets became safe enough to go about daily business.

In the years of war, Beirut was divided along ideological and religious lines. A new mental map of the city emerged. The city was renamed East and West Beirut and was divided by the Green Line of demarcation extending from Martyrs' Square in the historic center along Damascus Road to the south of the city. Christian forces took control over East Beirut, while Muslim and Palestinian militias assumed control over West Beirut. As a result, previously mixed areas were segregated. Almost the entire Muslim population in the eastern sector was expelled. Christians in West Beirut were replaced by Shiites from South Lebanon and the Bekaa Valley.

The Central District and the areas that flanked the demarcation line, which once were a common place for all Beirutis, became the main combat zone. The war destroyed all such common spaces and reinforced the formation of exclusive, enclosed and insulated places. Self-sufficient sub-centers developed in different parts of the city, preventing civic interaction throughout Beirut. People fled the city and moved to safer places at the periphery. Shop owners and businesses followed, moving to the coastal areas north of the city where new suburban commercial centers mushroomed. The main roads leading to the mountains were also chosen for businesses and residential areas. Refugees of lower socio-economic status arrived south of the city, and low-quality housing, small local shops and illegal dwellings grew rapidly.

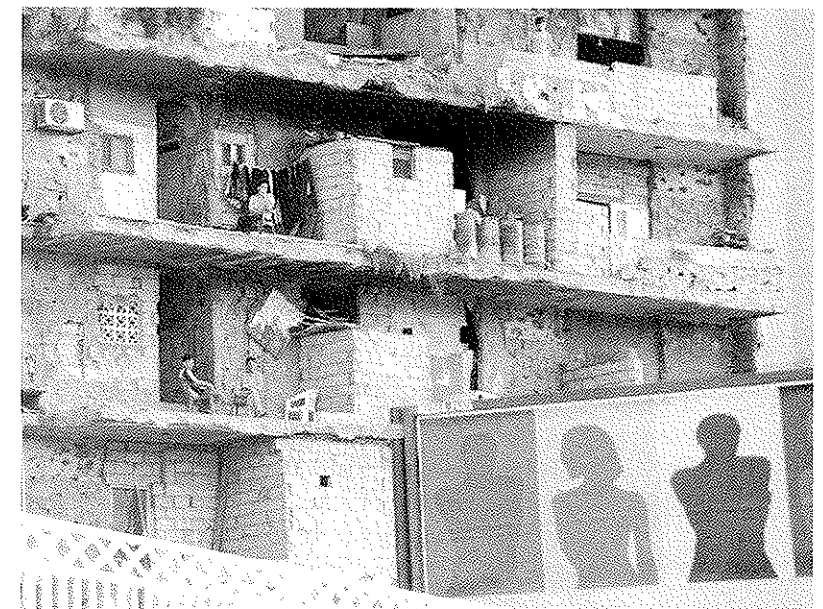
These unplanned and uncontrolled developments were the direct result of wartime anarchy. Today, they pose a great challenge for post-war planning aimed at reconnecting the city. The end of the war

brought with it a physical opening up of the city, but the demarcation line remained deeply embedded in the mind of the Beirutis.

Post-war Lebanese Urban Reconstruction: Displacement and Preservation

After the war a new battle began over how to rebuild. The immense reconstruction program was estimated to cost tens of billions of dollars. The development and reconstruction of the Central District was a priority for the government. This district contained the historic core made up of important buildings such as the Parliament and a number of ministries, the Municipality, the Central Post Office, banks and the city's most renowned public squares and houses of worship.

Beyond the tremendous amount of physical destruction, many obstacles stood in the way of reconstruction. One obstacle was an enormous



Damage from the war in Lebanon

landfill that consisted largely of organic household waste placed at the edge of the Central District. The site, which had grown out of control and spilled over into the sea, covered 2.7 million square feet and stood forty-five feet high. Another major barrier to reconstruction was the property situation; over 80,000 people lay claim as owners and tenants to the 900 war-scarred buildings in the city center.

The reconstruction was also hampered by the Lebanese administration, which was extremely weak and financially ruined. Therefore, the *modus operandi* was to minimize the role of the public in planning the new center and to increase the involvement of private actors. A law was passed ⇨

Photo by Katja Simons

in December 1991 giving the municipality the authority to create real estate companies to speed reconstruction in war-damaged areas. The companies would be responsible for preparing the land for sale to clients, implementing the urban plan and developing real estate, as well as providing property and services management. Rafiq Hariri, prime minister and billionaire developer, created the Lebanese Company for the Development and Reconstruction of Beirut Central District (Solidere) and became one of its largest shareholders.

The reconstruction project in the historic center of the city covers 19.4 million square feet, of which 6.5 million will be land extended into the sea. The project displaced residents and squatters. In com-

The great challenge that remains is to create an inclusive urban fabric. It is easier to rebuild roads and parks than it is to strengthen social cohesion and bring the city back together.

pensation for their property, landowners, tenants and lease-holders were granted stocks in the corporation. This gave rise to loud public protests. Alarmed critics claimed that the existing property patterns would be dissolved and that the relocation of the population would wipe out the social fabric of the area.

As soon as the buildings were vacated, Solidere rushed into action and cleared the area. Apart from a few buildings, entire sections of the central district were demolished. According to Rodolphe el-Khoury in the book *Projecting Beirut: Episodes in the Construction and Reconstruction of a Modern City*, dynamite sticks and bulldozers were "more efficient than fifteen years of warfare in building a *tabula rasa* in place of what used to be the old downtown." By failing to preserve historical monuments, the reconstruction operation became one of the most controversial projects in post-war Lebanon. Expectations of full-scale archaeological excavations were also crushed as a long-term strategy for the archaeology of Beirut was not implemented. The incompatibility between the interests of developers and guardians of cultural heritage could not be resolved.

A Grand Master Plan

The planning for Beirut's Central District (BCD) got off to a poor start. A grand modernizing scheme that proposed radical changes to the

urban structure was criticized for being too monumental. After some public debate, it was replaced by a new plan that preserved the historical layers of the city and made new development possible.

The fundamental concept behind the present master plan for the Central District is to maintain the "city memory." As Angus Gavin and Ramez Maluf illustrate in *Beirut Reborn: The Restoration and Development of the Central District*, the emphasis was placed on acknowledging historic street alignments and devising a set of urban design and building envelope controls to encourage the redevelopment of the traditional street form. The framework contains no land use plans except for defined sites for utilities and public and cultural facilities. The use of other land is flexible and subject to market demand. Project milestones so far include office and commercial buildings at Place d'Etoile, the Saifi residential neighborhood and administrative buildings such as the UN House. Martyrs' Square, one of the key public areas on the city's former divide, still awaits reconstruction. Other future projects will be the rebuilding of the Souks of Beirut, the transformation of the landfill to a waterfront park and the construction of a marina and an archeology trail.

The Challenges of Inclusion

The achievements of the physical redevelopment of Central Beirut are impressive. Noticeably, the focus has been on architecture and design, however, the great challenge that remains is to create an inclusive urban fabric. It is easier to rebuild roads and parks than it is to strengthen social cohesion and bring the city back together.

The downtown was once Lebanon's melting pot, where people from all walks of life came together. If the Central District is to become the public and social center for the country, additional effort will have to be made to shape an environment which is pluralistic with respect to ethnicity, religion and socio-economic status. It is essential to ensure the right housing mix and to connect the reconstruction project with adjacent areas of BCD.

As the redevelopment of the Central District is shaped by the private sector, the main question is how to safeguard the public interest. The dangers of an entirely market-driven, private project are great; markets respond to economic power, not social need. As a private company, Solidere is obviously not obliged to address the growing social and economic inequities in Beirut. It does have, however, the unique opportunity to step out of its private sector role to be a pioneer in shaping a

center of national reconciliation, thereby catering to a variety of different demands.

The Lebanese government should not disengage itself from the responsibility of meeting the needs of its citizens. The government's role—in areas like housing, that are dominated by private developers—is to regulate private market activities and provide incentives to invest in the construction and maintenance of housing for low-income groups. Reconstruction should not be considered a one-time project, but the first of a series of complex tasks involving institutional development. Reconstruction must be linked to sustainable development goals, and public participation should be sought to strengthen civil society. Public involvement in planning for the Central District will promote healing and help to clarify what is important to the people of Beirut.

The remarkable rebuilding efforts in the city center have been of utmost importance to revitalizing Beirut's role as a cultural capital and reestablishing its place in regional tourism. But the rest of the country should not be forgotten. To further strengthen the country, the gap between the Central District and other areas needs to be bridged. Reconstruction should be carried out in the context of a country-wide plan that would determine the distribution of resources between regions, and between cities and rural areas.

Dr. Katja Simons (katsimons@hotmail.com) is an urban sociologist and was a planning consultant with Solidere, the Lebanese Company for the Development and Reconstruction of Beirut Central District. She lived on and off in Beirut during 2001-2002 and is now living in New York City.

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Vieques: El Impacto del Bombardeo en las Poblaciones Civiles

(See English version on next page)

Lo siguiente es una selección del informe hecho por el Grupo de Apoyo Técnico y Profesional de Vieques, un volumen de 15 capítulos hecho por profesionales voluntarios y solidarios de Puerto Rico. El informe se llama Guías para el Desarrollo Sustentable de Vieques. Desde hace 60 años la Marina de Guerra de los Estados Unidos ha ocupado y bombardeado esta pequeña isla de Puerto Rico en preparación para la guerra.

"Las actividades de la Marina en Vieques han tenido un efecto dañino y despiadado sobre el medio ambiente, la ecología, los inigualables yacimientos arqueológicos, los recursos naturales y sus aguas adyacentes."

—Comisión Especial de Vieques

La Invasión de la Marina de Guerra de los Estados Unidos

En la década de los cuarenta la Marina de Guerra de Estados Unidos expropió 26,000 de las 33,000 cuerdas de territorio viequense. Miles de familias fueron obligadas a dejar las tierras donde habían vivido por generaciones y fueron relocalizadas en áreas asignadas por los militares. Las expropiaciones golpearon, sobre todo, a la parte oeste de Vieques, [la parte más agrícola de Vieques] Además, obligaron el cierre y desmantelamiento de la Central Playa Grande, causando una grave crisis económica y un desempleo que resultó en la emigración de miles de viequenses a Estados Unidos, la Isla Grande y la mayor parte a la isla de Santa Cruz. A diferencia del resto de Puerto Rico donde el Partido Popular promovía la división de los latifundios azucareros y la protección de las comunidades de agregados, en esa década el latifundismo en Vieques se consolidó. Y para agravarlo más, Vieques directamente se militarizó.

Contaminación del Aire, Agua y Suelo

Según un estudio realizado por el Ing. Rafael Cruz Pérez la actividad militar de la Marina de Guerra de los Estados Unidos en Vieques genera tres fuentes de contaminación: (a) compuestos químicos

de las descargas de los proyectiles y los compuestos de reacciones secundarias; (b) las partículas de polvo y roca pulverizadas por proyectiles militares; (c) los residuos metálicos dejados por los proyectiles y la chatarra utilizada como blanco de tiro. Una cuarta fuente de contaminación son los vertederos y áreas de almacenaje de la Marina. Los contaminantes generados por estas fuentes pueden llegar a la población a través de los fuertes vientos alisios (el 53.3% del tiempo los vientos soplan del sector del Cerro Matías hacia el área civil de Vieques). Otras rutas de contaminación son las aguas superficiales (incluyendo escorrentía hacia el mar), los lixiviados, las aguas subterráneas y la cadena alimentaria. El Ing. Cruz Pérez calculó que particulado producto de los bombardeos en el área de tiro pueden ser transportados hasta una distancia de 18.9 kilómetros de distancia, y por lo tanto, pueden llegar al área civil de Vieques.

El ingeniero Frankie Jiménez realizó un estudio sobre la radiación nuclear en el área de tiro durante el período del 7 de octubre de 1999 al 3 de febrero de 2000. Su informe del 16 de febrero de 2000 indica ... [la presencia de] rayos gamma por lo que se concluye que la radiación es producto del uranio utilizado por la Marina. El Departamento de Energía reconoce que parte del uranio reducido utilizado para fabricar las municiones que utiliza la Marina está contaminado con plutonio puesto que a veces se utiliza uranio reciclado de combustible nuclear almacenado que contiene contaminantes tales como plutonio y otros transuránicos.

Los análisis del agua mostraron la presencia de once metales y cianuro. Los metales detectados fueron arsénico, bario, cadmio, cromo, cobalto, cobre, plomo, níquel, estaño, vanadio y zinc. De estos once metales, cinco se encontraron sobre los niveles a los que la Agencia de Protección Ambiental (EPA por sus siglas en inglés) recomienda se evalúen alternativas de acción correctiva.

La Incidencia de Cancer

Al comparar la tasa de mortalidad por cáncer en

Vieques (69.6 x 100,000) durante 1990 con la tasa de mortalidad por cáncer (175.0 x 100,000) durante 1998 resalta que el riesgo aumentó +150% en Vieques mientras que el aumento en la Isla Grande fue solamente +4.4% durante esos años. La gran diferencia entre Vieques y Puerto Rico en cuanto al riesgo de morir de los

pacientes de cáncer, ha sido establecida sin lugar a dudas según los informes del Departamento de Salud. Durante 1998, el exceso de riesgo de morir de cáncer en Vieques fue +44% al comparar la tasa de mortalidad por cáncer en Vieques con la de Puerto Rico para ese mismo año.

Vieques: The Impact of Bombing on Civilian Populations

Following are excerpts from the report by the Technical and Professional Support Group for Vieques, a 15-chapter report written by volunteer professionals in Puerto Rico. The report, in Spanish, is "Guías para el Desarrollo Sustentable de Vieques." The US Air Force has occupied the small island of Vieques in Puerto Rico for 60 years, and used it as target practice in preparation for war.

"The activities of the Navy in Vieques have had a cruel and damaging effect on the environment, ecology, unequaled archeological resources, natural resources and adjacent waters."

—Special Commission on Vieques

The Navy Invades Vieques

In the 1940s the U.S. Navy expropriated 26,000 of the 33,000 cuerdas of Vieques land. Thousands of families were forced to leave the land where they had lived for generations and relocated to areas designated by the military. The expropriations affected in particular the western part of Vieques [the most productive agricultural area]. Also, the military forced the closing of the central beach, which caused a grave economic crisis and unemployment that resulted in the emigration of thousands of Vieques residents to the US, the main island of Puerto Rico, and the island of Santa Cruz. Unlike the rest of Puerto Rico where the Partido Popular promoted dividing up the sugar plantations and protecting communities, the plantations in Vieques were consolidated. To make matters worse, the island was militarized.

Pollution of Air, Water and Land

According to a study by an engineer, Rafael Cruz Pérez, military activity in Vieques by the US Navy generates three types of pollution: (a) chemical compounds from the discharges of projectiles, and secondary reactions; (b) dust particles and pulverized rock resulting from military projectiles; and (c) metal deposits left by the projectiles used for target practice. A fourth source of pollution is the settling ponds and storage areas used

by the Navy. The pollutants generated by these sources can reach the residents via strong prevailing winds (53.3% of the time winds blow from the area of Cerro Matías towards the civilian population of Vieques). Other routes for pollution are the surface waters (including those that empty into the ocean) ... subsurface aquifers, and the food chain. Cruz Pérez calculated that particulate matter produced by bombing in the area of target practice can travel a distance of 18.9 kilometers, and can thus reach the civilian population of Vieques.

Frankie Jiménez, an engineer, studied nuclear radiation in the area of target practice between October 7, 1999 and February 3, 2000. His report dated February 16, 2000 indicates the presence of gamma rays, leading to the conclusion that the radiation comes from the uranium used by the Navy. The Department of Energy recognizes that some uranium used to make weapons contains plutonium, and some times depleted uranium waste from the nuclear combustion process is used [in Vieques].

Analysis of water quality demonstrates the presence of 11 metals and cyanide. Metals detected were arsenic, barium, cadmium, chromium, cobalt, copper, lead, nickel, tin, vanadium and zinc. Of these eleven metals, five were above levels recommended by the Environmental Protection Agency and at which remediation is recommended.

Cancer Risks

Comparing the 1990 and 1998 cancer mortality rates in Vieques, it is obvious that the risk of cancer increased by 150 percent, while on the main island of Puerto Rico the increase was only 4.4 percent during the same period. The wide difference in death rates for cancer patients in Vieques and Puerto Rico is established without a doubt in the reports of the Health Department. In 1998, the risk of death due to cancer was 44 percent greater in Vieques than in Puerto Rico.

Translation by Tom Angotti

Plan Puebla Panama: Giant Development Plan Bypasses Rural Mexico and Central America

By Wendy Call

Imagine this scenario. Congressional representatives scramble out of their seats, ignoring their leader's exhortations to remain calm. They sprint out the back door of the building, trying to jump the fence that surrounds their meeting place. Out front, protesting farmers putter around on tractors, smear manure on the sidewalk, pelt the walls with rotting vegetables. A few pigs trot by, wearing the nametags of the president and three cabinet members. Cowboys on horses shatter the glass façade of the building. One of the farmers tells the media: "This is just a little taste."

This all happened in Mexico City on December 10, 2002, Human Rights Day. It was one of the first demonstrations by a newly united movement of rural Mexican producers who are increasingly dissatisfied over Mexico's insertion into the global economy. The scene offers a small window onto the growing desperation in the Mexican countryside, and a little taste of the gathering storm that is Mexico's farmer's movement. On January 1, 2003 a number of key protections for Mexican farmers were phased out under the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). In response, hundreds of thousands of farmers have united under the banner *El Campo No Aguanta Mas*—The countryside can't take any more! The situation is dire. In 2001 Mexico already had a \$2 billion agricultural trade deficit with the United States.

Mexican Government Backs Plan

Two years ago, newly elected Mexican President Vicente Fox announced his support for a regional development plan, known as the Plan Puebla Panama (PPP), as the solution to underdevelopment in rural southern Mexico and Central America. The plan, it was argued, would provide farmers, *campesinos* and other rural Mexicans with new economic possibilities. Now, however, it seems that promise has gone the way of his campaign pledge to end the conflict in Chiapas "in fifteen minutes."

Fox emerged quickly after his election as the lead promoter of the PPP, an ambitious Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) project intended to

build the physical infrastructure needed to plug southern Mexico and Central America into the NAFTA zone. When Fox and the IDB speak of PPP-built highways, a regional electrical grid and new industrial zones for *maquiladora* (sweatshop) manufacturing, however, many of the region's residents fear that the strategy that guides the PPP will mean the loss of their land and traditional livelihoods.

In Mexico, rural issues have risen to the top of the public agenda as NAFTA is fully implemented. Each year there are fewer protections for Mexican farmers. As a result, life grows more precarious for millions of *campesinos* in the countryside. As negotiations for the Central America Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA) with the United States proceed apace, Central American farmers are anticipating similar problems. Because of this, many non-governmental organizations (NGOs) concerned about the PPP have urged that rural issues be addressed by the PPP. This is unlikely to happen, however, as IDB officials have insisted that PPP planners will not take agricultural issues or land tenure into consideration.

Resistance Slows Plan

In 2000, the PPP was presented as a fait accompli. Today, however, largely as a result of citizen groups questioning the plan, the future of the PPP—or at least Mexico's leadership in the project—is less certain. The movement against the PPP surged to life more quickly than the program itself. By the end of 2002, just two years after Fox publicly announced the program, Mexicans and Central Americans had already held three international gatherings and dozens of regional meetings to discuss the PPP and plan their response. Thousands learned about the PPP and developed strategies for opposing it. On October 12, 2002, Indigenous Peoples' Day, more than 60,000 people blocked roads, took over airports, rattled the gates at Mexican and US embassies, shut down border crossings and spray-painted *No PPP!* on walls of foreign-owned factories.

Citizen resistance, along with the economic

impacts of the US recession, have derailed several PPP initiatives. Melquiades Morales, governor of Puebla, Mexico, canceled the first phase of Proyecto Milenium [sic], a planned highway and assembly-plant corridor designed to draw investment away from Mexico City and the northern border. Morales said publicly that the project was canceled "because of the peasants' demands." Similarly, a planned superhighway from the capital of the neighboring state of Veracruz to Mexico City was re-routed after widespread public protest that it would have cut through a cloud forest. Farther south, the Salvadoran government can-

celled a six-lane beltway planned for the national capital (a complement to the PPP) after communities in the proposed path of the roadway mobilized in opposition.

Mexican leadership for the PPP initiative has also lost momentum. In the past seven months, three different individuals have filled the position of PPP director for Mexico. Responsibility for the PPP program shifted last summer from the Office of the Presidency to the Foreign Affairs Secretary—a move seen by many as a signal of the Plan's slipping profile. The 2003 Mexican federal budget ⇒

What is Plan Puebla Panama (PPP)?

The Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and the Mexican government have a plan to transform the landscape and the economy all the way from central Mexico to southern Panama. The Plan Puebla Panama (PPP) proposes the industrialization of the region, connecting it with superhighways and a regional energy grid, and constructing a string of new "development zones" comprised of sweatshops. These megaprojects are meant to open doors for transnational corporations from the north, intensifying the pressure for passage of the Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA) and the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA).

Communities throughout Mexico and Central America have spoken out against the PPP, arguing that it in no way responds to the basic needs of the region's people and is completely contrary to community-based initiatives for economically, socially, culturally and ecologically just alternatives.

Corporate Welfare, Poverty, Privatization and Plunder

The PPP has already resulted in the following megaprojects, from Puebla, Mexico to Panama:

North-South Pacific Coast highway network

Free trade sweatshop zones and the dredging/privatization of deep water ports that will destroy critical fisheries

Connection of ports, the industrial corridor and sweatshop zones with "dry canals"

Creation and privatization of a regional energy grid involving the construction of hydro electric dams from Panama to Mexico to feed industrial development while displacing indigenous communities and damaging ecosystems

Privatization of basic services and natural resources enabling massive oil, mineral, forestry and commercial agriculture development by transnational corporations

The PPP was formally announced in March 2001 by Mexican President Vicente Fox, who declared, "The Plan Puebla Panama is much greater than Zapatismo or any other indigenous community." While the IDB is the primary financial institution behind the planning, financing and execution of the PPP, the World Bank is also involved in this corporate globalization project. Investors who have been linked with PPP projects include: International Paper, Monsanto, Duke Energy, Harken Energy, Applied Energy Services, ENDESA (Spain) and SIT Global.

For more information contact ACERCA & Action for Social and Ecological Justice: acerca@sovernet, 802.863.0571; www.acerca.org.

shows a US\$37 million cut in that secretariat's budget, and a US\$491 million reduction in the overall PPP budget. Officials at the IDB, a key funder and the intellectual author of the PPP, have recently expressed regret over Vicente Fox's

comings, they point to the session that was held in Belize and conducted in Spanish—a language spoken by few residents.

New Highways Underway

Despite setbacks, however, several PPP programs are moving forward. Construction crews are pouring asphalt across Mexico's Isthmus of Tehuantepec to connect the Pacific Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico. The plan for this highway predates the PPP by five years, but it was delayed until late 2002 by community opposition. Today, this inter-oceanic link is part of the PPP's proposed highway network, which covers more than 5,500 miles. By 2008, PPP-built highways are planned to tie central Mexico to the Panama Canal, traversing eight nations and accounting for 85 percent of the US\$4.5 billion PPP budget. These new highways will be large-scale, multi-lane constructions designed for international commerce, often with high tolls that will make them inaccessible to local users.

At the same time, a team of engineers coordinating construction on the Electrical Integration System for Central America (SIEPAC) have established their headquarters in San Salvador. A grid of power lines that will carry electricity from Panama to Mexico by 2004, SIEPAC was a narrow victory for PPP planners. The Salvadoran national assembly rejected the US\$40 million IDB loan for the Salvadoran portion of SIEPAC after every other country in the region had approved the program, largely do to pressure from the Center for the Defense of the Consumer. While access to electricity is a critical issue in most of Central America, the US\$320 million SIEPAC project responds to the needs of big corporations, not residential users. SIEPAC adds millions of dollars to the public debt of each Central American nation and increases reliance on destructive hydroelectric dams for power generation, without providing any guarantees that the power it transmits will be affordable for Central Americans.

While the Center for the Defense of the Consumer lobbied against this regional energy system, IDB officials traveled to San Salvador to lobby in favor of it. A second national assembly vote approved the program. While Mexico was an early proponent of the PPP, many observers assumed that Central America would be a tougher sell, given the history of difficult internal relations in the isthmus. Today, however, Fox rarely mentions the PPP. PPP headquarters have moved from Mexico City to Panama City, and several Mexican PPP projects have been cancelled while SIEPAC moves ahead.

Mexican politics and economic troubles are only

part of the story. Even as the United States-Mexico agenda has stalled, Central America is attracting increased attention in Washington, as the Bush administration negotiates a free trade deal with the nations of Central America—a move that is widely regarded as an effort to advance FTAA talks.

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munities in Oaxaca and the impacts of globalization.

This article was reprinted from an article entitled "PPP Focus Moves South as Mexican Backing Loses Momentum," PPP Spotlight #1, Americas Program (Silver City, NM: Interhemispheric Resource Center, February 20, 2003).

More info is available on the web at: www.americaspolicy.org/citizen-action/spotlight/2003/030220.html.

Criticisms of Plan Puebla Panama

These are some of the criticisms of the PPP that have come out of the three international forums against the PPP held in Mexico, Guatemala and Nicaragua:

There has been no serious consultation with communities affected by the PPP by either the IDB or the involved governments.

The budget priorities of the PPP are dramatically skewed. In the Mexican government's 2002 budget for the program (\$697.4 million), 82 percent of funding is devoted to transport projects while only 2.9 percent is targeted for health or "social development" projects. Meanwhile, there is no specific attention to rural development.

Few, if any, PPP-related projects call for environmental impact statements, though some of the proposals outline plans for studies of their ecological impacts.

Public information about the PPP is scattered, incomplete and confusing. The single largest document available is devoted to general information about the demographics and natural resources of the region, with no details about PPP projects. Documents at the IDB website give spotty details and contradict each other. A country-by-country breakdown of projects and budgets is not available anywhere.

The PPP responds to US interests, not the needs of communities in the region.

The development model that underpins the PPP will destroy local and rural economies and reduce regional food security.

The lack of public consultation regarding the PPP violates international agreements, including Convention 169 of the International Labor Organization on indigenous rights.

The PPP represents a grave risk to the rich biological and cultural diversity of the region.

The Mesoamerican Biological Corridor program, which the Mexican government plans to incorporate into the PPP, represents a threat to the land tenure of local people.

One of the PPP's aims is to reduce migration by Central Americans and Mexicans to the United States, but the plan fails to realistically address the social and economic problems that spur migration.

The PPP should be canceled and replaced with a regional development plan that both supports sustainable rural development and ecological values and enhances food security.

Wendy Call, *Americas Policy PPP Spotlight* www.americaspolicy.org

Photo by Wendy Call



reduced interest in the program, saying they aren't optimistic about the Mexican government's commitment to the PPP.

As the Mexican government increasingly refuses to discuss the PPP, Mexican communities who will be affected by PPP projects are left with only the IDB as a sounding board. The IDB long maintained it could not organize public consultations on the PPP, as that would infringe on national sovereignty. Perhaps as a result of government inaction and growing public unrest with the Plan, however, the IDB finally stepped in and organized a series of consultation meetings in Central America, which many NGO observers characterized as merely perfunctory. As an example of the meetings' short-

Roadmap to Stop the Bulldozers

By The Rebuilding Homes Campaign

The U.S. and British governments are turning their diplomatic attention to the "Performance-Based Road Map to a Permanent Two-State Solution to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict." Among requirements to both sides, Israel must "end the confiscation/demolition of Palestinian homes and property as punitive measures or to facilitate Israeli construction."

Home Demolitions are a focal point of the Roadmap because so many have worked so hard to stop the bulldozers, to explain the human cost of home demolitions and settlement expansion, and to rebuild homes in constructive resistance to Israel's Occupation. Thanks to your efforts, diplomats are finally taking notice.

We want to use this opening to broaden our network and increase our impact — so that we can stop the bulldozers, rebuild more homes, and support those working to build a just peace.

Rebuilding Homes is Organizing a Speaker's Bureau!

We are looking for articulate, knowledgeable speakers to tell audiences in their own communities why Israelis and Palestinians are working together to

rebuild demolished Palestinian homes.

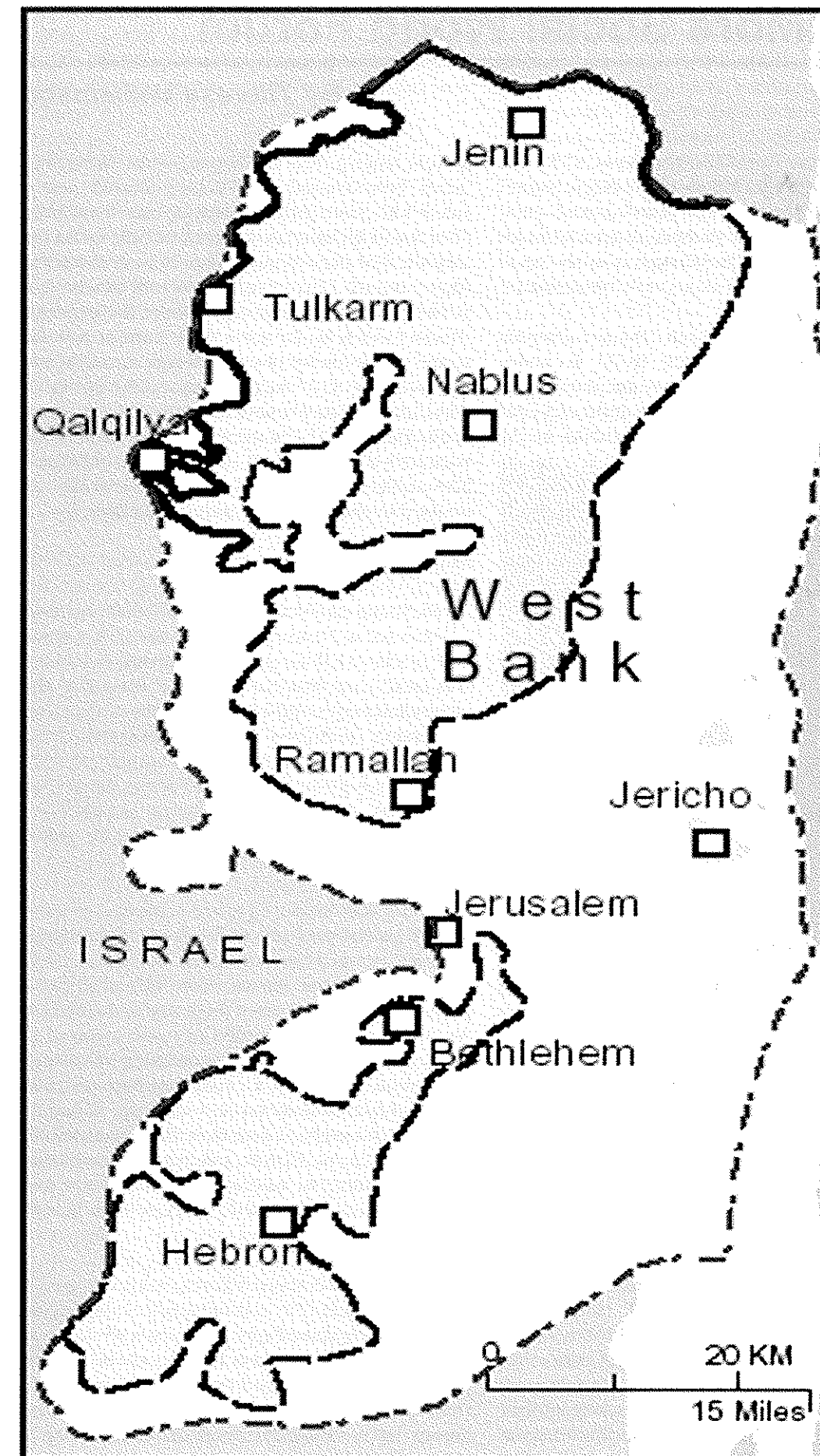
If you would like to be a speaker or organize a Speaker's Orientation in your home town on behalf of the Rebuilding Homes Campaign, please let us know by calling : (01) 510 748 9374 or sending an email to Mary@RebuildingHomes.org.

Our resource packet includes a Speaker Orientation video, Powerpoint presentation CD, and Matrix of Control maps and brochures. Write Mary for price and order information.

The Rebuilding Homes Campaign is dedicated to funding the rebuilding of Palestinian homes demolished for "lack of a building permit," homes of families who have committed no crime. Over 3,000 homes have been demolished in the past two years—106 in the past three months alone—to make room for settlements, Israeli-only roads, and the Security Fence. The reconstruction of these homes brings Israelis and Palestinians together to build up rather than to tear down, to seek community rather than disharmony, thus courageously building a bridge to justice and peace. If you would like to bring this message to your community, we'll be glad to help you get started. Join us to stop the bulldozers!



The Israeli Wall of Apartheid



**West Bank
"Security"
Wall:
Under
Construction
and
Projected
Alignment**

Solid Line: West Bank "Security" Wall under construction as of March, 2003

Dashed Line: Wall alignment proposed by Israeli military planners

Sources: NAD field surveys, media reports, interviews

Map: NAD-JTF

For a More Social World Forum

By Theresa Williamson

The third annual World Social Forum (WSF) was held from January 23–28 in Porto Alegre, Brazil. This article focuses on the participation of a group of Rio's squatter settlement leaders at the Forum, the history of the Forum, and the possibility for enriching such encounters in the future.

The WSF was established to run concurrently with, and provide a critique of, the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, a summit of global wealth and institutional power. The main objective of the WSF is the development of solutions to the world's most pressing social problems and the difficulties generated by current global economic trends. Since its inception two years ago, the Forum has grown to constitute an event worthy of notice in its own right, although it continues to share its dates with—and to critique—the World Economic Forum.

This year's World Social Forum brought together 100,000 participants including delegates, observers, journalists and activists from over 125 countries. The main financial supporters of this \$3.485 million event were the Porto Alegre city government and the State of Rio Grande do Sul. Registration fees were paid by the Forum's 20,763 delegates, and contributions were made by the Brazilian oil company Petrobras, Banco do Brasil and the Ford Foundation. The state and city contributions were offset by the \$20-50 million spent by visitors over the course of the Forum.

In an effort to espouse a non-hierarchical model and foster exchange among participants, anyone is able to register as a delegate and offer a workshop at the WSF. Thus, workshops range in content and approach; some are characterized by a lecture style, others by open debate. This year, over a five-day period, delegates offered 1,286 workshops. Topics included deforestation and ecological economics, Zen Buddhism, community food security, Brazil's democratizing trend towards citizen control over public budgets and human rights and water. Conferences were also held and testimonies provided by intellectuals such as Eduardo Galeano, Noam Chomsky, Leonardo Boff (founder of Liberation Theology) and Arundhati Roy. Some speakers drew audiences as large as 25,000.

At night, next to the campground housing approximately 30,000 youth, the open-air "Por do Sol" amphitheatre hosted Brazil's most famous musical

groups, ranging from hip-hop to samba, along with bands from Senegal and Uruguay. Brazil's newly-elected Worker's Party President, Luiz Ignácio da Silva (Lula), spoke to an audience of 140,000. As the only head of state to participate in both the Porto Alegre and the Davos Forum, Lula told an emotional audience about his struggles over the previous decades and what he felt was his current role. He spoke of the futility of an economic order where few people could "eat five meals a day (while) a great many spend five days on earth without eating at all." And he spoke of the importance of strengthening ties between Brazil, Latin America and Africa. The audience broke out in applause when he pledged to deliver the same speech in Davos.

Including the Excluded

A new friend and New York City political organizer commented to me during the Forum that it seemed like a "Club Med for leftists," implying that there was lack of representation at the Forum of the most excluded groups in society. The majority of conference delegates were professionals from large non-governmental organizations (NGOs), union members, academics, and others concerned with social issues, not necessarily members of those groups most negatively affected by global economic trends.

While a more concerted effort is needed to guarantee a greater presence of urban squatters, indigenous tribes, members of ethnic movements and other marginalized groups, some disenfranchised groups, however, did make their way to the Forum. Among them were a handful of youth involved in hip-hop in Seattle, Latina women living in housing projects in New York City, indigenous groups from various regions of Brazil and a group of unemployed picketers from Argentina. The organization I represented at the Forum, Catalytic Communities, secured funding to take a group of twenty-three *favela* (squatter settlement) leaders from Rio de Janeiro.

Participating in this year's Forum with the group, called CONGESCO (Community Managers Tribunal), heightened my awareness of what was missing from my previous Forum experiences. In prior years, I had returned from Porto Alegre in distress over the failure to develop solutions. The Forum has established a reputation for being a space for articulating complaints rather than

exploring its primary objective—seeking an alternative to the current pattern of development worldwide. In past years, this had left me with a sense that the Forum was a lot of talk and little action.

From Talk to Action

This year, however, I got a close view of what could be accomplished by incorporating disenfranchised groups into such an information-rich environment. My education started on the first day, when our group of twenty-three community leaders and five Catalytic Communities employees paid a visit to the information stands pavilion. For me, these stands provided opportunities to investigate some new initiatives and acquire useful contact information. To the community leaders, however, they presented valuable sources of information previously unavailable, and leaders thoroughly explored the stands, taking every piece of literature they could.

Shortly thereafter we entered the Forum's opening protest march. The CONGESCO community leaders created fifteen chants throughout the march and attracted the attention of various TV and print journalists. "The march was really good, we sang protest songs against the social exclusion that affects people who live in poverty, the absence of education and health care, basic sanitation, unemployment," one community leader said. "During the march our movement caught the attention of national and international journalists and magazine photographers and also the mass of people who were watching from the sidewalks. We saw the shocked look on the face of curious people reading the banners we carried, who applauded and gave us a thumbs up. Others joined our movement and sang with us. It was a success, we were happy because we did not think there would be so much support for us."

Low-income community activists outside of Brazil are often unaware of the World Social Forum. When they first learn about it they assume it is yet another event organized by and for elites working on issues, such as poverty, that mostly affect people like them—a "Club Med for leftists," if you like. These activists therefore arrived at this Forum expecting to experience a certain level of alienation and hostility. Instead, it became clear that there was a desire on the part of those present to include those people directly affected by social policies. To their surprise, the community leaders experienced widespread support throughout their week in Porto Alegre.

The next few days continued to make lasting impressions on the community leaders. They met

with the current minister of social development and ex-governor of the State of Rio, Benedita da Silva, the first Afro-Brazilian woman to govern a Brazilian state. They spent a morning with Workers Party Senator Eduardo Suplicy from São Paulo to discuss the difficulties associated with community work. The community leaders' involvement in the Forum also brought them into contact with two independent filmmakers who are producing a documentary, to be launched in New York in May, about the participation of this particular group of leaders in the Forum.

Workshops with Community Leaders

Community leaders made presentations during two workshops organized by Catalytic Communities. In one of these workshops,



Photo by Theresa Williamson

Henrique Monteiro, who operates a youth arts program in one of Rio's most dangerous *favelas*, met a Dutch book publisher who became very interested in Henrique's project. Ten minutes into the presentation, the Dutch gentleman opened his wallet and presented Henrique with 500 Euros to help him realize his long-term vision: to buy a house in the *favela* to operate as The Art House. The Art House would serve as a cultural center within Jacarezinho, a community deprived of cultural resources.

The second workshop attracted a group of North Americans, including representatives of foundations and the Center for Social Justice in Seattle, and Brazilian university students. The dialogue that resulted from this encounter was extremely rewarding. The Seattle representatives were ⇒

interested in learning more about CONGESCO's success in developing such a united group. CONGESCO, in turn, began to learn about the experience of activists and low-income groups in North America.

This exchange became even more valuable the following afternoon, when the Seattle organizers introduced CONGESCO's leaders to members of the New York-based not-for-profit Community Voices Heard. The New York grassroots activists sat with CONGESCO members in an open-air courtyard and spoke for several hours about their expe-

The expiration of public funding has resulted in a monthly meeting that often resembles a support group, enabling leaders to cope with the lack of public support for their initiatives.

periences fighting for social services in New York. After listening to one of the New Yorkers describe the state of welfare in the US, one of the youth leaders from Rio exclaimed, much to my surprise, "I'm embarrassed to talk about my problems!"

Another World Is Possible

Not until this third Forum was I able to leave with a sense of fulfillment, bringing me closer to feeling that indeed "Another World is Possible," as the WSF slogan tells us. That world, it became clear to me, would be the result of empowerment and network-building between the most marginalized groups in society and the well-intentioned groups that claim, but often fail, to represent them. These individuals are ready and willing to debate with community representatives, but often lack the space to do so.

Perhaps an even more important connection to be made, however, is among disenfranchised groups, as occurred during the meeting of Rio's community leaders and those from New York City's housing projects. Praise and encouragement should be granted to groups such as the Panta Rhea Foundation who, in recognizing the importance of community dialogue at the Forum, used their WSF funds to send grassroots organizers rather than their own representatives.

Finally, encounters between people from diverse places and ways of life are of critical importance in establishing this other world. In this new world we

will no longer blame another culture ("Islam," "the Americans," etc.) for the world's problems. Instead, through contact with people from cultures other than our own, all of us will grow to understand that, despite cultural differences, those "masses" elsewhere are rather like ourselves. We can then collectively get on with the more difficult task of working together to counter what truly poses a threat to a better world—existing institutional forms, lack of creativity and power concentrated in a few hands.

Since the Forum, there is evidence of change in the CONGESCO community leaders. Mostly unpaid volunteers, leaders are each responsible for local community programs that provide necessary public services in their various communities—after-school sports programs, literacy training for the elderly, fieldtrips for youth. The expiration of public funding has resulted in a monthly meeting that often resembles a support group, enabling leaders to cope with the lack of public support for their initiatives. While the city of Rio continues to build capacity for leadership across the city's communities through a community management course, it fails to provide continued support to initiatives after course completion.

Today, CONGESCO meets to discuss how to claim the public services their communities are entitled to—sewerage, electricity, water, health, education and leisure for youth. Presently they are in the process of preparing a strategic plan to build a community movement through which local leaders can claim their rights.

As the case of CONGESCO community leaders illustrates, the resources made available by the WSF—knowledge, networks and solidarity—are important tools for grassroots community organizers. With next year's Forum scheduled to take place in India, I hope that the spirit of grassroots participation becomes strengthened. The 2004 WSF must foster the involvement of those whose needs it is concerned with—those populations most negatively affected by current approaches to development.

Theresa Williamson is a doctoral candidate in the University of Pennsylvania's Department of City and Regional Planning, and executive director of Catalytic Communities (www.catcomm.org). She currently lives in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

To read President Luiz Ignácio da Silva's speech, visit www.brazil.org.uk/page.php?cid=1539.

For more information on the 2004 WSF, visit www.wsfindia.org.

Hyderabad, Indian: The Asian Social Forum

By Penelope Duda

In January 2003, over 15,000 delegates from South and Southeast Asia, Europe, Latin America and North America gathered in Hyderabad, the capital city of Andhra Pradesh, India, to forge an international social movement based on the belief that another world, and another Asia, is possible. Hyderabad was an excellent choice for such a gathering, and not only because the weather is eighty degrees *Fahrenheit* in January. Hyderabad is both the hub of foreign direct investment in India and the historical center of the country's anti-feudal struggle.

The Nizam College Grounds in Hyderabad were transformed into a powerful scene of spontaneous marches and protests, international networking and micro-commerce, as activists from Indian tribal and *dalit* ("untouchable") communities mingled with Indian and foreign intellectuals such as Vandana Shiva, Medha Patkar, Jean Dreze and Walden Bello. Hundreds of social organizations set up booths and sold books, pamphlets, cooperatively-produced clothing and soaps, and shared their work and ideas with visiting activists.

The Forum got off to a slow start, as panel discussions started several hours late and microphones malfunctioned. Yet the mix of speakers and high energy levels made for a stimulating atmosphere. One of the opening forums on Peace and Security featured a Japanese *Hibakusha*, or atom bomb survivor, sharing the stage with a Canadian peace activist from Greenpeace and a Pakistani women's rights activist and academic. While the forum organizers took care of logistical problems, a group of *dalit* women from rural Andhra Pradesh held a march around the grounds calling for an end to globalization and American imperialism.

The Asian Social Forum is an extension of the World Social Forum and it was held in India to provide a venue for Asian activists who were not able to participate in the Porto Alegre conferences. Hyderabad is a fitting venue since it has become a center of neoliberalism in India. Andhra's chief minister, Chandrababu Naidu, has earned an international following among multinational corporations and international financial

institutions for his commitment to hi-tech development, including the construction of the "Hi-Tech City" on the city's outskirts (earning the city the nickname "Cyberabad"). His government has undertaken several internationally-financed beautification and infrastructure development projects to attract tourism and economic development to the city. These projects, however, have led to the mass evictions of informal settlement

The National Forum for Housing Rights India estimates that in 2002 alone over 8,900 families were evicted from settlements around the city of Andhra.

dwellers. The National Forum for Housing Rights India estimates that in 2002 alone over 8,900 families were evicted from settlements around the city.

Inasmuch as Hyderabad's status as a laboratory for World Bank and IMF development projects makes it an excellent place to organize against neoliberal policies, Andhra's history as a site of intense anti-feudal struggle makes it even more significant. During the 1940s, peasants from the Teleganna region of what was then the Hyderabad state waged the largest guerrilla war in India's history to end bonded labor and landlord atrocities, as well as to achieve national liberation.

During the five days of the Forum, the legacy of this struggle continued, as people throughout Andhra, India and the world came together to strategize for the creation of a world in which peace, social and economic justice and genuine democracy could reign supreme. The 2004 World Social Forum will be held in India. Although the exact location has not yet been announced, India's history of people's movements and the present struggle against foreign investment should ensure a dynamic and productive event.

Penelope Duda is a planning consultant in New York City.

Water Poverty and Neoliberal Reforms

By Larissa Larsen

Despite improved technology, a large proportion of the world's poorest people do not have access to clean water. Neoliberal economic reforms are making access even more difficult.

According to the World Health Organization, one in every six people in the world (about 1.1 billion people) lack access to safe water, and 2.4 billion people lack safe latrine facilities. Every year 3.4 million deaths result from diseases closely associated with these depravities. Children in developing countries, who disproportionately suffer from these related diseases, consequently shoulder 40 percent of the risk.

In the last several years, the United Nations (UN) officially recognized that access to potable water

In the WPI, many rich nations like the US and Japan rank low because water is inefficiently used and large quantities of it are wasted. While other developed countries that have high levels of environmental awareness, e.g., Finland and Canada, are ranked at the top, poor countries tend to rank low mostly due to lack of access to water. In these countries, public investment in the basic systems of water supply is minimal, especially in rural areas and urban peripheries.

Public Water Supplies for Sale

An additional problem in developing countries is the growing threat to safe water and sanitation by the current neoliberal reforms of global agencies. The word "liberal," which harkens back to the eighteenth century philosophy of Adam Smith—who believed that the "invisible hand" of the market produced the most beneficial conditions for all—connotes inclusion, enlightenment and open-mindedness. Today's neoliberalism, however, describes trends toward privatization of public institutions and services, union busting, and decentralization. Since the 1970s it has gained political favor as a "commonsense" approach that would end "heavy-handed" government involvement. It has also enriched many transnational corporations in the process.

Water Revolt in Latin America

The Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) is the largest multilateral lender of aid for Latin America. The IDB summarizes the cause of Latin America's problems in a simple phrase: inefficient government institutions. To remedy this, the IDB began in the 1990s to fund the privatization of airports, roads, hospitals, electrical suppliers and water treatment plants. In Latin America alone, 396 public assets were sold to private companies in the last fifteen years, the sales of which account for over one-half the value of all privatizations throughout the developing world. Critics of the IDB's privatization efforts note that poverty and unemployment rates are higher now than before, debt levels have not declined, and yet profits of private corporations are up.

Bolivia, one of the poorest countries in Latin America, was selected by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) as a test country for neoliberal economic policies in the early

1990s. The World Bank argued that privatization of public services and infrastructure would increase access to development capital and introduce skilled management. By 1996, Bolivia's president, Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada, had sold controlling shares of the country's public oil company, telephone company, electric company, airlines and train system to private investors. In 1997, the World Bank "encouraged" the privatization of the water system of the city of Cochabamba by making a \$600 million dollar international debt relief loan to Bolivia contingent upon the sale. The water system was sold to the Bechtel Corporation, a US-based transnational corporation.

Cochabamba is a city of 600,000 in the Andes Mountains. The minimum wage there is approximately \$60 per month. Before privatization, the average household paid \$5 per month for water service. In the first month after privatization, the monthly cost of water per household increased fourfold, to approximately \$20. In the early months of 1999, public furor over the cost of water led to three strikes and four months of civil unrest. After a local organizer, Oscar Olivera, spoke before the UN about the situation, the Bolivian government was forced to cancel the water agreement with Bechtel and roll back water rates. In a recent article in the *NACLA Report on the Americas*, Jim Shultz

states, "The Bolivian water revolt has become an international symbol of popular resistance to global economic rules imposed from above." While the Bolivian example has an encouraging outcome, it is an anomaly. Rarely do privatized assets revert to public ownership.

No one can discount the importance of water for the sustenance of human life. Neoliberalism, however, gives priority to economic efficiency over responsibility, in this case responsibility to provide fair access to water. The International Forum on Globalization, a non-governmental organization, has questioned this market dimension of globalization and identified "common heritage resources," such as water, air and land. Access to these resources, however, requires a democratically accountable public regulation of human needs. All of the UN's good intentions related to increasing access to safe water and sanitation may be undercut by the privatization facilitated by international aid organizations. The true tragedy of the commons, as it relates to water and increasing access to it for the poor, may be the sale of the commons to private interests.

Larissa Larsen (larissal@umich.edu) teaches in the School of Natural Resources and Environment, University of Michigan.

In the first month after privatization, the monthly cost of water per household increased fourfold, to approximately \$20.

and sanitation is critical to the reduction of poverty in developing nations. In the United Nations Millennium Development Goals, the 147 member states pledged to reduce by half the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water by the year 2015. At the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in Johannesburg in 2002, this pledge was expanded to include a simultaneous reduction by half of people without access to basic sanitation.

International recognition of the importance of safe water and sanitation was the driving force behind the recent development of the Water Poverty Index (WPI) by the UN. Created under the direction of Dr. Caroline Sullivan, director of water policy and management for the United Kingdom's Center for Ecology & Hydrology, the WPI was released in December 2002. The WPI measures resources, access, capacity, use and environmental integrity in the 147 member countries at three levels of aggregation: community, region and nation. The goal of the Index is to link water resources, safe water access, and poverty in a way that facilitates meaningful international comparison.

Get On the PN Roster 2003

In 1998 PN published its last PN Roster. We plan to develop a new roster in 2003. We are exploring options for some kind of password protected version on the web but there will possibly be a print version. For those of you who remember the old rosters, they were terrific networking resources.

We will use the PN address list as the basis for the roster but it is much better to have more information about each member, particularly a brief bio. Remember, PN is a network and it is only as strong as its members.

To make sure you have the best possible information, please fill in the following:

Name:	Phone:
Organization:	Fax:
Address:	Email:
City:	URL:
State:	A brief statement describing your work, interests, and/or activities in 50 words or less.
Zip:	
Country:	

Send it to: pn@pratt.edu (preferred) OR Fax to 718-636-3709
OR mail to Planners Network, 379 DeKalb Ave., Brooklyn, NY 11205

Pobreza Urbana En Argentina: Crisis Del Sistema Y Respuestas Estatales

Por Alejandro Rofman
(English summary follows)

(Buenos Aires) La aguda crisis económico-social argentina, desatada en toda su intensidad a fines del año 2001, ha sido noticia internacional sólo en uno de sus aspectos salientes: la cesación de pagos de su abultada deuda pública declarada por el Gobierno nacional el 22 de diciembre del citado año. La imposibilidad de hacer frente a los compromisos financieros asumidos por gobiernos anteriores, que siguieron fielmente los preceptos del Consenso de Washington, obligaron al abandono del tipo de cambio fijo, que duró desde 1991 hasta el año 2002.

La devaluación de los primeros meses del año pasado generó un incremento de precios al consumidor del 40%, fuerte caída del consumo, de la producción y de la inversión. En poco tiempo—no más de seis meses—se generó un elevada subida de la tasa de desempleo y una contracción significativa de los salarios reales de quienes aún tenían trabajo, dada la inmovilidad del salario nominal y la estampida inflacionaria. Desde enero a mayo de 2002, el salario real perdió alrededor del 40% de su valor mientras que la desocupación y la subocupación urbana asimilable al desempleo abierto superó el 30%, situación inédita en la Argentina.

Elevación de la Pobreza Urbana

La consecuencia social más grave fue la abrupta elevación de la pobreza urbana. La medición estadística oficial permitió calcular el índice de habitantes urbanos con ingresos debajo de la línea de la pobreza en un valor de 57,5 % del total de la población residente en centros urbanos de más de 100.000 habitantes (el 70% de la población total del país). A la vez, el índice de indigencia, estimado a partir de los ingresos necesarios para hacer frente sólo a una canasta de alimentos necesarios para subsistir, alcanzó al 27,5% de la citada población urbana.

Nunca antes un descalabro social había sacudido así el país. Ello fue el resultado inexorable del derrumbe del modelo de acumulación basado en la valorización del capital financiero vigente hasta entonces, cuyo único objetivo era obtener recursos fiscales suficientes para enfrentar los servicios de la deuda externa y favorecer a la gran banca financiera concentrada. Tras dicho derrumbe, con casi 20 millones de habitantes sumidos en la pobreza y ocho millones en la

indigencia, se tuvieron que poner en marcha iniciativas estatales y/o privadas tendientes a paliar el hambre y la miseria urbana altamente presente en una sociedad que casi las desconocía 20 años atrás y que produce anualmente 90 millones de toneladas de alimentos, capaces de nutrir a una población diez veces más grande que la que hoy habita la Argentina. El fracaso rotundo del modelo de acumulación vigente quedó, así, al desnudo, por su incapacidad para llevar adelante una política distributiva, con equidad social, que diese de comer a todos, sin excepción. La angustiante pregunta colectiva, a mediados del año 2002, cuando el impacto de la crisis azotaba los centros urbanos más importantes del país, era encontrar la vía adecuada para enfrentar la dura realidad presente.

Dos respuestas diferentes asumieron modelos de vinculación entre estado y sociedad de neto perfil contrapuesto. De un lado, el Estado nacional puso en marcha un subsidio a las Jefas y Jefes de Hogar que eran responsables de familias con ingresos mensuales inferiores a la línea de la pobreza (alrededor de 700 pesos argentinos o sea poco más de 240 dólares). Esta estrategia se puso en práctica a mediados del año 2002 y en pocos meses incorporó a un millón ochocientos mil hogares urbanos, abarcando a, aproximadamente, el conjunto de los pobladores de la ciudades que se encontraban en la situación de indigentes. La condición para recibir el subsidio, que es de 150 pesos argentinos por mes, consiste en que ningún jefe del hogar obtenga ingresos de cualquier origen y que ofrezca una prestación laboral, como contrapartida del subsidio recibido. El subsidio es insuficiente siquiera para combatir la indigencia—sólo cubre el 40 % de lo necesaria para salir de esa situación de privación social aguda—y la contraprestación laboral no comprende, todavía, ni la mitad de los perceptores, siendo la distribución del apoyo financiero objeto de numerosas controversias, pues se realiza en medio de documentadas denuncias de clientelismo político, favores a familiares de caciques políticos, inclusión de nombres falsos, etc. Es una estrategia ejecutada de "arriba hacia abajo," sin ningún control popular y sin participación activa de los beneficiarios.

Una segunda respuesta, difundida en innumerables experiencias autogestionarias y solidarias, muestra otro modelo de acción basado en el apoyo mutuo

entre los mismos damnificados por el descalabro económico y social, con mucha más efectividad y capacidad de control por los habitantes urbanos involucrados. Así, surgieron comedores barriales, "ollas populares" en establecimientos públicos y privados, organizaciones solidarias para paliar la falta de alimentos, acciones de ONGs e iglesias de distintas confesiones, y emprendimientos cooperativos orientados a producir y ofrecer alimentación gratuita a los sectores empobrecidos, o para su venta en el mercado a fin de recoger ingresos para los fines antedichos. En muchos casos, los subsidios estatales para Jefes de Hogares pobres se transformaron en contribuciones para conformar esas actividades productivas sin fines de lucro y con alto contenido solidario y asociativo.

Las experiencias colaborativas entre residentes de grandes aglomeraciones urbanas tienen un singular ejemplo en La Cacerola, una panadería artesanal situada en un barrio de clase media baja de la ciudad de Buenos Aires. Cuenta ya con dos decenas de trabajadores, que elaboran panes, masas y emparedados para estudiantes carenciados de 24 escuelas secundarias de la ciudad de Buenos Aires, cuyo gobierno las adquiere a la par que les prestó un edificio oficial desocupado. La Cacerola, organizada en forma cooperativa, permite que cada uno de sus integrantes reciba un ingreso mensual igualitario que triplica el subsidio del Programa estatal de Jefes de Hogar y su capacidad de expansión comprende planes para más que duplicar

English summary:
**Urban Poverty in Argentina:
Crisis of the System and Government Responses**
By Alejandro Rofman

(Buenos Aires) In 2001, the Argentine government stopped payments on its foreign debt and abandoned the fixed exchange rate for the *peso*. The devaluation led to a 40% increase in prices, and a sharp drop in consumption, production and investment. Between January and May of 2002, real wages declined by 40%. Urban unemployment and underemployment exceeded 30%, the highest ever. 57.5% of people residing in cities over 100,000 population (70% of the total population in the country) were living below the poverty line.

This social disaster was the result of the inexorable failure of the model of accumulation based on foreign capital, whose sole objective was to raise taxes to service the external debt. There were two very different responses to the crisis. One was the introduction of subsidies to households with incomes below the poverty line. A few months after this started, 1.8 million urban households received this subsidy, which covers only 40% of the amount a household would need to move above the poverty line. A condition for receiving these funds is that house-

hold heads have no other income or employment. This "top-down" approach has been filled with documented cases of fraud and favoritism.

A second, more effective approach has been that of self-help and solidarity among urban residents. These include neighborhood kitchens, some sponsored by non-profits and religious groups, and cooperatives that produce and distribute food. Sometimes government subsidies are used to support this kind of social action.

Alejandro Rofman trabaja con el Centro de Estudios Urbanos y Regionales y el Centro de Estudios Avanzados en Buenos Aires.

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For example, La Cacerola is a cooperative bakery in a lower middle class neighborhood of Buenos Aires. It has dozens of workers and produces bread for 24 secondary schools. Each of the workers earns the same amount, about three times the state subsidy to poor households. The bakery is planning to more than double its production in the next three months. Efforts like this are growing and include the participation of neighborhood activists. They contrast with the government's paternalistic model that has a strong element of political favoritism.

Alejandro Rofman works with the Centro de Estudios Urbanos y Regionales and Centro de Estudios Avanzados in Buenos Aires.
Summary by Tom Angotti.

Administration's Voucher Proposal Would Harm Low Income Families

By the National Low Income Housing Coalition

A bill introduced in Congress in late April would radically restructure the Housing Choice Voucher program, a popular program that helps approximately two million families afford modest housing.

The voucher program has been embraced by advocates and Members of Congress on both sides of the aisle because it is a flexible, market-based way to address the gap between what families earn and what housing costs. Low income families, seniors, and people with disabilities receive vouchers to give to private landlords that generally make up the difference between 30% of the household's income and the cost of the rental unit. The federal government provides local housing authorities with vouchers to distribute to families on its waiting list.

The voucher program would be renamed Housing Assistance for Needy Families (HANF). Under the plan, the federal government would no longer have an obligation to fund individual vouchers. Instead, the program would be converted into a block grant, in which states would receive funds that they would in turn be responsible for allocating to housing authorities or other local providers.

The legislation is slated to be introduced by Senator Wayne Allard (R-CO) and Representative Bob Ney (R-OH), each the chair of the housing subcommittee in their respective houses. Mr. Ney said this afternoon he is introducing the legislation "upon request of the Administration."

The proposal has been criticized for several reasons:

- Block grants typically increase by the amount of inflation or less each year. Because housing costs have been increasing much faster than the rate of inflation, block granting the voucher program would almost certainly result in a devaluing of the program over time.

- Because the proposal would require states to serve the same number of people whether or not federal funding remains even, states would be encouraged to serve people with higher incomes

(who require less of a subsidy to be able to afford housing) or to increase the amount that low income households are required to pay each month.

- The proposal would open the way for states to impose time limits on a household's voucher use. While time limits would presumably be an incentive for low income households to move into work, the majority of voucher holders are either already working, or are disabled or retired. Time limits on voucher use will destabilize families and result in the movement of working families into homelessness.

- By giving states a role in the allocation of vouchers, the proposal would add an additional layer of bureaucracy to the program. It would also likely politicize the program, as states would have more of a say in determining which communities within their state received vouchers.

"With this proposal, the Administration is abdicating the federal government's responsibility to our country's poorest citizens," said Sheila Crowley, President of the National Low Income Housing Coalition. "The market on its own does not provide housing for people with the lowest incomes, even if they are working, and the voucher program works to correct this market failure. What we need in this time of economic downturn is a greater federal commitment to people who cannot afford housing, not less of one."

Senators John Warner and George Allen, both Republicans of Virginia, circulated a letter earlier this month warning HUD Secretary Mel Martinez that the Administration's proposed changes could harm the low income families receiving vouchers and add another layer of bureaucracy to the program. Forty other Senators signed the letter, including eight other Republicans.

More than half (53%) of all voucher holders are families with children. Another 40% are seniors or people with disabilities. Only about 1 of every 5 voucher holders receives welfare benefits. About 40% earn wages, while most others rely on disability or retirement income. [Cont. on page 37]

Under Attack: Public Sector Workers

By Renee Toback

Contracting government work to the private sector has long been part of the "free market" ideal to minimize government activity. But George W. Bush brings unprecedented zeal to the effort, in concert with the radical right's attack on workers and unions.

Government workers are the most unionized segment of the American labor force. More than thirty-seven percent of government workers were union members in 2002 while only 8.5 percent of private wage and salary workers belonged to unions. An even larger percentage, 42 percent of the public sector workforce, is represented by unions to which they may or may not belong. Almost half of the unionized workforce is in government employment. There are 7.4 million unionized government workers compared to 8.8 million in the private sector.

The Bush Administration plans to contract a million federal government jobs to the private sector by establishing quotas for "competitive sourcing" or directly contracting out agency work to the private sector. "Outsourcing" government work often requires no cost-benefit analysis and there has to date been no follow-up to determine the actual cost or to evaluate contract performance.

In contrast to previous efforts at "contracting out" which recognized certain "inherently governmental" functions, the federal Office of Management and Budget now contends that all federal employment is fair game. Private contractors already run government office mailrooms, provide in-house information technology and computer services, and will soon hire people to staff the income tax information lines. There is a strong likelihood that private debt collectors will be paid a 25 percent commission to collect past due income tax, despite the total failure of a previous gambit in private tax collection and the serious potential for abuse in a commission-based system.

Other recent examples of private contractor fiascos include:

- Mellon Bank, an IRS contractor, lost or destroyed more than 70,000 tax documents, including

checks totaling more than \$1.2 billion.

- A private contractor failed to deliver on a contract for an upgrade to computer system technology for the federal Thrift Savings Plan, which is now two years overdue and seriously over budget.

- Most recently, private contractors failed to effectively manage airport security functions, leading to the federalization of this work.

The Executive Branch is using the events of 9/11 as an additional lever in its all-out war on federal worker's rights, particularly their right to organize. Declaring unionization incompatible with the war against terror, Bush portrays the unionized worker as a threat to national security. In addition to contracting out government work, designation of a broad swath of government work as "directly affecting national security" provides federal agencies "discretion in labor relations" to undercut existing pay and benefits and "increased flexibility" to revise and circumvent Civil Service rules, workers' rights and job security. Fifty thousand union workers can already be stripped of their existing union representation because they were transferred to the Department of Homeland Security even though their job duties remain the same. Over 100,000 other Homeland Security workers, including the 56,000 recently "federalized" airport security screeners, will be denied the right to form unions.

Bush now seeks "fast track" authority, compelling "a straight up or down vote" on federal reorganization proposals, without congressional debate or amendment. "Fast track" would provide the administration near unilateral control over the federal government workforce. This administration's concerted effort to de-unionize federal workers and turn the maximum number of government jobs over to the private sector, regardless of cost, is an unprecedented attack on federal workers. It is part of the radical right's campaign against unions and worker's rights. Under direct administration control, the federal workforce is the leading edge of the privatization wedge and harbinger of the resurgence of the "spoils system" in public services.

Faith No More: Texas' record shows dangers of faith-based policy

By Don Monkerud

The list of "faith-based" initiatives sponsored by the Bush administration continues to grow. In January, the Department of Health and Human Services released federal funds to religious groups in Ohio and Pennsylvania to promote marriage. Days afterward, the Bush administration proposed releasing federal housing money to religious groups to erect or refurbish buildings where religious services are held.

That adds to the \$30 million HHS doled out to numerous groups back in October from the "Compassion Capital Fund" (see "Blessing for Whom?" November 25). Religious groups receiving funding included Pat Robertson's Operation Blessing International and the National Center for

Christian commission to eliminate regulations that prevented faith-based providers from receiving government funds. Then Governor Bush pushed agencies to change policies and eliminate licensing and inspection requirements for religious charities, and Texas became the first state to implement taxpayer-funded religious services.

After five years of such experimentation, Texas discovered many serious flaws:

- After Texas' Department of Protective and Regulatory Services stopped regulating childcare providers, rates of confirmed abuse and neglect at the religious facilities rose quickly and are now 25 times higher than at state-licensed facilities. Religious facilities had a 75 percent complaint rate, compared to 5.4 percent at state-licensed facilities.

- Texas Commission on Alcohol and Drug Abuse inspectors presented Teen Challenge, a Christian residential drug treatment program and one of Bush's highly-touted models, with a 49-page list of violations of state regulations. Teen Challenge said its mission was "to evangelize people" and "initiate the discipleship process to the point where students can function as Christians ... applying spiritually motivated Bible principles." The program had no credentialed counselors, no chemical dependency services, failed to inform clients of their rights, and was found to be illegally handling medications.

- Jobs Partnership's stated mission was to help clients "find employment through a relationship with Jesus Christ." The group's budget and curriculum show that \$8,000 of state money was used to buy Bibles and that the program focused primarily on Bible study. A district court found use of the state funds unconstitutional because they were used for religious purposes, and also said the state had violated clients' religious freedom by not providing a secular alternative. The only other job training program in the area was located in the next county.

- The Institute for Responsible Fatherhood and

Family Revitalization, run by religious and crime-fighting Texas conservatives, was given \$1.5 million in state funds for a religious-sponsored job training program that required "total surrender to Christ." IRFFR beat out a Lockheed Martin and University of Texas-sponsored program in competition for the funding, despite the fact that the university program had a job placement rate almost 300 times greater than IRFFR's.

- Bypassing public debate, the Department of Criminal Justice used \$1.5 million to fund the Inner Change prison pre-release program, a "Christ-centered, bible-based" program sponsored by Prison Fellowship Ministries, founded by Watergate conspirator Chuck Colson. The program, which proposes to encourage "the spiritual and moral regeneration" of offenders and create respect for "God's law," received funding despite a lack of evidence that the program reduces recidivism.

- Texas' faith-based program created so many problems that, in 2001, the Texas legislature chose not to renew the state's accreditation pro-

gram for church-run childcare providers.

Now, the religious-sponsored rollback of state licensing and oversight appears to be lessening. Through October, only eight religious-supported childcare programs and 129 Christian chemical-dependency recovery programs had requested exemption from state licensing. More than 2,000 childcare centers and 900 chemical dependency programs maintain state licensing.

Despite failures in Texas, Bush continues to push his federal faith-based initiative, largely through the use of presidential orders that circumvent congressional debate. "As the nation considers this public policy possibility," says Ashley McIlvain, political director for TFN, "Texas already has a record with these policies. We know that faith-based initiatives violate the religious freedom of people in need. In Texas, our record shows that the faith-based initiative also puts people in danger."

Reprinted from the March 31, 2003 issue of In These Times

Despite failures in Texas, Bush continues to push his federal faith-based initiative, largely through the use of presidential orders that circumvent congressional debate.

Faith Based Initiative [sic], a local ministry in West Palm Beach, Florida. The latter describes itself as working to create wealth and "empower our people to steward that wealth for the purposes of the kingdom." Last July, more than \$1 billion in federal grants was made available to religious groups that sponsor after-school programs, despite charges that these groups discriminate in hiring based on religion.

All this may not bode well for the recipients of such religious services, according to a recent report from Bush's home state. The report, "The Texas Faith-Based Initiative at Five Years," examines the programs begun by Bush when he was governor. The report is sponsored by the Texas Freedom Network (TFN), an alliance of 7,500 religious and community leaders.

In 1996, Texas appointed an almost entirely

Vouchers [Cont. from page 34]

There is a serious shortage of vouchers, and only a fraction of eligible households receive them. Most families seeking assistance face a several year wait. In larger cities, waiting lists can be as long as eight to 10 years.

The voucher program is just one of the housing programs under assault by the Administration and Congress. The Administration also proposes cuts to public housing for FY 2004, including the elimination of the HOPE VI program. In addition, the President's plan to eliminate the taxation of dividends would damage the Low Income Housing Tax Credit program, which would likely produce 40,000 fewer units of housing each year were the tax plan enacted.

Already, for FY 2003, Congress approved changes to the way the voucher program is funded. For the first time, Congress chose not to renew every voucher that has been appropriated—only those already in use.

The introduction of the voucher legislation comes on a day when hundreds of affordable housing advocates are on Capitol Hill as part of the National Low Income Housing Coalition's annual policy conference and lobby day. NLIHC members, including many low income residents, are meeting with their legislators to talk about the need for a reinvestment in affordable hous-

ing. Advocates are also opposing additional tax cuts that primarily benefit wealthier Americans and that would come at the expense of social programs.

Advocates support additional vouchers to move families off waiting lists and into stable housing. In addition, more than 4,100 organizations, religious leaders and elected officials from every state in the country have endorsed the creation of a National Housing Trust Fund, which would build, rehabilitate and preserve 1.5 million affordable homes over the next decade. National Housing Trust Fund legislation in the House currently has 187 cosponsors.

"The fact that the Administration proposes cutting housing assistance for poor people while National Housing Trust Fund legislation is moving forward so rapidly is an indication of how removed the Administration is from the plight of working families and seniors," Ms. Crowley said. "Contrary to the cuts now being proposed, now is the time to invest in housing that low income families can afford."

More information on housing vouchers is available at www.nlihc.org or www.cbpp.org, or by contacting Kim Schaffer, Communications Director, National Low-Income Housing Coalition 202-662-1530 x230.

PN NEWS

by Barbara Rahder

The Border City: International Network for Urban Research and Action (INURA) Conference in Berlin, June 22-28, 2003

The annual INURA conference in Berlin from June 22 to 28, focuses on the theme of the "Border City." Berlin was a divided city from 1961 until 1989, and has been undergoing a tremendous economic and political transformation since that time. While one result has been a major financial crisis for the city, Berlin has also become known as *the* German city for alternative groups, having a long history of squatter and counter culture movements. This conference will examine both the key problems faced by the city and its inhabitants, as well as the creative and varied paths they are taking to address these problems. For more details see www.inura.org.

The Network Society: Planners Network Meets INURA in Belgium this Summer

The Network Society theme for the 3rd joint ACSP/AESOP conference in Leuven, Belgium, **July 8-12, 2003**, could have been made to order for PN and the International Network for Urban Research and Action (INURA). We have been trying for years to find a venue that could bring these two organizations together. At last, PN and INURA will jointly host two roundtables at this conference. Abstracts and participants for each of these are listed below, though we would like to encourage *all* PN members who are at the conference to come and join in what will certainly be some lively discussions.

Networking for Social Change: Planners Network and the International Network for Urban Research and Action

Participants: Stefan De Corte (Belgium), Geraint Ellis (Ireland), Ute Lehrer (USA), Richard Wolff (Switzerland), and Barbara Rahder (Canada)

Networks can be an important means of linking researchers and activists interested in promoting social change in cities. Planners Network (PN) and the International Network for Urban Research and Action (INURA) are two organizations with similar

social change agendas. PN is primarily a North American organization that has existed for more than 25 years. INURA is a primarily European organization that has existed for roughly 12 years. Both organizations link academic researchers and community activists in an effort to foster social, economic, and environmental justice. This roundtable will bring members of these two networks together to reflect on the prospects for radical social change given the experiences of their respective organizations and the current climate of neo-liberalism. Participants will explore differences and commonalities in their organizations and in the local contexts in which they work, as well as the potential for future collaboration.

Urban Inequities: Networking for the Democratization of Planning

Participants: Michael Edwards (United Kingdom), William Goldsmith (USA), Ute Lehrer (USA), Richard Wolff (Switzerland), and Barbara Rahder (Canada)

Are issues of democratic representation and the marginalization of minorities different in North American and European cities? Two international networks—Planners Network, which is predominately North American, and the International Network for Urban Research and Action, which is predominately European—have been examining these issues and attempting to make planning more democratic and inclusive for many years. This roundtable will bring representatives from these two organizations together to explore commonalities and differences in planning contexts and political strategies to address issues of urban inequality. Among the specific issues to be explored are the ways in which spatial planning contributes to differential access to housing and community services, the ongoing marginalization of racial minorities, particularly immigrants, and the opportunities for democratic participation and radical urban practice given the current global political climate post 9-11.

Roundtables do not involve formal paper presentations, but are more informal discussions of issues and ideas that participants want to explore together. The more PN members who can attend, the more fruitful these discussions are likely to be. For more details see www.asro.kuleuven.ac.be/isro/

From Ayse Yonder, PN Co-Chair

**Planners Network
2002 Income and Expense Report**

Opening Balance as of 1/31/02	\$19,317.92
Accounts Receivable	
Income	
Membership Contributions	\$17,427.00
Grants	<u>\$15,031.00</u>
Total	\$ 32,458.00
Expenses	
PN Magazine Printing	\$7,529.00
PN Magazine Printing	\$4,608.82
Mailing	\$2,339.41
Stationary/Office Supplies	\$25.97
Web Services	\$2,000.00
Software	\$0
Consultancy	\$500.00
Conference	\$10,000.00
Steering Committee Meetings	\$750.00
Misc. (bank, etc.)	<u>\$1,811.59</u>
Total	\$29,564.79
Surplus/Deficit	\$3,212
Account Balance as of 12/31/02	\$22,530.78

RESOURCES

Jobs

The Pratt Area Community Council has an opening for an Economic Development Director. Provide guidance and support to Small Business Development Counselor including assistance with developing workshops and marketing programs. Run weekly Job Search Clinic: Provide job seekers with one-on-one career development counseling and technical assistance. Oversee Commercial Revitalization Program: partner with business owners, City agencies and elected officials to coordinate sanitation, safety, beautification and business recruitment and retention initiatives on local shopping strip; advise local merchants associations; coordinate research projects including merchant, shopper and land-use surveys. Manage leasing of 14 commercial spaces: conduct market research to guide tenant recruitment; develop and implement marketing strategy; evaluate prospective tenants; negotiate leases. Collaborate with staff to develop effective programs that support local job, business and wealth creation: research City, State, and Federal workforce and small business development programs and best practices; lead program feasibility studies and business plans. Assist with quarterly financial literacy program. Assist with resource development and management: research funding opportunities; write program proposals and reports. Serve on Management Team: assist with organizational strategic planning and development. Please mail resumes and cover letter to: Director of Economic Development Search, 1224 Bedford Avenue, Brooklyn, NY 11216, email: pacc@prattarea.org or fax: 718-783-3289

NAMI-NYC Metro has an opening for an

Assistant Director or Associate Director for a grant-funded project to promote mental health insurance parity (www.naminycmetro.org). Range of responsibilities includes planning, analysis, meetings with employers and legislators, public presentations, writing and producing reports and educational and advocacy materials. Requires: excellent communication, public speaking, writing skills. Desirable: experience with mental health issues, health/mental health policy, health insurance industry, advocacy, project administration. Salary commensurate with experience. Request description and send letter, resume, references to: execdir@naminyc.org.

Westchester nonprofit seeks a Chief Operating Officer experienced in all phases of affordable housing development. Individual will assist President/CEO in overall administration of the organization with emphasis on housing and economic development, property management and related social services. Ability to supervise a multi-disciplinary staff in a high pressure environment. Excellent oral, written, analytic, organizational and interpersonal communication skills required. Masters degree in a related field preferred. Competitive salary. Comprehensive benefits. Send resume to President/CEO, IFCA, PO Box 790, Ossining, NY 10562 or fax to: 914-941-7392.

Westhab, Westchester's leading nonprofit and social service agency is recruiting for a Vice President for Housing. Responsible for overall administration of a division with an 8 million operating budget and 75 staff. Division operates transitional and permanent housing; provides rent subsidies and administer a comprehensive program of individual and community support services. Seasoned senior manager with a back-

ground in multi-family housing; Masters Degree preferred. Send cover letter/ resume indicating salary history to Director of Human Resources, Westhab, 85 Executive Blvd. Elmsford, NY 10523, Fax 914-345-3139. EOE

New Destiny Housing Corporation seeks a Program Director. New Destiny Housing Corporation, a citywide nonprofit housing group providing housing and services to domestic violence survivors, is seeking a Director for its HousingLink Program. Director will implement a training program for advocates and shelter residents on permanent housing options and subsidies; identify and clarify housing policies and procedures by building relationships within key agencies; provide technical assistance to domestic violence survivors and advocates; provide staff support for the housing agenda of a coalition of residential service providers; maintain website providing housing resource information. Qualifications: Masters Degree preferred, knowledge of Section 8 and NYCHA housing required, ability to negotiate bureaucracies, strong advocacy skills, excellent writing and speaking skills, high level of motivation. Position available in May 2003. Competitive salary commensurate with experience, excellent benefits. Email cover letter and resume to jstein@newdestinyhousing.org or fax to 646-472-0266.

Working Families Party is hiring full-time organizers for NYC and Buffalo to build local WFP chapters by recruiting, training and mobilizing volunteers, develop leadership, deepen involvement of our institutional allies, and organize political campaigns. Organizing experience and bilingual in Spanish preferred. Women and people of color are strongly encouraged to apply. Fax resume and cover letter to Rachel 718-246-3718 or email rberkson@workingfamiliesparty.org.

The Association for Neighborhood and Housing Development (ANHD) seeks a very capable, highly creative Program Director to launch and oversee a multi-year grantmaking and technical assistance program to strengthen community organizing efforts around NYC and support a Citywide affordable housing campaign. The Director will provide overall management and coordination of this multi-layered, multi-partner program. Responsibilities include finalizing

program design, fundraising, designing and managing technical assistance initiatives, overseeing housing advocacy activities. All program administration including budget development and monitoring, marketing, internal and external reporting and staff supervision. Candidates must be highly self-directed and productive, with strong program management skills, proven fundraising skills and a commitment to NYC's communities and community groups. Salary up to \$75,000. Interested candidates should fax resume and cover letter to Irene Baldwin at 212-463-9606 or e-mail Irene.b@anhhd.org.

The Jack D. Hidary Foundation seeks an economic development Consultant. Foundation in NY seeking a consultant to assist with economic development policy work. Responsibilities include writing brochure/white papers on using market forces to address economic development and/or poverty, as well as organizing conferences and other events surrounding the issue. Must have experience working in a political environment, excellent writing skills, and the ability to multi-task. Private sector and microenterprise experience a plus. Part time or full time available. Position is paid, salary negotiable. Please send resume and writing samples to katie@ettusmedia.com.

Community Development Entity is seeking a Lending Officer to create, implement and manage lending operations for a de novo community development bank to be based in the Bronx, NY. The Lending Officer will be responsible for: Shaping underwriting criteria, policies and procedures; Proactively developing lending relationships to build a profitable portfolio; and Managing the loan portfolio and collections in compliance with rules and regulations. This position requires: A minimum of 8 years diverse lending and underwriting experience with an emphasis on bank lending in economically challenged markets; A highly motivated, forward thinking team player with fluent English and Spanish communication skills and strong organizational and leadership skills; Knowledge of loan origination, processing and portfolio management software; and Familiarity with lending rules and regulations and compliance management. The Lending Officer will report to the President of the Bank and will play a critical role in shaping the future of a community development institution with an innovative retail model. The position offers competitive com- ➡

pensation, benefits and performance-based opportunities. Qualified candidates please email cover letter and resume to recruiting@huge-world.com

Tenants and Neighbors, a New York statewide tenants rights advocacy organization seeks an Executive Director with good management and communication skills, and fundraising experience. Background in community organizing strongly preferred. Salary \$60,000. EOE. Send resume to Search Committee, Tenants and Neighbors, 105 Washington Street, 2nd floor, New York, NY 10006-1815, fax 212-619-7476, or email to michael@tandn.org.

Publications

HUD's Office of Policy Development and Research has released a report on the role of faith-based organizations in community development, which assesses and highlights important policy questions. Entitled Faith-Based Organizations in Community Development, the report can be found online at www.huduser.org

The Amherst Wilder Foundation announces a newly-published Strengthening Nonprofit Performance: A Funder's Guide to Capacity Building. Available for a fee. Contact www.wilder.org/pubs/index.html.

A recent study by CEOs for Cities and Initiative for a Competitive Inner City, "Leveraging Colleges and Universities for Urban Economic Revitalization: An Action Agenda," introduces a framework to evaluate universities' impact on communities. To download the study, visit www.ceosforcities.org.

The Harvard Joint Center for Housing Studies and Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation has published "Mixed-Income Housing Developments: Promise and Reality," by Alistair Smith. To view, <http://www.nw.org/network/lessonsLearned/jointCenter.htm>.

New Appointments

The Local Initiative Support Corporation's Center for Homeownership have released a report entitled "Gentrification: Practice and Politics," which defines gentrification, explores

its causes and discusses its consequences. The

Internet Sites

report can be downloaded at www.liscnet.org/resources.

Brownfield Redevelopment

The Boston Redevelopment Authority currently lists 50 publicly owned brownfield sites and uses GIS to help explore development potential and funding opportunities. To view, visit www.cityofboston.com/bra/maps.asp

Emeryville, California has placed brownfield GIS maps on the Internet for wider access. Visit www.ci.emeryville.ca.us/business/onestop-shop.html

The state of New Jersey has developed an interactive site to provide the public with information on brownfield sites. Visit the site at: <http://www.njgeodata4.state.nj.us/Imap/brownfields/default.html>

Alternative Media

The Independent Media Center is a network of collectively run media outlets for the creation of "radical, accurate, and passionate tellings of the truth." Visit the network online at www.indymedia.org.

Common Dreams is a national non-profit citizens' organization working to bring progressive Americans together to promote progressive visions for America's future. Visit <http://www.commondreams.org>.

AlterNet's online magazine provides a mix of news, opinion and investigative journalism on subjects ranging from the environment, the drug war, technology and cultural trends to policy debate, sexual politics and health issues. The AlterNet article database includes more than 7,000 stories from over 200 sources. Visit www.alternet.org.

Portals for International Newspapers/Media

WorldNews.com - Headlines, news and links by subject and region. www.worldnews.com/.

OnlineNewspapers.com - Search for newspa-

pers by continent, country or newspaper name. www.onlinenewspapers.com/.

International Development and Aid

The Development Gateway is an interactive portal for information and knowledge sharing on sustainable development and poverty reduction. Visit www.developmentgateway.org/.

Dev-Zone (also known as the Development Resource Centre) is a non-profit, non-governmental organisation (NGO) providing information and education services. Visit www.dev-zone.org

ReliefWeb is a project of the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs and serves the information needs of the humanitarian relief community. Visit www.reliefweb.int.

The United States Agency for International Development "works to support long-term and equitable economic growth and advancing U.S.

foreign policy objectives by supporting: economic growth, agricultural and trade, global health, and democracy, conflict prevention and humanitarian assistance." Visit www.usaid.gov.

Visit the Department for International Development (DFID), the UK Government department working to promote sustainable development and eliminate world poverty at www.dfid.gov.uk/

Planning

About Planning is a Internet clearing house for information about websites, publications, essays and news related to land use planning, growth management, comprehensive planning, smart growth, new urbanism and more. Visit www.aboutplanning.org.

Shared Spaces is a publication from the Dutch Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment, also known by its Dutch acronym VROM. Visit www.sharedspaces.nl/.

Resources on the War

United for Peace & Justice is a new national campaign that brings together a broad range of organizations throughout the United States to help coordinate our work against a U.S. war on Iraq. Visit www.unitedforpeace.org.

Stop The War Central is dedicated to developing, promoting and providing tools for influencing peaceful resolutions to conflicts, the development of full democracy in democratic countries and the furtherance of social welfare world wide. Visit www.stopthewar-central.com.

The United States Institute of Peace promotes the peaceful resolution of international conflicts. Visit www.usip.org.

Where is Raed? "Perhaps the most interesting and visited war-related blog [i.e. web diary] is Where is Raed? The site is a first person account of the war from the perspective of an Iraqi citizen living in Baghdad. Where is Raed? is not interested in delving into the

complicated issues that led to the war or advocating the point of view of George Bush or Saddam Hussein. The site focuses on telling readers what it is like to live in a city under the cloud of war." Visit www.dear_raed.blogspot.com

The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) is a Quaker organization that includes people of various faiths who are committed to social justice, peace, and humanitarian service. Visit www.afsc.org/iraq/Default.htm

AntiWar is a libertarian site "devoted to the cause of non-interventionism and is read by libertarians, pacifists, leftists, "greens," and independents alike, as well as many on the Right who agree with our opposition to imperialism." Visit <http://www.antiwar.com/>.

Act Now to Stop War & End Racism - A.N.S.W.E.R., a coalition behind many of the big anti-war rallies. Visit: www.internationalanswer.org.

Conferences and Exhibitions

June 21 – 25, New York: Great Parks/Great Cities Celebrating 150 Years of Central Park, an international conference for anyone who cares about parks and their role in making cities more livable. Information at <http://pps.org/GPGC/>.

July 13 – 17, Baltimore: Coastal Zone Management Through Time. Themes: Port and harbor management, regional land management, management responses to coastal hazards and management of aquatic resources. Information at www.csc.noaa.gov/cz2003/.

The Van Alen Institute (New York City) has a major exhibition, new design directions for public space, opening in June 2003. As part of the exhibition dialogue the organizers would like to hear from the public. Tell them what you believe are the most significant, memorable spaces across the globe that are in design development, under construction, or built in cities in the last decade. Visit them online at

www.vanalen.org/exhibits/PublicSpace/PubSpaceMain.htm.

Funding Sources

The Partnership on Nonprofit Ventures, an initiative of the Yale School of Management, is providing educational and financial support for nonprofit enterprise. The Partnership offers business planning assistance, cash awards and access to the investment community through its National Business Plan Competition for Nonprofit Organizations. For more information, visit www.ventures.yale.edu.

The Veritas Software Organization has introduced a new software Donations Program and has allocated \$500,000 worth of software to provide nonprofit and educational organizations with storage software technology. For more information, email vfoundation@veritas.com.

The New York Foundation is making available grants of \$20,000-\$50,000 for advocacy and community organizing for New York-based com-

munity organizations. Deadline is July 1, 2003. For more information, visit www.nyf.org.

The Jenesis Group is offering grants ranging from \$1000 to \$100,000 to support nonprofits with budgets under \$500,000 that focus on youth development, education and social entrepreneurship. Application deadline is open. For more information, visit www.jenesis.org.

Partners for the Common Good, an international community investment fund, has initiated a lending program to promote economic justice and social change by applying principles of the "common good" to investment choices. For

more information, visit www.pcg21.org.

The John M. Lloyd Foundation is granting up to \$20,000 for projects that focus on various aspects of HIV, including public policy, education awareness, prevention and medical research. The deadline for a concept letter is July 15. For more information, visit www.johnmlloyd.org.

The Community Resource Exchange is offering one-on-one technical assistance to community based organizations working with HIV prevention and AIDS services organizations serving communities of color. For more information, email info@crenyc.org.

Planners Network Invites contributions to a forthcoming

THEME ISSUE on MARXISM, SOCIALISM AND PROGRESSIVE PLANNING Special Issue of Planners Network Call for Articles

Thirty years ago when Planners Network started, many progressive planners proposed or discussed socialist alternatives to capitalist urban development and planning. Central planning in the Soviet Union, China, and the emerging socialist nations of Africa and Asia was a reality, although there were differing judgments about the merits of these regimes. Many progressive planners went to Cuba and were inspired by the possibilities of revolutionary power. In the U.S., the civil rights, anti-war and new social movements were significant political forces and generated interest in socialism and Marxism. It was not unusual then to contemplate the prospect of planning without private property, even in North America. Marxist analysis was more commonly used to look at urban class and racial divisions. Though often the main theoreticians were European, and North Americans have always had a strong pragmatist bent, Marxist categories were often used in urban analysis.

The Soviet Union is no longer and the mass movements have dispersed. With the Reagan Revolution, the entire political spectrum shifted to the right and most Democrats and Republicans run from even the "liberal" label. TINA ("There Is No Alternative") is for many the only alternative. The failed socialist alternatives are criticized for being utopian. Progressive planners take part in the debates about New Urbanism, Smart Growth, Equity Planning, Environmental Justice and other major issues. But there's virtual silence when it comes to the themes of socialism and Marxism.

Is Marxism relevant today as a theoretical or practical reference for progressive planners? What does dialectical and historical materialism have to offer in explaining urban phenomena and charting the course for progressive planning that deals with issues such as displacement, environmental justice, transportation equity, housing equity and participatory democracy? Does socialism have any meaning today for progressive planning? What can we learn from the history of socialist cities? In charting alternatives to capitalist urban development, is there a place for socialist alternatives, and if so, what is it?

We invite articles of up to 2,000 words that follow the Planners Network accessible, non-academic style guidelines. Contributions should be jargon-free and address PN's diverse audience of activists, professionals and academics, which includes many not familiar with Marxist terminology or socialist history.

Deadline: July 1, 2003.

Send inquiries and articles to Tom Angotti tangotti@hunter.cuny.edu

Planners Network Invites contributions on the theme of

THE ACTIVE CITY: CHANGING URBAN FORM, PROMOTING PHYSICAL ACTIVITY Special Issue of Planners Network Call for Articles

65% of the U.S. population is overweight or obese. Diabetes has reached nearly epidemic proportions. The sedentary American life style is in part responsible for these public health emergencies. This in turn is a product of a sprawled urban environment and auto dependency. Public places are not planned in a way that facilitates physical activity in people's daily lives. Urban planning and development, however, can contribute to the transformation of sprawled communities into active cities.

How can urban form be changed to increase physical activity? How does the lack of physical activity relate to differences in gender, ethnicity, and income?

What are planning practitioners doing to create the active city? How are greenways, bikeways, urban and regional parks, and other facilities being developed to promote physical activity?

What are advocacy groups doing to create the active city? How are walking, bicycle, running and other organizations working to develop the infrastructure for the active city and expand its use?

We invite articles of up to 2,000 words that address any of these questions. Articles should be written in an accessible, non-academic style. See www.plannersnetwork.org for style guidelines.

Deadline: October 1, 2003

Interested authors should contact **Issue Editor Anne Lusk**, Harvard School of Public Health, at annelusk@hsph.harvard.edu.

PN UPDATES

PN Bio: Gary Fields

Twenty years ago, as an incoming Masters student in planning at Berkeley, I was gratified to discover that the field had an organization dedicated to bringing a critical perspective of planning into both the classroom and areas of planning practice. At that time, I was interested in issues of plant closings and deindustrialization—having entered the program as an unemployed steelworker—and I helped organize a very active PN chapter within the department at Berkeley. Our first activity consisted of organizing an extremely successful PN colloquium series, bringing in speakers from all over the country. During the course of my two years in the Masters program, we also became very active in the anti-apartheid movement. The PN newsletter at that time was valuable in helping us communicate with one another, and reaching out to others in the field with a critical orientation to contradictions of the market system.

After returning to Berkeley recently to complete a Ph.D. in planning, I've watched PN evolve into a more active organization revealed most poignantly in the PN conferences. In addition, the newsletter, which is now more of a magazine, is far more impressive today than it was twenty years ago, having a much sharper political critique backed up with more in-depth and analytical articles about issues of interest. Currently, I am teaching in the Department of Communications at the University of California-San Diego, where my focus is on communications and the geography of economic development. With its critical approach to issues of development, Planners Network is still very much a part of my current work.

PN Member Updates

Marla K. Nelson, Ph.D., is an Assistant Professor in the College of Urban and Public Affairs at the University of New Orleans. Her research interests include local and regional economic development, urban revitalization and community development. She has recently completed a thesis on the intra-metropolitan location of producer services and has begun working on workforce development issues in the New Orleans metropolitan region.

Ruth Yabes: I have taught at Arizona State University for twelve years. Recently I have been working with Neighborhoods for Justice in South Phoenix on a variety of environmental justice issues. Arizona State University students and I are completing an existing land use and zoning study of the area as the basis for evaluating whether or not residents' civil rights have been violated. In 2000, Carla Chifos and I co-edited the book *Southeast Asia Urban Environments: Structured and Spontaneous*. I am currently preparing a text on planning pedagogy and active learning.

Robert Yabes: I am currently working as a principal planner for the Transportation Division of the City of Tempe Public Works Department. I manage the Transportation Planning and Capital Projects Section and the preparation of the City's first Comprehensive Transportation Plan.

The Catalyst Centre is a popular and adult education organization based in Toronto. Programs offered by the Centre include affordable theme-based courses for the public; networking opportunities for educators, learners, activists and others to share ideas and action; an Educator-in-Residence program providing opportunities for original community-based research for communities resisting oppression; a popular education clearinghouse; workshops on a wide range of issues (including popular education) and consulting services. The Centre was co-founded by PN'er **Chris Cavanagh**, a popular educator, storyteller and graphic artist who has worked in coalition-building, anti-racism, international solidarity and democratic organizational change for over twenty years. Chris is presently a staff member there. For more information about the Catalyst Centre and its programs, please see www.catalystcentre.ca.

JOIN PLANNERS NETWORK

For over 25 years, Planners Network has been a voice for progressive professionals and activists concerned with urban planning and social justice. PN members in 38 states of the U.S. and 16 other countries receive this bimonthly publication, network online with PN-NET, and take part in the annual conference. PN also gives progressive ideas a voice in the mainstream planning profession by organizing sessions at annual conferences of the American Planning Association and American Collegiate Schools of Planning.

The PN Conference has been held annually each spring since 1994. These gatherings combine speakers and workshops with exchanges involving local communities. PN conferences engage in discussions that help inform political strategies at the local, national, and international levels. Recent conferences have been held in Washington DC, East St. Louis IL, Brooklyn NY, Pomona CA., Lowell, MA, Toronto, Canada, and Rochester, NY.

Join Planners Network and make a difference while sharing your ideas and enthusiasm with others!

All members must pay annual dues. The minimum dues for Planners Network members are as follows:

- \$25** Students and income under \$25,000
- \$35** Income between \$25,000 and \$50,000
- \$50** Income over \$50,000, organizations and libraries
- \$100** Sustaining Members -- if you earn over \$50,000, won't you consider helping at this level?

Canadian members:
See column at right.

Dues are deductible to the extent permitted by law.

PN MEMBERS IN CANADA

Membership fees by Canadian members may be paid in Canadian funds:

- \$40 for students, unemployed, and those with incomes <\$40,000
- \$55 for those with incomes between \$40,000 and 80,000
- \$75 for those with incomes over \$80,000
- \$150 for sustaining members

Make cheques in Canadian funds payable to: "Planners Network" and send w/ membership form to:
Barbara Rahder, Faculty of Environmental Studies
York University
Toronto, Ontario M3J 1P3

If interested in joining the PN Toronto listserv, include your email address with payment or send a message to Barbara Rahder at <rahder@yorku.ca>.

PURCHASING A SINGLE ISSUE

Planners Network Magazine is a benefit of membership. If non-members wish to purchase a single issue of the magazine, please mail a check for \$10 or credit card information to Planners Network at 379 DeKalb Ave, Brooklyn, NY 11205. Please specify the issue and provide your email address or a phone number for queries.

Back issues of the newsletters are for sale at \$2 per copy. Contact the PN office at pn@pratt.edu to check for availability and for pricing of bulk orders.

Copies of the PN Reader are also available. The single issue price for the Reader is \$6 but there are discounts available for bulk orders.

See ordering and content information at <http://www.plannersnetwork.org/html/pub/pn-reader/index.html>

PLANNERS NETWORK ON LINE

The PN WEB SITE is at: www.plannersnetwork.org

The PN LISTSERV:

PN maintains an on-line mailing list for members to post and respond to queries, list job postings, conference announcements, etc. To join, send an email message to majordomo@list.pratt.edu with "subscribe pn-net" (without the quotes) in the body of the message (not the subject line). You'll be sent instructions on how to use the list.

PN ADVERTISING RATES:

Full page	\$250
Half page	\$175
1/4 page	\$75
1/8 page	\$40

Send file via email to <pn@pratt.edu>, or mail camera-ready copy, by January 1, April 1, July 1 and October 1.

- ☐ **Yes!** I want to join progressive planners and work towards fundamental change.
☐ I'm a renewing member — Keep the faith!

My contribution is \$ _____. Make checks payable to **PLANNERS NETWORK**.

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Mail This Form To:
Planners Network
379 DeKalb Ave.
Brooklyn, NY 11205

INTERNATIONAL MEMBERS: Please send U.S. funds as we are unable to accept payment in another currency. Thanks.

In This Issue

War, Cities &
Urban Planning

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Iraq and Lebanon

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US Cities for Peace

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The World Social Forum

•
Plan Puebla Panama

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PLANNERS NETWORK
379 DeKalb Avenue
Brooklyn, NY 11205

Address Correction Requested

Your Last Issue?

Please check the date on your mailing label. If the date is **more than one year ago** this will be your last issue unless we receive your annual dues **RIGHT AWAY!** See page 47 for minimum dues amounts.

And while you're at it send us an UPDATE on what you're doing.

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