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]
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 circled on pn-net and other interest lists. We received many responses, mostly in support of the statement. The statement and representa-
tive 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—hospit-
als, schools, public utilities, airports—which added to the devastation left by a previous US-led siege. Large numbers of civilians died and many suffer hunger and homelessness. The Pentagon, which braggs about its “precision” bombing, throws up its hands and says they can’t even guess how many Iraqis they killed. Like the body count mantra 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 Iraq’s occupation 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 mili-
tary, 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-
today matters of urban administration. They will pass over the many highly-educated Iraqi leaders who don’t bow to the emperor, just as British colonists put together formidable bureaucra-
ties in their territories made up of humble serv-
ants 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 gen-
erals 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 or 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 gods and slingly dollars. The future of freedom in Iraq could very well be forecast by what’s happening to beer, where a gigantic wall is going up to divide Israeli settlements and Palestinian cities (see page 2). Heavily bombed by US aid, Israel imprisons the occupied population that stubbornly resists the illegal occupation of their land. All urban planners should condemn this blatant seg-
regation as pure urban apartheid.

Our PN statement didn’t mention perhaps one of the main impulses driving the US war—securing a strategic hold on Midcast oil. As Michael Isikoff 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 camp-
aigns. 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 urban sprawl in transporta-
tion at the center of global city-building. Even George W Bush recognizes the importance of developing alternative fuels in the long-term. But then, it’s important to [cont. on page 7]

GUIDELINES FOR AUTHORS

Planners Network seeks articles that describe and analyze progressive 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 sug-

U P C O M I N G S P E C I A L S [ Articles welcome]:

The Active City: Changing Urban Form, Promoting Physical Activity

Masoom, 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 grassroots well of local civic expression runs directly counter to claims by the US government 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 who have elected us 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 amiss. It is not easy to write off local governing bodies such as these as rubber stamps 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 large 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 disarming 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 Iraqis without guaranteeing the safety and security of Americans. ... 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 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 personnel who will 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 and a diverse number of them, including 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 the local government's resolution that no business making tax 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 that support the international boycotts 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 Council felt they had no place to 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 War Worlds of the twentieth century. If twentieth-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 governments. 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 issuers. 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 contracts with firms that do not support our troops, veterans benefits. At the 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 the 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 will pay $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 they come to shoulder the cost of homeland security. More than $3 billion designated to help pay for the fiscal year 2002 security costs borne by local governments was delayed for months, while extra security precautions necessitated by the war are snipping 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 at the beginning of the year, while federal support for local security may grow in absolute terms, it is accompanied by continuing federal reduction in the areas of housing, community development and social services.

Disenchantment with Democrats

Smart politicians should be considering the political repercussions if the outsourcing of local...
democratic expression embodied in the Cities for Peace movement continues. This is more of an issue for the Democrats than Republicans. 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 against wage hikes, while some Republican officials have been speaking out. Indeed, it is not unreasonable to ask, if, at all, against the war while these politicians are not likely to become a bumper crop of potential turnover 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 cars close to the ground and are heeding what their constituents are saying. Three local council members are against the war. Brooklyn district is against. The issue of 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 fire house closures.”

Eugene Patron (eipatron@earthlink.net) is a student at City University of New York and editorial assistant for Planners Network. Cities for Peace website: www.citiesforpeace.org

7th Generation
(Cont. from page 2)

... plough 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. Kathy Severson tells the story of the destruction and rebuilding of Beirut. Perhaps there are some important scenes here about the profound, long-term wounds of the kind of urban warfare that may just be 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 looks at the impact of bomb- ing 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

Urban Planners Oppose the War in Iraq

The following letter is reprinted from the plan-net listserv. The letter is part of 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 disarming and dealing with the despotism 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.

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

Eugene J. Patron

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Tom Angotti

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.
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 Iraq.

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Cities Back Civil Liberties

Concerns 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 (BRIDC). The resolution drafted and successfully lobbied the City Council to adopt calls upon local law enforcement and the judiciary to; protect 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. The bill passed 12-0, with a show of hands. The resolution calls on the city’s Board of Selectmen to help and assist the efforts of the BRIDC.

Other cities that passed similar resolutions with the help of the BORDC include Denver, New Haven, Fallstaff, Detroit and even rural Alachua County, Florida. As in many of the resolutions, that of Alachua County takes aim at the federal government’s rollback of habeas corpus rights and seeks the “unacceptable measures” of resolving the problem of disarming and dealing with the despotism 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.
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 listserv 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, cultural, 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 Edmundston, Alberta (pop. 700,000) and we held the largest 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 coverage 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 prioritizing the U.S. military propaganda. More power to you and Planners' 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 peace-makers. 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 Sieh

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 of innocent, terrorizing and torturing them, we are 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 Lauvie

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 hitting the Message Forward button!"

—Beth Aiden, The Planning Commission, Tuscaloosa, AL

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 nonprofit 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 nonprofit 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@nocrp.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. We 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.

—Marram 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.

—Lawra Kanib

This is to inform you that I, as well as the majority of Americans, oppose the UN-Pvernners political position on the US war with Iraq, 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

—Attila Pecani

...[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 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 failure of this statement is that the people of Iraq are already helpless before its own military and dictator. Also, the US is singled out as a coalition force as being a pirate to plunder the nation of Iraq and “expand inequalities” within the country. This is 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 the only goal of this country is here 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 inequity among this nation. Depending upon what sociologist you speak to, inequity 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 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 up petitions of Economists Against the War, etc.

—Fred Arvindson

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/DeanStatement/CafForPartners.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 loss of an authoritarian, the loss of an illusion of control, the loss of an illusion of security, and 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 than by neutralizing alleged banned weapons. The recent controversial ad campaign from the Detroit Project linking gas-guzzling SUVs to terrorism played off the fear that so much of the oil consumed in developed countries comes from unstable Islamic states—where the geopolitical and military positioning for control over oil has—literally—fuelled 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 America’s killing larger 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 blistered 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 places, office towers, crooked 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 the subways, visit parks, or do anything much less than “sustainable.” 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 not 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” Beresford 215 (2002) 60.)

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 deficit” and to promote practices that make it more possible to live within the systems of production and consumption that exist in other places. This is often overlooked is the extraction of those many resources occurs within a variety of geopolitical contexts—and in the case of oil, it is a violent and reproductive 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/0,3604,887203,00.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 worldwide. 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 withering with hatred for America, or an environmentally and politically ravaged place such as the Niger 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 champdown 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 cultures and traditions, not imposing our own homogeneous models of development and political structures on them. Such processes can only be accomplished through collaboration and multifaceted effort, 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.”

While such strategies can hardly be considered novel, they have taken on a new imperative. What we need is nothing less than “regime” change—in the sense of a pattern of action. We need to begin to transform our world from one of exploitation and insomnolent 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 benefit 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 “postwar” 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.org. For information on the Project for the New American Century, visit www.newamericancentury.org.
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, with its high-profile ceasefires played no small role, may hint at what lies ahead.

Last year an upscale, subtropical 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-ravaged 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 in 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 Druzes—was no longer reflected in the power structure. Despite the gradual decrease of the Christian-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 war for regional dominance. The Lebanese conflict became 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 nearly three days. With direct Israeli support, the Maronite Phalange forces massacred Palestinian refugees in the Sabra-Shatila camps of Beirut. When the Multi-National Forces (MNF) intervened, 15,000 Western militiamen 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 insinuating 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 the Taif accord, though they still controlled much of the territory. Lebanon’s new constitution is actually a letter from the west to the rest of Lebanon. A more representational political structure was introduced. The Maronite president, the Sunni prime minister and the Shiite speaker of parliament were given equal and equitably divided powers. Parliamentary seats were apportioned fifty-fifty between Christians and Muslims. At last, Israel withdrew from South Lebanon in May 2000.

Today, tensions remain, though they have become less violent. Over 380,000 Palestinian refugees are still living in camps in Lebanon. Lebanese muốn to return to their homes but face resistance from the Palestinian groups who want to keep the population of Beirut at a manageable level. Tensions between Palestinians and Lebanese are high.

Damage from the war in Lebanon

The conflict in Lebanon 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

landfill that consisted largely of organic household waste placed at the edge of the Central District. The site, which had sprung up 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 unable. 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 to

Photo by Katja Simons

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 acquiring the land for sale to clients, implementing the urban plan and developing real estate, as well as providing property and services management. Bahja Houri, prime minister and billionaire developer, created the Lebanese Company for the Development and Reconstruction of Beirut Central District (Solders) 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 combination of public and private funds, the project will cost $1.5 billion. The project was led by the urban planner and landscape architect Zaha Hadid. The project will create 30,000 new jobs and bring 200,000 people back to the city.

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.

As soon as the buildings were vacated,Soldiers 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 *Rebuilding Beirut: The Challenges of Urban Renewal*.

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 without favoring one 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, Sellers 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 markets 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 the 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 different regions and between cities and rural areas.

Dr. Katrina Simons is an urban sociologist and was a planning consultant with Solders, 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.

The Planners Network Steering Committee invites students and faculty at campuses throughout North America to take part in the

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Send outline and direct questions to:
Richard Milgrom, rmilgrom@design.ap.buffalo.edu Or call Tom Angotti, 212-650-3130
Vieques: El Impacto del Bomboardeo en las Poblaciones Civiles

(See English version on next page)

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 53,000 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 desarrollo que resultó en la emigración de miles de viequeños a Estados Unidos, la Isla Grande y la mayor parte al isla de Santa Cruz. A diferencia del resto de Puerto Rico donde el Partido Popular promovió la división de los lantafundos anexados y la protección de las comunidades de agregados, en esa década el latifundismo en Vieques se consolidó. Y para agrorizar lo 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 componentes de reacciones secundarias; (b) las partículas de polvo y roca pulverizadas por proyectiles militares; (c) los residuos minerales dejados por los proyectiles y la chatarra utilizada como blanco de tiro. Una cuarta fuente de contaminación son los vertederos y áreas de almacenamiento de la Marina. Los contaminantes generados por estas fuentes pueden llegar a la población a través de los fuentes viejos alisos (el 53.5% de los tiempos los veranos somos del sector del Cerro Matías hacia el área civil de Vieques). Otras rutas de contami-
nación son las aguas superficiales (incluyendo escorrentía hacia el mar), los lodo turbiados, las aguas subterráneas y la cisterna alimentaria. El Ing. Cruz Pérez calculó que particularmente producto de los bombardeos en el área de tiro pueden ser transportados hasta una distancia de 18.9 kilómetros de distancia, y lo cual, pueden llegar a la zona civil de Vieques.

El ingeniero Frankie Jiménez realizó un estudio sobre la radiación nuclear en el área de tiro durante el periodo de 7 de octubre de 1999 al 3 de febrero de 2000. Su informe del 16 de febrero de 2000 únicamente cubría áreas agrícolas. Por lo que se concluye que la radiación es producto del uranio utilizado por la Marina. El Departamento de Energía reconoce que particularmente producto del uranio radiactivo utilizado para fabricar las municiones que utilizan la Marina están contaminados químicamente puesto que a veces se utiliza uranio reciclado de combustible nuclear que contiene contaminantes tales como plutonio y otros transnucleares.

Los análisis del agua mostraron la presencia de óxidos metálicos y cloro. Los metales detectados fueron arseniaco, bario, cromo, cobalto, cobre, plomo, níquel, estroncio, vanadio y zinc. De estos óxidos metálicos, casi se encontraron sobre los niveles a los que la Agencia de Protección Ambiental (EPA) por sus siglas en inglés) recomendaba se evitan 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 (75.0 x 100,000) durante 1998 resulta que el riesgo aumentó +15% 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

The Navy Invades Vieques

In the 1940s the U.S. Navy expropriated 26,000 of the 53,000 acres 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 Viequenses to the US, the main island of Puerto Rico and the island of Santa Cruz. Unlike the rest of Puerto Rico where the U.S. Navy pressured and attempted to divide 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 residue coming 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 Cero 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 onto the fence that surrounds their meeting place. Out front, protesting farmers gather around on tractors, trash mounds on the sidewalk, pelt the walls with rotting vegetables. A few pigs trot by wearing the neckties of the president and three cabinet members. Cowboys on horses scatter 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 with Mexico's insertion into the global economy. The scene offers a small window on the growing desperation in the Mexican countryside, and a little taste of the gathering storm that is Mexico's farmers' 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 Aguastra 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 was, 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 link southern Mexico and Central America into the NAFTA zone. When Fox and the IDB speak of PPP, they mean highways, a regional electrical grid and new industrial zones for maquiladoras (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, Central American farmers are articulating 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, ratted 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. Miqayilides Morales, governor of Puebla, Mexico, cancelled the first phase of Proyecto Milenio [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 cancelled "because of the peasants' demands."

Similarly, a planned superhighway from the capital of the neighboring state of Veracruz to Mexico City was to receive a wave of public protest that it would have cut through a cloud forest. Further south, the Salvadoran government called a sixlane byway 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...
shows a US$57 million cut in that secretariat’s budget, and a US$401 million reduction in the overall PPP budget. Officials at the IDB, a key finan-
der and the intellectual author of the PPP, have recently expressed regret over Vicente Fox’s

coming, 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 pour-
ing asphalt across Mexico’s Isthmus of Tehuantepec to connect the Pacific Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico. The plan for this highway predated the
PPP by five years, but it was delayed until late 2002 by community opposition. Today, this inter-
ocena 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

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$30 million SIEPAC project responds to the
needs of big corporations, not residential users. SIEPAC adds millions of dollars to the public debt
count of each Central American nation and increases reliance on destructive hydroelectric dams for
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, but its 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 investment 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.

Wendy Call (wendycall@scotdalberlin.edu) is a freelance writer who divides her time between
Massachusetts and Oaxaca. She is working on a book entitled No Word for Welcome: Mexican
Villages Face the Future about indigenous com-

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 (US$97.4 million), 82 percent of funding is devoted to transport projects
while only 24 percent is targeted for health or social services 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 doc-
ument 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 bud-
gets 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 incor-
porate 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
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: (603) 518-749 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, borders 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 constructively 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

20 KM

15 Miles
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, their 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 achieve 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 Forums 20,753 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 powerful, provocative styles, 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 trends towards citizen control over public budgets and human rights and water conservation 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 Inácio da Silva, spoke to an audience of 140,000 as the only headliner in an alternative environment.

A member of the new Workers’ Party of Brazil, the Forum brought forward an event worthy of notice in its own right, although it continues to share its dates with—and to critique—the World Economic Forum.

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 lefties,” implying that there was a lack of representation at the forum of the most excluded groups in society. While 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 disenchanted groups, however, did make their way to the Forum. Among them were a handful of youth involved in hip-hop in Tomato, Latin women living in housing projects in New York, and a group of skateboarders from various regions of Brazil and a group of unemployed picketers from Argentina. The organization, 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 CONGECOS (Community Managers Tribunal), heightened my awareness of what was missing from my personal experience at the forum experience. 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 closer view of what could be accomplished by incorporating disenfranchised groups into an alternative 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 CONGECOS community leaders created fifteen chants throughout the march and attracted the attention of various TV and print journalists. “The march was really good, we sing protest songs against the social exclusion that affects people who live in poor communities” stated one community leader.

Low-income community activists outside of Brazil were equally inspired by the Forum. When they first learned about it they assumed 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 lefties.” 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,Henrique Monteiro, who operates a youth arts program in one of Rio’s most dangerous favelas, met with the Brazilian 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 longer-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 Jacarépaguá, a community deprived of cultural resources.

The second workshop attracted a group of North Americans, including representatives of the National Commissions on Human Rights 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 impressed with the dedication and efforts of the community leaders and the potential for international cooperation.
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 non-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 experiences 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 WFS 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-organized campaigns 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 Punta Riea Foundation who, in recognizing the importance of community dialogue at the Forum, used their WFS 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 ("blues," the "Americans," etc.) for the world's problems. Instead, through connective work 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 world-changing tasks like building 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. Most unpaid volunteers, leaders are each responsible for local community programs that provide necessary public services in their various communities—after-school sports programs, literacy tutoring for the elderly, field trips for youth. The expansion 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 additional support for 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 WFS—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 WFS must host these tools 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 Catholic Communities (www.catholicson.org). She currently lives in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

To read President Luis Ignacio Lula da Silva's speech, visit www.wfsindia.org

For more information on the 2004 WFS, visit www.wfsindia.org.

Hyderabad, Indian:
The Asian Social Forum

By Penelope Duda

In January 2005, 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 Drèze 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 in 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 ambitious international 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 dwellers. 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.

Thus, as Hyderabad's status as a laboratory for World Bank and IMF development projects makes it an excellent place to start organizing political policies, Andhra's history as a site of intense anti-feudal struggle makes it even more significant. During the 1940s, peasants from the Telangana 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 sanitation facilities. Every year 3.5 million deaths result from diseases closely associated with these deficiencies. Children in developing countries, who disproportionately suffer from these related diseases, consequently shoulder 40 percent of the risk.

In the last seven years, the United Nations (UN) officially recognized that access to potable water and sanitation is critical to the reduction of poverty in developing nations. In the United Nations Millennium Development Goals, the 174 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 174 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.

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 harks 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—notes inclusion, enlightenment and open-mindedness. Today’s neoliberals, 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 Revolts 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, $96 billion 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 interests. In 1997, the World Bank “encouraged” the privatization of the water systems 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 Ichtelech Corporation, a US-based transnational corporation.

Cochabamba is a city of 600,000 in the Andes Mountains. The minimum wage is approximately $10 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 turns 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 this situation, the Bolivian government was forced to cancel the water agreement with Ichtelech and roll back water rates. In a recent article in the UCLA Report on the American, Jim Shultz states, “The Bolivian water revolt has become an international symbol of popular resistance to global economic rules imposed from above.” While the Bolivia 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 nongovernmental 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.

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

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 Eestales

Por Alejandro Rofman
(English summary follows)

[Blasones Airys] La aguda crisis económicosocial argentina, destituida en toda su intensidad a fines del año 2001, ha sido una noticia internacional sólo en uno de sus aspectos sabientes: la cesión de pagos de su alzada 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%, tuvo el consumo, de la producción y de la inversión. En pocas semanas, no más de seis meses—se generó un elevado subida de la tasa de desempleo y una contracción significativa de los salarios reales de quienes tenían trabajo, dada la inmovilidad del salario nominal y la estampa inflacionaria. Desde enero a mayo de 2002, el salario real perdió alrededor del 40% de su valor mientras que la inmensa 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 esos municipios 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 a un conjunto de alimentos necesarios para subsistir, alcanzó al 27,5% de la citada población urbana.

Nunca antes un desastre social había sucedido así el país. Ello fue el resultado inexcusable del deterioro del modelo de acumulación basado en la valorización del capital financiero vigente hasta entonces, cuyo único objetivo era obtener recursos fiscales convenientes para enfrentar los desafíos de la crisis de la deuda externa y favorecer a la gran banca financiera concentrada. Tras dicho derrumbe, con casi 20 millones de habitantes sumados en la pobreza y ocho millones en la inseguridad, se vieron poner en marcha iniciativas estatales y/o privadas tendientes a paliar el hambruna y la miseria urbana actualmente presente en una sociedad casi el 20% desocupada tres años atrás y que se elevó a un 92% de la población de más de 15 años. Como resultado de laカード化, el desempleo, las tasas de maternidad y los índices de criminalidad se disparan, las organizaciones sociales, la cooperativa, de incorporar más compañeros para dar trabajo a otros y de establecer lazos sociales con las organizaciones sociales.

Estos modelos contrapuestos, el del asistencialismo con fuertes vínculos con el clericalismo político, y el de la autoorganización cooperativa y social, son los que ofrecen, en la Argentina urbana empobrecida de hoy, los dos caminos opuestos. Los que transcitan el segundo, nacen y se encierran día a día, con la participación activa de millonarias barriadas, “puebrecitos” o desocupados que se autorganizan para reclamar recursos para atender estas iniciativas y voluntarios sociales, que advierten el desparramar de otro modelo de gestión de la sociedad, sin pararse, la que se desgarran en el proceso de conducción del emprendimiento y con reparto de los esfuerzos producidos.

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

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 resulting spurt in food prices, distributive and related policies, and a sharp drop in consumption, production and investment. Between January and May of 2002, real wages declined by 40%. Employment fell and underemployment exceeded 50%, the highest ever since 1985. The percentage of people living 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 inexcusable 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 start, 1.8 million urban households received this subsidy, which covers only 40% of the amount a house would need to move above the poverty line. A condition for receiving these funds is that households hold head 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-profit and religious groups, and cooperatives that produce food, distribute it and charge very low prices. Government subsidies are used to support this kind of social action. For example, La Gaceta is a cooperative bakery in a lower middle class neighborhood of Buenos Aires. It has dozen of workers and produces bread for 24th secondary school. Each of the workers earns the same amount, about three times the state subsidy to poor households. The bakery is planning to more that double its production in the next three months. Efforts like these are gaining 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 the Centro de Estudios Avanzados en Buenos Aires. Summary by Tom Aitken.
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 would, 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 (HANP). 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 Representatives Bob Ney (R-OH), each of 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 more rapidly than the inflation rate, block granting the voucher program would almost certainly result in a devaluation 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 with in 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. "This 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 has joined a congressional call to the effort, in contrast 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 results in cost savings and increased productivity, but it also weakens the services that the government provides.

In contrast to previous efforts at "contracting out" which recognized certain inherently government functions, the federal Office of Management and Budget now contends that all federal employment is fair game. Private contractors already run government office buildings, provide 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 fiasscos include:
- McElroy 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 systems 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. Denying 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 with "discretion in labor relations" to undercut existing pay and benefits and "increased flexibilities" to revise and circumvent Civil Service rules, workers' rights and job security. Fifty thousand union members can already be stripped of their jobs and 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 $6,000 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" means 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 IHHS 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 funding. The 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 dispensing medications.

• Jobs Partnership’s stated mission was to help the unemployed “learn to think” 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 requires total surrender to Christ’ BIFRR beat a Lockheed Martin and University of Texas-sponsored program in competition for the funding, despite the fact that the university program’s job placement rate was almost 900 times greater than BIFRR’s.

• Dispersing public debate, the Department of Criminal Justice used $15 million to fund the Inner Change Prison-pre-release program, a “Christ centered, bible-based” program sponsored by Prison Fellowship Ministries, founded by Prison Warden Crackdown Chuck Colson. The program, which proposes to encourage “the spiritual and social regeneration” of offenders and create respect for “God’s laws,” 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 program for church-run child care providers.

Now, the religious-sponsored rollback of state licensing and oversight appears to be bearing fruit. Through October, only eight religious-supported child care programs and 129 Christian chemical-dependency recovery programs had requested exemption from state licensing. More than 2,000 child care 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 TEN, “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

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 attack by the Administration and Congress. The Administration also proposed 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 10,000 fewer units of housing each year that 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 housing. Advocates are 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 4,000 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 the National Low Income Housing Coalition is working forward as 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.bipgp.org, or by contacting Kim Schaeffer, Communications Director, National Low Income Housing Coalition 202-662-1530 x250.
by Barbara Rahder


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 1951 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 squatting 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 ACSPA/ASPDF 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), Gemina Ellis (Ireland), Ute Lehner (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 similarities 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.astro.kuleuven.ac.be/ams/
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. Overseas 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 strips; 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 Economic 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: pace@pasturea.org or fax: 718-789-3289

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/industrial 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 written, verbal, 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 799, 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 administers a comprehensive program of individual and community support services. Seasoned senior manager with a background 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 914-545-3199, DEE.

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 with agencies, 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 jacquelin@newdestinyhousing.org or fax to 646-472-8260.

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 policy at state and federal levels. Organizations experienced and bilingual in Spanish preferred. Women and people of color are strongly encouraged to apply. Fax resume and cover letter to Rachel 718-246-7570 or email rtheisen@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 the multi-layered, multipartner 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@anhd.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 brochures, 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 policy environment, excellent writing skills. Managing 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 kaiser@ctcmedia.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 Poconos, NY. The Lending Officer will be responsible for: Shaping underwriting criteria, policies and procedures; Projectively 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 an economically challenged market; 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 mortgage 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-
of an interactive portal for information and knowledge sharing on sustainable development and poverty reduction. Visit www.developmentgateway.org.

DevZone (also known as the Development Resource Centre) is a non-profit, non-governmental organisation (NGO) providing information and education services. Visit www.devzone.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.


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 an 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.sharespaces.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 worldwide. Visit www.stopthetwarchannel.com.

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

Where is Racd? Perhaps the most interesting and visited war-related blog (i.e. web diary) is Where is Racd? The site is a first person account of the war from the perspective of an Iraqi citizen living in Baghdad. Where is Racd? 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.whereisracd.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 services. 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/.

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://ppps.org/GPGC/.


The Van Alen Institute (New York City) has a major exhibition, new design directions for public space, opening in June. 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 enterprises. 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 v6contactdon@veritas.com.

The New York Foundation is making available grants of $20,000-$50,000 for advocacy and community organizing for New York-based community 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.pcg2l.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@crency.org.

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 Asia and Africa 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 theorists 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 faded 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 disciplinary 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 PNs 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, tangle@hunter.cuny.edu.
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 36 states of the U.S. and 16 other countries round out this biweekly publication, network online with PNNET, 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 including local communities. PN conference engages in discussion 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, Phoenix, AZ, 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, would you consider helping at this level?

Canadian members: See column at right.

Dues are deductible to the extent permitted by law.

For more information on PNNET, visit the Planners Network Home Page at www.plannersnetwork.org.

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

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The World Social Forum

Plan Puebla Panama

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.

MOVING?

Please send us your new address.