

# PLANNERS NETWORK

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US Further Isolates Itself at Habitat II:

## Slouching Towards Istanbul

by Peter Marcuse

Habitat II, announced with fanfare as "The City Summit," was a new low in the substitution of words for action. The United Nations Conference on Human Settlements, Habitat II, was held in June in Istanbul.

Housing and urban issues are not high on the agenda of any of the industrial nations today. In the headlong retreat from the welfare state, the Clinton administration is not alone in seeing a forthright and positive urban policy as a political loser.

But in Istanbul the United States distinguished itself by being on the conservative side of almost every controversial issue that came up. The specter of Jesse Helms seemed to weigh as heavily on the State Department and the jointly-run United States delegation as the specter of OMB and Congressional hostility weighed on the Department of Housing and Urban Development at the other end.

The single most controversial issue was probably the somewhat esoteric one of the "right to housing." Various UN documents which the United States has signed on to include references to housing as a human right recognized by all governments. An explicit reaffirmation of the right to housing in Istanbul might have helped significantly in some developing countries where states have ridden rough-shod, often with bulldozers and armed force, to displace squatters, evict tenants, and clear land. In the United States, explicit recognition in Istanbul of a

right to housing would have had primarily a symbolic effect and support efforts to halt the backward slide of the Federal government on housing subsidies and policy.

The split was largely along North-South lines in Istanbul. Many from the South pressed for a provision in the Global Plan of Action, a document to be agreed upon at Habitat II, against forced eviction. In the

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end, only forced evictions "contrary to law" were spoken against, so no government in control of its own legislative process need worry. The stronger language that representatives from the European Union had proposed was considered by the US to be "simply unacceptable"

because it might, somehow in the future, expand residents' rights in the US. Reflecting the ambivalence about policy at HUD, the personal feelings of members of the US delegation, 30 in all, were not always reflected in the US official position. Members of the delegation were asked to commit themselves to supporting the US line when formally adopted, regardless of personal opinion, as a condition of joining the delegation. Some, such as Maria Foscarinis of the National Center Against Homelessness, refused to do so because of that.

The United States was not always on the wrong side; on women's issues, for instance, where in legal terms the US is already on the progressive end of the spectrum, the delega-

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tion pushed not just for "equity" but for "equality" of rights.

Issues that could have made a larger real difference never even surfaced to the level of word play. One is economic redistribution, basically from the North to the South. At earlier UN summits, that had been at least acknowledged as appropriate subject matter. The idea, let alone real commitments, did not officially come up at Habitat II. Even the World Bank and many individual donor countries recognize the need, but no international fund, no commitment, no coordinated UN efforts were on the table for discussion.

The US made much of the issue of implementation. Having made certain that no goals were formulated (such as a right to housing) which might expand US programs or even targets, and boasting that what was agreed to was entirely consistent with existing US law, the US pressed for "specifics." These specifics had the word "market" in every second sentence, and "public-private partnership" in the others. The Republican freshmen in Congress would have been proud. The fact that the market has produced the shortages, the unsanitary and life-threatening conditions, the over-crowding and insecurity, which a large part of the world's population is subject to, does not appear.

Interchange, networking, and sharing of information was plentiful at the Non-Government Organization (NGO) forum. A large number of Turkish groups had booths and presented documentation. They included squatters, displacees, Kurdish nationals, and groups in solidarity with refugees and asylum-seekers in the Balkans. Some ran into trouble with the Turkish police. At a rally to welcome a group of bicyclists from France who had ridden through Europe in support of the right to housing, a small Kurdish group joined the (legally authorized) march toward the conference area. The police, in full riot gear, stopped the march and forced it to disband. A group of Turkish mothers had undertaken a silent protest against the arrest and/or disappearance of their sons and daughters, a regular event for two hours on Sunday afternoons. The weekend of the conference, police broke

it up violently, arresting over 400 people.

Protest against the police behavior spilled over from the NGO forum to a few of the official delegations. But one this as on most issues by the world of the official delegations (who met separately from the NGOs throughout) and that of the NGO's remained separate and distinct.

The Global Plan of Action and other documents approved at Istanbul are not bad documents, although far less than they could have been. They contain formal language that some groups at some time and in some place may be able to use as an argument in influencing policy. Much more important, however, was networking among grassroots groups, efforts at solidifying relations among them, and formalizing NGO influence on national and international policy.

But a bit of word-play on "NGO" has to be examined more closely. The term "Non-Governmental Organization" includes tenants' unions, committees in solidarity with displacees, community groups that build housing for low-income people, women's groups, health groups, groups of youth and of elderly, and human rights groups. But it also refers to private commercial interests, the National

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Association of Realtors, the Chamber of Commerce, and Right to Life groups (who, incidentally, had a formal booth at the NGO forum and were accused of being a direct pipeline to Jesse Helms). Lumping them all together as NGO's is part of that discourse that conceals reality and inhibits action. Certainly, community-based organizations ought to be at the center of any progressive action, and groups in sympathy with them – like Planners Network – should also be involved. But groups not in sympathy with them, having different interests and goals, should not, no matter what their legal form of organization. Those attempting to network, coordinate, and organize need to face that problem. If they do, and if the Habitat II conference gave them some information and contacts to expand their efforts and look globally as well as locally, it will have (unofficially) accomplished at least something.

## PN IN CYBERSPACE!

The Planners Network Web page can be found at <http://www.pratt.edu/picced/resource/pn>, or by following the "Resources" thread from the PICCED home page at <http://www.pratt.edu/picced>. Suggestions for improvements to the site, as well as articles written by members to post, are welcome. Contact Winton at [wintonp@ix.netcom.com](mailto:wintonp@ix.netcom.com).

We've also set up a listserv for PN members with e-mail to carry on discussions, share resources, post job listings, etc. To subscribe, send e-mail to:

**[pn-net-request@pratt.edu](mailto:pn-net-request@pratt.edu)**

with the subject heading:

**subscribe your-e-mail-address**

(substituting your e-mail address in the appropriate place, of course.) You'll receive instructions in response.

# PN'er Updates

- PN'er **Clement Dinsmore** recently wrote an article for the Urban Land Institute concerning state initiatives relating to voluntary cleanups and brownfields, available from ULI, 1025 Thomas Jefferson St., NW, Ste. 500 West, Washington, DC 20007. He's interesting in hearing from PN'ers who know of other brownfields resources. Clement Dinsmore, 3726 Veazey St., NW, Washington, DC 20016-2229; 202-244-6648.
- PN'er **Tim Stroshane** writes: A year ago, I staffed the Mayor's HIV/AIDS Housing Task Force, which produced a report whose recommendations on AIDS housing in Berkeley were unanimously adopted by the City Council. The recommendations include rehab funds for an AIDS house with supportive services; an eviction prevention program providing shallow rent and mortgage payment subsidies to people disabled with HIV/AIDS (to be operated by Catholic Charities of the East Bay); and recommendations for the City's housing authority, housing trust fund, and Shelter Plus Care program. For a copy of the Mayor's HIV/AIDS Housing Task Force Report, contact me at 510/644-6002 or email: [tisl1@ci.berkeley.ca.us](mailto:tisl1@ci.berkeley.ca.us)
- PN'er **Maury Gittleman** writes: I am in Washington, DC, seeking to work as a volunteer on such issues as community economic development, housing, jobs, etc. My background is as an economist, doing research on poverty and income distribution issues, but I am willing to work in any capacity. If anyone has an opening or knows of a good lead, please contact Maury Gittleman at 202-332-5808.
- PN'er **Randy Wilson** writes: I'm in the Boston area, where I've worked as a planner for ten years in the cities of Boston and Cambridge. A lot of my focus has been on addressing the disparity between the high tech, high skills economy and the people and neighborhoods who are left behind. I've also worked with unions, community groups and other progressive interests on alternative economic programs. Current project is getting a PhD in Public Policy at the University of Mass. - Boston; probable focus is on community development and the role that social networks play in this process. A group of us here are about to mount a yearlong evaluation of Boston's "Empowerment Zone" project, so I'd love to hear from others with experience/knowledge of similar efforts. Randy Wilson, 1 Pemberton Ter., #3, Cambridge, MA 02140
- PN'er **Roger Colton** writes: I work with a consulting firm: Fisher, Sheehan and Colton Public Finance and General Economics. We do public sector work, ranging from working for a variety of community-based groups on issues relating to electric industry restructuring, to doing an increasing amount of fair housing research and litigation support, to working for Legal Services offices on a variety of litigation efforts (challenges to various Food Stamp and AFDC regulations). Some of our most intense work is in the area of bringing energy efficiency to bear on affordable housing development and first time home buyer programs to help improve the long-term affordability of low-income housing. I've been with Planners Network going back 15 - 20 years now, back when Iowa Planners Network at the University of Iowa was challenging electric rate increases. I'm in Belmont, Massachusetts, a suburb of Boston. Contact Roger at 34 Warwick Rd., Belmont, MA 02178; 617-484-0597; [RColton101@aol.com](mailto:RColton101@aol.com)
- PN'er **Alan Mabin** writes: Among the hats I wear are teaching in a planning school in Johannesburg, running a research programme called Proplan which focuses on institutional issues around planning, advising politicians and officials in national, provincial and local post-apartheid government on urban planning questions, and chairing the board of an NGO which works mainly in inner city housing situations. I'm hoping the network will put me in touch with new contacts in these fields. And, especially, I'm hoping the network will generate discussion which will relate contemporary planning issues, problems and processes to newer literatures on positionality, identity, difference, and their connections to justice, equity and polarization. Contact Alan at University of Witwatersrand, Private Bag 3, WITS 2050, South Africa; [mabina@wn.apc.org](mailto:mabina@wn.apc.org)
- PN'er **Debbie Sultemeier** writes: I'm currently working as a self-employed consultant to organizations involved in affordable housing development and/or management. My clients are predominantly non-profit organizations and public agencies. During the last year I worked exclusively for one community-based non-profit organization managing the construction of a 50-unit apartment complex for occupancy by very low income seniors. I've been working in housing in and around San Antonio, Texas, since my graduation from the Rutgers graduate planning program in 1987. I started consulting about two years ago in order to spend more time with my two young children and have a more flexible schedule. I'd love to give tours to anyone visiting San Antonio. My contact information is 11634 Sandman Street, San Antonio, TX 78216; 210-341-6479; [debbiesult@aol.com](mailto:debbiesult@aol.com).
- PN'er **Michael Heiman**, associate professor of environmental studies and geography, and chair of environmental studies at Dickinson College in Carlisle, PA writes: "I was funded by a US EPA Environmental Justice grant to visit and prepare training materials to access the Community Right-to-Know Toxic Release Inventory Data base for residents in communities of color and low-income neighborhoods, I now have several products available from that effort. These include a feature-length training video and script for accessing the data base in CD-ROM format. In addition, I was guest editor for a recent issue of Antipode on Race, Waste, and Class." Contact Michael at Environmental Studies/James Center, Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA 17013; 717-245-1338; [heiman@dickinson.edu](mailto:heiman@dickinson.edu).





# Election '96: The Role

## Hold your nose and vote

by Norman Krumholz

Perhaps more than in any recent election, progressive planners will hold their noses this year as they vote for president. To most progressives (and many Democrats), Bill Clinton has given away what the Democratic party stands for in his zeal to show that he can balance the budget, shrink the role of government and be tough on social issues. As a method of governing and as a re-election campaign strategy, Clinton has chosen to imitate Republican policies to minimize the ability of the Dole/Gingrich crowd to turn his right flank.

For progressive planners interested in cities, their neighborhoods, affordable housing and the environment, this year's presidential choices present a particularly dismal dilemma. Neither the Democrats nor the Republicans have seen the necessity to mount an attack on the economic trends that have created the inner-city ghetto and are keeping millions in poverty and hopelessness. Instead, both parties supported "welfare reform" which translates into more hunger and homelessness and less economic opportunity, and a crime bill which will mean more death penalties, more jails and more incarcerations.

Neither party has been interested in addressing the increasing economic disparities between distressed central cities and their suburbs. Both parties have supported deep cuts in affordable housing and the continued radical shrinkage of HUD. Both parties have effectively abandoned racial integration as a national policy, and have not pushed for further racial gains or for the enforcement of what was accomplished in the past.

On the environmental front, the news is bad as well. Like the

Republican, Clinton's environmental policy is mostly rhetoric and accommodation, and many environmental groups are outraged that Clinton has done little more to protect the environment than the Reagan and Bush Administrations.

Still, if Clinton is bad, the Republicans are much worse. Their party, to quote Ralph Nader, has been taken over by "the cruelest rogues who ever crawled up Capitol Hill." In this present incarnation of the Republican Party, even centrist and liberal Republicans will control the White House, Senate, House and will influence the Supreme Court for 20 years. Progressives and their concerns will be cast into outer darkness.

All that said, a choice is clear. I will vote for Bill Clinton in 1996 and I urge other PN members to do so. I will not sit out the election. Some of us tried that in 1968 and it didn't get us a more liberal nation. It got us Nixon and the strong conservative movement that continues to define the political agenda today.

Beyond my reluctant vote for Bill Clinton in 1996, I will continue to work for a much more progressive Democratic Party or a third party devoted less to corporate contributors and the status quo and more to the improvement of cities and the reduction of poverty and racial discrimination. Part of the reason Clinton has disappointed progressives is because there is no powerful, nationally organized progressive presence in America to point him in the right direction. We must all join in the essential task of building one.

*Norman Krumholz is a Professor at Cleveland State University.*

## Start creating alternatives

by Dana Driskell

My take on this issue begins with serious questions about the future viability of the Democratic party as the party of the working people (cynically called the "middle class" by both the major parties' media strategists). From NAFTA to welfare repeal, from HUD reorganization to affirmative action, from the "anti-terror" bill to the Federal Reserve to Filegate, slick Willie and his party machinery are more and more difficult to rationalize as the lesser evil.

Today's political landscape reminds me of the car commercial, "... this is not your father's Democratic party." What we have is a party led by Reagan Democrats whose core beliefs consist of Dick Morris' latest focus group summaries. And, assuming the easy victory in November, get ready for Al and Tipper Gore!

Enough. We need to begin the long, slow, unglamorous process of developing new coalitions that can, over the long term, advocate the needs of the working people. Nader is too one issue oriented (although his take on corporatism is important). Perot is

delusional and a multimillionaire. Even wannabe fascist Buchanan has shown how the right wing can and will respond to issues affecting their economic interests.

All of these developments show a public that is looking for alternatives to two-party business as usual. Let no one underestimate the hard work necessary to change ingrained habits. But now is definitely the time to begin passing up the lesser evil for the greater good. For sure, that path lies outside the Democratic Party.

*Dana Driskell works at the NYC Dept. of City Planning.*

### *The fix is in.*

"There's nothing wrong with this country which a good election can't fix."

— Richard Nixon



# of Progressive Planners

## To vote, or not to vote (socialist)?

by John Cabral

How do we hurt ourselves and limit the prospects for meaningful social change by voting for the Democratic Party in the national elections in 1996? Let me count the ways. No, let me avoid doing that in this forum, since just about everybody agrees that by supporting the Democrats against the Republicans we are merely choosing between the lesser of two evils. The question we all have is whether, in good conscience, we have any choice.

There are some choices. The choice over half of the population makes is to not participate.

As elections approach, it's remarkable to observe how the whole population is bombarded with messages about the importance of voting. Different social sectors in different parts of the country get targeted for voter registration drives, and then voter turn-out

### No comment

A low voter turnout is an indication of fewer people going to the polls.

— Vice President Dan Quayle

campaigns. And still, between one-half and two-thirds of Americans don't vote on election day, according to professors Daniel Hellinger and Dennis R. Judd (*The Democratic Facade*). Even community activists in the thousands of groups that exist in this country avoid getting involved in the electoral process, as William Greider points out in *Who Will Tell the People: the Betrayal of American Democracy*. Forget the electoral politics—they're too corrupt; the important thing is to organize, these groups say.

Is this non-participation a protest by ordinary working people against a ritualistic exercise that offers them no real choices? Are they rejecting a political system which is now substantially controlled by Washington D.C.-based public relations outfits, think-tanks, polling firms and lawyers working for the corporations?

Protest or not, the elite can live with this "voter apathy." The televised pomp and pageantry of the elections gives officeholders an aura of legitimacy which they use to implement public policies that are not in the interests of ordinary people. If you

— Cabral / page 6

## Vote, then organize

by Ron Shiffman

This year's Presidential and Congressional elections have put many of us in a difficult position. On one hand, we don't want to permit the perception that the American people support a swing to the right, a perception that we all feed but one that was endorsed by less than 50% of the electorate in 1996, and more importantly, by less than 19% of those eligible to vote that same year. A vote for Dole, Perot or even Nader might help foster that perception. Most progressives will refuse to vote for Dole because of what he and the Republican Party stand for in this election. While Dole and Clinton draw closer and closer in their campaign promises and programs, it is still important to distinguish between the two.

When we are honest with ourselves, we must admit that Clinton is the better of the two candidates. However, having said that I am not sure that I can vote for Clinton based on his actions over the years and particularly this past summer. Clinton has the ability to determine right from wrong but he often chooses not to use that skill. Instead, he sets aside that ability and abdicates his role as a leader to that of an interpreter and reporter of the latest poll.

Leadership is taking a position, and educating and informing people of the reason for the decision. Clinton is clearly not a consistent leader. Once he does take leadership, such as in the

battle over the budget earlier this year, he stands tall and generates enthusiasm and respect. However, his recent acquiescence on immigration, welfare and gay rights are more indicative of how he has guided this administration than his stand on the budget. To vote for Clinton would signal that it is fine to abandon children, new immigrants, and principle in order to curry favor with the "unknowing and uncaring" and with those corporations that seek a greater share of the corporate welfare "dole".

I know I can't work for Clinton and Gore this year. However, I do know how important it is for every Democrat running for a seat in the House or the Senate to win. I do know it is important to develop new progressive leadership on a local level. I do know how important it is for progressives, planners and people of good will to organize and mobilize the base of our communities and to create new and sustain old connections to the trade union movement.

"Power concedes nothing without a demand," said Frederick Douglass. "It never did, and it never will. If there is no struggle, there is no progress." Struggle is the key point. We never had, nor do I believe that we will ever have, the leadership of a presi-

— Shiffman / page 6

## Cabral / continued from page 5

didn't vote, don't complain.

The other option is to vote for a third party. The Green Party USA, the New Party, and Labor Party Advocates are three new efforts to break the Republican-Democratic stranglehold on U.S. politics and give working people a chance to vote for progressive social reforms.

The Greens have succeeded in getting veteran anti-corporate activist Ralph Nader on the ballot in many states as a candidate for President, but Nader himself does not trust the U.S. political system and refuses to actively run a campaign. The New Party, based mostly on community-based organizations who work with the urban poor and minorities in the big cities, is running only candidates for local office and endorsing progressive Democratic

Party candidates everywhere else. Labor Party Advocates is building the Labor Party in the labor unions but is refusing to field any candidates in 1996. Besides these three, there are different socialist candidates for major offices on the ballot in several different states. All of these campaigns are minuscule and are kept virtually invisible by the media. The Republican-Democrat oligarchy has so much power that those who vote for a third party are accused of "throw-away" voting. Be that as it may, I personally cannot vote for the likes of Bill Clinton, so I usually cast my vote for whatever candidate I spot whose name is next to the word "socialist".

Although no one on the left has the final word on this question, one thing is for sure: though many very honest and committed grassroots activists still try to work through it during elections, the Democratic Party is a crucial part of the oppression of working people in this country and around the world. On principle, we should speak openly and frankly of this, even while recognizing that we don't know exactly how to deal with the elections. In the meantime, let's study how government and politics really work in the U.S. Perhaps this, and time, will help us understand what our role should be in the elections.

*John Cabral works at the Center for Urban Economic Development, University of Illinois at Chicago*

## Sensitivity award

We didn't do too well with the animal vote, did we? Isn't it the animals who live in these projects? They're not our people.

*— Senator Alfonse D'Amato, R-NY, on a Brooklyn low-income housing project he did not support.*

## Shiffman / continued from page 5

dent, governor, mayor, or for that matter any legislative governing body that will be responsive or accountable to the needs of the people, unless the people hold them accountable. The basis of the Rev. Jessie Jackson's speech, so eloquently delivered at the Democratic convention, was that without struggle Roosevelt, Kennedy and Johnson would not have taken the actions that they did take.

If we as planners, progressives and journalists had done our jobs properly, Clinton would not have dared to sign the welfare legislation this August. He would not have dared allow the Defense of Marriage Act to become law. Perhaps people like Peter Edelman, Mary Jo Bane, and Wendell Primus who resigned from the administration, and others like Cisneros, Reich and Shalala, would have had the constituent base to force the President to listen to their counsel.

I know that I have the luxury to oppose Clinton's re-election because there are enough others to assure his re-election. That level of comfort and the concept itself is dangerous. First, it is that kind of argument that can unwittingly cost Clinton the presidency. Second, it can make it harder to get people to the polling booth and harder to throw out the Gingrich-Dole Congress. Third, it allows the myth of a move to the right by the American people to be perpetuated and reinforced. And finally, it allows me to escape from my own personal and professional responsibility. I don't mean my responsibility to vote but my responsibility, as well as that of all progressives, particularly progressive planners and their colleagues, to educate, agitate and mobilize. In the end, we always seem to have a choice between people

who have not earned our confidence and who have earned our distrust. Given these realities we need to select the candidate that will be the most responsive to our needs. Experience has taught us that alone will not work. We need to mobilize and nurture the local political environment and involve all of the stakeholders, including those often denied a stake in the process. We need to mobilize people to educate and influence and hold accountable their fellow citizens and their leaders. We must understand that democracy is not built upon the ballot box but upon struggle, ideas and visions that move people to participate in the institutions and processes of our society. Only then can people truly govern democratically. Only then will our choices be broadened and our vote attain the value of its promise.

*Ron Shiffman is the Director of the Pratt Institute Center for Community and Environmental Development (PICCED)*

## Self-control

In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed, and in the next place oblige it to control itself.

*— James Madison*

# Resources

## JOBS

- **Faculty/Los Angeles.** The Urban Planning Department in UCLA's School of Public Policy and Social Research seeks applications for a permanent ladder faculty position in the area of Planning Theory and History. The ideal candidate would be able to contribute directly to one of the school's four areas of concentration: The Built Environment, Environmental Analysis and Policy, Regional and International Development, and Social Policy and Analysis. For a full posting contact Marsha Brown, Dept. of Urban Planning, School of Public Policy and Social Research, University of California, Los Angeles, Los Angeles, CA 90095-1656; 310-206-7150. Deadline for submissions is November 15.
- **Faculty/Berkeley.** Applications for a position in the area of Community Development and Planning are being accepted, at either the assistant or associate professor level, depending upon qualifications. Applicants should have PhD in related field, experience with social and political issues in urban minority communities, and interest in participating actively in the community. Full postings are available from Search Committee, Dept. of City and Regional Planning, University of California, 228 Wurster Hall #1850, Berkeley, CA 94720; mgsnyder@ced.berkeley.edu
- **Professor/Los Angeles.** Occidental College invites applications for the Henry Luce Professorship in Urban Environmental Studies. The Luce Professor will be responsible for establishing and coordinating a new Environmental Studies Project, focused on understanding urban environmental issues, and using metropolitan Southern California as a laboratory. For more information contact Professor Jim Sadd, Chair, Environmental Science and Studies Program, jsadd@oxy.edu; 213-259-2518, or PN'er Peter Drier, Director of Public Policy Program at drier@oxy.edu; 213-259-2913.

## CALLS FOR PAPERS / ASSISTANCE

- I am looking for papers, articles, or studies that examine HUD's approach to portfolio reengineering (originally called mark to market). Also helpful would be contacts of anyone who assisted in any writing on this topic. Housing and Community Svcs., Aspen Systems; housing@aspensys.com
- **Call for Papers.** Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning (ACSP) is accepting abstracts for papers to be considered for their 1997 conference, to be held November 6-9 in Fort Lauderdale, FL. All abstracts are due Friday, January 3. For more information, contact Sandi Rosenbloom, Chair, ACSP Conference Committee, Drachman Institute, University

of Arizona, ACSP 1997 Conference, 819 East First Street, Tucson Arizona 85721-0483; 520.623.1223; ACSP97@u.arizona.edu

- **Housing Funding.** PN'er John Furman writes: Our agency is attempting to identify non-traditional sources of financing for our affordable housing projects, particularly those financing mechanisms which can be combined with low-income housing tax credits. We have exhausted local HOME funds and funding from the state housing financing agency is extremely competitive. We are interested in learning more about the following sources: (1) Using Section 108 loan guarantees for LIHTC programs. (2) Program income and miscellaneous income from previous rental rehabilitation programs operated by our local municipality. (3) Program Related Investments (low-interest loans made by corporations and foundations. I am also interested in ascertaining how to use HOME funds most effectively in leveraging the maximum amount of tax credits. Please contact me at the following address/phone number/email address: John Furman, Program Planner, Utica Community Action, Inc., 214 Rutger Street, Utica, NY 13501; 315-797-7364; fax 315-792-1983; JFurman835@aol.com

## AWARDS / COMPETITIONS

- **Housing Awards.** The Housing Assistance Council requests nominations for the Skip Jason and Clay Cochran Awards in recognition of individuals who work "in the trenches" and often go unrecognized outside their communities. Eligible applicants for the Skip Jason Award are those whose efforts have improved the housing conditions of the rural poor in their communities. Eligible applicants for the Clay Cochran Award for Distinguished Service in Housing for the Rural Poor are individuals who have provided outstanding service, with national impact, for the betterment of housing conditions for the rural poor. Nominations must be postmarked by September 30, 1996. Contact Lilla M. Sutton, Housing Assistance Council, 21025 Vermont Ave., NW, Suite 606, Washington, DC 20005; 202-842-8600.
- **Low-Income Housing Awards.** The FannieMae Foundation is accepting applications for the Maxwell Awards of Excellence Program for the Production of Low-Income Housing, meant to identify and recognize organizations developing and maintaining housing for low-income residents. Applications and information are available from FannieMae, 4000 Wisconsin Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20016-2800; 202-274-8000.
- **Development Awards.** The Rudy Bruner Award has opened its 1997 competition. The \$50,000 award recognizes urban places that successfully reconcile social, economic and aesthetic values throughout the development process. Four addi-



tional finalists receive a \$1,000 honorarium. Deadline: 12/13/96. Application or info: Bruner/Cott and Associates, 130 Prospect St., Cambridge, MA 02139; 617-492-8400; (fax) 617-876-4002.

- **Essay Contest.** *The Planning Commissioners Journal* is sponsoring its biennial "Building the Future essay competition for high school students. Essays should consist of thoughtful and creative thinking about the problems our communities face and how we can plan for better places to live in. For more information and a submission form, contact Planning Commissioners Journal, PO Box 4295, Burlington, VT 05406; 802-864-9083; pcj@together.net; <http://www.plannersweb.com/essay96.html>

## RESOURCES

- **Community Economic Development.** The Community Information Exchange has released its databases on community economic development on CD-ROM. The disks include case studies, information about funding sources, and "how-to" materials. It's available in subscription form (12 months) for \$500 for local organizations, \$600 for state-wide organizations, and \$750 for national organizations. Contact Community Information Exchange, 1029 Vermont Ave., NW, Ste. 710, Washington, DC 20005; 202-628-2981; <http://www.neighborlink.cc.duq.edu/cie/index.htm>
- **Housing.** HUD USER, a division of HUD's office of Policy Development and Research, now offers *Fieldworks*, a bi-monthly newsletter reporting on promising efforts in housing and community development throughout the country. A one year subscription is \$15. Order by calling 800-245-2691.
- **Research.** HUD USER, a division of HUD's office of Policy Development and Research, now offers *Urban Research Monitor*, a bi-monthly reference tool listing new titles of reports, articles, books and case studies. A one year subscription is \$15. Order by calling 800-245-2691.
- **Nonprofits and Politics.** "The Rules of the Game: An Election Year Legal Guide for Nonprofit Organizations" briefly explains basic tax and election law, reviews ways to
- organize voter education activities, examines the option of creating non-501(c)(3) orgs, and provides info on how to protest violations of tax and election law. The Alliance also offers workshops on organizing voter education activities; participants will receive a copy of "Rules." Contact the Alliance for Justice, HN5866@handsnet.org
- **Organizer Training.** Community-based practitioners, community organizers, and labor representatives are invited to apply for participation in the pilot of a new and unique community-based development and organizing program to be held in California, January 24-31. The intensive five day training and strategy session will focus on emerging issues impacting communities and ways to deal with the changing social, political and economic environment. The program is being developed by the Pratt Institute Center for Community and Environmental Development, with the support of the Ford Foundation, and in partnership with community development experts from across the country. Other participating organizations include the Midwest Center for Labor Research and Applied Research Center. For further information, contact Ron Shiffman at 718-636-3494 or Dawn Armstrong at 718-636-3486, x6436.
- **Employment.** National Jobs for All Week, October 13-19, will focus on awareness of the true extent of un- and under-employment, economic interests' support of high levels of unemployment, and awareness of the links between unemployment, hunger, poverty, and racial and gender inequality. For information about events near you, or to get involved, contact The National Jobs for All Coalition, 475 Riverside Dr., Rm. 554, New York, NY 10115; 212-870-3449. A "Call To Action" concert, celebrating the end of National Jobs for all Week, will be held Saturday, October 19th, at the West End Gate, 2911 Broadway (between 113 and 114th sts.), at 7:30 p.m. Performers include Ray Korona Band, Hooterville, Riot Act, Sharon Perez-Abreu, Faith Schwartz, Jenny Hurwitz, and guests.
- **Housing.** *The State of the Nation's Housing: 1996* (36 pp.) is available from the Joint Center for Housing Studies, Harvard University, 79 JFK St., Cambridge, MA 02138; 617-495-7908.
- **Nonprofits.** *Mission Possible: 200 Ways to Strengthen the Nonprofit Sector's Infrastructure*, by Kate Chieco, Deborah Koch, and Kristin Scotchmer (270 pp., Spr. '96), is available (\$25) from the Union Institute, 1710 Rhode Island Ave., NW, #1100, Washington, DC 20036; 202-496-1630.
- **Federal Policy.** *Federal Policy in Transition: A National Briefing Book on Housing, Economic, and Community Development* is available (\$75) from the National Low Income Housing Coalition, 1012 14th St., NW, #1200, Washington, DC 20005; 202-662-1530 x234.

## Beep. Beep. Cough.

By the middle of the 20th Century there were 2.6 billion people on earth; between them they had 50 million cars. Less than 50 years later, the totals have risen to 5.5 billion people and 50 million cars. The population has doubled in a couple of generations, but the number of cars has risen tenfold.

- Tri-State Transportation Coalition/The Economist

# Conferences and Workshops

- **Job Creation.** The National Council for Urban Economic Development (NCUED) is sponsoring "Creating Jobs in a Competitive Economy" in Cleveland, OH, **September 29-October 2**. Workshops will cover topics in business attraction and retention, finance, real estate and land use issues, and tools and techniques. \$395/members, \$495/nonmembers. For more information contact CUED 1996 Annual Conference Registrar, 1730 K St., NW, Suite 700, Washington, DC 20006; 202-223-4745.
- **Universal Employment.** The National Jobs for All Coalition has issued a call to Jobs For All Week, **October 13-19**. Communities nationwide are being asked to hold events focused on the problems of joblessness and the available solutions. Contact Benjamin K. Hunnicutt, Jr., c/o National Jobs For All Coalition, National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Dr., Room 554, New York, NY 10115; 212-870-3449.
- **Co-housing.** CoHousing Communities - Keys to Success, will be held **October 17 - 19** at Nyland Cohousing Community. This three day seminar is designed especially for development professionals who are committed to being on the leading edge of neotraditional residential development. The conference will be held in Lafayette, CO (30 miles NW of Denver) and will include an in-depth guided tour of three additional projects in the Denver metro area. For more information call Lisa McManigal at 970-927-3807; lisamc@rof.net; <http://www.rmi.org>
- **Physical Environment.** "Communities and their Physical Environment," the 12th Conference on the Small City and Regional Community, will be held **October 24-26** in Louisville, Kentucky. The conference will focus on the physical environment of small cities and their regions, and on the local pursuit of sustainable development. For more information contact Peter B. Meyer, CUER Building, University of Louisville, Louisville, KY 40292; pbmeyer02@ulkyvm.louisville.edu
- **City Limits.** Founded in 1976 as a newsletter for grassroots housing activists, City Limits has long been an influential voice and singular source of news and information for those of us working to rebuild New York's low-income communities. To celebrate their 20th anniversary, join activists, policymakers, journalists, and community development professionals on **November 14** at a gala at the Sky Club, atop the Met Life Building in Manhattan. Tickets start at \$75. Contact Kim Nauer, Senior Editor, City Limits Magazine, 40 Prince St., New York, NY 10012; 212-925-9820.
- **Cooperatives.** The UC Center for Cooperatives' 1996 Annual Conference will take place **November 15-16** in Northern California's Wine Country. "Cooperatives and Communities: Growing Strong Together" will examine the relationship between cooperative ownership and strong local economies, and highlight economic development strategies based on cooperative development. For more information, contact Deb Gray, Center for Cooperatives, UC Davis, Davis, CA 95616, 916-752-4967, dcgray@ucdavis.edu.
- **Technology and Communities.** The Southern California Conference on Technology, Employment and Community will focus on the impact of this rapidly growing revolution on our social, economic, and cultural experience. The conference will be held **November 21-23** in Los Angeles, and information is available from Impact of Technology on Society Project, c/o Dept. of Economics and Statistics, California State University, Los Angeles, Los Angeles, CA 90032; 213-343-2941; jmarti@calstatela.edu
- **Environment.** Benton MacKaye and the Appalachian Trail: A 75th Anniversary Celebration of Vision, Planning and Grass-Roots Mobilization, a one-day interdisciplinary conference, will be held **November 22** in Albany, NY, discussing both the origins of the Trail, and contemporary trail and greenway initiatives in the Northeast. For more information contact PN'er Ray Bromley, Dept. of Geography and Planning, SUNY-Albany, Earth Science 218, Albany, NY 12222; 518-442-4766; rb438@cnsvox.albany.edu

## Cost of Living

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— SRO Providers Group

## PN '97 in California

Planning is underway for the PN '97 Conference, to be hosted by Cal Poly, Pomona, June 26-29. Groups collaborating in conference planning include the Industrial Areas Foundation (East Valleys Organization), the Watts Community Labor Action Committee, and possibly others.

PN '97 will feature tours in the LA region and workshops. Affordable lodging will be available at Cal Poly. New features include:

- focus on blight and hard core problems in suburbs,
- a location west of the Mississippi,
- activities for children, and
- an explicit engagement with community organizers.

The conference structure will promote the exchange of ideas and experiences between planners and organizers. If you would like to help with the conference, contact Chuck Hotchkiss (909/869-2687; cmhotchkiss@csupomona.edu) or Gwen Urey (909/869-2725; gurey@csupomona.edu) at Cal Poly.

## PN at ACSP

Planners Network organized a reception at the combined Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning (ACSP) and Association of European Schools of Planning (AESOP) conference in Toronto in July. The PN Reception, co-sponsored with the York University Faculty of Environmental Studies, was well attended, with over 150 people passing through. Several European visitors commented that they were particularly interested to find out that the US has a progressive planning subculture. Thanks to PN steering committee member Barbara Rahder for doing much of the work.

## Act locally: Local PN Chapter Activity

### CENTRAL ILLINOIS PN CHAPTER LAUNCHED

Activists from the University of Illinois, the Student Planners Organization of the University of Illinois Department of Urban and Regional Planning, and UIUC's East St. Louis Action Research Project in Champaign, Illinois have joined together to sponsor a local chapter of Planners Network. Building upon the success of the NYC Chapter of Planners Network, local organizers plan to meet on the third Thursday of each month to discuss critical issues facing progressives. The monthly meetings of the Central Illinois Chapter will alternate between invited guest speakers and class planning films, such as those featured at the 1996 Planners Network National Conference held at Pratt Institute. The first meeting of the new chapter is scheduled to take place on Thursday, October 18th at 7 pm at Temple Buell Hall at the University of Illinois. Interested individuals should contact Angela Morgan or Ken Reardon at the University of Illinois: 217-333-3890 (P), 217-244-1717 (F), or KMJR@ux1.cao.uiuc.edu.

Rockford, Department of Community Development, 425 East State St., Rockford, IL 61104; 815-987-5612.

### NEW YORK CHAPTER HOLDS MONTHLY FORUMS

The New York Planners Network will again offer a series of monthly forums beginning in October. The forums will be held on Friday nights, 5:30 - 8:00 p.m., at the Puck Building (Pratt Manhattan), 295 Lafayette St., corner of Houston, in Manhattan. Topics for this fall session include:

- **Friday, October 18:** Jobs for All Week
- **Friday, November 22:** Business Improvement Districts (BID's)
- **Friday, December 13:** Globalization and Deindustrialization

Contact Winton at 718-636-3461; wintonp@ix.netcom.com for more information.

### CHICAGO GROUP IN FORMATION

Attention, any and all interested PNers working in the Chicago or nearby regions. As a member of PN with roots originating at the University of Illinois in Champaign-Urbana, I now work in Rockford (1 1/2 hours west of Chicago). I'm interested in getting a group of fellow progressive-minded planners together to talk, exchange ideas and socialize, with the ultimate goal of establishing a local PN chapter. Anyone interested please call or write to me. Robyn G. Bancroft, Neighborhood Planner, City of

### BUENOS AIRES GROUP IN FORMATION

Also in formation is a local PN chapter in Buenos Aires, Argentina. Dr. Alejandro Rofman plans to organize the group's first meeting in April or May of 1997. Contact Dr. Rofman at 54-1-854-0462.

If you're interested in finding out about other PN'ers near you, or in starting a local chapter, contact Winton at 718-636-3461; wintonp@ix.netcom.com



**Pre-publication Announcement**

# Double Exposure

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Chester Hartman, Editor

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Chester Hartman, Editor

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# Love and Leadership: The work of Mel King

by Louise Dunlap

Each of us touches a thousand people, says the law explaining why two strangers often know someone in common. But there are people on the planet who connect with many times this number – in ways that are powerful, warm, and deeply felt. One of these great connectors is Melvin H. King – educator, mentor, practical politician, consensus-builder, environmentalist, poet, visionary, and internationalist.

I've stopped being surprised when people know Mel King – from the checker at the supermarket to the US Ambassador in South Africa. It's not just that they know about Mel – they *know* him. Working with Mel has been central to their lives. For many, the contact has stirred deeper commitment, a clearer sense of their work for social justice, more active and skillful leadership, and the "higher level of human consciousness" Mel has said he believes all people wish for.

Some have known Mel since the '30s and '40s when he was growing up in Boston's South End – where he still lives. His neighborhood school was a "little League of Nations," with 36 identifiable ethnic groups. Mel's family – who had come from Barbados and Guyana – lived on Seneca Street, since lost to urban renewal. Their neighbors were Irish, Portuguese, Albanians, Greeks, Lithuanians, Armenians, Jews, Filipinos, Chinese, and Syrians. Mel's mother, an informal counselor to many people, was active in church and women's groups; his father – a dock-worker and activist – held union meetings in their home. (Mel once told a reporter that his political work started "When I was born.")

After going south to college, Mel married Joyce King, with whom he began a family of six children (and, now, six grandchildren). He went to work in his home community – first as a teacher in the Boston public schools, then as a street worker and community organizer with the South End Settlement House. Here he set up youth programs linking African-American, Puerto Rican and white young people and worked with parents and students alike to challenge a system of schooling that was deeply racist. In the early '60s he ran three times for Boston School Committee – during an era so hostile that only one Black candidate had ever been elected to city office.

Those whose lives touched Mel's in the '60s and early '70s were part of the epic "organizing" and "institution-building" movements he records in his inspiring book, *Chain of Change*. During these peak years of the civil rights movement nationally, Mel led unrelenting local campaigns around housing, jobs, and schooling – holding Boston accountable for conditions that often rivaled those in the South. With this work evolved the ideas that change comes only through the effort to seek a higher level of individual and community consciousness.

As Executive Director of the New Urban League of Greater Boston, Mel with other leaders sought more democratic forms of self-organization and "community development through community control." This meant, among other things, greater control of the funding coming from paternalistic service organizations like the United Way. One high point was Urban League attendance at a United Way board meeting. Entering the Statler Hilton ballroom after an elegant luncheon, Black leaders moved quietly toward the front of the room gathering scraps and crumbs from the tables. As silence mounted, they reached the podium, spoke briefly, and tipped over the bag of garbage they had collected, declaring: "We are not taking any more of your scraps." The funding picture began to change.

It was during the early '70s that Mel joined the faculty of MIT's Department of Urban Studies and Planning and began the Community Fellows Program from which he retired this past spring. This program has enabled hundreds of community leaders of color from throughout the US to spend a year of reflection at MIT and to learn one another's stories and deepen their ability to build community.

In 1973, Mel was elected Representative to the State Legislature. In five terms on Beacon Hill, he continued to build institutions for community development – in housing, youth education and employment, the Community Development Finance Corporation, assistance to small minority- and women-owned businesses, and anti-arson legislation. As the one legislator

committed to a progressive agenda, everyone brought him their issues, often to his early morning open breakfasts for policy makers and activists. Mel also led the fight for a strong South Africa divestment bill which successfully passed in 1982 over Governor Ed King's veto.

While his legislation to prevent companies from charging for solar energy did not pass, Mel converted his own home to solar and, in the '70's, helped launch a long-lived coalition of Boston Urban Gardeners; BUG is still active with community gardens and farmers markets. How many know that Mel keynoted the first US Green Party convention in 1986? In earlier years when few on the left took environmental issues seriously and few environmentalists thought about social justice, Mel quite naturally became an advocate of what today we call environmental justice.

Many know Mel from his more recent campaigns – for Boston mayor in 1979 and 1983 and for US Congress in 1986. It was during the second mayoral race that Mel and the circles of people around him came up with the idea of the "rainbow coali-

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*"It's about power and energy," he told a crowd at a Seabrook demonstration in 1986. "But it's your power and your energy."*

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## Mel King / continued from page 14

tion," which would become the name and the model for the national Rainbow. This deeply visionary concept comes naturally out of Mel's organizing history and is still evolving. In the 1983 race, it took form in a coalition that linked supporters by ethnic neighborhood as well as less place-oriented constituencies like gays and lesbians. Although the electorate ended up choosing Ray Flynn, Mel's Rainbow had succeeded in shifting discussion to more progressive ground and setting up alliances that would continue.

I can speak first hand about Mel's presence at MIT, which he has often said is the "real world," with all the oppressions we encounter outside and all the opportunities for learning to oppose them. It was wonderful to have a colleague who would unflinchingly do so – with 30-40 years' worth of intelligent strategy and finesse. I will always remember Mel standing tall among the huge columns at the Mass. Ave. entrance to the Institute speaking or reading poetry at rallies, and how he would get out his camera to record people coming together to raise their voices against injustice. I will remember the profound respect his col-

leagues always showed him – whether or not they shared his values and concerns. I will remember his effective work in high-powered faculty groups and a recent conference he sponsored encouraging activists of color to use electronic media for their own empowerment. I will remember his courses in community development, his seminar on Peace and Justice Studies, and the hundreds of students from every conceivable kind of community whom he challenged to believe in themselves.

"It's about power and energy," he told a crowd at a Seabrook demonstration in 1986. "But it's your power and your energy." He gave the same message in gay and lesbian bars during the Rainbow races and outside student shanties during anti-apartheid days, to Community Fellows, and to the youth and their parents who stood up against the racism of Boston public schools. Mel continues to help all of us touch the power of love and find the energy for change.

*PN'er Louise Dunlap taught with Mel King in the Urban Studies Department at MIT for 15 years and was Environmental Coordinator in his congressional campaign.*

*This article originally appeared, in a somewhat longer form, in the May issue of Peaceworks, 2161 Mass. Ave., Cambridge, MA 02140; 617-661-6130.*

## Doris Rosenblum

Longtime PN member Doris Rosenblum, one of New York City's most tenacious and influential organizers, died of cancer at the end of August at age 71. A fixture of the Upper West Side political scene for more than 35 years, working issues ranging from affordable housing preservation to education reform, Rosenblum remained deeply involved right up until her death. Told just three weeks ago that she had irreversible lymphoma, she still considered attending a retreat of the New York State Tenants and Neighbors Coalition, where she had been a board member for the last five years.

"She was just never able to back away from something she believed in," says NYSTNC's Michael McKee.

That may explain her legendary resume. As a mom on the Upper West Side in the late 1960s, Rosenblum set out to improve conditions in her kids' schools. In 1971, she helped found one of the city's first alternative schools, the West Side High School. Rosenblum went on to defend rent stabilization laws and tenant rights in Mitchell-Lama buildings. She also helped found the Strycker's Bay Neighborhood Council and, as a member and then district manager of Community Board 7, played a central role coordinating opposition to several huge West Side developments, most notably Riverside South.

Shortly before her death, she chuckled while telling friends that she was running 13 different coalitions out of her apartment. That didn't include the work she did with children, preparing oral histories of various neighborhoods as the official Manhattan borough historian.

Says Community Board 7's current manager, Penny Ryan: "We will only know what she was doing completely when we come to find out what's not being done."

*(Reprinted from City Limits Weekly, September 2, 1996.)*

## CORRECTION

The by-lines were left off of the articles in the July issue. The authors were:

Page 1 - Planners Network '96 – Winton Pitcoff

Page 2 - National Urban Policy – Ann Forsyth

Page 2 - Community-Based Planning – Ken Reardon and Jordan Yin

Page 8 - Confronting Globalization – Barbara Rahder

Page 8 - Habitat II – Tony Schuman

Page 9 - Planning Education – Nancy E. Lee

Page 10 - Local Organizing – Peg Seip



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Resource listings • Job Postings  
Article ideas (or articles, even) • Suggestions, comments, critiques of the newsletter.

## The Planners Network

The Planners Network is an association of professionals, activists, academics, and students involved in physical, social, economic, and environmental planning in urban and rural areas, who promote fundamental change in our political and economic systems.

We believe that planning should be a tool for allocating resources and developing the environment to eliminate the great inequalities of wealth and power in our society, rather than to maintain and justify the status quo. We believe that planning should be used to assure adequate food, clothing, shelter, medical care, jobs, safe working conditions, and a healthful environment. We advocate public responsibility for meeting these needs, because the private market has proven incapable of doing so.

The Planners Network Newsletter is published six times a year as the principal means of communication among Network members. Annual financial contributions are voluntary, but we need funds for operating expenses. The Steering Committee has recommended the following amounts as minimums for Network members: \$15 for those with incomes under \$25,000, students and unemployed; \$25 for those between \$25,000 and \$50,000; and \$45 for those over \$50,000. Organizations may subscribe for \$30.

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### *Inside this issue:*

- *Election '96 and the role of Progressive Planners*
- *PN'er updates*
- *News from local PN chapters*
- *Job Postings*
- *Love and Leadership: The Life and Work of Mel King*

### NEXT ISSUE

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As always, our thanks to those who can type their notes. It reduces our chances of misreading what you write. Feature articles of 500-1,500 words are always welcome; a diskette is greatly appreciated.