

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON PROGRESSIVE CITIES

prepared by

Pierre Clavel

with assistance from:

Victor Chang, Carol Chock, Mark Fitzstevens,
Robert Giloth, Catherine Hill, Renee Jakobs,
Anne Murray, and Frances Viggiani*

An important source of information about local politics, administration and planning has emerged since the 1960s from local governments that have elected significant minority representation and in some cases mayors or city council majorities that advocate redistribution of resources toward neighborhoods and other popular constituencies, and work for enhanced participatory channels. Such governing groups have referred to themselves as "progressive," sometimes as "populist" and occasionally "radical," or "socialist." Their tenure in office has tended to be marked by occasional conflict and confrontation with business and other constituencies that describe themselves as "liberal" or "conservative."

Much of what has been learned in these governments will have broader applicability if documentary and other materials can be collected and made available. There have been a few studies of these cities, but no really detailed bibliographic source exists, and many documents remain difficult to find. For this reason, we are preparing a Sourcebook and this preliminary Annotated Bibliography on recent experience in selected progressive municipal governments.

Documents included in this bibliography fall in three general categories:

1. Published books and articles: histories, analyses, journalistic accounts, etc., about progressive municipal experiences, or about the theoretical and practical problems of progressive administration. These items are more generally available.

* Material and citations were provided by a large number of cooperating persons, including: Kathleen Rosner, Kenneth Reardon, Catherine Hill, Renee Jakobs, Derek Shearer, Nicholas Carbone, Norman Krumholz, Sandy Buchanan, Peter Medoff, Sue Burton, and Dianne Benner.

2. News clippings or collections of clippings, usually organized by some interested person or researcher, often replicable from a newspaper library, but not easily accessible nor reported in generally available bibliographies.

3. Documents, of two types: (a) The working planning and administrative instruments of local government, e.g. development agreements, rent control ordinances, police reorganization plans, etc.; and (b) Unpublished papers, memoranda, and theses. Documents of these sorts tend to be difficult to find as, even if they are kept in local libraries or city halls, there are no basic bibliographies generally available.

The bibliography is divided into several sections. First are items that form a general historical and theoretical background to the topic. Then a series of cities are presented. At present there are items collected for Berkeley, Boston, Burlington, Chicago, Cleveland, Hartford, Madison and Santa Monica. Within these sections, items are listed in the order of books, articles, news clippings, then documents.

This will probably always remain a preliminary bibliography. We know that there is important material in other cities, and that in the cities we have covered, many important items are missing. We request correspondence with comments, suggestions, and citations, addressed care of:

Pierre Clavel
Department of City and Regional Planning
Sibley Hall, Cornell University
Ithaca NY 14853.

We can reciprocate with assistance in locating and acquiring many of the items contained here.

I. General Historical and Theoretical Background

Books and Articles:

Abbot, C. Portland.

Boddy, M., and C. Fudge, Local Socialism?

Boggs, C. "The New Populism and the Limits of Structural Reforms", Theory and Society, Vol. 12, No. 3 (May 1983), pp. 343-63.

Boyte, Harry C. The Backyard Revolution: Understanding the New Citizen Movement. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980, 159-163.

Castells, M. The City and the Grassroots.

Clavel, P. The Progressive City.

Corrigan, Paul. "Strategy for a City." Marxism Today. (February 1978):36-45.

Corrigan, a Communist Party parliamentary candidate for Coventry, Great Britain, outlines the CP strategy. In a city dominated by multinational corporations, the CP must put forward a platform that sees the city as belonging to the people, constructed around democratic control on three fronts: the trade union movement, the city council, and neighborhood groups. The CP must link and guide the various forms of struggle and raise consciousness.

Corrigan, P. "The Local State: The Struggle for Democracy" Marxism Today, July 1979, pp. 203-9.

Gelber, David. "Crystal City's Cracked Promise." Working Papers. (Spring 1976):30-35.

A successful Chicano political organization is crippled by internal divisions in Crystal City, Texas.

Georgakas, D. and M. Surkin. Detroit, I Do Mind Dying.

Glennon, Wink. "Santa Barbara: Limits to Growth?" Working Papers (Spring 1976): 36-43.

A grass roots environmental coalition for local control of resources and growth gains strength.

Greer, E. Big Steel: Black Politics and Corporate Power in Gary, Indiana.

Gross, Bertram. "Progressive Anti-Crime Action." Nation (1982).

Arguing that the Right has stolen the anti-crime issue, Gross suggests that progressives do more than point out the racism, classism, and inaccuracies of conventional crime thinking. Rather, he notes that there

are locality-based initiatives (as well as federal policies such as full employment) that can deal now with crime from a progressive perspective: organizing block associations, helping victims, and local jobs policies.

Gyford, John. "The New Urban Left: A Local Road to Socialism?" New Society, April 21, 1983, pp. 91-93.

Hays, S. P. "The Politics of Reform in Municipal Government in the Progressive Era," Pacific Northwest Quarterly 55 (October 1964), pp.

Holli, M. Reform in Detroit: Hazen S. Pingree and Urban Politics.

Howard, E. Garden Cities of Tomorrow.

Jacobs, Jim. "DARE to Struggle: Organizing in Urban America." Socialist Review 12(May-August 1982): 85-104.

Jaggi, M. et al, Red Bologna.

Johnson, D., J. Booth and R. Harris, eds., The Politics of San Antonio.

Johnson, Tom L. My Story. New York: 1911.

Kann, M. "Radicals in Power: Lessons From Santa Monica" Socialist Review, Vol. 13, No. 3 (May-June 1983), pp. 81-101.

Kirshner, Edward M., and Eve Bach. Low to Moderate Income Housing: A Proposal for Local Communities. Oakland, CA: Community Economics, 1973.

The authors assert that cooperative housing in conjunction with city lending, index loans, and deferred city land payments, can cut the costs of housing in half - thus enabling the production of low and moderate income housing. Normal housing subsidies, of the rent supplement type, would make the housing even more affordable to low income residents. Berkeley used this approach for its Sava Island Development.

Kirshner, Edward M., and James L. Morey. Community Ownership in New Towns and Old Cities. Cambridge, MA.: Center for Community Economic Development, 1975.

Exploring the financial schemes for new towns, Kirshner and Morey conclude that community ownership is a less costly approach to housing development and business enterprises. Rather than profits accruing to developers, consumers and local communities will benefit under community ownership. The authors back up their assertions with financial performance.

Kopkind, Andrew. "Model City." Working Papers (Summer,???):32-40.

"In Bologna, the buses are free, old people get a two-week paid vacation, and the Communist administration polishes the cathedral." An

enthusiastic look at a city that works.

Margolis, Richard J. "Reagonomics Redux: A Municipal Report." Working Papers, 10 (May/June 1983): 41-47.

Miliutin, N. Sotsgorod

Moberg, D. "Local Left Leaders: Is Reform Enough?" In These Times 7 (26), 1983.

Nathan, H. and S. Scott, eds., Experiment and Change in Berkeley: Essays on City Politics, 1950-1975.

O'Connor, D'Arcy. "New Movement in Montreal." Working Papers. (Spring 1976):22-29.

A grass roots citizens movement challenges the power structure.

Reports by Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies. Ways and Means, Washington, D.C.: 1975.

Seidelman, Raymond. "Urban Movements and Communist Power in Florence." Comparative Politics, Vol. 13 (July 1981), pp. 437-59..

The relationship between the Italian Communist Party, which won control of the city government of Florence, the neighborhood councils it instituted, and popular militancy.

Shearer, Derek. "The North Moves Left: Politics in British Columbia." Working Papers for a New Society. (1976).

Having a history of public enterprise as well, Canada has thirty years of experience with social democratic and socialist state governments, the most recent being the NDP in British Columbia. The New Democratic Party includes labor and the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation - the agrarian populists. The NDP has initiated public enterprises in the fields of insurance, energy, and business development.

Shepherd, William. "Re-examining Public Enterprise." Working Papers. (Summer 1973).

Shepherd considers the conditions necessary for public enterprise to effect a redistribution of wealth and the problems of the transition. He deals with the promise and limits of public enterprise. It can be costly, inefficient, and reinforce wealth and privilege, or be very effective, even pace setting.

Shockley, J. Chicano Revolt in a Texas Town.

"A Socialist GLC in Capitalist Britain?", Capital and Class, pp. 117-33

K. Fox, Better City Government: Innovation in American Urban Politics: 1850-1937.

Stave, B. Socialism and the Cities

Swanstrom, T. The Crisis of Growth Politics: Cleveland, Kucinich and the Challenge of Urban Populism. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1985.

II. Cleveland

Books and Articles:

Ambruster, Timothy. "Cleveland Now: One City's Program for Change." Current History, 54 (December 1968): 357-364.

Bartimole, Roldo. "The Man Behind the City Planning Commission." Newreview (Feb. 1976): 10.

An article about Norman Krumholz. Tactics and stands on various issues including the Cleveland Policy Planning Report, the Cleveland Stadium sale, the West Side highway proposal, the Regional Transit Authority and Community Responsible Transit.

Bartimole, Roldo. Point of View. Cleveland: Vols. 1-15, 1968 - 1982. P.O. Box 99530, Cleveland, Ohio, 44199.

A bi-weekly newsletter providing both current news and historical perspective. Bartimole has been publishing since 1968 in the I.F. Stone tradition

Krumholz, Norman. "A Retrospective View of Equity Planning in Cleveland, 1969-1979," Journal of the American Planning Association, Vol. 47 (Spring 1982), pp. 163-183.

After 10 years as Cleveland's Director of Planning under three very different mayors, Norman Krumholz examines his attempt to operate in a way that was "activist and interventionist in style and re-distributive in objective." Krumholz de-emphasized the traditional planning concerns with zoning, land use and urban design in favor of a goal of "providing a wider range of choices for those residents who have few, if any, choices." Goes into detail on the planners' role in the Regional Transit Authority fight, Tower City development and public vs. private power. Examines the ability and limitations of planners to adopt this new role.

Krumholz, Norman. "Cleveland's Fight for a Fair Share of the Region." Planning 4 (November, 1972): 275-278.

An article on Cleveland's rocky relationship with the Northeast Ohio Areawide Coordinating Agency (NOACA), the 7 county regional planning body. Includes a time line of the fights and lawsuits over representation, a highway, and housing plans leading to HUD decertification of NOACA at Cleveland.

Krumholz, Norman, Janice Cogger and John Linner. "The Cleveland Policy Planning Report." AIP Journal 41:5 (Sept. 1975).

A review of the Cleveland Policy Planning Report of 1975, by the staff of the Cleveland City Planning Commission. Thereport varies from the traditional general plan by addressing pressing municipal needs rather than presenting maps of an ideal future. The article suggests a new model for the city

planners, based on the experience in Cleveland.

Marshall, Dan and the Ohio Public Interest Campaign, eds. The Battle of Cleveland: Public Interest Challenges Corporate Power. Washington, D.C.: Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies, 1979.

A sympathetic review of the Kucinich administration, using original materials, newspaper articles and campaign leaflets. It includes an overview of Cleveland's economy and power structure, the rise of "public interest" politics, the Kucinich administration and the corporate response, the MUNY light issue, and reasons for Kucinich's defeat.

Stokes, Carl B. Promises of Power: A Political Autobiography. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973.

Swanstrom, T. The Crisis of Growth Politics: Cleveland, Kucinich and the Challenge of Urban Populism. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1985.

U.S. Congress. House. Subcommittee on Financial Institutions, Supervision, Regulation and Insurance of the Committee on Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs. The Role of Commercial Banks in the Finances of Cleveland. 96th Congress, Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1979.

An investigation into the refusal by six Cleveland banks to roll over \$14 million in short-term notes of the city, conducted at the request of Mayor Dennis Kucinich.

Newsclippings:

Cockburn, Alexander and James Ridgeway. "The Mayor Who Said No: Is Dennis Kucinich As Mad As They Say?" Village Voice (Jan. 22, 1979).

Kucinich refuses to allow the banks to dictate policy

Cockburn, Alexander. "Who Does Dennis Menace." In These Times. (Feb. 14, 1979).

Kucinich versus the default banks, Brock Weir, the Union Club, Stokes, Perk as "Mayor Giveaway", Forbes, and Republic Steel.

Judis, John. "Cleveland is Alive, But Not Too Well." In These Times 6:1 (Nov. 4, 1981).

An article about Cleveland's Republican Mayor George Voinovich, who replaced urban populist Dennis Kucinich. Although criticized by some progressives, others say they have been surprised by his corporate liberalism.

Judis, John. "Cleveland's Voters Want a Rest." In These Times 6:3 (Nov. 11, 1981).

An article about the defeat of Mayor Dennis Kucinich and his supporters at the polls. Examines whether Kucinich's confrontational political style was necessarily tied to his urban populism.

"Krumholz Blasts N.O.A.C.A. Plan for Reversible Bedford Freeway." Cleveland Plain Dealer (April 27, ???).

I-90 would be a 2-lane reversible freeway, one way from the suburbs to downtown in the morning, and reverse in the afternoon. Krumholz suggests that the city apply for the federal money reserved for the highway and use it to repair city streets and bridges.

Krumholz, Norman. "Rebuilding Confidence of the Rider." The Plain Dealer (Aug. 21, 1981).

A newspaper article outlining Krumholz's recommendations for the Cleveland area Regional Transit Authority (RTA).

Kucinich, Dennis. "Kucinich Defines 'Urban Populism'" (reprinted from The Cleveland Press, October 3, 1978) in D. Marschall, The Battle of - Cleveland, pp. 42-45.

"Westbrook's Strategy is to Oust Forbes." Sunday News (Nov. 5, 1981).

Documents and Unpublished Papers:

Bartimole, Roldo. "Keeping the Lid On: Corporate Responsibility in Cleveland."

How corporate charity amounts to little more than subterfuge for the advancement of private interest, co-opting black militants, and maintaining poverty.

Bartimole, Roldo. "Kucinich." (written for Seven Days). Examines Kucinich's political experience challenging corporate interests, but neglecting serious social issues.

Cleveland City Planning Commission. Cleveland vs. NOACA: Metropolitan Planning and Equity. For the American Society of Planning Officials Conference on Central Cities and Metropolitan Development. (April 17, 1972) Detroit.

A look at Cleveland's battle with its seven county regional planning agency over Interstate Highway I-290 in the light of equity considerations and the conflicting interests of the central city and the region.

Cleveland City Planning Commission. Five County Transit Study. (April 1974).

Supports fare reduction, community responsive transit and service improvements on the existing system. Questions the need for a billion dollar rail system.

Cleveland City Planning Commission. Housing Summary and Recommended Policy Statement. June 1970.

Documents the city's housing conditions and the efforts made by various groups and agencies to meet the housing needs of low and moderate income families.

Cleveland City Planning Commission. 1972 - 1973 Annual Report.

In addition to its assigned functions, the city planning commission states it "must take as its ultimate goal the challenge of promoting more equitable allocation of society's benefits by helping to overcome obstacles to access and choice - particularly among the poorest and least powerful members of our population. The Commission must increasingly function as an agency for social and economic change, and bring this point of view to bear before the City's decision-makers on all policies and programs coming before it."

Cleveland City Planning Commission. A Fair Share Plan for Cuyahoga County in Low-Rent Housing. January 1971.

A proposal to decentralize the location of low-income housing throughout the county on an equitable basis.

Cleveland City Planning Commission. A Proposed Fare Reduction to Off-Peak Riders. (August 1973).

Emphasizes the need for off-peak transportation, especially for low income, car-less households. Hopefully a subsidy for these riders would greatly increase ridership, and improve operating ratios for the whole system.

Cleveland City Planning Commission. An Expanded Electric Power System for the City of Cleveland. A Proposal to Acquire Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company's Facilities Within the City of Cleveland. (April 1972).

Instead of selling MUNY light to the private utility, the planners propose that the city expand the municipal system by buying out the private utility.

Cleveland City Planning Commission. Tower City Development File.

U.S. Realty Investments, memo to Norman Krumholz (April 12, 1974).

Cleveland City Planning Commission. Impact of New Construction on the Market for Existing Downtown Office Space: Implications for the City's Revenue

11

Base. (June 1974).

Discussion of the costs and benefits to the city of Cleveland of the Tower City Development. Krumholz's memo notes the development requires a heavy capital commitment from the city, as well as tax abatements and the relinquishing of rights, without any guarantee of returns. The Planning Commission report on the impact of new office space concludes that the market for new office space downtown is shifting, rather than growing, and subsidizing new office space would further weaken the market for existing office space, reduce the city's tax base, and deprive the city of revenue that could better be used for neighborhood development.

Cleveland City Planning Commission. Cleveland Policy Planning Report Vol. 1. Cleveland: CCPC, 1975.

The Cleveland City Planning Commission began preparation of a traditional general plan for the city, but found that land use, facility location and transportation routes were not the most important issues needing attention. Instead, they prepared recommendations to resolve or ameliorate more pressing problems such as poverty, deteriorated housing, inadequate public transportation and declining neighborhoods.

Cogger, Janice. "Mass Transit: A Case Study."

Advocates for the transit dependent population of Cleveland to confront the suburban and business power structure, and find that "in the long run a small group of people never compromise and a large group of people are consistently compromised."

Coleman, Cynthia. "Corporate Control vs. Populism: A Comparative Study of Five Cleveland Mayors." Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, 1979, 18pp.

Background and analysis of Cleveland politics, with a more critical look at Kucinich than Battle of Cleveland by Marshall.

Issac, Ronald G., Cleveland City Planning Commission. A Proposed Change in State Legislation to Assure City Recovery of Costs Incurred in the Demolition of Private Property. October 1973.

This report proposes a change in State legislation to enable the city to acquire neglected private property for demolition, and retain control of it unless a price can be obtained for it that would reimburse the city for its expenses. Legislation based on this model was actually passed by the Ohio State Legislature.

Krumholz, Norman. Interoffice Correspondence to City Planning Commission. (May 3, 1974).

Memo explaining why legislation to approve the Tower City Development project should not be approved and suggested amendments.

Krumholz, Norman. "Areawide Housing Policy: A View From the Trenches."

presented for the ASPA Housing and Areawide Planning session. 1972.

Cleveland City Planning Commissions' efforts for areawide housing policy met with resistance, indifference, and hostility; Krumholz here is skeptical about the prospects for it.

Krumholz, Norman. Address to Ohio Conference on Community Development, Feb. 9, 1978.

Presented while Krumholz was Director of Community Development, this gives a brief description of economic and population decline, Sunbelt shift, and labor troubles in Northern cities. He enumerates three major elements in strategies to revitalize cities: carefully targeting public subsidies; recycling abandoned inner city property - municipal land banking; and neighborhood preservation through black grants and C.A.S.H.

Krumholz, Norman and Susan Hoffman. Revitalizing Urban Centers: Business and Neighborhoods. Address to the National Municipal League Conference on Government. Cornell University (Nov. 13, 1978).

A general report on the revitalization of cities, the role of government, and what attitude cities should take towards development money. Fine-tuning physical revitalization to specific neighborhoods and priorities. Considers tax delinquency, CASH, and support of neighborhood organization.

Krumholz, Norman and Ernest R. Bonner. Toward a Work Program for an Advocate Planning Agency. Background paper for 54th Annual conference, AIP, Oct. 25, 1971. Cleveland: City Planning Commission.

The general philosophy, goals, and style of operation of Cleveland's advocacy planners. The paper considers policies that would promote a more equitable distribution of income and power, and increase the choices available to the poor in goods and services offered by the private and public sectors.

Krumholz, Norman. Planning in Cleveland: Working the Advocacy-Equity Side of the Street. For the American Institute of Planners, 55th Annual Conference, Oct. 11, 1972.

Advocacy planning is the appropriate and moral response to the urban crisis, and it need not be politically risky to do. By offering decision makers what they need - information, criticism, and policy guidance - advocacy planners can survive and even prosper, and exert considerable influence.

Krumholz, Norman. "Strategy and Program for the Revitalization of Cleveland's Neighborhoods and for the Neighborhood Use of Community Development Block Grant Funds." Prepared for the HUD Conference on Housing and Neighborhood Revitalization. (Feb. 9, 1978).

The strategy involves identification of neighborhoods or community units

and targeting of certain neighborhoods, followed by development of programs, in contrast to deciding to spend money before need has been defined. Participation of neighborhood residents is also an important factor. This describes the problems created by the decline in Cleveland's population and their causes - and the city's proposed solutions: short range - cooperation with neighborhood groups in improving code enforcement, streets, trash pickups, etc.; concentrating a large sum of money in six chosen neighborhoods for more major re-investment and stabilization.

Krumholz, Norman. The Urban Complex: Cities, Suburbs, and Regionalism. Speech notebook.

A critique of regionalism in general and a discussion of Cleveland's relationship with N.O.A.C.A. Dispute over I-290 Highway. Vast differences in racial makeup and average incomes of inner city areas and suburbs within NOACA, no commonality of interest

McFadden, Lester, Barbara Pringle and Jay Westbrook. "The People's Caucus of the Cleveland City Council Calls The Council Reduction Move an Attack on the People's Right to Effective Representation and a Move Which Will Strengthen Forbes' Grip Over Council." Press release, Cleveland, June 19, 1981.

An opposition statement by the People's Caucus of the Cleveland Council to an effort to cut the size of City Council.

Olson, Susan, Cleveland City Planning Commission. An Evaluation of Tax Incentives As A Means to Encourage Redevelopment. (April, 1978).

A summary of Ohio's tax incentive programs and legislation, an evaluation of the effectiveness of tax abatement as an incentive to business (it's not significant), its effect on the property tax, and CCPC's recommendations concerning it. They don't recommend it, and urge extreme caution if Cleveland does use it.

Ralph Perk, Mayor of Cleveland. "Tower City Memorandum" to city council (Sept. 30, 1974).

Westbrook, Jay. Position of the Cleveland Unity Caucus. (Oct. 10, 1981).

Populist councilman Jay Westbrook tries to defeat corporate interests represented by George Forbes.

Westbrook, Jay. Press release calling for Council President George Forbes to disclose his personal wealth and legal clients.

14

III. Hartford

A. Books

1. Citizen participation.

B. Articles

1. General

Addendum to United Bank & Trust Company CRA Statement: UBT 5 Year Revitalization Loan Program for Eligible Hartford Neighborhood Census Tract Residents. Charles P. Britton, III (President), January 12, 1986.

Ad Hoc Committee for a Neighborhood Development Policy. Press Statement on Purpose. September 6, 1983.

"Airline Employees are Advised to Avoid City Living." Hartford Advocate, January 16, 1977.

Alschuler, John. Interviewed by Pierre Clavel, November 4, 1981.

Amendment to Agreement by and Among The City of Hartford, Intown Development Corp. & The National Corporation for Housing Partnerships. October 19, 1979.

Arrow Hart. Agreement between City of Hartford, City Manager Donald C. Peach and Billings Forge Limited Partnership. November 7, 1979.

Barbour Jr., James P. "Proposed Sheraton Hartford Hotel-- Taxes/Parking." Letter from Director of Property Development to City Manager Edward M. Curtain. February 14, 1972.

Barrett, David. "Mayor Turns Aside Liberal Challenger in Hartford Primary." Washington Post, September 12, 1979.

Bass, Paul. "Linkage' is Studied As Aid to City Housing." June 9, 1985.

Berkeley, Ellen Perry. "The New Process in Hartford's North End." City, Summer 1971, pp. 36-37.

Berkeley, Ellen Perry. "Urban Renewal Need Not Be a Dirty Word." Forum, April 1969, pp. 36-41.

Broder, David S. "Hartford Race Pits a Social Activist Against a Bland Mayor." Washington Post, September 9, 1979.

Bushnell Park: an Improvement Plan. Summary Report, the Bushnell Park Foundation Inc., 1981.

Canty, Donald. "What Could Make Hartford Tick?" City, Summer 1971, pp. 33-35.

Carbone, Nicholas R. ". . .Hartford's Downtown and Neighborhoods are Already Linked." Hartford Courant, March 1984.

Carbone, Nicholas R. Interviewed by Pierre Clavel, November 23, 1981.

Carbone, Nicholas R. "The Politics of Revaluation: A Personal Case Study." pp. 40-47.

Case, L. R. "Constitution Plaza is Alive and Well." Connecticut Business and Industry, October 1975/1976, pp. 8+.

"Besséng'oThéemBaze andCMonécSécitueareGDepphibeswifDathwaNéhg-andd80ltsStyle Elements of Economic Development." Connecticut Business and Industry Journal, August 1978(???), p. 9,20.

"Citizens Assembly Protest Decision to Move Police to Meadows." Hartford Advocate,
March 23, 1977.

Citizens Research Education Network. "The Poor Pay More: Food Shopping in Hartford." Hartford: University of Connecticut, Church of the Good Shepherd. February, 1984.

"City, Aetna Reach Accord on Center." Hartford Courant, Septemeber 1971. (Courant's Classification scheme: Redevelopment: Hartford: Trumbull Street Area: 1971.

City Manager's Annual Report 1980-1981. Woodrow W. Gaitor (City Manager). Hartford: Department of Management Services.

City of Hartford: Comprehensive Economic Development Strategies. CEDS Document, May, 1979.

"Civic Center de Possibility of Leasing to AETNA Life and Casualty Company Portion of Site Which AETNA will Develop." Resolution by Councilmen Carbone and Levine. Journal of the Court of Common Council of the City of Hartford

Clark, Jean C. "The Hartford Story." Woman's Day (March 1966), pp. 46+.

Cochran, William J. Interviewed by Pierre Clavel, May 7, 1982.

Cohen, Joe. "Business Drops Linkage: Community Groups Plan to Use Issue in City Council Campaign." Hartford Advocate, May 15, 1985.

Coleman, John. Notes from Interview & the Interview by Pierre Clavel, the Rideshare Company, January 23, 1981.

Collins, Gail. "Carbone's Claim on the State Budget." Hartford Advocate, March 23, 1977.

"Columbus Boulevard East de Readvertisement for Developers: Ref. Redevelopment, Cap. Imps, and Civic Center Com." Resolution- Councilman Carbone. Journal of the Court of Common Council of the City of Hartford.

Della Cagna, Stephanie. "Report Ranks Hartford Area Sixth of 40 Largest Office-Space Markets." Hartford Courant, March, 1984, pp. B1, B4.

Doak, Bill. "HART Congress Sets Priorities, Elects Officers, Leaves Questions." Southside Neighborhood News, November 4- 18, 1981, p. 4.

Dollard, John. Advocate Planner with Neighborhood Groups. Interviewed by Pierre Clavel, November 13, 1981.

Downtown Hartford: Managing for Change. by Project for Public Spaces, Inc., Hartford, Connecticut, August, 1980.

Draft of Action Program. John W. McLean (Area Manager), Connecticut: Community Renewal Team of Greater Hartford, February 17, 1964.

"Feds Offer Money for Rehabilitation of City Housing." Hartford Advocate, March 2, 1977.

Financial Risk Statement. Concerning city's acquirement of BT/Cheney Complex and Talcott Street Property Service Building-Warehouse.

Frey, Diane. "An Unfulfilled Promise--Hartford's Enterprise Zone: 1982-1985." Working for CREN. May, 1985.

Fox Service Building Review. by Jon Colman (Planning Director) to Paul Strecker (Development). March 31, 1977.

Gardner, Sid. Memo on Council Performance. Journal of the Court of Common Council of the City of Hartford. Volume II, January 9, 1979 to November 26, 1979. pp. 1545-1547.

Gardner, Sid. worked with Hartford Process and the Community Life Association. Interviewed by Pierre Clavel, November 1981.

Gold, Andrew J. Professor at Trinity College. Interviewed by Pierre Clavel, September 21, 1981.

"Hartford." New England Business, February 16, 1979

Town, Cities, and Boroughs. 1970-1980 statistics on Hartford: Including City Officers and Principle Industries.

"Hartford, Connecticut: Hartford Civic Center" Judy Richards of National Council for Urban Economic Development. Draft for the City of Hartford, 1973.

"Hartford Redlining Ordinance." Hartford Advocate, April 27, 1977.

- "Hartford's Suburban Crunch." Business Week, May 10, 1976, pp. 75-77.
- "Hartford Tabloid Airs the Gripes of Office Workers." Hartford Advocate, March 2, 1977.
- Henry, Diane. "Connecticut Voting Focuses on 2 Races." New York Times, September 9, 1979.
- Howell, Linda. "Who Shapes the City?" HAC News, 8(January- February 1980)1, p. 1, 6.
- "Introducing the Hartford Food System. . ." Seedling, Newsletter of the Hartford Food System, Spring 1982.
- Kauffman, Bruce. "Boyd Hinds' Capitol Crusade." Hartford Advocate, March 2, 1977.
- Kauffman, Bruce. "No Room for Poor on Congress Street." Hartford Advocate, March 16, 1977.
- Kauffman, Bruce. "Unemployment Compensation: Connecticut's Growing Economic Crisis." Hartford Advocate, April 16, 1977.
- Kauffman, Bruce. "The Year in Hartford: Some Optimistic Signs for Urban Improvement." Hartford Advocate, January 8, 1977.
- Kemper, Steve. "Ed Vargas: Sending Tremors Through the Corporate Structure'." Hartford Advocate, November 18, 1981.
- Kendall, Ann R. "What is Regional Planning and Where is it Going?" Connecticut Government, Spring 1973, pp. 1-3, 8.
- Klein, Pam. "Board of Realtors Gives Top Honor to Carbone." Hartford Courant, April 25, 1984.
- La Luz, Jose. "Process' Lives Again; A Puerto Rican View" ???(newspaper).
- Lee, Jesse. "Hartford Black Community Protests Racist Firing of School Official." Worker's World, May 12, 1978.
- A Linkage Policy for Hartford. Robert Engler & Emily Achtenberg for Stockagd & Engler, Inc. to the Hartford Linkage Task Force, June 21, 1985.
- Lumsden, Arthur J. Ridin' the Circuit. Connecticut: Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce, 1981.
- Lumsden, Arthur. Interviewd by Pierre Clavel.
- Masini, J. Hugo. Police Chief "The Community Wants and Needs More Police Protection: Hartford's Law and Order Understaffed." Interviewed by Hartford Courant staff members. Hartford Courant, September 2, 1979.
- The May Department Stores Company, d/b/a G. Fox & Company, Charitable Gift

Proposal. Letter from James B. Daken (City Manager) to Court of Common Council, Hartford Connecticut, advisement to accept proposal. August 3, 1977.

The May Department Stores Company, d/b/a G. Fox & Company, Charitable Gift Proposal. Letter from Paul B. Strecker et al, to James B. Daken (City Manager) Concerning advisement to accept proposal. August 2, 1977.

McLean, John W. "Despite Its Trouble, Hartford Can Still Set the National Pace." Hartford Courant, February 23, 1984.

Morrow, Chris. Interview by Pierre Clavel, November 4-6.

Mimnaugh, Jack. Interview by Pierre Clavel, Hartford, May 6, 1982.

"Mr. Campbell's Memo." Editorial, Hartford Courant, April 31, 1985.

Nathan, Richard P., & Charles Adams. Understanding Central City Hardship. Political Science Quarterly, (Spring 1976) Vol 91: No 1.

"Nick Carbone: City Council Chairman, Hartford, Conn." Village Voice, April 24, 1976.

Notes from the Hartford Courant.

One Corporate Costs. Agreement & Resolution between City of Hartford, City Manager Daken, and David T. Chase. June 26, 1978.

One Financial Plaza. Contract between David T. Chase on June 30, 1972.

An Ordinance Establishing a Neighborhood Linkage Policy. AHOP, CHANE, CCAG, HART, and Ad Hoc Committee for a Neighborhood Development Policy, October 30, 1985.

Palm, Robert. "City Banks are Again Charged with Redlining." Hartford Advocate, January 16, 1977.

Palm, Robert. "Feds Rap Aetna Subsidiary for Penalizing Black Women." Hartford Advocate, January 12, 1977.

Pappas, Nancy. "Process Repudiates Immigration Memo." ??? (newspaper)

Patry, Louise. "Dramatic Economic Developments Buoy Hartford." Christain Science Monitor (June 3, 1977).

Pazniokas, Mark. "Hartford Officials Study Northeast Plaza Jobs Plan." Hartford Courant, July 16, 1985.

Pazniokas, Mark. "Lease Tax May Forge Alliance: Downtown Would Aid Neighborhoods Through Linkage." The Hartford Courant, April 15, 1985, pp. A1, A8.

Pazniokas, Mark. "Memo Casts Doubt on Commitment to City Residents' Needs." Hartford Courant, April 22, 1985, pp. A1, A11.

Pazniokas, Mark. "Northeast Plaza Developers Awarded Tax Break." Hartford Courant, July 2, 1985, pp. B1, B4.

Pazniokas, Mark. "Officials Adjust Tax Deal." Hartford Courant, August 8, 1985, pp. D1, D2.

Pazniokas, Mark. "Talks Fail to Forge Plan Linking City Development, Housing." Hartford Courant, April 7, 1985, pp. A1, A15.

Pazniokas, Mark, and Tao Woolfe. "Study Links Boom to Neighborhoods' Bust." Hartford Courant, July 12, 1985, pp. B1, B4.

~~Pazniokas, Mark, and Tao Woolfe. "Study Links Boom to Neighborhoods' Bust." Hartford Courant, July 12, 1985, pp. B1, B4.~~

Peirce, Neal R. "America's Most Powerful City Councilman." Washington Post, July 2, 1977.

Pereira, Andrea, and Gerry Maine. "Development--For a Price." Hartford Courant, November 28, 1983.

Perl, Peter. "Hartford's Best-Kept Secret." Connecticut, September 1977.

Recapturing Hartford's Riverfront, Proceedings from Seminar to Explore Ways to Reunite Hartford with its River, sponsored by the Downtown Council of Hartford, Connecticut, May 2, 1980.

Resolution to Accept May Department Stores Company, d/b/a G. Fox & Company's charitable gift. Introduced by City Manager Daken, Court of Common Council, August 2, 1977.

Ridgeway, James. "A Tale of Four Cities." In These Times, August 1979, p 12+.

Ritter, George. Interview by Pierre Clavel, November 1981.

Ryan, Bill. "Office Demand to Grow: Expert Says City's Supply Sufficient Only to 1986-1987." Hartford Courant, March, 1984, pp. B1, B2.

Sandberg, Jon. "Arnold Urges City Council to Shift Priorities Toward Neighborhoods." Hartford Courant, December 2, 1983.

Sandberg, Jon. "Coalition Hits Zone Package." Hartford Courant, February 17, 1984, pp. B1, B4.

Sandberg, Jon. "Community Leaders Hit Downtown Plan." Hartford Courant, October 13, 1983, pp. D1-2.

Sandberg, Jon. "Council Backs Downtown Plan." Hartford Courant, February 15, 1984, pp. A1, A6.

- Sandberg, Jon. "Council Drops Proposal for Linkage' Study." Hartford Courant, February 28, 1984, pp. B1, B4.
- Sandberg, Jon. "Councilman Sees Task Force Needed." Hartford Courant, December 21, 83, pp. B1, B4.
- Sandberg, Jon. "Downtown Debate Focuses on Vote." Hartford Courant, February 12, 1984.
- Sandberg, Jon. "Linkage Plan Approved by Council Panel." Hartford Courant, March 20, 1984.
- Sandberg, Jon. "Milner Gains Local Support on Downtown Zoning Vetoes." Hartford Courant, December 10, 1983, pp. B2.
- Sandberg, Jon. "Milner Pushes Zoning Plan Admendments." Hartford Courant, December 1983, pp. B2.
- Sandberg, Jon. "Milner Vetoes Key Elements of Downtown Plan." Hartford Courant, B1, B4.
- Schackney, Amy. Hartford Economic Development Energy Policy Plan, part of a Thesis at MIT, 1981?
- Shea, D. J. "City Officials, In Turnabout, Torpedo Linkage." Hartford Advocate, February 29, 1985.
- Shea, D. J. "Borges Imitates Ludgin, Deputy Mayor Attacks Neighborhood Groups, Linkage Talks Threatened." Hartford Advocate, February 22, 1984.
- Shea, D. J. "The Missing Link." Hartford Advocate, January 11, 1984, pp. 1, 4, 6.
- Shepherd Park Company. Letter from Paul B. Strecker (Development Director) to Donald C. Peach (City Manager), including Proposed Agreement between City of Hartford and Shepherd Park Company. September 5, 1979.
- Sherman, Howard. "Leaders Still Optimistic on Linkage." Hartford Courant, April 2, 1984.
- Sorenson, Peter. "Unemployment Benefits Discussed by CBIA." Letter to the Advocate. Hartford Advocate, April 27, 1977.
- Sorenson was the Director of Communications, Connecticut Business and Industry Association of Hartford
- Soto, Mildred Torres. Interview by Pierre Clavel, November 1981.
- "South Arsenal Neighborhood Development." by Education Editor. Christian Science Monitor (January 1, 1972).

"South End Group Says Airline Center Slights City Needs; Company Denies." Hartford Advocate, March 23, 1977.

Stave, Bruce M. & Sondra Astor Stave. Raising the Drawbridge: The Greater Hartford Process and the Attempt to Build a New Community in Coventry. Unpublished Draft.

Supplementary Budget Information: Refining State Mandate Cost. Appeared in the City Manager's Recommended 1980-81 Budget. Requested by Councilmen, Cunnane, Gardner, and O'Conner.

Supplementary Budget Information: Analysis of Legally and Contractually Mandated Costs. Appeared in the City Manager's Recommended 1979-80 Budget. Requested by Court of Common Council

Tegeler, Phil, and Roz Silverstein. "Legal Bases for Including Employment Requirements Affecting Private Developers in the B-1 Zoning Portions of the Proposed Linkage Ordinance." First Draft to the Ad Hoc Committee for a Neighborhood Development Policy, February 18, 1986.

Thomas, Kevin. "Coalition Wants Builders to Aid Poor." Hartford Courant, September 7, 1983, p. C4.

Wald, Matthew. "Hartford's Mayoralty Race Is No Mirror of State Politics." New York Times, August 26, 1979.

Wald, Matthew L. "Hartford Runoff May Decide If the Mayor Rules or Governs." New York Times, October 11, 1981, p. 6E.

Wallach, Amei. "Hartford." Connecticut (September 1975), pp. 43+.

Whitaker, Joseph D. "Displacement of Poor in Inner Cities Claimed." Washington Post, July 8, 1977.

Wilcox, Kalu. "Neighborhood Groups Say Linkage is Answer to City's Housing, Unemployment Problems." Hartford Courant, May 13, 1985.

Wilson, John. Norman King Associate Director Interviewed by Pierre Clavel, November 24, 1981.

Woolfe, Tao. "Candidates Split Over Linkage Policy in Final Debate." Hartford Courant, October 31, 1985, pp. B1+.

Woolfe, Tao. "Promises Fail to Appease City Groups at Meeting." Hartford Courant, June 7, 1985.

2. Energy Policy.

Morrow, Chris. The Role of Local Governments in Delivering Energy Assistance Programs. U.S. Dept. of Health and Human Services, May 1981. Pub # 100-80-0107.

City Council recognized that the doubling in the price of home heating oil between 1979-80 - on which over 70% of the households in Hartford depended - amounted to a "state of emergency." Their response was to adopt an Energy Assistance Policy to reduce the impact of energy costs on residents, and prevent the abandonment of housing stock. It included a Coordinated Response Center, weatherization, Rent receivership, conservation and outreach. The program achieved a high degree of success, but was dismantled by the new city council.

3. Housing

McAuliffe, Kevin. "'Opening' the Suburbs: Does Hartford Point the Way?" Progressive (Nov. 1976):48-50

Hartford's suit blocking community development funds to suburbs with no low income people may be a model, and a means of compelling suburbs to accept low income housing.

4. Municipal Government.

Karmin, Monroe W. "Businessmen, Politicians Seek to Renew a City and Help Suburbs, Too." Wall Street Journal (July 26, 1972)

Building support for a regional approach to revitalizing the city, that includes new communities with subsidized housing in the suburbs.

Bach, Eve, Nicholas Carbone, and Pierre Clavel. "Running the City for the People." Social Policy 12:3 (Winter 1982).

Both Hartford and Berkeley had progressive administrations in the 1970's, although they arose for different reasons. Policies in these two cities, however, share commonalities: there was an emphasis on planning, advocacy for the have-nots, business regulation, and institutional and fiscal innovation. This article recounts these progressive experiences, and the difficulties progressives face from the opposition.

Peirce, Neal R. "America's Most Powerful City Councilman." Nation's Cities (Sept. 1977): 33-34

On Carbone's efforts to save the city and its people, using court suits and lobbying.

5. Politics

Weisman, Mary-Lou. "Who Runs Connecticut?" (1976):19-25.

Identifies Nick Carbone as the state's most influential politician.

6. Taxation

Carbone, Nicholas and Joseph Marfuggi. Why Your Property Tax Bill Is So High -

and What You Can Do About It. Prepared for the Coalition of Northeast Municipalities, 131 Tremont St., Boston, MA 02111, 1980.

Examines the economic, social, and governmental factors working to shift the tax burden from industrial and commercial property to residential property, and ten steps to eliminate inequities in the tax system.

Carbone, Nicholas. "The View From City Hall." Trinity Reporter (Winter 1979):23.

Gorey, Hays. "In Hartford: A Taxing Solution." Time (May 5, 1980):6

Nocera, Joseph. "Progressive Look at the Property Tax." The Hartford Courant, excerpted from the Washington Monthly, May 15, 1978.

C. Documents

1. Crime

Hollander, et. al. "Reducing Crime and Fear."

Conducted between 1973 and 1977 the Hartford Anti Crime Program was an attempt to reduce the opportunities for crime through physical design, the reorganization of police services, and by making residents more aware. Evaluation results, although covering only a year, indicate that crime rates fell in the target neighborhood.

2. Economic development

Long, Norton E. "Conceptualizing the City as a Local Political Economy." Feb. 1977.

Includes correspondence with Nick Carbone. Long offers a proposal suggesting there is a need for a Marshall Plan for the cities to restore economic viability.

City of Hartford. Community Development Block Grant Program Application. Hartford: April, 1979, 125 pp.

Documents Hartford's strategy to increase the real income of residents, increase the fiscal and managerial ability of the City to provide assistance to residents and businesses and improve neighborhoods. Overview of Hartford's approach to housing, neighborhood revitalization, and economic development

----- Regional Affirmative Action Assistance Project. Feb. 9, 1976.

Designed to remove artificial and discriminatory barriers to employment of inner city resident minority and female persons. This project would operate both within and outside the city and would be an attempt to generate 20,000 jobs over a five-year period.

----- Joint City-Board of Education Adult Training Program. Feb 1976.

A vocational and educational project to be developed which would convert under-skilled and disadvantaged inner city residents into qualified employees and apprentices keyed to existing and projected job slots in State agencies, the City of Hartford, and the region's town governments, schools, and the private sector.

-----. Interim Report on the Feasibility of Converting Batterson Park To a Day Camp, Overnight Camp, and Trailer Camp. Feb. 1976.

A preliminary report and budget concerning the costs of integrating Batterson Park more fully into the city recreation program, establish an overnight camp and a trailer camp at the park

-----. Alternative Community Development Strategy: Child Care. Feb. 1976.

On the feasibility of operating a child care center in the downtown business district operated by the Board of Education

-----. Alternative Community Development Strategy: Subscription Busing Program. Feb. 1976.

Busing transportation, utilizing Interstate Highway turn-back funds and UMTA Section V operational assistance funds to provide broad access for city residents during at least 18 hours per day to the region's employment, commercial, health and recreation facilities.

-----. City-Based Employment Agency. Feb. 1976

A project which would match trained and trainable Hartford residents with jobs in the city and through the region.

-----. Health, Outpatient Care Project. Feb. 1976

A response to the overall goal of providing better, more accessible health care services to residents of Hartford and, particularly, those individuals for whom health problems are a barrier to economic self-sufficiency.

-----. Information and Referral Outreach Program. Feb. 1976

A human services outreach project to aggressively recruit city residents as participants in employment, health, educational, recreational, and transportation services which, when combined, would allow an individual to become self-sufficient economically and able to contribute to the city's housing and physical stability through rent payments, home ownership, and resulting stabilization of the tax base.

-----. Alternative Community Development Strategy: Recreation. Feb. 1976

A recreation project concerning the feasibility of operating recreation programs on a district basis, as well as intensive use of the school physical plant for public recreation.

-----. Agreement by and Among the City of Hartford, Intown Development Corp.

and the National Corp. for Housing Partnerships. Hartford: May, 1979.

The development agreements for a project to develop low and moderate income housing. A UDAB project in which the developer purchased land and sold it to the city, which in turn leased it to the developer. Includes the tax abatement agreements and conditions.

-----. An Alternative Community Development Strategy. Feb. 1976

Provides an overall conceptual framework and analysis of unemployment as the root cause of Hartford's community development problems. First of a series of reports made in response to requests from the Common Council.

City of Hartford, Court of Common Council. Copy of letters sent to all council persons; Re: the development agreement between the Intown Development Corporation and the National Corporation for Housing Partnerships and the City of Hartford. May 8, May 14, June 7, Oct 29, 1979.

Carbone, Nicholas R. Transcript of Lecture Delivered at Cornell University, "On the City as a Real Estate Investor.", May 7, 1981.

Carbone's assessment of the problems of Hartford, and the solution: the city must create wealth, and use it to solve social problems and meet people's needs.

-----. Balanced Growth & Equity: A Role for Cities. White House Conference on Balanced Growth. Jan. 31, 1978.

The restoration of equity - between city and suburbs, between races and especially in income - are essential to balanced growth. The government must play a role in restoring productivity and equity.

-----. An Examination of Urban-Suburban Cooperation. Press Conference, City Hall, Hartford, Oct. 16, 1975.

In light of Hartford's lawsuit blocking Community Development funds to 7 suburban towns, Carbone reflects on the disparity of wealth between city and suburbs, and how the suburbs have grown at the expense of Hartford.

-----. Chairman, Redevelopment, Capital Improvements, Civic Center Committee. Letter to Common Council, Aug. 21, 1979.

Parking lease and common area operating Agreement between Aetna Life and the city (Civic Center Garage).

Strecker, Paul B., Director of Development. Interdepartmental Memo to John T. Walsh, Director of Finance, on Legislation Relating to Tax Abatement and Tax Fixing. Feb 2, 1976

A development agreement regarding the rehabilitation of downtown office and residential space in which the city retains ownership of the complex and is

provided a percentage of the income of the project in return for a deferral of taxes.

-----. Specific Components of Hartford's Urban Advocacy Strategy

An outline of programs on behalf of the city's residents to generate income, help people break the cycle of poverty, and involve them in local government. It includes increasing employment through affirmative action hiring; transportation and education; reducing the cost of living through energy conservation; funding for legal services and preventive health care programs; and neighborhood involvement in team policing and recreation.

-----. City of Hartford-DHUD-CHFA Housing Projects

An explanation of Hartford's policy of retaining title to land to insure that it is used in the best interests of the city and that the city receive long term economic returns.

-----. Letter of Transmittal. Hartford City Budget, 1979-80

Sections state the underlying assumptions, external determinants of fiscal policy, and explain the economic crisis in the city and the appropriate response to provide for the health, safety, and welfare of the people and advocate on behalf of the powerless.

-----. City of Hartford Development Incentive Programs. 1979

To stimulate development and generate income to help underwrite municipal services, the City of Hartford is empowered to negotiate and fix taxes on development properties under 3 State statutes. An explanation, an example, and the result of these 3 programs are given.

-----. Comprehensive Economic Development Strategies. May, 1979

This document identifies unemployment as the cause of poverty; then outlines the goals of increasing jobs and income, improving the fiscal health of the city, and revitalizing Hartford's neighborhoods; and describes 10 strategies for economic development.

-----. Action Programs/Projects and Agency Responsibility. Appendix I. 1979

A step-by-step program to implement Hartford's economic development strategy to 1) retain manufacturing employment, 2) create manufacturing jobs, 3) capture regional employment growth, 4) link jobs created with Hartford's unemployed, 5) reduce the cost of food, energy, transportation, housing, and health care, 6) advocate revision of the welfare system, 7) use housing as an economic development strategy, 8) use transportation as an economic development strategy, 9) improve the city's fiscal base and reform its property tax system, 10) revitalize Hartford's neighborhoods.

3. Municipal government

Carbone, Nick. Urban Government: Its Role and Purpose. Paper delivered to the

Itasca Seminar, Brainerd, Minn. Oct. 4, 1977.

Carbone defines the purpose of government as care of human life and happiness, and outlines the need for a planned strategy of job training and economic development and giving people control over their lives to carry out this purpose.

Loranger, John. The Housing Crisis in the City of Hartford. Office of Community Development and Planning. Oct. 3, 1979.
More facts and figures on the dismal situation in Hartford. No solution.

The Greater Hartford Process, Inc. Save the Cities: A Report on Welfare and Taxes in Hartford. April, 1975.

A clear, graphic presentation of the extent and impact of poverty in Hartford.

IV Berkeley

1984 version
②

V. Santa Monica

Pages
Missing

Books and Articles:

Catanese, Anthony James. The Politics of Planning and Development. Berkeley: Sage Publications, Vol. 156, Year

City of Santa Monica. City Charter, Article XVII: Rent control. in Rent Control: A Sourcebook. ed. John Gilderbloom and friends. Santa Barbara: Foundation for National Progress, 1981.

Lauded as the strictest rent control ordinance in the U.S. Article XVII establishes an elected five commissioner Rent Control Board that will administer rent controls, ensure fair rents, arbitrate disputes, and make annual rent adjustments.

City of Santa Monica. Executive Summary Budget Fiscal Year 1982-1983. John H. Alschuler, Jr., City Manager.

"Community Journal Interviews Mayor Ruth Yannatta Goldway." Community Journal, April 1983, pp. 1-2.

Goldway, Ruth Yannatta. "How Women Will Change American Politics." Playgirl, July 1982, pp. 30-32.

Goldway, Ruth Yannatta (Mayor of Santa Monica). "Will it Play in Peoria? The Mayors Respond." Government Finance, Vol. 11, September 1982, pp. 19+.

Gornstein, Aaron. "The Santa Monica Experience." Citizen Participation, Fall 1983.

Hagman, Donald G. "Landowner-Developer Provision of Communal Goods Through Benefit-based and Harm Avoidance Payments (BHAPS). I of II." Zoning and Planning Law Report (March, 1982) Vol. 5, No. 3. pp. 17-24.

Hagman, Donald G. "Landowner-Developer Provision of Communal Goods Through Benefit-based and Harm Avoidance Payments (BHAPS). II of II." Zoning and Planning Law Report (March, 1982) Vol. 5, No. 4. pp. 25-32.

Haugaard, Brad. "Santa Monica's City Government Angers Business, Property Owners." Los Angeles Business Journal (October 25, 1982), p. 12-15.

Howard, Jerry. "Economic Democracy." Whole Life Times (July/August 1982) p. 44.

Jacob, Mike. "How Rent Control Passed in Santa Monica." in Rent Control: A Sourcebook. ed. John Gilderbloom and friends. Santa Barbara: Foundation for National Progress, 1981, 178-182.

Recounting the rent control battles in Santa Monica, this article

succinctly describes the organizing process, from the design of leaflets to the use of precinct workers.

Javetski, Bill. "A Radical City Council has Business Fuming." Business Week, October 26, 1981." pp. 50E+

Kasindorf, Martin. "Santa Monica Tilts Left." Newsweek, January 4, 1982, p. 25.

Kuttner, Bob. "Economic Jeopardy: Can One of These Whiz Kids Answer the Trillion-Dollar Question." Mother Jones, May 1982, pp. 28+.

Lindorff, David. "Aboutface in Santa Monica: When the Left Takes Over, the Right Takes to the Street." Village Voice (December 2-8, 1981) pp. 20+.

Written by a former Santa Monica journalist, this article focuses on how the Santa Monica progressives are using municipal government to control development and to protect and expand low and moderate income housing. Contrasting Santa Monica with New York City, the author suggests that other cities, given the realities of Reagan's cutbacks, may find a "hard nosed" approach toward developers necessary. In other words, Santa Monica offers one alternative to cutbacks.

Mankin, Eric. "Strategies: You Can Win City Hall" Mother Jones, December 1981.

Shearer, Derek. "City Profile: Santa Monica." Cities, November 1983, pp. 107-112.

Shearer, Derek. "How Progressives Won in Santa Monica." Social Policy 12:3 (Winter, 1982):7-14.

A participant in SMMR organizing, and now the Planning Director of Santa Monica, Shearer writes from experience on the nuts and bolts of progressive campaigning. He emphasizes that the destruction and conversion of rental units and soaring housing costs spurred the growth of a tenants movement. Shearer lists the policy initiatives in the progressives first one hundred days as a majority. He suggests that this organizing model is applicable in other cities.

Shearer, Derek. "Planning and the New Urban Populism: The Case of Santa Monica, California." Journal of Planning Education and Research 2(Summer 1982): 20-26.

Urban populism arose in the last ten years as a response to the "growth machine" politics that ruled municipalities. Shearer describes the policies of Santa Monica progressives since their majority election in April, 1981. Focusing on curbing development and fostering affordable housing, the progressives have used rent control, development agreements, inclusionary zoning, neighborhood planning, mixed use developments, and municipal financing.

Curtius, Mary. "The New Left: Santa Monica Takes over Berkeley's Progressive Leadership Role. I of III." Evening Outlook, July 20, 1981, p. B1.

Curtius, Mary. "Reality Replaces Thrill of Win." Evening Outlook.

Covey, Carol. "New Rent Board Member Eager to Serve." Evening Outlook, p. A1.

Dobbin, Muriel. "Santa Monica Renter Revolt: Is it the Wave of the Future?"
Palmdale Sun, August 10, 1981, pp. 1, 6.

Shearer, Derek. "The Whole City Catalog." Mother Jones (November 1978)
pp. 48-50.

Shuman, Eric. "Sleepy Santa Monica: A Berkeley for the 1980's." Los Angeles
(November, 1982), pp. 202+.

Published before the election of a majority of progressives to the Santa Monica City Council, this article describes the political turmoil in Santa Monica since the early 1970's. The author specifically recounts typical policy battles which raged on city council, over poisoned water supplies and rent control. This is a good background piece on the evolving political climate in Santa Monica.

Vermeulen, Michael. "Ruth Goldway: A Woman Unafraid." Savvy, April 1982,
pp. 32-36.

Zeitlin, Maurice. "Tenant Power to Political Power." The Nation (July 4,
1981).

Zeitlin discusses the emergence of the Santa Monicans for Renters' Rights (SMRR) as a grassroots tenants movement. Although focusing on rent control issues, he reviews the platform of the Santa Monica progressives. He notes that the consumer activism underlying progressive politics in Santa Monica is a lesson for all citizens.

Newsclippings:

Adams, James Ring. "Santa Monica's Suburban Radicals." Wall Street Journal,
July 1, 1981.

Anthology of Articles on "Ocean Park". Evening Outlook.

Anthology of Articles: July 29, 1982-December 31, 1981. Evening Outlook.

Anthology of Articles: 1982 Year. Evening Outlook.

Anthology of Articles: February 26, 1982-April 1, 1982. Evening Outlook.

Anthology of Articles: February 26, 1982-April 6, 1982. Evening Outlook.

Anthology of Articles: July 1, 1982-July 30, 1982. Evening Outlook.

Anthology of Articles: April 5, 1982-December 14, 1982. Evening Outlook.

Anthology of Articles: December 15, 1982-March 29, 1983. Evening Outlook.

Anthology of Articles: April 1, 1983-May 1, 1983. Evening Outlook.

1981, pp. A1+.

Grimm, Eric. "Hearings on LAX Land Proposals Planned." Evening Outlook, July 30, 1981, p. B2.

Holley, David. "S.M. Initiative on Condos Gets Place on Ballot." Los Angeles Times, November 11, 1982, pp. 1+.

Jackson, Harold. "Fighting Tenants Frighten Affluent Californians." Manchester Guardian, July 6, 1981.

Jenkins, Sally. "In Santa Monica, a Council-Chamber Alliance Brings the Farm to the City." Los Angeles Herald Examiner, July 16, 1981.

Kaplan, Sam Hall. "City Pressures Developers for Trade-Offs." Los Angeles Times, May 30, 1982, pp. 1,9.

Kaplan, Sam Hall. "The Pier Pressure in Santa Monica." Los Angeles Times, September 13, 1982. Part V, pp. 1,6.

Khermouch, Gerry. "Tenants Take Control of Santa Monica . . . But No Growth Issue May be Snag." Heights and Valley News, October 1981, p.6-7.

Lynch, Thomas. "Special Police Unit Ready to Hit Streets." Evening Outlook.

Martinez, Rick. "Police, Firefighters Like What They See. VI of X." Evening Outlook, October 6, 1981, pp. B1,B2.

Moberg, David. "Local Left Leaders: Is Reform Enough?" In These Times, June 1-14, 1983, pp. 2,11.

Moberg, David. "Surf City Socialism" In These Times, January 26-February 1, 1983, pp. 11+.

Morgenthaler, Anne. "Changes Come with Myers Administration." Weekend Outlook, February 20-21, 1982, pp. A1+.

Morgenthaler, Anne. "City May Shun Non-Union Firms." Evening Outlook, July 15, 1981.

Morgenthaler, Anne. "Council OKs End to Building Freeze." Evening Outlook, August 26, 1981, p. 1.

Morgenthaler, Anne. "SM Seeks Regulations on Oil Pipeline." Weekend Outlook, July 24-25, 1982, p. A4.

Myers, Robert M. "Rent Control: It Helps Curb Speculators, and It's Fair to Both Tenant and Landlord." Los Angeles Herald Examiner, May 26, 1981.

Rubin, Jerry. "Councilman Says 'Get Involved'." Cosair (Santa Monica City College), December 2, 1981.

Babcock, Richard F., and Donald G. Hagman. "The American Dream as Public Nightmare, or, Sam, You Got the Front Yard Too Deep."

1983-1984 Budget Instructions. John H. Alschuler, City Manager, January 12, 1983.

Budget Proposal for Fiscal Year 1982-1983. John H. Alschuler, Jr., City Manager.

C2--Neighborhood Commercial Zone: Zoning and Uses Permitted in the Zone. Planning Commission Appraisal of Task Force's recommendations.

City of Santa Monica. Housing Assistance Plan.

City of Santa Monica General Plan Land Use and Circulation Issue Papers: 1983.

City of Santa Monica General Plan Land Use and Circulation Elements:

1. Summary: Background to the Issue Papers, March 1983.
2. Issue Paper: The Highway Commercial Corridors, Summary.
3. Issue Paper: The Oceanfront, Summary.
4. Issue Paper: The Neighborhood Commercial Areas, Summary.
With Special Emphasis on the Pico Neighborhood.
5. Issue Paper: The Downtown, Summary.
6. Issue Paper: The Industrial Corridor, Summary, March 1983.

Research Design for Issue Paper 1: The Industrial Corridor. Draft 3.
Santa Monica Planning Commission Land Use and Circulation Elements.
"Sequence of Events for Revising the Land Use and Circulation Elements."

Santa Monica Planning Commission Land Use and Circulation Elements
Neighborhood Commercial Workshop. Glossary of Terms, May 2, 1983.

Santa Monica General Plan. Circulation Analysis, Executive Summary,
March 11, 1983.

City of Santa Monica Planning Department. Architectural Review Board: Review Guidelines Resume. A Fact Sheet.

Collection of Recommendations by the Residential Task Force:

Subjects: Transmittal of "Priority II" Issue Recommendations, January 27, 1982.

Five Residential Issues: Density, in-lieu fees, site review, mixed use and inclusionary housing; August 13, 1981.

Transmittal of Residential Task Force Recommendations. Draft to Mayor and City Council from City Staff, with Planning Commission comments on Recommendations, September 2, 1981.

RTF Recommendations on: Reduction of Negative Impact of Bulk Through Grade Level and Side Yard Fence Calculations.

Measures to Mitigate Adverse Impact of Construction, such as Limitations on the Number of Construction Projects Allowed at a Given Time in A Given Time in a Given

XII to the Santa Monica Municipal Code, Relating to Energy Conservation. Recommendations by the Energy Task Force to the City Council in April 1981.

An Ordinance of the City Council of the City of Santa Monica Establishing Notification and Fee REquirements for the Interim Permit Procedure Established by Ordinance Number 1220 (CCS). Ordinance # 1230, Approved on October 27, 1981.

An Ordinance of the City Council of the City of Santa Monica Extending with Modifications Interim Development Procedures. Ordinance #1251 (CCS), Approved June 1, 1982.

An Ordinance of the City Council of the City of Santa Monica Lifting Moratorium on Certain Development and Establishing Interim Procedures. Ordinance # 1220, Approved September 1, 1981.

Ordinance Extending with Modifications the Interim Permit Procedures. Draft to the Mayor and City Council from Robert M. Myers (City Attorney), May 25, 1982.

? Planning and Zoning Personnel Activities. Draft to Mark Tigan (Director of Community & Economic Development) from James Lunsford (Director of Planning), June 3, 1982.

✓ Principles of Unity Between of the Santa Monicans for Renters' Rights Coalition, a Working Paper. Adopted January 1981.

SIC?

✓ Proposed Housing Element, Section I: Policy Report. Prepared by the Citizens' Advisory Committee, June 1981.

✓ Proposed Housing Element, Section II: Technical Report. Prepared by the Citizens' Advisory Committee, June 1981.

? Recommendations on Disposition of Energy Code. Prepared by Stan Scholl and Peggy Gardels for Planning Commission, July 30, 1982.

✓ Report on Permit Process. Draft to City Council and Planning Commission from Task Force on Permit Process and Neighborhood Planning, August 27, 1981.

A Resolution of the City Council of The City of Santa Monica of Its Intention to Amend the Comprehensive Land Use Ordinance Relating to Various Districts and Establishing Interim Guidelines. Resolution #6385. Approved on October 27, 1981.

A Resolution of the City Council of The City of Santa Monica of Its Intention to Amend the Comprehensive Land Use Ordinance Relating to the CM Main Street Special Commercial District. Resolution #6368. September 22, 1981.

• Resolution Establishing Task Forces on Development in Residential Zones, Development in Commercial and Industrial Zones, and Permit Process and

The Santa Monica Case." Ithaca: Cornell University, CRP Department, May 20, 1982.

Interviews and Miscellaneous:

- Alschuler, John. Interview by Pierre Clavel.
- Anger, Peter A. "Interview: Austin, Santa Monica."
- Cohen, Jim. Interview by Pierre Clavel.
- Edwards, Ken. Interview by Pierre Clavel.
- Goldfarb, Joel. Interview by Pierre Clavel.
- Goldway, Ruth. Interview by Pierre Clavel.
- Hotchkiss, Frank. Bibliographical Profile. - Source? Published?
- Myers, Bob. Interview by Pierre Clavel.
- Osborne, Barbara Jo. Interview by Pierre Clavel.
- Press, Dolores. Interview by Pierre Clavel.
- Reed, Chris. Interview by Pierre Clavel.
- Rhoden, Cheryl. Interview by Pierre Clavel.
- Rothstein, Vivian. Interview by Pierre Clavel.
- Shearer, Derek. Interview by Pierre Clavel.
- Shearer, Derek. Question and Answer session for Progressive Municipal Administration Seminar, Cornell University Summer Institute, June 24-25, 1982.
- Zane, Denny. Interview by Pierre Clavel.

VI. Burlington

Books and Articles

- Guma, Greg. "Changes in City Hall Push Neighborhood Assemblies Towards Puberty." The Burlington City Pulse, (June 1, 1983) 1:1.
- Guma, Greg. "Progressives Win Battle of Burlington." River Valley Voice. No Date.
- Maslow, Jonathan Evan, "Third Party Phoenix: The Liberty Union of Vermont." The Nation, Vol. 221 (October 18, 1975), pp. 366-369.
- Salomon, Debbie. "Bernard Sanders: The State of the City." Burlington Citizen, February 1984 (Vol. 10, No. 2). Somewhat biographical.
- "The Sanderistas and a Metamorphosis of Burlington, Vermont." Places, MIT Press.

Newspaper Articles:

- Abbey, Alan. "(??? bad xerox) Think Poughkeepsie's Mall Good, Bad." Burlington Free Press, pp. 1B, 6B.
- Abbey, Alan. "Aldermen Ignore Sanders, OK Connector Land Purchasing." Burlington Free Press.
- Abbey, Alan. "Burlington to Wrap Up Connector Hearings." Burlington Free Press, August 12, 1980.
- Abbey, Alan. "City Might Face Bill of \$1 Million." Burlington Free Press, October 13, 1981, p. 5B.
- Abbey, Alan. "Community Groups: Conduits to City Hall." Burlington Free Press, September 28, 1980, pp. 1B, 4B.
- Abbey, Alan. "Connector Fits Image, Evslin Says." Burlington Free Press.
- Abbey, Alan. "Connector Hearing Starts With Details on Landscaping." Burlington Free Press, July 1980.
- Abbey, Alan. "Lakeside Residents Assured Legal Right to Cross Rail Tracks." Burlington Free Press, April 30, 1980.
- Abbey, Alan. "Lakeside Residents Skeptical of Access Plan." Burlington Free press, September 28, 1979.
- Abbey, Alan. "Legislator Aren't Detoured From Connector Plan." Burlington Free Press, November 6, 1981, pp. 1B, 10B.

- Abbey, Alan. "Negotiations Over Second Lakeside Street Collapse." Burlington Free Press, April 17, 1980.
- Abbey, Alan. "Party Status in Connector Issue at Standstill." Burlington Free Press, July 1, 1980.
- Abbey, Alan. "Pedestrian Overpass Rejected." Burlington Free Press, August 7, 1980, pp. 1B, 3B.
- Abbey, Alan. "South Enders Talk with Mayor About Connector Safety." Burlington Free Press, August 13, 1980, p. 3B.
- Aswad, William N. "Connector: Let's get on With it". Burlington Free Press, Feb. 2, 1984, p. 8A.
- Aswad, William N. "Connector Would Make Roads Safer for Residents." Burlington Free Press.
- Bates, Beth. "The Arts Explosion." Vermont Vanguard Press, May 1-8, 1983, p. 17.
- Bates, Beth. "Left Cultivates Arts Flowering in Burlington." In These Times, February 23-March 1, 1983, p. 21.
- Beauchemin, Joan. "Connector-Type Highways Have Failed to Meet Goal: Drawing People Into Cities." Burlington Free Press.
- Beauchemin, Joan. "Southern Connector Takes Wrong Turns." Burlington Free press.
- Beauchemin, Joan. "Support Needed for Planning Assemblies to Work Well." Burlington Free Press.
- Beliveau, Armand. "Connector, If Built as Designed, May Not Do Anybody Good." Burlington Free Press.
- Beliveau, Armand. "Connector Should be halted; Parkway Should be Explored." Burlington Free Press, Jan. 26, 1984.
- Bergin, John. "Lakeside Avenue Flooding Fosters Study of Alternate." Burlington Free Press, February 1979.
- Berney, Louis. "Funds Frozen for 24 Highway Projects." Burlington Free Press, August 27, 1981.
- Bookchin, Debbie. "Burlington's Bid Ideas for Lake front Stalled." Rutland Herald, Aug. 8, 1983. Law requires prime lakefront property be public.
- Bookchin, Debbie. "Funds for Highway Project Called Into Question." Rutland Daily Herald, October 9, 1981, p. 11.
- Brookes, Tim. "Cable TV Task Force Formed." Vermont Vanguard Press, May 8-15, 1983.

- Brown, Leslie. "Damerbeek Ends Nearly a Decade in Planning Office." Burlington Free Press, Feb. 2, 1984.
- "Burlington Planners Discuss Application for Connector Roads." Burlington Free Press, June 17, 1980.
- "Burlington Planning Commission Rejects Lakeview Terrace Project." Burlington Free Press, May 2, 1980.
- "Burlington Seeking U.S. Grant to Revitalize 3 Neighborhoods." Burlington Free Press, August 20, 1980.
- "Closing Lakeside Avenue 'Slap in Face'" Burlington Free Press, April 23, 1980.
- "Connector Crossings Unsafe" Vermont Vanguard Press, August 5, 1980.
- "Cooperation Needed to Attract Business to City." Editorial. Burlington Free Press, May 15, 1983, p. 10A.
- Davis, Hamilton. "Development Coalition Gives Burlington Area Pipeline to Prospects." Vermont Vanguard Press.
- Davis, Hamilton. "Sanders Wins the Battle." Vermont Vanguard Press, May 29-June 5, 1983.
- Davis, Hamilton. "A Lefty Leads with His Right." Vermont Vanguard Press, May 22-29, 1983.
- "Development Office Might Shut Out the People." Editorial. Burlington Free Press, May 29, 1983, p. 10A.
- Dillon, John. "Connector Worries: Access and Flooding." Vermont Vanguard Press, July 29, 1980.
- Dillon, John. "Traffic Lights for the 'GE Connector'" Vermont Vanguard Press, August 12, 1980.
- Dillon, John. "Southern Connector Highway: Vital Necessity or Four-Lane Dead End?" Vermont Vanguard Press, February 27, 1979.
- Donnelly, John. "Burlington's Men in Blue May Join Best-Paid Ranks." Burlington Free Press, May 15, 1983, pp. 1B, 2B.
- Donnelly, John. "Dreams Flashy, Details Lacking." Burlington Free Press, Jan. 27, 1984.
- Donnelly, John. "Neighbors Unite to Help Take Bite Out of Crime." Burlington Free Press, May 30, 1983, 1A, 6A.
- Donnelly, John. "Permanent Shelter for City's Homeless Under Consideration." Burlington Free Press, May 26, 1983, pp. 1B, 2B.

- Donovan, William J. "Burlington Pushing Bond Plan." Burlington Free Press, March 17, 1983.
- "Downtown Merchants' Foresight in Conceiving Church Street Mall." Burlington Free Press, May 21, 1977.
- Eley, Rob. "Connector Opponents Contest Funding." Burlington Free Press, October 10, 1981, p. 1B.
- Eley, Rob. "Mitel Will Close South Burlington Plant." Burlington Free Press, June 1, 1983.
- Eley, Rob. "Sanders Hands 2nd Reprimand to City Clerk." Burlington Free Press.
- Eley, Rob. "Schools, City Call a Truce." Burlington Free Press, February 4, 1983.
- Eley, Rob. "Test Drills Continue in Canal." Burlington Free Press, pp. 1B, 2B.
- "Facts on North/South Connectors for Burlington, Colchester Voters." GE News, February 23, 1979, p. 2.
- "Follow the Bouncing Ball." Burlington Free Press, April 20, 1980.
- Fletcher, Richard E. "Uncertain Business Environment Fostered by City Administration." Burlington Free Press, April 7, 1983.
- Frankel, Henry. "What Price Safety."
- Freyne, Peter. "Health Planners Seek Help for Old North End." Burlington Free Press, April 11, 1983.
- Gertler, Gayle. "Long-Delayed Plans for Connector Roads Pushed Back Again." Burlington Free Press, October 22, 1978.
- Gertler, Gayle. "Pieces Falling in Place for Southern Connector." Burlington Free Press, November 26, 1977.
- Good, Jeff. "The Choice was Clear: Bernie Takes Burlington." Vermont Vanguard Press, March 4-14, 1983.
- Guma, Greg. "Another 'Fluke' Election in City Provided a Historic Precedent for Sanders' Mayoral Victory." Burlington Free Press, April 1, 1983.
- Guma, Greg. "Complex Political Systems Badly Need an Overhaul." Burlington Free Press, May 31, 1983.
- Guma, Greg. "Participatory Democracy--Do Voters Want Less?" Burlington Free Press, March 19, 1983.
- Guma, Greg. "Southern Connector Would Do More Harm than Good." Burlington Free Press.

- Hawkins, Howard. "Socialist Does Deal with Downtown Developers." Guardian, January 8, 1986.
- "Harsh Lessons From the Southern Connector." Editorial. Vermont Vanguard Press, September 18-25, 1983.
- Hockert, Barbara. "Aid to Education Formula Still Needs More Refinement." Burlington Free Press.
- Hockert-Lotz, Nelson. "Interest in Waterfront Property Developing." Vermont Vanguard Press, April 24-May 1, 1983, p. 5.
- Hockert-Lotz, Nelson. "Sartelle's Committee Solution." Vermont Vanguard Press, May 1-8, 1983.
- "Homeless Shelter Out on the Street." Vermont Vanguard Press, May 1-8, 1983.
- Jacobs, Sally. "Group Urges Changes in Connector Planning." Burlington Free Press, July 1979.
- Johnson, Mark. "Dream Eludes Burlington Progressives." Burlington Free Press, January 19, 1984.
- Karvelas, David. "Legislature Did Little for Mayor." Burlington Free Press, May 5, 1983, p. 6B.
- King, Laura. "Evelin Blasts Connector Opponents." Burlington Free Press.
- Knight, Joan. "Position Clarified." Letter to the Editor. Burlington Free Press, January 25, 1979.
- Lappen, Henry. "Southern Connector." Letter to the Editor. Burlington Free Press, November 12.
- "Letter Makes Sen. Crowley Look Like Sore Loser Taking Shot at Sanders." Burlington Free Press.
- Loh, Jules. "Novel Approach to Downtown Renovation Works for Amish." Burlington Free Press, October 16, 1978.
- Lowy, Jed. "Priority for Essentials." Letter to the Editor. Burlington Free Press, November 20, 1978.
- Krause, Vernon. "Burlington's Hypocrisy." Letter to the Editor. Burlington Free Press.
- MacKay, Scott. "Aldermen Begin Political Waltz--Reorganization." Burlington Free Press, March 21, 1983.
- MacKay, Scott. "Aldermen May Buck Mayor Over Panel Appointments." Burlington Free Press, April 5, 1983.

- Mackay, Scott. "Aldermen Vote to Fight Telephone Rate Increase." Burlington Free Press, April 26, 1983.
- Mackay, Scott. "Allen Gear to Wield Aldermanic Gravel." Burlington Free Press, April 5, 1983.
- Mackay, Scott. "Blowing the Whistle: Project Lets People Sound Out Against Crime." Burlington Free Press, April 28, 1983, p. 8B.
- Mackay, Scott. "Burlington Aldermen in Scramble for Power Positions." Burlington Free Press, April 4, 1983.
- Mackay, Scott. "Burlington Gets More Development Money." Burlington Free Press, April 20, 1983.
- Mackay, Scott. "Burlington Starts Planting Program." Burlington Free Press, April 2, 1983.
- Mackay, Scott. "City to Ask PSB to Make Utility Pay for Lobbying." Burlington Free Press, June 3, 1983.
- Mackay, Scott. "Connector Panel Likely to Disband." Burlington Free Press.
- Mackay, Scott. "Developer Asking \$3.3 Million Cut on Appraisal List." Burlington Free Press, May 18, 1983, pp. 1B, 5B.
- Mackay, Scott. "Gear Hands Out Choice Positions to Sanders Allies." Burlington Free Press, April 28, 1983.
- Mackay, Scott. "Gear Won't Let Mayor Speak About Connector." Burlington Free Press, April 21, 1983, pp. 1B, 4B.
- Mackay, Scott. "Gilson Says Leopold is Not Cooperating in Audit Controversy." Burlington Free Press, February 15, 1983.
- Mackay, Scott. "Housing Rehabilitation Among Suggestions for Grant." Burlington Free Press, June 8, 1983, pp. 1B, 2B.
- Mackay, Scott. "Loan Fund to Sweeten Bid for Development in City." Burlington Free Press, May 29, 1983, p. 6B.
- Mackay, Scott. "Mayor to Continue in Same Vein." Burlington Free Press, March 20, 1984, pp. 1B+.
- Mackay, Scott. "Mayor Sanders Eyes \$500,000 for Street Work." Burlington Free Press, February 2, 1983.
- Mackay, Scott. "Mayor Wants Developer's Grievance Withdrawn." Burlington Free Press, May 24, 1983.
- Mackay, Scott. "Panel Approves City Development Office." Burlington Free Press, April 4, 1983.

- Mackay, Scott. "Residents Describe Waterfront Desire." Burlington Free Press, April 16, 1983, p. 2B.
- Mackay, Scott. "Right-of-Way Fees Face Legal Battles." Burlington Free Press, March 16, 1983.
- Mackay, Scott. "Sanders is Victor; All Top City Aides Are Reappointed." Burlington Free Press, June 7, 1983, pp. 1B, 2B.
- Mackay, Scott. "Sanders Won't Block Connector Land Transfer." Burlington Free Press, February 15, 1983, p. 1B.
- Mackay, Scott. "Sanders: Workers Must 'Stand Up and Fight'." Burlington Free Press, May 5, 1983.
- Mackay, Scott. "Southern Connector Road Lead to Circus Staged by Aldermen." Burlington Free Press, April 22, 1983, pp. 1B, 3B.
- Mackay, Scott. "Tax Appeal: Burlington Property Owners Can Go to City Hall to Protest Assessments." Burlington Free Press, May 11, 1983.
- Mackay, Scott. "Tenants Shocked by Big Increases in City Utility Bills." Burlington Free Press, March 30, 1983.
- Mackay, Scott. "Utilities Argue Against Street Rents." Burlington Free Press, June 2, 1983, pp. 1B, 2B.
- Mackay, Scott. "Waterfront Sit May be Sold Soon." Burlington Free Press, April 27, 1983.
- Mackay, Scott, and Neil Davis. "Snelling, Sanders Clash Over Connector Costs." Burlington Free Press, April 13, 1983.
- McNelis, Marian. "Political Gridlock for Another Connector." Vermont Vanguard Press, October 17-24, 1982.
- Mamis, Joshua. "Connector Foes Start Court Fight." Vermont Vanguard Press.
- Mamis, Joshua. "Highway Funding Law: 16 Towns Played by the Rules." Vermont Vanguard Press.
- Mamis, Joshua. "Opinions Vary on Connector Funding." Vermont Vanguard Press.
- Marks, Alexandra. "The New Class: Cultural Phenomenon Emerges; Can It Change Face of Society?" Burlington Free Press, March 27, 1983.
- Marks, Alexandra. "Who are These New Class Folk?" Burlington Free Press.
- Melvin, Don. "Alden Releases names of Waterfront Investors." Burlington Free Press, Feb. 23, 1984.
- Melvin, Don. "Clavelle Wants to Spark Interest in Firewomen." Burlington Free Press, May 22, 1983, pp. 1B, 2B.

- Melvin, Don. "\$100 Million Waterfront Plan Unveiled." Burlington Free Press. January 27, 1984.
- Melvin, Don. "Progressives Pick Up Seat on City Board." Burlington Free Press, March 7, 1984.
- Melvin, Don. "South Burlington Tangles with Development Issues" Burlington Free Press. August 16, 1982.
- Melvin, Don. "Preliminary Deal with Alden OK'd." Burlington Free Press. February 28, 1984.
- Melvin, Don. "State Ties Up Waterfront With Connector." Burlington Free Press, January 28, 1984.
- Melvin, Don. "Waterfront Chairman Chastises Sanders." Burlington Free Press. January 31, 1984.
- Miller, Dave. "A Question of Public Trust." Vermont Vanguard, February 26, 1984.
- Moberg, David. "Burlington Loves Bernie." In These Times, March 23-29, 1983, pp. 12-14+.
- Muwakkil, Salim. "Socialist Mayor Sets Sights on Statehouse." In These Times, May 28-June 10, 1986, pp. 5+.
- "New Urban Influx Creates 'Nomads'."
- "Number of Poor Increases Here, Down Elsewhere."
- Okula, Susan. "Socialist Was Popular Mayor with Residents of Bridgeport." March 13, 1983.
- Osgood, John. "A New Waterfront for Burlington: Some Questions and Answers." Burlington Free Press, Feb. 2, 1984. Includes map of waterfront.
- Page, Candace. "Connector Bills Soar but City's Share Declines." Burlington Free Press, April 11, 1983, pp. 1B, 2B.
- Page, Guy. "City Protests Lakeside Involvement in Connector Hearings." June 1980.
- "Panel Wonders How to Proceed Without Tetzlaff." Burlington Free Press, August 1, 1980.
- Peck, Jodie. "Study: Southern Connector Won't Hurt Environment." Burlington Free Press, December 31, 1980.
- Peirce, Neal R. "Pressuring for Growth Sanity in Cities."
- Peirce, Neal R. "Will the 'Saved' Cities Mean Suburban Slums?"

- "Planners to Focus on Lakeside Avenue." Burlington Free Press, 1979 (Possibly September).
- "Public Urged to Advise on 'Block Grants'" Burlington Free Press, May 1, 1980.
- Reilly, John. "IBM's Impact: Computer Giant Makes Mark on County." Burlington Free Press, December 19, 1982, pp. 1A, 10A.
- Reilly, John. "Three High-Technology Plants Bring Area into Computer Age." Burlington Free Press, December 19, 1982.
- "Replacement Commissioner to Sit On Act 250 Connector Hearings." Burlington Free Press, August 9, 1980.
- Roberts, Elizabeth. "Speakers Oppose Converting Main Mall to Street." Journal.
- "Sanders Should Allow Connector to Proceed." Editorial. Burlington Free Press, September 15, 1983.
- "Sanders Will Sit Up Front." Burlington Free Press, April 19, 1983.
- Sandoval, Dolores. "City Needs to Consider Environmental Treasures."
- "Senate OKs Burlington's Water Bond." Burlington Free Press, March 25, 1983.
- Sharp, Rick. "The Waterfront is Ours." Vermont Vanguard, February 12, 1984.
- Sherman, Robert. "Paquette Facing Toughest Challenge as Mayor." Times Argus, September 20, 1977, pp. 1, 9.
- Sline, Deborah. "I Can't Change Connector, Snelling Tells Sanders." Burlington Free Press, February 10, 1983, pp. 1A, 12A.
- Sline, Deborah. "Senators Will Take Another Look at Connector." Burlington Free Press, February 12, 1983, pp. 1A, 5A.
- Sline, Deborah. "Vt. Mayors Offer Revenue-Raising Proposal to House." Burlington Free Press, February 3, 1983.
- Sorensen, Eric. "Burlington Refuse: To Burn or Not to Burn." Vermont Vanguard Press, May 3-10, 1983.
- Sorensen, Eric. "Gearing Up for the Second Term." Vermont Vanguard Press, April 10-17, 1983.
- "South End Connector: Safety and Convenience--A Major Concern." Editorial.
- Strauss, Roberta. "Peter Clavette-Community Economic Development Officer." Burlington Citizen, Feb. 1984.
- Interview on the work of CEDO.

Strauss, Roberta. "Jonathan Leopold, Treasurer." Burlington Citizen, January 1984, p. 3.

"Transportation Coalition to Participate in Hearings." Burlington Free Press, March 8, 1979.

"Trouble Brewing in Park Department." Vermont Vanguard Press, January 30-February 6, 1983.

"Vermont Shifting to Left In a Flow of Newcomers." New York Times, January 31, 1986.

"VPRIG Raps Southern Connector." VPRIG, Winter 1977-78.

"When the Mayor's Away, Board of Aldermen Will Play." Burlington Free Press.

Welch, Peter F. "Prosperity in Few Vermont Counties Do Not Make Recession-Proof State." March 20, 1983.

Documents and Unpublished Papers

Advertisement for Burlington Revolving Loan Program. No publisher name or date.

Advertisement for ward meeting and by laws. Oct. 19, 1983. No publisher.

Annual Report. City of Burlington. Burlington, Vermont: 1983.

"Burlington Since the 1930's: Change and Continuity in Vermont's Largest City."

Butterfield, Fox. "Burlington City Planning Commission-An Overview." Burlington Planning Commission. No date.

History land use controls, members, organization chart, community development program, UDAG, projects.

Burlington College Political Questionnaire collection:

City Republican Party Chair, February 14, 1984.

City Democratic Party Chair, February 20, 1984.

Citizens' Party Co-Chair, February 28, 1984.

Burlington Community Land Trust as a Private Complement to Public Land and Housing Programs. By Community and Economic Development Office. Burlington, Vermont: September, 1984.

Burton, Sue. Bibliography, "Politics in the Peoples Republic of Burlington, 1984

Citizen poll on waterfront.

Citizens Attitudes on Development. By Community and Economic Development Office. Burlington, Vermont

City of Burlington. CEDO publication. No date. Urban problems and actions.

Clavelle, Peter. Two Memoranda on CEDO programs and activities; description of projects of CEDO.

Clavelle, Peter. "Community Land-trust." One page definition.

Community and Economic Development Policies. Community and Economic Development Office: Burlington, Vermont.

Davis, John, and Matthei, Chuck. "Community Land Trust- a new approach to home ownership." Institute on Community Economics. 1982.

Driscoll, Jane. "Annual Report of the Mayor's Youth Office." Coordinator. Burlington, Vermont: January 1983.

Driscoll, Jane. Youth Coordinator. Compilation of projects, Spring 1983.

Driscoll, Jane. Community Development Entitlement Grant for 1982-83.

Project: Delinquency Prevention/Youth Participation Activities.

Project: Community Center/Day Care in Memorial Auditorium.

Driscoll, Jane. "Report of the Youth Office." Youth Coordinator. Burlington, Vermont: January 1982.

Driscoll, Jane. Memorandum. Youth Office. January 1982.

Explanation of delinquency prevention strategies, project descriptions and budgets, update on Task Force report.

Economic Development: An Action Agenda. CEDO: January 1, 1984-June 30, 1984.

Economic Development Action Agenda. CEDO publication. No date.

Employee Relations Committee. Minutes of Meeting, December 10, 1982.

Fiscal Year 1987 Budget: Plans, Programs, Goals & Priorities. Burlington: Community & Economic Development Office, Submitted June 16, 1986.

"Full Tally of Waterfront Surveys (227)." City of Burlington publication. No date

GBIC/CYNOSURE, INC. Directory of Manufacturers: The Chittenden County Greater Burlington Area of Vermont

Greater Burlington Industrial Corporation. "Greater Burlington Vermont".

Higgins, Bryan R. "Vermont Private Interests Masquerading as Public Policy." Paper presented at the 24th annual meeting, Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning, Chicago, Ill. October 1982.

Historical-demographic makeup of Burlington; planning and urban renewal projects; resistance to development; Sanderista revolution; discovering needs of poorer citizens don't match development proposals; Sanderista dilemma: criticism from left and right.

Higgins, Bryan R. "The Sanderistas: A Progressive Perspective on Planning in Burlington, Vermont." Paper presented for the 93rd annual meeting, American Association of Geographers, April 1983.

1981 election background and results; progressive perspectives in planning; recent development of planning in Burlington; dilemmas of achieving ideals of a socialist city.

Home Improvement Program Fact Sheet. Community & Economic Development Office.

Home Improvement Program Outline. Community & Economic Development Office.

"ICE's Working Conference on Community Land Trusts." Community Economics, no.3. Winter 1984. p.2. (ICE- Greenfield, Mass.)

Jakobs, Renee. "Workplace Democratization and Neighborhood Power in Burlington, Vermont." Cornell University, 1983.

"Jobs and People." Community and Economic Development Office. Burlington, Vermont: 1984

Little, Elaine. "Memorandum" CEDO. April 25, 1983. Review and suggestions for organizing for CEDO.

Mackin, Christopher. Strategies for Local Ownership and Control: A Policy Analysis. Somerville: Industrial Cooperative Association, [1983].

Mayor's Council on Women. Report.

Health, economics, daycare, housing, employment, participation in public life, safety.

Mayor's Committee on Taxation. Report. Authors listed are John L. Franco, Jr., John Howland, Jr., Rosaire J. Longe, Robert C. Sweeney, Dr. Jennie V. Stolar.

"Method for Citizen Review." CEDO publication. No date.

Includes citizen review process, list of needs and priorities of all wards

The Municipal Development Plan for the City of Burlington. Planning Commission: Burlington, Vermont. March 15, 1979. Draft. Revised edition of the master plan dated Jan. 73.

Neighborhood Bulletin Board. Burlington Citizen. Aug-Oct. 1983.

Discusses start of neighborhood assemblies.

"Organizing to Carry out Community and Economic Development." Cedo publication. No date. publications for organizing.

"An Overview of the City Planning Commission." The Burlington Planning Commission. Burlington, Vermont: December 1981.

Preliminary Report to Mayor Bernard Sanders from the Mayor's Committee on the Arts. By Alan Abair, Paul Schnobbe, and Adam Zahler, Chairmen. Burlington, Vermont: 1982.

Artists' facilities, resources, objectives.

Problem Overview. Community and Economic Development Office. Burlington, Vermont.

Project Self-Sufficiency Action Plan. Clark Johnson (director) Community and Economic Development Office. Burlington, Vermont: January, 1984.

Public Hearing, Board of Aldermen. January 10, 1983.

"Report of the Mayor's Council on Women." 1981.

"Report of the Mayor's Cost Control Committee." By Peter Clavelle, Chairman. Burlington, Vermont: February 9, 1982.

Report 3 on Community and Economic Development Programs and Activities. By Peter Clavelle, CEDO Director. Burlington, Vermont: March 21, 1984.

Report 2 on Community and Economic Development Programs and Activities. By Peter Clavelle, CEDO Director. Burlington, Vermont: January 19, 1984.

Report on Community and Economic Development Programs and Activities. By Peter Clavelle, CEDO Director. Burlington, Vermont: December 6, 1983.

Report of the Mayor's Committee on Taxation. By Dr. Jennie V. Stolar, Chairperson. Burlington, Vermont: December, 1981.

Report and Recommendations 1985-1986. Burlington: Affordable Housing Task Force.

Report to CEDO: Boom Pie Ordinance. Mayor's Council on Women. Burlington, Vermont: March, 1985.

"Resolution Relating to Creating the Community and Economic Development Office." Burlington, Vermont: May 23, 1983.

Resolutions. Burlington Conference of Neighborhoods First Annual Meeting, May 16, 1981.

Sanders, Bernard. "A Lecture on Progressive Municipal Administrations".
Summer Institute. Cornell University. Ithaca, New York: June 1982.

Sanders, Bernard. Inauguration speech. April 4, 1983.

World concerns: equal rights, economy, nuclear war; need for grassroots
fight: Burlington demonstrates the power of the people; city issues: tax
reduction, office of community and economic development, cable TV, utility
rates, and list of eight other issues.

Sanders, Bernard. Final Report of the Mayor's Cost Control Committee
February 9, 1982.

Sanders, Bernard. "Organizing to Carry Out Community and Development."
Burlington, Vermont: April 20, 1983.

Sanders, Bernard. Seven Myths about the City of Burlington, House HR- 17
Summer Study Committee, September 21, 1982. An analysis of trends in
local finances.

"Seven Myths About the City of Burlington: an Analysis of Trends in Local
Finances." by Bernard Sanders, Mayor. Submitted to the House 'HR-17'
Summer Study Committee, September 21, 1982.

Small Business Burlington Revolving Loan Program: Fact Sheet. Community &
Economic Development Office.

Smith, Stephen C. "A Proposal for Job Development Through Worker
Cooperatives in Burlington, Vermont." Department of Economics. Cornell
University Ithaca, NY: June 1982.

Solidarity Newsletter. Vol. 2 No. 2. June 1982.

"Statement of Purpose." Draft. Burlington Progressive Coalition
publication. No date.

"Support for Neighborhood Planning Assembly." City Council publication.
Burlington, Vt. 1982. Formal Document.

Ward Bylaws. CEDO publication. No date.

Interviews:

Beauchemin, Joan. Interview by Pierre Clavel.

Beauchemin, Joan. Neighborhood Activist: Burlington, Vermont. Interview by R?, January 5, 1983.

Breiner, Zoe, and Terry Bouricius. Aldermen (Sanders Supporters). Interviewed by R?, January 6, 1983.

Callow, John. Planning Department. Interview by R? [1 paragraph recap], January 7, 1983.

Clavelle, David. City Constable, Burlington, Vermont. Interview by R?, January 5, 1983.

Clavelle, Peter. Personnel Director. Interview by R?, January 7, 1983.

Driscoll, Jane. Youth Office. Interview by R?, January 6, 1983.

Gear, Allen. Republican Alderman: Burlington, Vermont. Interview by R?, January 6, 1983.

Goodkind, Steven. Health and Safety Department: Burlington, Vermont. Interviewed by R?, January 6, 1983.

Guma, Greg. Vanguard Press, Formerly with Citizens Party. Interview by R?, January 10, 1983.

Isley, Ann. VP One Voice, City Secretary, Citizen's Party. Phone Conversation [1 paragraph recap].

Kamberbeek, Randall. City Planning Department Director: Burlington, Vermont. Interview by R?, January 5, 1983.

Keller, Jeanne. Assistant City Clerk. Interview by R?, January 5, 1983.

Keogh, William. Planning Commissioner: Burlington, Vermont. Interview by R?, January 9, 1983.

Leopold, Jonathan. City Treasurer: Burlington, Vermont. Interview by R?, January 6, 1983.

Leopold, Jonathan. Interview by Pierre Clavel.

Little, Elaine. Planning Commissioner: Burlington, Vermont. Interview by R?, January 8, 1983.

Lovejoy, Pat. Vice President, AFSCME. Interview by R?, January 9, 1983.

Mares, Bill. Journalist. Interview by R?, January 8, 1983.

Monte, Michael. Community Development Planner. Interview by R?, January 4, 1983.

Pieper, Janice. Housing Inspector. Interview by R?, January 7, 1983.

Ploof, Bob, and Lou Ploof. One Voice. Interview by R?, January 7, 1983.

Pomerleau, Antonio. Developer. Interview by R?, January 7, 1983.

Pomerleau, Antonio. Interview by Pierre Clavel.

Sanders, Bernie. Interview by Pierre Clavel.

Sanders, Bernie. Interview by R?, January 4, 1983.

Swennfelt, Barr. Interview by Pierre Clavel.

Wylie, Nick. Burlington Square Mall businessman. Interview by R?, January 6, 1983.

Wylie, Nick. Interview by Pierre Clavel.

~~VII~~III. Chicago

Books

Chicago Central Area Plan. Draft for review. Chicago: Chicago Central Area Committee, R.R. Donnelley & Sons Co. 1983.

King, M. Chain of Change

Kleppner, P. Chicago Divided: The Making of a Black Mayor

Sullivan, B. Economic Development: A Proposal Prepared for the Chicago Economic Development Commission. 1985.

B. Articles

"Banking on It! Cash Flowing to Credit Starved Areas." Chicago Sun Times, March 8, 1985.

Brown, Joanna. "Mayor Proposes New Neighborhood Improvement Program." Press Release from the Mayor's Office. Chicago: July 1985.

Brown, Joanna. "The Washington Administration at Mid-Term." Press Release from the Mayor's Office. Chicago. (1985?).

Building on Basics. Chicago: Mayor's Task Force on Steel and Southeast Chicago.

Capraro, James, Andrew Ditton, and Robert Giloth. "Neighborhood Economic Development: Working Together for Chicago's Future." A Chicago Working Paper. September 1985.

Chicago Development Plan. Chicago: Office of Development, 1984.

Chicago's Enterprise Zone: Information Booklet. Chicago: Department of Economic Development

The Chicago 1985 General Obligation Bond Program. (Pamphlet, 1985.)

The Chicago Works Book. Pamphlet issued by the Mayor's Office. Chicago: Department of Economic Development.

Clark, W. et al., Draft Report: The Advisory Committee on Linked Development. September 1985.

Clemons, Gwendolyn, Robert Giloth, and Ricardo Tostado. "Monitoring Chicago's Industrial Revenue Bonds Performance: 1977-1984." A Chicago Working Paper. July 1984.

Chicago Works Books →
Committee Recommendations. Draft report. Chicago: Department of Planning, Mayor's Advisory Committee on Linked Development- Resources Subcommittee, September 1985.

~ Delcaster, R. et al. Draft Report: The Advisory Committee on Linked Development.

Delcaster, R. et al. Draft Minority Report on the Proposed Exaction Tax.

"Downtown vs. Neighborhoods." Chicago Tribune, August 30, 1985, 22A.

~ Draft Minority Report on the Proposed Exaction Tax. Draft Report. Chicago: Department of Planning, Mayor's Advisory Committee on Linked Development- Resources Subcommittee, September 1985.

Ducharme, Donna, Robert Giloth, and Lynn McCormick. "Business Loss or Balanced Growth: Industrial Displacement in Chicago." A Chicago Working Paper. Chicago: New City YMCA Economic Development Unit & UICUED, July 1986.

Economic Development: A Proposal Prepared for the Chicago Economic Development Commission. Chicago: The Chicago United Economic Development Task Force, (???).

Gibbons, Tom. "Six-year Building Boom in and Near the Loop." Chicago Sun Times, August 21, 1986.

Giloth → Giloth, Robert and Susan Roseblum. "Early Warning in Chicago: Strategic Response to Plant Closings." 1986.

Giloth, R. P. & Robert Mier. "From the Executive's Desk: Democratic Populism in the USA: The case of Playskool and Chicago" Cities. (February 1986) 3:1, p. 72-74.

Golden Jr., Harry. "\$600, 000 Study Says Chicago" Chicago Sun Times, October 2, 1982.

Goozner, Merrill. "Touchy Development Tax Stirs City Interest." Crain's Chicago Business, October 8, 198?, p. 24.

Goozner, Merrill. "Neighborhoods to Get Boost in City's 1984 Spending Plan." Crain's Chicago Business, December 5, 1983.

Goozner, Merrill. "City Earmarks funds for Neighborhood Aid." Crain's Chicago Business.

Ibata, David. "Exaction fee: Boon or Bane?" Chicago Tribune, September 2, 1985, p.3, sect. IV.

Johnson, Dirk. "Mayor Names Panel to Boost Neighborhoods." Chicago Sun Times, September 30, 1984.