An 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 Drianne 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of local government, e.g. development agreements, rent control ordinances, police reorganization plans, etc.; and (b) Unpublished papers, memoranda, and theses.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?


Castells, M. The City and the Grassroots.

Clavel, P. The Progressive City.


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.


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


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.


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.


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

Howard, E. *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*.


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


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 Savo Island Development.


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.


"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.


Miliutin, N. *Sotsgorod*

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


A grass roots citizens movement challenges the power structure.


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


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 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

Stave, B. *Socialism and the Cities*

II. Cleveland

Books and Articles:


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.


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


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.


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.


A review of the Cleveland Policy Planning Report of 1975, by the staff of the Cleveland City Planning Commission. The report 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.


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.


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:


Kucinich refuses to allow the banks to dictate policy


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


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.

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.


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.


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


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.


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


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.


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."


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 Transit 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).

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.


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.


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."


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


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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).


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.
Hartford

A. Books

1. Citizen participation.

B. Articles

1. General


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


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.


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


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.


"City, Aetna Reach Accord on Center." Hartford Courant, September 1971. 


"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


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


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


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


Lumsden, Arthur. Interviewed by Pierre Clavel.


The May Department Stores Company, d/b/a B. Fox & Company, Charitable Gift


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


Notes from the Hartford Courant.


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


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


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.


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.


Sorenson was the Director of Communications, Connecticut Business and Industry Association of Hartford.


"South End Group Says Airline Center Slights City Needs; Company Denies."


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

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


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


2. Energy Policy.

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.


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.


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.


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

5. Politics


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*—
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.


C. Documents

1. Crime


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


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.


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


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.


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.


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


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.


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.


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.


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.*

The development agreements for a project to develop low and moderate income housing. A UDAG 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.


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.


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.


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.


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

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.


More facts and figures on the dismal situation in Hartford. No solution.


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

Books and Articles:


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.


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.


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.


Shearer, Derek. "City Profile: Santa Monica." Cities, November 1983.


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 the progressives first one hundred days as a majority. He suggests that this organizing model is applicable in other cities.


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. "Reality Replaces Thrill of Win." *Evening Outlook*.

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


---


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.


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.

---

**Newscclippings:**


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


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


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


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


Rubin, Jerry. "Councilman Says 'Get Involved'." Casair (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."


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.


Santa Monica Planning Commission Land Use and Circulation Elements: "Sequence of Events for Revising the Land Use and Circulation Elements."


Collection of Recommendations by the Residential Task Force:


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

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.


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.
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.
Books and Articles


Newspaper Articles:

Abbey, Alan. "(??? bad xerox) Think Poughkeepsie's Mall Good, Bad." *Burlington Free Press*, pp. 1B,6B.


Beauchemin, Joan. "Connector-Type Highways Have Failed to Meet Goal: Drawing People Into Cities." Burlington Free Press.


"Closing Lakeside Avenue 'Slap in Face'" Burlington Free Press, April 23, 1980.


Eley, Rob. "Sanders Hands 2nd Reprimand to City Clerk." Burlington Free Press.


Eley, Rob. "Test Drills Continue in Canal." Burlington Free Press, pp. 1B, 2B.


"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."


MacKay, Scott. "Gear Won't Let Mayor Speak About Connector." Burlington Free Press, April 21, 1983, pp. 1B, 4B.


MacKay, Scott. "Housing Rehabilitation Among Suggestions for Grant." Burlington Free Press, June 8, 1983, pp. 1B, 2B.


Mackay, Scott. "Sanders is Victor; All Top City Aides Are Reappointed." Burlington Free Press, June 7, 1983, pp. 1B, 2B.


Mackay, Scott. "Southern Connector Road Lead to Circus Staged by Alderman." Burlington Free Press, April 22, 1983, pp. 1B, 3B.


Mackay, Scott. "Utilities Argue Against Street Rents." Burlington Free Press, June 2, 1983, pp. 1B, 2B.


Marks, Alexandra. "Who are These New Class Folk?" Burlington Free Press.


Melvin, Don. "$100 Million Waterfront Plan Unveiled." Burlington Free

Melvin, Don. "Progressives Pick Up Seat on City Board." Burlington Free

Melvin, Don. "South Burlington Tangles with Development Issues

Melvin, Don. "Preliminary Deal with Alden OK'd." Burlington Free Press,

Melvin, Don. "State Ties Up Waterfront With Connector." Burlington Free

Melvin, Don. "Waterfront Chairman Chastises Sanders." Burlington Free

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

"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

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.


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


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


Documents and Unpublished Papers

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


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


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.


Citizen poll on waterfront.
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.


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


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


Economic Development Action Agenda. CEDO publication. No date.


"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"

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.


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 Outline. Community & Economic Development Office.


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


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 D. 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.


Discusses start of neighborhood assemblies.

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


Artists’ facilities, resources, objectives.


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. 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.


Ward Bylaws. CEDQ publication. No date.
Interviews:


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


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


Leopold, Jonathan. Interview by Pierre Clavel.


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


Pomerleau, Antonio. Interview by Pierre Clavel.

Sanders, Bernie. Interview by Pierre Clavel.


Swennfelt, Barr. Interview by Pierre Clavel.


Wylie, Nick. Interview by Pierre Clavel.
Books

- King, M. Chain of Change
- Kleppner, P. Chicago Divided: The Making of a Black Mayor

Articles

- "Banking on It! Cash Flowing to Credit Starved Areas." Chicago Sun Times, March 8, 1985.
- Building on Basics. Chicago: Mayor's Task Force on Steel and Southeast Chicago.
- The Chicago 1985 General Obligation Bond Program. (Pamphlet, 1985.)
- The Chicago Works Book. Pamphlet issued by the Mayor's Office.
- Clark, W. et al., Draft Report: The Advisory Committee on Linked Development.


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


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